

China Insights

This book series collects and presents cutting-edge studies on various issues that have emerged during the process of China's social and economic transformation, and promotes a comprehensive understanding of the economic, political, cultural and religious aspects of contemporary China. It brings together academic endeavors by contemporary Chinese researchers in various social science and related fields that record, interpret and analyze social phenomena that are unique to Chinese society, its reforms and rapid transition. This series offers a key English-language resource for researchers and students in China studies and related subjects, as well as for general interest readers looking to better grasp today's China. The book series is a cooperation project between Springer and China Social Science Press of China.

More information about this series at <http://www.springer.com/series/13591>

Ming Xin

China's New Strategic Layout



Ming Xin
Central Party School of the Communist
Party of China
Beijing
China

ISSN 2363-7579

ISSN 2363-7587 (electronic)

China Insights

ISBN 978-981-10-6531-6

ISBN 978-981-10-6532-3 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-981-10-6532-3

Jointly published with China Social Sciences Press, Beijing, China

The printed edition is not for sale in China Mainland. Customers from China Mainland please order the print book from China Social Sciences Press.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017952533

© Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. and China Social Sciences Press 2018

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are reserved by the Publishers, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publishers, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publishers nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publishers remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd.

The registered company address is: 152 Beach Road, #21-01/04 Gateway East, Singapore 189721, Singapore

Series Foreword

Since the Opium War, modern China has come under attack and been bullied for its backwardness; this cultural circumstance has given many Chinese people a psychological inferiority complex, as China has lagged behind other countries technologically, institutionally, and culturally. Efforts to change the situation in which Western countries were strong but China was weak and to revitalize China needed to start with cultural criticism and culture renovation. Therefore, the Chinese people turned their eyes to the outside world and learned from Japan, Europe, the USA, and even Soviet Russia. We have always been overwhelmed by stress and anxiety and have had a burning desire to reverse the state of being bullied as a result of underdevelopment, poverty, and weakness and to catch up with and surpass the Western powers. In pursuing the more than one-hundred-year-old dream of building a powerful country and reviving China, we have focused on understanding and learning from others, but seldom, if ever, have others learned from and understood us. This has not greatly changed in the course of modernization since China's reform and opening up in 1978. The translation and introduction of many Western works in the 1980s and 1990s is a very good example. This is the history of the Chinese people's understanding of the relationship between China and the rest of the world since the beginning of modern times.

At the same time, in pursuing the dream of turning China into a powerful country and rejuvenating it through material (technological) criticism, institutional criticism, and cultural criticism, the Chinese people have struggled to find a path that would make the country prosperous and the people strong while preventing the country from being ruined and the race from being destroyed. This path first represents a thought, a banner, and a soul. The key issue has been what kind of thought, banner, and soul can save the country, making it prosperous and the people strong. For more than one hundred years, the Chinese people have constantly carried out experiments and attempts amidst humiliation, failure, and anxiety. They have experienced failure in adopting advanced Western technology and thought on the basis of safeguarding China's feudal system and practicing a constitutional monarchy after the collapse of the Western capitalist political path and a great setback in worldwide socialism in the early 1990s. The Chinese people ultimately

embarked on a path toward a successful revolution with national independence and liberation; in particular, they have adopted a path leading to the socialist modernization of China—a road toward socialism with Chinese characteristics—by combining the theoretical logic of scientific socialism with the historical logic of China’s social development. After more than 30 years of reform and opening up, China’s socialist market economy has rapidly developed; tremendous achievements have been made in economic, political, cultural, and social constructions; comprehensive national strength, cultural soft power, and international influence have substantially improved; and a great success has been achieved in socialism with Chinese characteristics. Although the latter project has not yet become full-fledged, its systems and institutions have basically taken shape. After more than one hundred years of pursuing dreams, China is rising among the nations of the world with a greater degree of confidence in the path it has chosen, the theory it has adopted, and the institutions it has created.

Meanwhile, we should be aware that given the long-standing cognition and cultural psychology of learning from Western countries; we seldom take the initiative in showcasing ourselves—historical China and current China in reality—to the world, though China has emerged as a great world power. Due to a deeply rooted view that “Western countries are strong and China is weak,” developed through Western-Chinese cultural exchanges, Western people and nations seldom have a sense of Chinese history or the current developments in China, let alone an understanding of China’s developmental path and such in-depth issues as the scientificity and effectiveness of China’s theory and institutions or their unique value for and contributions to human civilization. As self-recognition is not displayed, the “China Collapse Theory,” “China Threat Theory,” “China State Capitalism,” and other so-called theories coined by certain people with ulterior motives and differing political views have been widely spread.

During our development, based on “crossing the river by feeling the stones,” we have paid attention to learning from Western countries, understanding the world and learning to know ourselves through Western experience and discourse but have neglected self-recognition and efforts to let others know us. When we strive to become part of the world in a more tolerant and friendly way, we are not objectively, truly understood. Therefore, we should describe the path to the success of socialism with Chinese characteristics, tell Chinese stories, disseminate Chinese experiences, use international expressions to show a real China to the world, and help people around the world realize that the Western manner of modernization is not the endpoint of human historical evolution and that socialism with Chinese characteristics is also a valuable treasure of human thought. This is undoubtedly a very important task for an academic cultural researcher with a sense of justice and responsibility.

In this connection, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences organized its top-notch experts and scholars and several external experts to write the *China Insights* series. This series not only provides an overview of China’s path, theories, and institutions but also objectively describes China’s current development in the areas of political institutions, human rights, the rule of law, the economic system,

finance, social governance, social security, population policies, values, religious faith, ethnic policies, rural issues, urbanization, industrialization, ecology, ancient civilization, literature, art, etc., thus depicting China in a way that helps readers visualize these topics.

We hope that this series will help domestic readers more correctly understand the course of the more than 100 years of China's modernization and more rationally look at current difficulties, enhance the urgency for and national confidence in comprehensively intensifying reform, build a consensus on reform and development and gather strength in this regard, as well as deepen foreign readers' understanding of China, thus fostering a better international environment for China's development.

January 2014

Zhao Jianying

Contents

1 Strategic Vision: The Chinese Dream	1
1 Rich Connotation of the Chinese Dream	1
1.1 Political Implications of the Chinese Dream	1
1.2 Rich Connotations of the Chinese Dream	3
2 Basic Principles of the Chinese Dream	4
2.1 The “Popular Version” of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics	5
2.2 The Historical Logic of the Chinese Dream	6
3 Global Significance of the Chinese Dream	8
3.1 At a Practical Level, the Chinese Dream Is a Dream of Peace, Development, Cooperation and a Win-Win Outcome	8
3.2 At the Theoretical Level: the Chinese Dream Shares Similarities with the Dreams of People from Countries Around the World, Including the American Dream	11
3.3 At the Level of Civilization: Different Civilizations Produce Different Behavioral Patterns and Different Value Evaluations	13
3.4 Routes for Realizing the Chinese Dream	16
3.5 Practical Requirements for the Chinese Dream	18
2 Strategic Goal: Building a Well-off Society in an All-around Way	21
1 The Theoretical Origin of a Well-off Society	21
1.1 Deng Xiaoping Proposed a Well-off Society	21
1.2 New Positioning of the Stage of Social Development to Progress Towards the Next-highest Level	23
2 Evolution of the Connotation of a Well-off Society	25
3 “Generally” Does not Amount to “All-around”	29

4	Obstacles to and Challenges for Building a Well-off Society	31
4.1	There are Doubts About the Manner of Achieving Wealth	31
4.2	The Social Lifestyle is Exposed to a Number of Hidden Troubles	32
4.3	There is an Urgent Need to Improve the Public Service Mode.	33
4.4	The Costs of Social Transformation Increasingly Build up.	33
5	Cultural Development in Building a Well-off Society in an All-around Way.	34
5.1	Hard Requirements at the Ideological Level	34
5.2	Hard Requirements at the Level of Spiritual Home	35
5.3	Hard Requirements at the Level of Practice Among People	37
6	Political Advantages of a Well-off Society	39
6.1	Political Advantages Depend Upon Political Goals	39
6.2	The Inevitable Choice of China's Political Advantages	40
6.3	Political Advantages Must be Protected and Conserved.	42
	References.	44
3	Strategic Measures: Comprehensively Intensifying the Reform	45
1	Build a New Consensus for Reform	45
2	Achieve the Transformation of the Reform	51
2.1	Directly Confront the Reform	51
2.2	Reignite the Motivational Power for the Reform	53
2.3	Identify the Possibility of Transforming the Reform and Achieve It.	55
3	Establish a Scientific Outlook on Reform	56
3.1	The Orientation of the Value of the Reform Should be Scientific, and the Reform Must be People-Oriented.	56
3.2	The Positioning of the Main Reform Participants Should be Scientific and the Reform Must be Carried Out by the People.	57
3.3	The Reform's Line of Thought Should be Scientific, and the Reform Should be Based on Dialectical Thought.	59
3.4	The Choice of the Path Towards Reform Should be Scientific, and the Reform Should be Carried Out in a Standardized and Thorough Way	60
3.5	Gather the Positive Energy of the Reform.	60

- 3.6 In Accelerating the Reform in a Constant Way, Responsibilities Should Be Assumed 61
- 3.7 In Comprehensive Intensification, Overall Arrangements Should be Made Within the Reform 63
- 3.8 In Tackling Difficulties, Authority is Needed for the Reform. 65
- 4 China’s Path in the Reform of the Political System 66
 - 4.1 Changes in the Economic Foundation and Progress in the Superstructure 66
 - 4.2 Four Driving Forces for the Reform of the Political System. 71
 - 4.3 A Clear Distinction Between the Body of the Political System and Its Function 77
 - 4.4 Entry Point and Breakthrough in the Reform of the Political System. 82
- References. 86
- 4 Strategic Guarantee: Governing the Country Under the Rule of Law in an All-Around Way 87**
 - 1 Theoretical Self-consciousness About State Governance 87
 - 1.1 Defining What State Governance Should Look like. 88
 - 1.2 Figuring Out the Possibility of Exercising State Governance 89
 - 1.3 Take a Firm Stand on the Necessity for National Governance 91
 - 1.4 Accomplish Many Changes for National Governance 93
 - 2 Operation of the Systems Behind the Rule of Law 94
 - 2.1 Respect the Institutions and Develop an Institutional Awareness 94
 - 2.2 Attach Importance to the Institutions, but Break Away from Institutional Myths 95
 - 3 Practical Logic of Governing China Under the Rule of Law. 97
 - 3.1 Accurate Functional Positioning 97
 - 3.2 Firm Self-consciousness Along the Path 100
 - 3.3 Distinctive Value Pursuit 103
 - 3.4 Comprehensive Rule-of-Law System 106
 - 4 The Logic of the Rule of Law Behind the Core Substance. 111
 - 4.1 The Rule of Law Needs a Direction, and the Party’s Leadership is the Political Guarantee for the Rule of Law. 111
 - 4.2 The Rule of Law Cannot Be Separated from the Institutional Environment, and the Socialist System with Chinese Characteristics Is the Institutional Guarantee for the Rule of Law. 113

4.3 The Road Shall Be Properly Dealt with Through Reason, and the Socialist Rule-of-Law Theory with Chinese Characteristics Is the Theoretical Support for the Rule of Law. 115

References. 116

5 Strategic Support: Comprehensively Strengthen Party Discipline 119

1 Keep the Lifeline of the Political Party. 119

1.1 Figure Out Who the Masses Are and How to Contact Them 120

1.2 Make the Practical Educational Activities Focus on the Improvement of the Working Style. 123

1.3 Practice the Spirit of Rectifying Incorrect Work Styles to Carry Out Criticism and Self-criticism. 124

1.4 Fundamentally, Put the Masses First 126

2 Continue to Combat Corruption and Uphold the Integrity of the Road Towards Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. 128

2.1 Foster Idealism in Combating Corruption and Upholding Integrity 129

2.2 Attach Importance to Prevention 131

2.3 Be Bold and Skillful at Mobilizing the Masses to Combat Corruption 133

3 Increase the Scientific Level of Party Building 134

3.1 The Changed and Unchanged Aspects of the Party: Give Clear Answers Under the Guidance of Scientific Theories. 134

3.2 Substance and Procedure: Building Scientific Institutions—“Two Wings of a Bird”, “Two Wheels of a Vehicle” 136

3.3 Information Network Technology: The Scientific Methods that Reflect the Characteristics of the Times Add Luster to Party Building 138

4 Consolidate the Foundation and Cultivate Vitality with Faith. 141

4.1 The Communist Party of China Is a Political Party with Faith 141

4.2 The Communist Party of China’s Faith Is a Scientific One 143

4.3 Practicing Faith Is the Source of Strength for the Communist Party of China 145

References. 147

6 Strategic Confidence: Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Is a Great Chapter 149

1 Confidence in Our Path. 149

 1.1 Fundamental Direction for the Development and Progress of Contemporary China 150

 1.2 Basic Requirements of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 151

 1.3 The Five-in-One Overall Layout of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 153

 1.4 The Times-Specific Self-consciousness of China’s Road. 154

2 Theoretical Confidence 159

 2.1 Consistent Thought Inheritance 160

 2.2 Theoretical Quality: Well Targeted 161

 2.3 Chinese Manner: Self-consciousness and Confidence 162

 2.4 The Spirit of the Times: Innovative Development 163

3 Institutional Confidence. 164

 3.1 Objective Requirements for the Cause of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 164

 3.2 Natural Practice of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 166

 3.3 Composition of the System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 168

 3.4 Concentrated Reflection on the Characteristics and Advantages of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 169

4 Cultural Confidence. 171

 4.1 Spiritual Independence Is the Precondition for the Economic and Political Independence of a Society 171

 4.2 Chinese Culture Is an Inexhaustible Source for the Spiritual Independence of Chinese Society. 174

 4.3 Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Is Rooted in the Fertile Soil of Chinese Culture 176

 4.4 The Realization of Chinese Culture Amidst Innovative Development Is the “Present Progressive” Tense. 177

References. 179

Conclusion 181

References 187

Index 189

Introduction: The New Layout of the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy

The revival of a great power relies on strategy, and the key for a great power to prevail in competition also lies in strategy. If the strategy is good, progress can be accomplished; if the strategy is excellent, a win will occur. The Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy is a strategy developed in contemporary China during its move toward the rejuvenation of the nation.

A new layout of the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy—building a well-off society in an all-around way, comprehensively intensifying reform, governing the country under the rule of law in a comprehensive way, and comprehensively strengthening Party discipline, which are the four prongs identified during the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China as well as by General Secretary Xi Jinping during his inspection of Jiangsu Province—took shape in less than three years.

The new layout of the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy is not a simple arrangement of four comprehensive moves in parallel; instead, it embodies the clear understanding of members of the Communist Party of China about potential hardships and their sense of responsibility.

The Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy should be understood by gaining insight into the strategic thought of the new-generation members of the Communist Party of China, represented by Xi Jinping in governing the country and handling state affairs, and by considering the greatest dream in contemporary China and the “new normal” in its development.

One goal and three initiatives constitute the basic connotation of the strategic layout. The Chinese dream is the strategic vision that leads the strategic layout, while the mental state and determination of the new normal of development signify strategic confidence in forming that layout.

Specifically, to realize the Chinese dream of a great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, a “comprehensive” approach is required because achievements are insufficient and even impossible if no “comprehensive” approach is available.

- If a well-off society is not built in an all-around way, the majority will be hidden by the average, and an accomplishment will obscure a number of failures. To build a well-off society in an all-around way, every aspect must be addressed, and no one can be left behind. If a certain nationality, a certain group, or even an individual fails to become well-off in Chinese society, then the society is not well-off across the board. If only economic data reach the established targets but there are weaknesses in political development, social harmony, ecology, and the people's well-being, then Chinese society has not become well-off in an all-around way.
- If reform is not comprehensively intensified or if great efforts are first made in some areas while there is just empty talk regarding other areas, then reform will become unbalanced and lame, will produce a smaller effect, and might even cause negative change, becoming a protective cloak for some people and groups to seize social wealth and illegally seek personal gains. Thus, there will be no fairness and justice, and social estrangement and confrontations will become worse.
- Governing the country under the rule of law became a strategy 17 years ago, but there is still a large gap between the practice and the people's expectations because "comprehensive" efforts are not sufficiently made. A legal system cannot be implemented by itself, even if it has become full-fledged. If there are no systems of efficient law enforcement, well-organized legal supervision, robust legal guarantees, and well-enhanced Party regulation, the phenomenon of laws being reduced to modeling clay or scarecrows cannot be eradicated, and it would be very difficult to build China under the rule of law.
- If no solid work is carried out, the style of work is not improved and anti-corruption campaigns are not conducted in a sweeping way, then efforts to strengthen Party discipline will be thwarted. If discipline is not strict, rules are not stressed and systems are not vigorously put into practice, then only the symptoms are treated, without addressing the root causes. If the ideal is not upheld, faith is not valued, and belief is not unwaveringly held, then the will of the people may become weak, and their soul will vanish. For the approach to be "comprehensive," it is necessary to get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, govern the Party with systems, consolidate the foundation, and cultivate vigor.

However, it is not easy to change truly "comprehensively"; if there is no strategic focus and no courage to overcome difficulties and self-revolution is not encouraged, it is impossible to change "comprehensively."

To consider various aspects, take into account various relationships and balance different interests, we cannot emphasize one point while ignoring others, we cannot stress only visible achievements and turn a blind eye to invisible achievements, and we cannot recklessly seek short-term performance within a term of office at the expense of our successors. Impressive speed, good figures, and statements with a gratifying bottom line no longer exist. If there is an insufficient strategic focus, perseverance is impossible under the new normal of development.

To comprehensively intensify reform, it is imperative to break the barrier of interests and overcome the obstructions resulting from departmental interests. To govern the country under the rule of law in an all-around way, it is essential to change the line of thought and behavioral pattern that occurred under the rule of man. To strengthen Party discipline, it is necessary to “scrape the poison off the bone,” “burn gold under raging fire,” and be reborn after a severe test. However, the risks are so high and the issues are so difficult that they reach beyond our imagination; thus, we may give up halfway if we do not have strong willpower.

More importantly, these difficulties are always associated with Party members and cadres and are even consciously or unconsciously backed by certain Party members and cadres. Some of them have become rich before the people as a whole could become rich. While the people are anxious about medical treatment, school, housing, or even daily necessities, some Party members and cadres have become extravagant. As the people have increasingly observed laws and discipline, some Party members and cadres still put their personal views above the law, use their power to suppress the law, and bend the law for personal gain. General Secretary Xi Jinping stressed that we should be prepared for great struggles with new historical characteristics and that self-revolution is part of these efforts. It is difficult to carry out self-revolution because it means that previous reformers become the targets of current reform; it means prompt and resolute actions, even thorough reformation; and it means self-reform. Thus, nobody has the ability and courage to do implement self-revolution without a strong consciousness and sense of responsibility.

Therefore, a clear understanding of the strategic requirements for opening a new chapter in socialism with Chinese characteristics; a keen awareness of our international and domestic risks, difficulties, and challenges; and a conscious assumption of the strategic mission to achieve a great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation constitute the practical foundation for carrying out the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy and are the basis for the practical logic of that strategy.