**Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission**

Hearing on "A 'China Model?' Beijing's Promotion of Alternative Global Norms and Standards"

March 13, 2020

# "How Xi Jinping's 'New Era' Should Have Ended U.S. Debate on Beijing's Ambitions"

Daniel Tobin

Faculty Member, China Studies, National Intelligence University and

Senior Associate (Non-resident), Freeman Chair in China Studies,

Center for Strategic and International Studies

Senator Talent, Senator Goodwin, Honorable Commissioners, thank you for inviting me to testify on China's promotion of alternative global norms and standards. I am grateful for the opportunity to submit the following statement for the record.

**Since I teach at National Intelligence University (NIU) which is part of the Department of Defense (DoD), I need to begin by making clear that all statements of fact and opinion below are wholly my own and do not represent the views of NIU, DoD, any of its components, or of the U.S. government.**

You have asked me to discuss whether China seeks an alternative global order, what that order would look like and aim to achieve, how Beijing sees its future role as differing from the role the United States enjoys today, and also to address the parts played respectively by the Party's ideology and by its invocation of "Chinese culture" when talking about its ambitions to lead the reform of global governance.[1] I want to approach these questions by dissecting the meaning of the "new era for socialism with Chinese characteristics" Xi Jinping proclaimed at the Communist Party of China's 19th National Congress (afterwards "19th Party Congress") in October 2017.

Why should we focus on this specific speech? In China's Leninist-style political system, the report delivered by the incumbent general secretary at a Party Congress once every five years—the same venue selects a new Central Committee, Politburo, Politburo Standing Committee, and the leaders of other high-level Party organs—constitutes the most authoritative statement of the Party's aims. It begins by assessing China's progress in the past five years (or the full tenure in office of the incumbent general secretary if he is stepping down at the Congress). Then it evaluates the internal and external environment China faces, adjusts the Party's guiding ideology in light of new conditions, and lays out goals, not only for the next five years, but frequently also much longer-term objectives which are further clarified and adjusted over time. Finally, the report addresses the Party's strategy in nine major policy areas.[2]

It is an understatement to say that Xi's report to the 19th Party Congress was more dramatic than most. As China approached an interim set of development targets for 2020 in the "three-step strategic plan for modernization" it has been implementing since 1987,[3] Xi not only moved targets originally expressed for mid-century forward by fifteen years to 2035, but also expressed new mid-century goals.[4] These included China's becoming "a global leader in terms of composite national strength and international influence."[5] Xi further identified China's recent emergence as the number two economy in the world[6] as a milestone in what he described as the Party's consistent ambition over the course of its rule to "rejuvenate the Chinese nation." He described China as "moving closer to the center of the world stage."[7] In the same speech, Xi further argued that socialism with Chinese characteristics was "blazing a new trail" for other developing countries seeking to modernize and preserve their sovereignty.[8] Xi's address came at a time when the discussion about China here in Washington was already darkening and yet his words undoubtedly contributed to what many have described as a changed conversation about U.S.-China strategic rivalry.[9] Nevertheless, in the almost two years since, there has not been a clear explication in English of several key themes of Xi's speech that should have both clarified

our understanding of Beijing's ambitions for the global order and caused professional observers of China to reexamine paradigms that have dominated our discussions for decades.[10] I want to sketch some of these points briefly here because I believe that, placed in its proper context, Xi's report should have decisively ended our debate about the nature and scope of Beijing's strategic intentions. In one of the speech's most important passages Xi proclaimed:

> Chinese socialism's entrance into a new era is, in the history of the development of the People's Republic of China and the history of the development of the Chinese nation, of tremendous importance. In the history of the development of international socialism and the history of the development of human society, it is of tremendous importance.[11]

I will briefly address what Xi's speech tells us about the Party's strategy and its ambitions for the global order with respect to each of these three areas he identifies: (1) development designed to change the status of the Chinese nation in the world as the primary aim of the Party-state, (2) the role of socialism in the Party's strategy, and (3) the Party's desire to make a specifically Chinese contribution to the future of humanity as a whole (or, in another phrase of Xi's report, to "keep contributing Chinese wisdom and strength to global governance").[12]

## I. Developing China into a Global Leader as the Party's Consistent Aim

For decades, especially in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, external observers have characterized the Party's primary aim as simply to stay in power.[13] The dominant research program in China Studies across several academic disciplines has been what I call a "problems-based" agenda. It sees the Party's rule as lurching from crisis to crisis as a result of adopting what historian John W. Garver calls "a deeply dysfunctional political-economic system" from the Soviet Union and discarding the economic system after Mao's death but retaining the political system, which in this view is not well-equipped to cope with the massive economic and social changes unleashed by market reforms.[14] This has produced an image of China's leaders as besieged and reactive, seeking only to keep economic development going to smooth over a boiling cauldron of domestic problems. China Studies has tended to ask: "What are China's governance problems and how is the Party trying and failing to cope with them?" A corollary has further identified China's foreign policy as driven by these same domestic imperatives of preserving economic growth and political stability.

My reading of the Party's history—in particular, its post-Mao history—suggests exactly the opposite of the incumbent scholarly view. Rather than reactive, defensive, and besieged, the Party's pursuit of modernity, power, and international status for China has been strategic, active, and purposeful. One of the most striking features of Xi's 19th Party Congress address is its combination of articulating China's ambitions on an explicitly global scale (a dramatic departure from recent decades) with an assertion of the continuity of the Party's goals throughout its rule. Xi uses long sections of the speech to reframe his signature formulation "the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation" as the Party's "original aspiration" and "mission."[15] In a nutshell, to read Xi in the context of the speeches of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and their successors—whose language Xi's is meant to invoke—is to realize that Beijing's aim is nothing less than preeminent status within the global order. The Party's consistent focus has been to transform China into a

modern, powerful socialist country[16] that delivers a leadership position in the world commensurate with China's endowments of people, land, and past cultural triumphs.[17] Xi (and his predecessors) have continuously underlined the continuity of their goal of developing China to the point where it can, in Mao's words (language Xi self-consciously echoes), "stand tall in the forest of nations."[18] "National rejuvenation" is an effective political slogan precisely because it represents the common denominator aspiration of Chinese elites since the country's humiliation in the mid-19th century Opium Wars.[19] This aspiration is to transform China into not only a modern, powerful, country, but also a country respected for its achievements across the all fields of human endeavor by which great powers measure themselves, from prosperity to military power to cultural influence, to scientific discovery.[20] Equally crucial, both Mao and Deng Xiaoping identified the goal not merely to "catch-up" with "the most advanced countries," but to surpass them.[21] The Party's past strategy documents and leadership speeches underscore that it has been pursuing comprehensive modernity for decades[22] via a state-led process of identifying long-term targets, embedding them in plans, making investments, and adjusting and elaborating on targets as it proceeds.[23] Under Mao, horrific policy experiments caused millions of deaths, but the Party's leaders today claim credit for taking China from poverty and backwardness to the number two economy (and implicitly, power) in the world in four decades.[24]

What has surprised me in my research is that while most observers of China in the West would acknowledge the Party seeks to make the country modern and strong, scholarship in English has largely ignored the Party, state, and military target-setting and long-term planning processes. Otherwise excellent textbooks on Chinese politics explore the challenges of day-to-day governance and of crisis response, the mechanisms of domestic control, and the Party's political succession processes, but have not provided students and U.S government officials with a sense of the strategic agency of the Party's leaders.[25] This neglect may reflect mirror imaging. Our political system is not designed to take the United States in a specific direction. If anything, it was designed to prevent political whims of the moment from leading to tyranny. For Beijing, by contrast, the purpose of politics is to serve the nationalist project of comprehensively modernizing and developing China. It is about time we paid attention to the ideas and institutional processes that drive this effort. We need an "ends-based" research program on China that studies how Beijing conceives of great power competition in multiple domains and unpacks the theories, targets, and strategies it is adopting and then evaluates their progress and prospects.[26]

Here, the central premise of Xi's address to the 19th Party Congress is that China's emergence as the number two power requires an integrated set of new domestic and foreign policies for the new set of challenges Beijing faces as it completes its ascent over the next three decades.[27] What Xi's "new era" means is that China is at the threshold—to be crossed in the next three decades—of realizing national rejuvenation. For the Party, while China remains a developing country on a per capita basis, as a whole it is catching up with the most advanced countries in many fields. Further, today's economic, technological, and military competitions offer a rare opportunity to seize the initiative and to participate in setting international norms in emerging domains such as cyber, space, artificial intelligence, the deep oceans, and the arctic among others.[28]

What, then, does the Party's desire to assume the leading place in the global order mean for Washington?[29] The answer depends on whether Beijing intends to refashion the order and change its fundamental values in ways the United States cannot tolerate. Indeed, for the last several decades, some U.S. theorists of international relations and some U.S. policymakers have explicitly advocated a strategy of both seeking to strengthen the current order and to bind China to it as it rises so that, even if the United States experiences relative decline, the nature of the order is preserved.[30] Others have argued that the changes Beijing desires do not relate to the order's most important features and that the threat is primarily to U.S. pride (i.e., Washington's ability to adjust to a loss of status).[31] Still others have warned that historical test cases involving a rising power and a reigning power frequently lead to war.[32] I think these perspectives, concentrating either on China's status or its level of participation in the order as the key issues, undersell the nature of U.S.-China strategic rivalry, which is driven not only by concerns about changing relative power, but also—and more crucially—by competing domestic governance systems with morally incompatible values. The rivalry between these competing systems, moreover, is exacerbated by their contest to define the predominant norms and values governing a single, integrated world. To begin to see why, we need to turn next to the role of socialism in Beijing's strategy.

## II. The Role of Marxist-Leninist Socialism in the Party's Strategy

While Xi's report makes clear that national rejuvenation is the Party's consistent, overarching aim, it also underlines the central role of "socialism"—specifically the Party's particular brand of Marxism-Leninism, "socialism with Chinese characteristics."

Western observers often think about socialism in terms of specific ideological commitments or ideas about how economy and society should be organized and governed. Among the images the word conjures are a planned economy, state ownership of the economy, or a European-style social welfare state. The Party, however, has consistently seen socialism as a holistic *instrument* to realize the nationalist aims of sovereignty, development, modernity, and power. Indeed, Beijing believes socialism is the only vehicle capable of restoring China's status as a leading power. In his first speech to a Politburo group study session as general secretary in November 2012, Xi Jinping echoed each of his post-Mao predecessors in insisting: "Only socialism can save China, and only Chinese socialism can lead our country to development."[33]

Today, the Party defines "socialism with Chinese characteristics" as comprising a path (道路), a theory (理论体系, literally, "theory system"), a system (制度) of institutions incorporating both China's political and economic systems, and a culture (文化).[34] While the Party has tinkered with its definition of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" since 1982,[35] all four of the current themes are consistent with how it understood socialism under Mao and with the story the Party has repeatedly told itself and the Chinese people about its right to rule.

From Mao to Xi, Party leaders have argued that other Chinese patriots tried to revive China in the 20th century but failed. Capitalist democracy proved too weak in 1919 when at the Paris Peace Conference, Germany's colonial privileges in China were given to Imperial Japan. By contrast, the Party maintains that only the path of socialism (i.e., the Party's dictatorship) could restore China's sovereignty by expelling the imperial powers after 1949 and protecting China's security in the decades since.[36]

The Party's case for its theory system as instrument of national salvation is Marxism-Leninism's historical materialist claim to be able to make "scientific judgments" about the world and build policies in line with those judgments.[37] In major domains of competition, from culture to the military, Beijing bases its strategy and planning on theories it meticulously builds.

The consistent argument the Party makes for its system of institutions includes the case that socialism is better at marshaling collective effort for development, a claim Xi frequently invokes today. Indeed, Beijing has even claimed its system's ability to marshal effort makes it better capable of fighting the COVID-19 coronavirus).[38] The Party also maintains that a dominant role for public ownership of the economy is necessary because China's pre-1949 society suffered from a form of capitalism that was mixed with exploitation by the imperial powers and retarded China's modernization and development, a condition that could return if China fully privatized its economy.[39]

Finally, socialism's promise to deliver what Mao called an "advanced culture" by which China could become modern and internationally respected—over and against what many Chinese intellectuals then regarded as the superstition and corruption of traditional Chinese culture—remains a core component of the Party's militantly secular, modernist faith. This can be seen in high-level Party discussions of culture down to this day, even as Beijing now also seeks at once to appropriate the prestige of those parts of China's traditional culture it does not find threatening and use them to ward off the influence of Western political values that could challenge its governance system.[40]

The Party's commitment to its version of Marxist-Leninist socialism I have just outlined has two implications that compel it to seek changes in the global order.

First, the current order does not provide security for its political system. Beijing has consistently seen "the West" as seeking to overturn China's socialist system via "peaceful evolution" and worried about "hostile Western forces" combining with forces within China to "split" the country and change its political system.[41] Xi has repeatedly echoed these views and at the 19th Party Congress employed several phrases designed to invoke them, including the Chinese proverb "consider danger in times of peace" (a euphemism for the collapse of the Soviet Union).[42] As a result of these fears, China's top leaders for decades have asserted that a new international economic and political order ought to be built on the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." These principles, which date to 1953—1954 negotiations with India, are the following: "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-

aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and cooperation for mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence."[43] At their heart is the inviolable sovereignty of states.[44] For Beijing, an order built on the Five Principles would do away with both the norm of democratization and the global and regional system of U.S. security alliances and partnerships that endow that norm with coercive potential. The Party alleges these U.S. security alliances are based on a "Cold War mentality" and indeed constitute a threat to international security.[45] Hence, Xi, at the 19th Party Congress, called for building international relations on partnerships rather than alliances.[46]

Second, the kind of order Beijing desires is not one where its socialism system is merely secure, but also covered in glory. Xi's aim is not simply, in the colorful phrase some Western scholars have used, "a world safe for autocracy."[47] Rather, the Party seeks an order in which China's achievements as a great power are not only recognized but also credited to its particular brand of socialism and lauded as a moral triumph both for socialism and for the Chinese nation.[48] Here, Chinese diplomats' frequent exhortation to the United States to respect China's "social system and development path" is not just a call for tolerance but also for moral recognition.[49]

In Xi's address to the 19th Party Congress, his discussion of the meaning of the new era proceeds immediately from the change in China's development status to the implications for the prestige of Chinese socialism:

> It means that scientific socialism is full of vitality in 21st century China, and that the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics is now flying high and proud for all to see. It means that the path, the theory, the system, and the culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics have kept developing, blazing a new trail for other developing countries to achieve modernization. It offers a new option for other countries and nations who want to speed up their development while preserving their independence; and it offers Chinese wisdom and a Chinese approach to solving the problems facing mankind.[50]

Many observers have taken note of Xi's assertion that Chinese socialism is "blazing a new trail for other developing countries" who "want to speed up their development while preserving independence." This claim to have identified an alternative to the liberal democratic capitalist path to modernity is of immense significance. For decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Beijing simply insisted that socialism was right for China's specific "national conditions."[51] It reflects, as many others have noted, a growing confidence in the Party's governance system, owing both to the record of China's growing wealth and power[52] and to the Party leadership's perception, in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis that the developed West is stumbling.[53]

Yet, if the public confidence is new, Party history shows that Beijing's goal in this area has been consistent. Even while the foreign policy guideline Deng Xiaoping outlined and Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao implemented that China should "bide its time and hide its capabilities" in consideration of its then weakness and socialism's status "at a low ebb" in the wake of the Soviet collapse held sway,[54] every post-Mao leader also vowed the Party would ultimately prove "the superiority" of socialism.[55] This, not convergence with the West as some hoped, has always been the purpose of the "reform"[56] component of Deng's "reform and opening" that remains part of

the Party's "basic line."[57] At the dawn of his first-term in office, Xi Jinping maintained, in a speech whose apparent full text was not published until March 2019:

> For a fairly long time yet, socialism in its primary stage will exist alongside a more productive and developed capitalist system. In this long period of cooperation and conflict, socialism must learn from the boons that capitalism has brought to civilization. We must face the reality that people will use the strengths of developed, Western countries to denounce our country's socialist development. Here we must have a great strategic determination, resolutely rejecting all false arguments that we should abandon socialism. We must consciously correct the various ideas that do not accord with our current stage. Most importantly, we must concentrate our efforts on bettering our own affairs, continually broadening our comprehensive national power, improving the lives of our people, *building a socialism that is superior to capitalism, and laying the foundation for a future where we will win the initiative and have the dominant position.*[58] [Emphasis added]

Since I know the Commission has others testifying on whether and how the Party is promoting its model abroad, I will only say that if Beijing's explicit objective is to become—as we have seen—a global leader in terms of international influence by mid-century, it is premature to conclude in 2020 that Beijing will not export its model.[59] I refer scholars to the modernization goals the Party articulated in the late 1980s and early 1990s in multiple domains.[60] They may not have made much progress had we evaluated their progress in 1993 or 1995, but China's accomplishments in the past few decades make me consider it unwise to dismiss this expression of strategic intent outlined at a Party Congress.[61] I will conclude my discussion of the role of socialism in the Party's strategy with two reasons why it ought to be clear that our strategic rivalry with China is an ideological competition rather than a simple contest for power.

To begin, the Party's values, rooted in Marxism-Leninism, offer a view of politics incompatible with the values of the United States and its allies. In the Free World today, we see individual people as ends and believe liberty is worth prioritizing, even if it makes political decisions more difficult and costly and even if it at times works against our collective security or well-being. Leninism, by contrast, makes individuals into means towards the achievement of collective ends.[62] For Beijing, as for Lenin, collective material welfare ("common prosperity" in the Party's contemporary official lexicon) rather than political freedom is the criterion by which it judges success.[63] "The comprehensive national power of the socialist state" is an additional criterion,[64] which is in keeping both with Marxism-Leninism's focus on collective rather than individual aims, and with the ultimately nationalist project of the Chinese revolution whose "original aspiration" as we have seen was "to make the people prosperous and the country strong and rejuvenate the Chinese nation." For Beijing, individual human rights, including freedom of speech, assembly, and religion are to be trampled on in the name of the collective ends of security, development, and the Chinese nation's status in the world.[65]

In addition to differing on the goals of politics, however, Leninism has a very different view of the political process. Lenin saw democratic institutions as mere tools of oppressive class interests and the democratic process as a mask for the class interests of the group in power. He advocated

instead rule by a single Party governing on the basis of its scientific deduction of the laws of history.[66] Beijing today continues to argue that the Party, representing the Chinese people's interests as a whole, is a bulwark against the particular interests that capture the political process in liberal democracies.[67] For the Party's leaders, the dictatorship remains justified by the need to repress the enemies of the Chinese people's collective interests.[68] Worse, since Leninism defines the Party's ideas and decisions as "scientific" and "correct," for Beijing, dissent is not the legitimate expression of individual interests or those of a specific sub-group but rather sabotage of the Party's collective, nation-building effort.[69] It is not political participation but state subversion. These are precisely the ideas that characterize Xi Jinping's "holistic concept of national security" and the increasingly stringent laws and institutions promulgated during his tenure under its banner.[70] In the last few years, moreover, China's diplomats have taken this approach global, seeking to stifle criticism of Beijing abroad as well as at home.[71]

These fundamentally different views of politics could be papered over in U.S.-China relations as long as Beijing's international posture was defensive: selectively joining international institutions and participating in economic globalization, but not assessing it yet had the power to contend on the basis of the demonstrated superiority of its values. The new era is different.

As several scholars have noted and discussed in more detail, Beijing seeks both for defensive reasons (to eliminate threats to its governing system) and for nationalist reasons (to demonstrate China's influence and moral preeminence) to push for norms and standards (or generate new ones where none prevail) compatible with its political values.[72] The Party's efforts to redefine human rights away from political rights to "the right to develop" (material well-being rather than political expression) and to establish a norm of "internet sovereignty" are two well-documented cases.[73]

Indeed, this leads to my second point about the implications of the role of socialism in the Party's strategy for ideological competition. I contend that a common argument some observers deploy to maintain that our contest with China is not particularly ideological suggests the exact opposite. What I am referring to here is the very success of China's integration into the global economy, international institutions, international higher education, and many other forms of ties with both the United States and our allies and partners. The present contest is not between separate blocks or camps as in the Cold War—with each trying to flip individual countries—but over an integrated, globalized world. Yet this raises the stakes over values because we do not have the luxury of retreating to separate worlds and simply comparing which system can generate more human flourishing. This is no longer a Robert Frost style "good fences make good neighbors" globe for either side. Indeed, the Party identifies deepening the world's interdependence and integration in multiple domains as essential to its continued development and to the realization of national rejuvenation.[74]

## III. A China-Centric, Integrated Global Order in the New Era

The idea of a single, integrated global order whose interconnectedness is underpinned by China's standards and "wisdom" is central to Xi Jinping's vision of "A Community of Common Destiny for Mankind" outlined to the United Nations General Assembly in 2015 and endorsed by inclusion in the Party's constitution and in Xi's report at the 19th Party Congress.[75] The official translation of the term has changed several times—it is now "Community with a Shared Future for Humanity"—but "Common Destiny" better captures the Chinese "共同命运." As a component of the Party's official foreign relations theory system, this proposal for a Community of Common Destiny is rooted in assessments both about world trends and about China's status. These include the view that economic globalization, the information technology revolution, and China's growing comprehensive national power are making China's development and the world's development more interdependent in a way that constitutes both a vulnerability for China and a source of potential influence.[76] In a frequently quoted passage of his New Year address for 2016 that China Central Television used as part of the opening montage for its documentary, *Great Power Diplomacy*, produced as part of the lead-up to the 19th Party Congress, Xi Jinping proclaimed: "The world is so big, the problems so many, the international community wants to hear China's voice, China's plan. China cannot afford to be absent."[77]

Community of Common Destiny is the Party's answer to the question of how to fashion a vision of the global order that will permit national rejuvenation on the basis of socialism in light of these assessments. It self-consciously draws upon the experience of Beijing's diplomacy since 1949, but also explicitly draws upon concepts credited to traditional Chinese philosophy and statecraft.[78]

While Western scholars have noted that Xi did not invent the term Community of Common Destiny, that he originally articulated it in a regional rather than global context, and that many of its underpinning principles derive from the Party's long-standing positions,[79] the vision it offers is nevertheless a major departure from Hu Jintao's "Harmonious World" concept. Hu had outlined his vision in a speech almost precisely a decade before Xi's in the same venue. Both superficially offer a Chinese cultural frame: the philosophical-sounding idea of "harmony" in Hu's case; the recitation that "since ancient times, the Chinese have believed all under Heaven belong to one family" in Xi's.[80]

Hu's vision, however, places its emphasis on the Confucian idea that harmony is possible "while reserving differences."[81] In other words, countries may cooperate on mutual interests while preserving not only their diverse "social systems and development paths," but also, implicitly, a certain reserve and separation. Xi's Community of Common Destiny, by contrast, while it repeats this claim about reserving differences, places more emphasis on harmony and peace as an outgrowth of a more integrated world with deeper connectivity.[82] This implies convergence in some areas occurring organically as connectivity deepens, though not convergence on the terms envisioned by the West. The premises of Community of Common Destiny, moreover, include not only that China's growing strength presents an opportunity for it to offer other countries the

chance to "hitch themselves to China's development train" as a means of building influence for China's preferences, but also that China must begin shaping international norms and rules[83] precisely because its growing integration with the world constitutes a vulnerability as long as those norms are the liberal democratic ones favored by the West.[84] In the Party's vision, Beijing's standards on everything from technology to domestic policing will not only exceed Western ones in influence, but also constitute the sinews of an even more deeply interconnected world where the benefits of the "Community of Common Destiny" are so attractive that no country wants to be excluded from it.

What makes this consequential and marks Xi's "new era" as a major departure from the past is that, while Hu's "Harmonious World" had no vehicle for realizing it in concrete terms, Community of Common Destiny has the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI or "一带一路" original translated "One Belt, One Road"), which seeks to build "policy, infrastructure, trade, financial, and people-to-people connectivity"[85] linking China and maritime and continental Asia, Africa, Europe, Oceania, Latin America, and the Arctic.[86] Indeed, though Beijing has been more cautious about acknowledging it, the Party envisions a sixth link of security ties.[87] That the infrastructure component includes both cyber ("The Digital Silk Road") and space assets, however, further underscores how BRI is designed to rewire global connectivity through Beijing.[88] BRI is, to be sure, only one platform for the realization of Xi's vision. As Nadège Rolland and other scholars have noted, Beijing has both sought to capture influence within existing international multilateral institutions, and, in recent decades, steadily constructed its own set of regional institutions in multiple parts of the globe.[89]

Given that Community of Common Destiny is designed to offer "Chinese wisdom for solving the problems of humankind" and an alternative global governance approach to what Politburo member Yang Jiechi has derided as the "Western-centric" approach of the current global governance system,[90] how does Beijing believe its proposal will deliver, and what role does it envision for China compared with the role the United States currently plays?

Here, the language Xi has used to promote Community of Common Destiny appears designed to resonate with calls by Chinese philosophers and international relations theorists to draw upon what they refer to as traditional ideas and practices for "global governance" inspired by ancient Chinese elites' concept of *tianxia* (天下) or "all under Heaven." Admittedly, as expressed by individual scholars without the Party's official imprimatur, these *tianxia* visions exhibit considerable diversity, and there is also debate among Chinese scholars about whether their invocations of ancient China's historical practice are accurate.[91] Further, while a growing body of this literature has been translated into English, much more research is necessary on the intellectual transmission belt between these ideas and those contained in Community of Common Destiny and other parts of Beijing's official foreign relations theory. With those caveats out of the way, however, I think a few preliminary observations are relevant here.

Although, as Rolland notes, "Xi Jinping has come close to candidly framing his vision for a new world order under China's helm as a 21st-century version of the *tianxia* model," Community of

Common Destiny does not baldly proclaim a China-centric order extending to "all under Heaven."[92] Yet the principles it articulates for how the order should be built and how it should operate look very similar to those identified in this body of Chinese academic writing. Further, Xi Jinping, both in the concluding page of his 19th Party Congress report, and in each of his major speeches on Community of Common Destiny, quotes from a signature passage from the Chinese classic *Book of Rites*: "When the great way prevails, all under Heaven belongs to the people (大道之行也，天下為公)," which is the frequently cited cultural lodestone for thinking about how the concept of *tianxia* might be used by contemporary Chinese diplomats.[93] Xi is certainly addressing multiple audiences in these speeches, and it is hard to imagine his conjuring this quotation is accidental.

In the accounts of several *tianxia* advocates, the central country (China) provides an example of successful and morally correct governance and then nations on the periphery voluntarily join the order and conform themselves to it owing to the benefits of connection with it. The Chinese Academy of Social Science's philosopher Zhao Tingyang—one of the most prominent advocates of adapting ideas from the "all under Heaven" concept to use as specifically Chinese contributions to global governance—has called this China's "whirlpool formula."[94] For Xi, meanwhile, the BRI's role underpinning global connectivity as a platform for building Community of Common Destiny is supposed to function in precisely this way. Xi has maintained that the "pattern of global governance depends upon the balance of power, and the transformation of the global governance system originates from changes in the balance of power" and yet that China must seek to build consensus for changing the system "by following the principles of extensive consultation, joint development, and shared benefits."[95]

While some Western observers continue to imply that China seeks primarily a regional sphere of influence, both Xi's Community of Common Destiny and the *tianxia* theorists are explicit about the global reach of their proposals. Zhao criticizes Western international relations theory as built on the concepts of individual states (thus leading to conflict) over and against China's "all under Heaven" concept of considering the world as a whole, and further argues that contemporary problems cannot be solved without a political concept that encompasses the whole world.[96] Xi's descriptions of Community of Common Destiny maintain that:

> Today, mankind has become a close-knit community of common destiny. Our interests are highly convergent and we are all mutually dependent on one another. While all countries enjoy the right to development, they should view their own interests in a broader context and refrain from pursuing them at the expense of others."[97]

And:

> Building a community of common destiny for mankind will require the universal participation of the people of all countries. We should advance this great undertaking together by building consensus among people of different nations, different beliefs, different cultures, and different regions.[98]

Indeed, at a gathering of world political parties convened in Beijing shortly after the 19th Party Congress, Xi maintained:

> It is this idea of all under Heaven being one family that should guide the world's people so that we can embrace each other with open arms, come to understand each other, and create common ground while setting aside our differences. Together, we should strive to build a community of common destiny for mankind.[99]

These statements draw an implicit contrast to the United States and its allies conditioning relationships on democracy and other standards of domestic governance. Beijing maintains that Community of Common Destiny is to be "inclusive" in that China is willing to enter partnerships with countries regardless of their social system or development status.[100] Yet this begs the question whether there is a contradiction between this preservation of diversity according to "harmony while reserving differences" and the parallel vision of harmony via organic unity as a commonality of practice via BRI radiates from Beijing. One answer is that the Party appears to believe that focusing on economic development is a panacea for all global problems.[101] Community of Common Destiny envisions that by boosting global connectivity and interdependence such that countries benefit much more from joining the order Beijing is building rather than being left out, they will be motivated to shelve disputes (either with China or among themselves) and bury any criticisms of China in favor of the benefits of common development. In time, deeper connections will produce both "mutual learning" and some convergence. Common development will allow other countries to benefit from China's emergence as a leading country, and the global network Beijing builds, running on the Party's standards, will cement the country's leadership, radiating harmony to the globe.

For Washington, these visions ought to underscore that the trope that Beijing's ambitions are largely regional—either out of a culturally rooted aspiration to restore the status of imperial China or because the country has so many disputes and problems along its periphery that it cannot become more ambitious until these are resolved—is a woeful misreading of the contest. The challenge Beijing represents is not to Washington's status in Asia, but to the nature of the global order's predominant values, and the vehicle for that challenge is an effort to build both the physical and intellectual infrastructure underpinning the next phases of globalization. China is not exporting violent revolution as in the period of high Maoism. Rather, it is seeking to rewire the global order from a position of connectedness to it.

Should Beijing succeed in realizing its vision of a China-centric order, how will it behave? Here, there appears to be some naivete in the Party's vision of morality and harmony emanating from the globalization it fosters. Zhao, in a recent concise statement of his argument published in English in 2019 but written in 2017, made what now looks—in light of the massive, sustained protest movement in Hong Kong that erupted in June 2019 and continues as of this writing—like a mistake. He used the phrase "one country, multiple systems," which cannot be heard as other than a reference to Beijing's contemporary "one country, two systems" formula for managing Hong Kong, when describing *tianxia*'s successful approach to managing political and cultural diversity on ancient China's periphery.[102] In this, there may be a parallel to *tianxia*'s inability to cope with genuinely incompatible values that can not be papered over by economic development and Leninism's similar intolerance for dissent as sabotage. At China's present level of relative comprehensive national power, we already have an emerging record about how Beijing reacts

when it receives criticism abroad or when international institutions or international public opinion or ethnically Chinese people abroad seek to check or counter what the regime perceives as its interests. I do not need to rehearse that record over the past few years but only note here that it has been a major contributor to darkening strategic perceptions of China in this town and in capitals all around the world since the early 2010s.

## IV. Conclusion and Recommendations for the United States Congress

The ambitions articulated by Xi Jinping at the 19th Party Congress underscore that Washington and its allies face a global, strategic rivalry driven as much by ideology and values embodied in competing domestic governance systems as by perceptions of changing power dynamics. While this rivalry differs in many respects from the Cold War, one of the most important differences is that it is a competition to define the rules and norms that will govern an integrated, deeply connected world rather than a world divided into competing camps.

Many U.S. observers' reflections on "the China challenge" begin or end with the need to "get our own house in order." Washington, they intone, must better manage its fiscal policy, make better investments in the infrastructure and education that will allow the United States to compete in the 21st century, improve our innovation base, fix our justice system, etc. I agree with these suggestions but will not dwell upon them here. To win a global systems contest, our system must continue to deliver demonstrably better human flourishing. Addressing America's ills, however, is not sufficient and the case that this is where we need to place almost all of our effort can sound like an argument to ignore the way the entire Party-state system, aimed at building comprehensive national power, is ruthlessly competing. We need not only to improve our system but also to actively learn about and respond to Beijing's system while avoiding copying its methods. With that in mind, and without presuming comprehensiveness, I offer recommendations in three areas related to my experience as a professional observer of China who has worked in the U.S. government's national security bureaucracies.

1. *Ensure the United States has comprehensive, grounded information about its rival.* As the U.S. government and society seek to improve professional understanding of China and of Beijing's strategy, it is imperative to build new subject matter expertise rooted in the empirical record of what the Party says about its intentions and the policies it is executing. A danger in seeking to ramp-up "expertise on China" quickly is that we may inadvertently build on the misplaced intellectual foundations that have led us to downplay the nature and scale of strategic rivalry for decades.
    a. Here, a key area where Congress could help is to scrutinize and boost U.S. government efforts to translate party, state, military, official media, and academic (frequently government-sponsored) documents published in China. In my judgement, these are woefully inadequate to the scale of the competition and have waned over the course of my career despite growing policymaker focus on China.
    b. A related area is that Congress could seek to boost Americans' understanding of Marxism-Leninism and how it contrasts with our values. The Victims of

Communism Memorial Foundation established by Congress in 1993 is a tremendous example of this kind of work. We need it on a vast scale.

2. *Retool our national security institutions and Joint Force for systems rivalry*. In the face of past rivalries—and at times after disaster has already struck—the United States has re-ordered its foreign affairs and national security institutions—or built new ones. The structures in place today reflect successive waves of such reforms after World War II. The 1947 National Security Act built the structures that prosecuted the Cold War. The Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986 launched the U.S. military's road to becoming a truly Joint Force in the wake of the Vietnam War and the failed Iranian hostage rescue of 1980. Intelligence reforms in the wake of 9/11 retooled the U.S. national security establishment to cope with violent extremist groups.[103] Are our present institutions built for 21st century global rivalry with the China of Xi Jinping's new era? The Joint Force and the U.S. intelligence enterprise have been oriented for almost two decades toward combating violent extremist groups, not an adversary that is the number two economy in the world and the number two military (aspiring to be number one in both categories), whose economy and institutions are intertwined with our own, and whose leaders purport to offer an alternative route to modernity.

3. *Defend the current international order based on coalitions of shared values.* In prior decades, my impression is that the United States refrained from taking more stridently competitive positions towards China owing to concerns that our allies and partners would be reluctant to "choose sides." Over the last few years, however, Beijing's ham-fisted actions domestically and internationally have made the contrast in values clearer and the dangers to our allies' and partners' interests of their adopting a naïve view of the Party's intentions more evident. In some cases—New Zealand and Australia on the issue of Beijing's influence operations—our allies have led first. The United States must continue to take bold action where warranted. We also need to both build broad coalitions of countries in "the free world" that share our values and interests and to compare notes and coordinate actions. Instead of echoing Beijing's frame of "the United States vs. China" we should emphasize that it is the Communist Party of China that is imposing a "systemic rivalry" on the Free World by contesting its values and pushing for alternatives in multiple domains.[104] The way to win is not for each democracy to compete or negotiate with Beijing alone. Defending the post-Cold War preeminence of democratic values in the international order is a team sport. Congress can play a huge role here in outreach, education, and exchanges with legislatures in our allies and partners that are seeking to defend and stand up for our common values.

Thank you.

[1] At a rare Central Foreign Affairs Work Conference in June 2018, Xi urged China to "lead the reform of the global governance system." See Xi Jinping, "Using the Thought on Diplomacy for New-Era Socialism with Chinese Characteristics as a Guide to Create a New Landscape in Major-country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics," *On Building a Human Community with a Shared Future,* Beijing: Central Compilation and Translation Press, 2019, p. 550.

[2] The nine policy areas are economics, politics, culture, social affairs, the environment, national defense, national reunification (Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau), foreign affairs, and party building. Along with the report of a Party Congress, the "general program" of the Party's constitution (revised at each Party Congress) represents the most authoritative description of its strategy for the country. The general program is even more authoritative than the report but extremely succinct. This account of the role of the Party Congress report and the approach my research adopts to reading the Party's strategy via its authoritative, public documents build upon those outlined and advocated in Timothy R. Heath, "What Does China Want? Discerning the PRC's National Strategy," *Asian Security*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2012, pp. 54-72 and Alice Miller, "How to Read Xi Jinping's 19th Party Congress Political Report," *China Leadership Monitor*, Issue 53, Spring 2017, available at: hoover.org/research/how-read-xi-jinpings-19th-party-congress-political-report, accessed June 12, 2017. See also Alice Miller, "Valedictory: Analyzing the Chinese Leadership in an Era of Sex, Money, and Power" *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 57, Fall 2018, available at: hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/clm57-am-final.pdf , accessed September 3, 2018.

[3] See Xi Jinping, "Study, Disseminate and Implement the Guiding Principles of the 18th CPC National Congress," *The Governance of China*, Foreign Languages Press, 2014, pp. 20-21, note 20.

[4] For Xi's affirming the Party's 2020 goals, and enunciation of 2035 and mid-century goals, see Xi Jinping, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," Delivered at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, October 18, 2017, available at: xinhuanet.com/english/download/Xi_Jinping's_report_at_19th_CPC_National_Congress.pdf, accessed November 3, 2017, pp. 23-25. For the 1987 version of Beijing's mid-century goals see Zhao Ziyang, "Advance Along the Road of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," Report Delivered at the Thirteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 25, 1987, in *Documents of the Thirteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (1987),* Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1987, p. 18. The English description of modernization goals for mid-century as expressed in 1987 and for 2035 as expressed by Xi in 2017 is not an exact match, but the Chinese (基本实现现代化) is. Further, with respect to the Party's development goals for the military (p. 48 in Xi's report), in adopting "world-class" as the second of two long-term targets in place of the prior goal of attaining full modernization by mid-century, the 19th Party Congress explicitly accelerated the PLA's long-term modernization targets by fifteen years. This is explained in the chapter on the PLA in the Central Propaganda Department (中共中央宣传部), *习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想三十讲* (*Thirty Lectures on Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era*), Beijing, Study Publishing House, 2018, p. 272.

[5] For the quote "a global leader in terms of composite national strength and international influence" (综合国力和国际影响力领先的国家), see Xi, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," p. 25. The term "composite national strength" (综合国力) has elsewhere been translated "comprehensive national power."

[6] Ibid., p. 2

[7] Xi, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," p. 2. In discussing the new era, Xi maintains (p. 9) "It will be an era that sees China moving closer to center stage and making greater contributions to mankind" (我国日益走近世界舞台中央). Here "center stage" is literally "center of the world stage."

[8] Ibid., p. 9.

[9] A seminal article which captures the present reevaluation of U.S.-China relations is Ely Ratner and Kurt M. Campbell, "The China Reckoning: How Beijing Defied American Expectations," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2018, pp. 60-70. A prominent entry on the other side of the debate that acknowledges the darkening conversation is M. Taylor Fravel, J. Stapleton Roy, Michael D. Swain, Susan A. Thornton and Ezra Vogel, "China is Not an Enemy," *The Washington Post*, 3 July 2019, available at: washingtonpost.com/opinions/making-china-a-us-enemy-is-counterproductive/2019/07/02/647d49d0-9bfa-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70_story.html, accessed October 7, 2019.

[10] The most extensive English treatment of "the new era" in the context of Party history, which discusses the significance of the Party's change in "the principal contradiction" but does not address the implications for China's role in the world identified by Xi's report is Alice L. Miller, "Only Socialism Can Save China; Only Xi Jinping Can Save Socialism" *China Leadership Monitor*, Issue No. 56 (Spring 2018), available at: hoover.org/research/only-socialism-can-save-china-only-xi-jinping-can-save-socialism, accessed September 3, 2018.

[11] Xi, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," p. 11.

[12] Ibid., p. 54.

[13] See, for example, Stein Ringen, *The Perfect Dictatorship: China in the 21st Century*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016, p. 3: "For the party-state, there is one single supreme determination: its own perpetuation."

[14] John W. Garver, *China's Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People's Republic of China*, New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 1. After framing his magisterial study of the history of China's foreign policy as the outworking of the Party's decision to embrace the Soviet model and then discard part of it, in the same introductory chapter Garver also maintains (p. 6) that the Party elite was able to discard the Soviet economic model after Mao's death precisely because they had embraced Marxism-Leninism for the instrumental purpose of making China "rich and strong." I agree with this view and would only add that the Party continues to cling to its dictatorship not just out of self-interest, but also out of genuine believe that "The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics provides the fundamental institutional guarantee for progress and development in contemporary China." Xi, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," p. 14.

[15] Xi Jinping, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," p. *i* (pdf has no number or label on first page, starts with "1" on second page); pp. 8-15.

[16] The phrase "a modern, powerful socialist country," as the Party's aim is common to the post-Mao but pre-reform era 11th Party Congress in 1977, the 12th Party Congress (the first in the "reform era," held in 1982), and the 19th Party Congress held in 2017. Further, common to the Communiqué of the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Central Committee which began the reform era, the 1981 *Resolution on Communist Party History* that officially evaluated the Mao Zedong era, and then-General Secretary Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th Party Congress in 1982 is the narrative that the decade of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) had been an aberration in an otherwise continuous effort to make China a modern, powerful socialist country. See: *Resolution on CPC History (1949-81),* Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1981, pp. 73-74. The aim of modernity and power is also quite clear from Mao's speeches in the 1940s and early to mid-1950s. Mao referred to the Party's aim as a "great, socialist country" (伟大的社会主义国家) in his "Strive to Build a Great Socialist Country," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume V,* Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1977, p. 149. At times, Mao also used the character "强" (strong) for example, calling for an "independent, free, prosperous, democratic, and strong" China in his opening speech to the 7th Party, Congress, "China's Two Possible Destinies," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume IV,* Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967, pp. 201. He also employed the phrase "a powerful, industrialized socialist country" in "Speeches at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume V*, p. 155. In addition to "shifting the emphasis of our Party's work" to "socialist modernization," the communique of the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee ended with an expression of the Party's goal as a "modern, great, strong socialist country" (现代化的伟大社会主义强国). "Communique of the Third Plenary Session Of the 11th Central Committee of The Communist Party of China," available at: bjreview.com/nation/txt/2009-05/26/content_197538.htm, accessed August 5, 2017.

[17] See, for example, Mao, "Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward Party Traditions," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume V*, pp. 313-315. Zhao Ziyang's report to the 13th Party Congress, cited above, p. 9 maintains:

> Today's world is characterized by a rapidly growing revolution in technology, increasingly intense market competition and a volatile political situation. We are faced with formidable and pressing challenges. If we do not recognize this and redouble our efforts, our country and our people may fall further behind, and China will not be able to take its rightful place in the world.

See also note 20 below.

[18] Ibid., p. 25. Xi's 19th Party Congress report phrase translated "The Chinese nation will become a proud and active member of the community of nations" (中华民族将以更加昂扬的姿态屹立于世界民族之林) invokes phrases of Mao's from the mid-1930s expressing the same purpose. The official English rendering of Mao's parallel quote is: "We Chinese have the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of blood, the determination to recover our lost territory by our own efforts, and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations." Mao Tse-tung, "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism," December 27, 1935, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume I,* Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965, p. 170. Both Mao and Xi use phrase "于世界民族之林" (literally, "among the world forest of nations").

[19] Xi's famous speech, just after taking power, where he first articulated his "Chinese Dream," begins with a reference to the Opium War on the first page. See Xi Jinping, "Achieving Rejuvenation is the Dream of the Chinese People" *The Governance of China*, pp. 37-39. For Xi's predecessors' invocation of the Opium War and the Party's recovery of China's stature where others failed, see: Mao Tse-tung "The Chinese People Have Stood Up," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume V,* pp. 16-17, and his "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," In Commemoration of the Twenty-eighth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China, June 30, 1949, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume IV,* p. 411-424; Deng Xiaoping, "Building a Socialism with a Specifically Chinese Character," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III (1982-1992)*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1994, pp. 72-75; Jiang Zemin, "Speech at a Meeting Celebrating the 80th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume III,* Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2013, pp. 259-260, and Hu Jintao, "Speech at a Meeting Commemorating the 90th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China," July 1, 2011, available at: chinadaily.com.cn/china/19thcpcnationalcongress/2011-07/01/content_29714325.htm, accessed March 11, 2018.

[20] Chinese leaders throughout the post-Mao era have linked discussions of seeking China's transformation into a powerful, modern country and its long-term development goals with the notion of "making a greater contribution (贡献) to humanity (人类). This references two speeches by Mao Zedong in 1956. In the first, Mao lamented China's backwardness and suggested that given its size, it ought to make a greater contribution. In the second, he argued that once China became more developed, over the course of several five-year plans, by the year 2001, it would make greater contributions. See Mao, "Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward Party Traditions," cited above, and "In Commemoration of Dr. Sun Yat-sen," both in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung Volume V,*

pp. 314-315 and pp. 330-331 respectively. For other leaders, see Hua Kuo-feng, "Report to the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China," available at: bjreview.com.cn/90th/2011-04/26/content_357494_8.htm, accessed August 4, 2017; Deng Xiaoping, "Speech at the National Conference of The Communist Party of China, September 23, 1985," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III (1982-1992)*, pp. 144-150; Jiang Zemin, "Let Us Create a Better World Together," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume I*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2010, p. 470; Hu Jintao, "Speech at a Meeting Commemorating the 90th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China" cited above.

[21] See Mao, "Strengthen Party Unity and Carry Forward Party Traditions," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume V*, pp. 314-315 and Deng Xiaoping, "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume II (1975-1982)*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984, pp. 174-175. See also Deng's agenda-setting speech in 1980: "The Present Situation and the Tasks Before Us," in the same volume, pp. 224-258, where he talks about demonstrating the superiority of socialism "in many ways" including, "first and foremost" in the rate of economic growth (p. 236). Apart from continuously insisting that they would demonstrate the superiority of socialism (see also note 50 below), one place Chinese leaders in the reform era disclosed their desire to catch up with and pass the most advanced countries was in their commemorations of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, where they would quote those ambitions as his (thus borrowing his voice). Jiang Zemin, for example, maintains, "He [Sun] believed that to catch up with and surpass economically developed Western countries, we should 'open China to the outside world.'" See "In Commemoration of Sun Yat-sen," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume I*, p. 580. Jiang then (p. 581) quotes Sun, "When China becomes powerful and prosperous, we should not only restore the nation to its rightful position but also assume greater responsibilities in the world" before quoting Mao's similar language on this.

[22] Mao Zedong had originally articulated the goal of modernization by the end of the 20th century. See his discussions in "On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China," Speech at the Thirtieth Session of the Central People's Government Council, June 14, 1954, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume V*, pp. 145-146, and "Speeches at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China," March 1955, in the same volume, p. 155. In the early post-Mao era (1976-1987), the end of the twentieth century remained the explicit deadline. This is the objective identified in Hua Guafeng's report to the 11th Party Congress in 1977 (see note 20 above for the availability of that text) and Deng Xiaoping's agenda-setting speech in 1980 on the eve of his wresting power from Hua. See Deng, "The Present Situation and the Tasks Before Us," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume II (1975-1982)*, p. 226. While there is also more continuity than generally recognized across the Mao and post-Mao eras, the functional policy areas in which the Party is seeking to realize its vision of a comprehensive modernity (i.e. not just economics and the military but also culture etc.) exhibits great consistency since the mid-1980s. Then General Secretary Zhao Ziyang's 1987 encapsulation of the mid-century end state for China as "a strong, modern, democratic, and culturally advanced socialist country" (富强、民主、文明的社会主义现代 化国家) remains the Party's explicit goal as expressed in the preamble of the Party's constitution. Only three words have been added to the phrase since: the word "harmonious" (和谐, in 2007 to reflect prioritization of social welfare), the word "beautiful" (美丽, in 2017 to reflect prioritization of a clean environment), and an

extra “强” (strong, powerful) added in front of country (国家), in 2017, which the official translation rendered as “great.” See Zhao, “Advance Along the Road of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” pp 16-17. From 1992, this description was contained in the Party’s constitution, amended at each Party Congress. For the texts of past Party Constitutions, see the pages for each Party Congress available at: cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/index.html, accessed April 30, 2018.

[23] See also notes 3 and 22 above. Jiang Zemin’s report to the 16th Congress in 2002 identified the goal of achieving a “moderately prosperous society in all respects” (全面建设小康社会) by the centenary of the Party’s founding in 2021. This reflected a more comprehensive vision of well-being than Deng’s original target of “a moderately prosperous society” by the end of the 20th century, which had been expressed solely in terms of per capita GPD. (China hit Deng’s original target). For Jiang’s explanation of the target, see “Explicitly Set the Objective of Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects,” Excerpt from a speech at a drafting group meeting for the Sixteenth National Congress of the CPC, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume III*, pp. 400-404. The 2020 target, however, also includes goals for improving the “complete set of systems” by which the Party governs China identified by Deng Xiaoping in 1992 and affirmed by Jiang at the 14th and 15th Party Congresses in 1992 and 1997. The Chinese texts of these Party Congress reports are available at cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/index.html, accessed October 1, 2017. For Deng’s original remark, see Deng Xiaoping, “Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shanghai,” January 18-February 21, 1992, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III (1982-1992)*, p. 360.

[24] Xi, “Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era,” pp. 8-9.

[25] William A. Joseph’s *Politics in China: An Introduction*, Third Edition, New York: Oxford, 2019, along with one brief historical reference, makes a single reference to the continued existence of five-year plans in a chapter on political economy and a similarly short mention in the chapter on the environment. Although it contains a few more scattered references, Sebastian Heilmann (ed.), *China’s Political System*, Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 2017, devotes only two pages of a 427-page volume (excluding index etc.) to the planning process. A prior influential text, Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, Second Edition, New York: W.W. Norton, 2004, devotes less than two pages to planning, only to indicate its decline. For a rare and valuable account of the persistence of planning with a focus on policy coordination instead of directly administering the economy, see Sebastian Heilmann and Oliver Melton, “The Reinvention of Development Planning in China, 1993–2012,” *Modern China*, Vol. 39, No. 6 (November 2013), pp. 580-628.

[26] A pioneering effort to call attention to the role of the Party’s continued construction of theory to guide its strategy is Timothy R. Heath, *China’s Governing Paradigm*: *Political Renewal and the Pursuit of National Rejuvenation*, Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014.

[27] Xi Jinping's report explains that the Party was able to answer "the question of the era" and come up with "The Thought on Socialism with Chinese characteristics for a New Era" in part owing to that "our Party has continued to uphold dialectical and historical materialism. . ." It maintains:

> Since our 18th National Congress, changes both in and outside China, and the progress made in all areas of China's endeavors, have presented us with a profound question—the question of an era. Our answer must be a systematic combination of theory and practice and must address what kind of socialism with Chinese characteristics the new era requires us to uphold and develop, and how we should go about doing it. This involves fundamental issues like the overarching objectives, tasks, plan, and strategy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era; like the direction, model, and driving force of development, and the strategic steps, external conditions, and political guarantees. As well as this, to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics, we should, based on new practice, *undertake theoretical analysis and produce policy guidance on the economy, political affairs, rule of law, science and technology, culture, education, the wellbeing of our people, ethnic and religious affairs, social development, ecological conservation, national security, defense and the armed forces, the principle of "one country, two systems" and national reunification, the united front, foreign affairs, and Party building*. [emphasis added]

Xi Jinping, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," pp. 15-16.

[28] In a 2016 speech to a Politburo study session on global governance, Xi talked about "participating in actively creating governance rules in many emerging fields" such as the polar regions, the internet, outer space etc. Xi, "Improve Our Ability to Participate in Global Governance," *The Governance of China II*, Beijing, Foreign Languages Press, 2017, pp. 487-490. He called for China to "seize the global initiative in a new round of global competition" in "Build China into a World Leader in Science and Technology" in the same volume, pp. 294. In Xi's 2018 Chinese New Year address, he further maintained that China "has achieved the great leap from catching up with the times to leading the times" (实现了从"赶上时代"到"引领时代"的伟大跨越). See "Address at the 2018 New Year's Gathering ("在 2018 年春节团拜会上的讲话"), *The People's Daily*, February 15, 2018, page 2, available at: politics.people.com.cn/n1/2018/0215/c1001-29824702.html, accessed February 19, 2018.

[29] There is, of course, considerable debate in the Western literature about the nature of the order. For a useful primer, see Miranda Priebe, Andrew Radin, and Astrid Stuth Cevallos, *Understanding the Current International Order*, Washington, DC: RAND, 2016.

[30] See, for example, the discussion in G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan*: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011, pp. 342-348.

[31] Michael D. Swaine maintains that "the notion that Beijing is committed to overturning the global order invokes an exceedingly narrow and questionable democracy-centered definition of that order and thus grossly distorts the scope of the Chinese criticisms" in his "The U.S. Can't Afford to Demonize China: The relationship between Beijing and Washington is collapsing fast, to everyone's

detriment" *Foreign Policy*, June 29, 2018, available at: foreignpolicy.com/2018/06/29/the-u-s-cant-afford-to-demonize-china/, accessed July 2, 2018. Paul Heer maintains that:

> In sum, China is a challenge to the United States and its allies *not* primarily because of its ideology, or because it seeks to overthrow the international system or prevail over Washington in a zero-sum contest. Its challenge is *not* primarily to the US political and economic system or even its military security. Instead, it is—first and foremost—to the longstanding US conception of its role in the international system and within East Asia in particular. China is making a bid for strategic influence, economic and technological advantage, international respect, freedom of action, and accommodation of its interests—all in areas where the United States has long enjoyed preeminent power and influence, and is not inclined to concede it.

See his "Understanding the Challenge from China" *The Asan Forum*, April 3, 2018, available at: theasanforum.org/understanding-the-challenge-from-china/, accessed: October 9, 2018,

[32] Graham Allison, *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017.

[33] The phrase in Chinese "只有社会主义才能救中国，只有社会主义才能发展中国." See Xi Jinping, "Study, Disseminate, and Implement the Guiding Principles of the 18th CPC National Congress," in Xi Jinping, *The Governance of China*, p. 7. While the full phrase is Deng's, it is also arguably implicit in Mao's combination of the phrase "only socialism can save China" and his argument that the link between imperialism and capitalism in China had retarded China's modernization and development. See, for example, the Party's 1939 textbook, *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*, printed in Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume II,* Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967, pp. 305-334, and referenced in Mao's "The Chinese People Have Stood Up," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume V*, pp. 16-17. Every leader from Deng Xiaoping has repeated the Party's mantra that "Only socialism can save China; only socialism can develop China." See: Deng Xiaoping, "Urgent Tasks of China's Third Generation of Leadership" *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III (1982-1992)*, p. 302; Jiang Zemin, "Basic Conclusions Drawn from China's 40-Year History," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume I*, 2010, p. 64; Hu Jintao, "在庆祝中华人民共和国成立六十周年大会上的讲话" ("Speech at a Meeting to Celebrate the 60th Anniversary of the People's Republic of China"), 胡锦涛文选第三卷 (*Selected Works of Hu Jintao, Volume III*), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2016, p. 271.

[34] The full passage is:

> The path of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the only path to socialist modernization and a better life for the people. The theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the right theory to guide the Party and people to realize national rejuvenation. The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics provides the fundamental institutional guarantee for progress and development in contemporary China. The culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics is a powerful source of strength that inspires all members of the Party and the people of all ethnic groups in China. Our whole Party must strengthen our confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must neither retrace our steps to the rigidity and isolation of the past, nor take the wrong turn by changing our nature and abandoning our system.

Xi, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," p. 14. For a description of the institutions involved in the Party's definition of socialism with Chinese characteristics as a system, see Xi, "Study, Disseminate, and Implement the Guiding Principles of the 18th CPC National Congress," in Xi Jinping, *The Governance of China*, p. 10 and notes 14-16 on pp. 20-21.

[35] The Party dates the phrase "socialism with Chinese characteristics" to a speech of Deng Xiaoping's at the 12th Party Congress in 1982, but its contours became more clearly established and encapsulated in the Party's "basic line" at the 13th Party Congress in 1987 (see note 57 below). From 1987, the title of every report presented by a general secretary to a Party Congress has included "socialism with Chinese characteristics" in its title. For the texts of Party Congress reports, see: cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/index.html, accessed March 9, 2018. For Deng's speech, in which he said China should "blaze a path of our own and build a socialism with Chinese characteristics" (p. 14), see his "Opening Speech at the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III (1982-1992)*, pp. 13-16. For the party's dating socialism with Chinese characteristics to the 12th Congress, see, for example, Jiang Zemin, "Accelerate Reform, Opening Up, and Modernization and Achieve Greater Success in Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" Report at the Fourteenth National Congress of the CPC, October 12, 1992, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume I*, p. 203.

[36] Mao made this argument in his "The Chinese People Have Stood Up," p. 15, on its endurance in the post-Mao era, see the *Resolution on CPC History (1949-81)*, p. 12. On the possibility of falling back into colonial exploitation if China abandoned its political system, see Deng Xiaoping's 1979 speech, "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume II (1975-1982)*, p. 174. Similarly, Xi maintains in "Uphold and Consolidate the Party's Ideological Leadership," *The Governance of China II*, p. 356 that:

> Since the end of the Cold War, some countries, affected by Western values, have been torn apart by war or afflicted with chaos. If we tailor out practices to Western capitalist values, measure our national development by means of the Western capitalist evaluation system, and regard Western standards as the sole standards for development, the consequences will be devastating—we will have to follow others slavishly at every step, or we subject ourselves to their abuse.

[37] See notes 26 and 27 above.

[38] Even before China's breathtaking economic growth of the past several decades, Chinese leaders maintained that socialism's capacity to marshal collective effort was the only means of addressing China's backwardness. Indeed, Xi (for example, in "Uphold and Develop Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," *The Governance of China*, p. 24) and his predecessors have repeatedly affirmed an argument of Deng's that "One way in which socialism is superior to capitalism is that under socialism the people of the whole country can work as one and concentrate their strength on key projects." See, Deng Xiaoping, "In the First Decade, Prepare of the Second," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III (1982-1992)*, p. 26. On the claim of faster growth under socialism, see Deng

Xiaoping, "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume II (1975-1982),* pp. 174-176; and "The Present Situation and the Tasks Before Us," in the same volume, p. 236. See also Jiang Zemin, "Implement the Strategy of Reinvigorating China Through Science and Education," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume I,* p. 414, and Hu Jintao (胡锦涛), "在庆祝我国首次带人航天飞行圆满成功大会上的讲话" ("Speech at the Conference to Celebrate the First Successful Manned Space Flight in China"), 胡锦涛文选第二卷 (*Selected Works of Hu Jintao, Volume II*), Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2016, p. 113. For Xi's claim that the World Health Organization head had praised "the advantages of China's system" see: Xi Jinping, "新型冠状病毒肺炎疫情工作时的讲话" ("Speech at Work on New Coronavirus Pneumonia,") 求实 (Seeking Truth), No. 4, 2020, February 15, 2020, available at: qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2020-02/15/c_1125572832.htm, accessed March 3, 2020.

[39] Part of the "system" of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the "basic economic system," which, "refers to the economic system in which public ownership is dominant and diverse forms of ownership develop side by side." Xi Jinping, "Study, Disseminate, and Implement the Guiding Principles of the 18th CPC National Congress," p. 21, note 16. For Mao's argument and its repetition by subsequent leaders, see Mao, "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume II,* pp. 305-334; Deng Xiaoping, "We Shall Draw on Historical Experience and Guard Against Wrong Tendencies," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III,* pp. 224-227; Jiang Zemin, "Consolidate and Strengthen the Economic Base of Socialism," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume III,* pp. 69-71.

[40] See Mao, "The Chinese People Have Stood Up!" *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume V,* p. 18, and "On Coalition Government" in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume III,* Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967, pp. 254-255. For the endurance of these themes, see for example, Jiang Zemin, "Speech at a Meeting Celebrating the 80th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China" *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume III,* pp. 270-273. The tension between the necessity of the integration with the world (the "opening" portion of Deng Xiaoping's "reform and opening") and the possibility this risked "spiritual pollution" undermining support for socialism in China represented a major focus of the Party's governing challenge well before the Tiananmen demonstrations and collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. See the account in Richard Baum, *Burying Mao: Chinese Politics in the Age of Deng Xiaoping,* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994. Under Jiang and Hu, these goals and tensions have persisted. Jiang's signature ideological contribution "The Three Represents" asserts that the Party has always represented "advanced culture" and both Jiang and Hu held Central Committee plenums on culture during their tenures. See Jiang Zemin, "Build a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Initiate a New Phase in Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, November 8, 2002, Report at the Sixteenth National Congress of the CPC, in Jiang Zemin, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume III,* pp. 519-525. See also: Jiang Zemin, "Major Tasks on the Publicity and Ideological Front" *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin Volume I*, p. 485, and "Energetically Initiate a New Phase in Promoting Socialist Cultural and Ethical Progress" in the same volume, pp. 556-571; Hu Jintao, "在社会主义先进文化引领下建设和谐文化," ("Construct a Harmonious Culture Under the Guidance of Advanced Socialist Culture"), *Selected Works of Hu Jintao, Volume II,* pp. 538-544, and "坚定不移走中国特

色社会主义文化发展道路" ("Unswervingly Take the Path of Socialist Cultural Development with Chinese Characteristics"), *Selected Works of Hu Jintao, Volume III,* pp. 563-566. Xi Jinping's seminal speech on this issue, delivered on December 30 2013 to the 12th group study session of the Politburo under his leadership, is "Enhance China's Cultural Soft Power," *The Governance of China,* pp. 178-180.

[41] China's leaders from Mao to Xi have seen "the West" as seeking to overturn its socialist system via "peaceful evolution" and "hostile Western forces" combining with forces within China to "split" the country and change its political system. Further, Beijing has long believed China's growing integration with the world—necessary to sustain its rise—increases pressure on its domestic governance system. See Xi, "Uphold and Consolidate the Party's Ideological Leadership" *The Governance of China II,* pp. 354-358. On Mao's concerns about "peaceful evolution," see, Qiang Zhai, "1959: Preventing Peaceful Evolution," *China Heritage Quarterly,* No. 18, June 2009. See also Deng Xiaoping, "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shanghai," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III (1982-1992),* p. 368. This is also a theme of Jiang and Hu's speeches throughout their tenures. See, Jiang Zemin, "Our Diplomatic Work Must Unswervingly Safeguard the Highest Interests of the State and the Nation," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume I,* p. 303 and Hu Jintao (胡锦涛), "国际形势和外交事工作" ("The International Situation and Our Foreign Affairs Work"), *Selected Works of Hu Jintao, Volume II*, p. 509.

[42] The translations in the English report vary, but the Chinese is 居安思危. The Party's leaders have consistently urged its members to 居安思危, a term that also appears in the 16th-18th Party Congress reports and is further the title of an official documentary composed during the Hu Jintao years about the fall of Communism in the Soviet Union. See Arthur Waldron, "Chinese Analyses of Soviet Failure: The Party," *Jamestown Foundation China Brief,* November 19, 2009, available at: jamestown.org/program/chinese-analyses-of-soviet-failure-the-party/, accessed October 2, 2017.

[43] China's top leaders consistently invoke Deng Xiaoping's in 1988 having called for a "new international order." See, for example, Hu Jintao, "The International Situation and Our Foreign Affairs Work", cited above, p. 515. The foreign affairs sections of the reports delivered to Party Congresses by Jiang Zemin from 1992-2002 repeated Deng's cry for a new international order built upon the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" (和平共处五项原则). For the official definition of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" see footnote six in Xi, "Carry on the Enduring Spirit of Mao Zedong Thought," *The Governance of China,* p. 33.

[44] Xi Jinping, "A New Partnership of Mutual Benefit and a Community of Shared Future," *The Governance of China II,* p. 571.

[45] On the need for a new, regional security architecture in Asia without "Cold War" thinking and without alliances, see for example, Xi Jinping's May 2014 speech to the Fourth Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, "New Approach for Asian Security Cooperation," *The Governance of China,* pp. 389-296. On the subject of "building a global

network of partnerships," see: Xi, "China's Diplomacy Must Befit Its Major-Country Status," p. 482-483.

[46] Xi, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," p. 53.

[47] For the "world safe for autocracy" argument, see Jessica Chen Weiss, "An Ideological Contest in U.S.-China Relations? Assessing China's Defense of Autocracy," chapter submitted for inclusion in Avery Goldstein and Jacques deLisle (eds.), *Security and US-China Relations: Differences, Dangers, and Dilemmas,* available at: http://www.jessicachenweiss.com/work-in-progress.html, accessed October 7, 2019.

[48] In Xi's 1 July 2016 speech on the Party's 95th anniversary, he maintains that China, with a 5,000-year history is lending vitality to socialism with a 500-year history via 60 years of achievements, during which China has gone from poverty to the second largest economy in the world in the course of 30 years. The truncated version of the speech printed in his *The Governance of China II,* pp. 32-48 as "Stay True to Our Original Aspiration and Continue Marching Forward" omits this passage, but the full text is available online at: news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2016-07/01/c_1119150660.htm, accessed August 5, 2017.

[49] At times, Chinese officials shorten this to "development path." See, for example, the official text of Xi's press statement during President Trump's visit to Beijing in November 2017, "Mutually Beneficial Cooperation Between China and the U.S. is the Only Right Choice and the only Pathway Toward a Better Future," *On Building a Human Community with a Shared Future,* p. 507.

[50] Xi, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," p. 9.

[51] See, for example, Jiang Zemin, "The Future of Socialism Remains as Bright as Ever," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume I,* p. 327.

[52] For two views of the origins of this growing confidence see Nadège Rolland, *China's Vision for a New World Order,* The National Bureau of Asian Research, NBR Special Report #83, January 2020, available at nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/publications/sr83_chinasvision_jan2020.pdf, accessed January 27, 2020, pp. 15-16, and Melanie Hart and Blaine Johnston, "Mapping China's Global Governance Ambitions: Democracies Still Have Leverage to Shape Beijing's Reform Agenda," Center for American Progress, February 2019, available at americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/02/28/466768/mapping-chinas-global-governance-ambitions/, accessed December 7, 2019.

[53] Beijing seldom directly promotes its alternative in the same sentence as a criticism of the Western model, but in one place argues how the Western model has failed, while in another passage proclaiming what China officers. See for example, the discussion in State Council Information Office

of the People's Republic of China, "China and the World in the New Era" September 2019, available at: english.www.gov.cn/archive/whitepaper/201909/27/content_WS5d8d80f9c6d0bcf8c4c142ef.html, accessed March 4, 2020, p. 18, and Yang Jiechi (杨洁篪), "推动构建人类命运共同体（认真学习宣传贯彻党的十九大精神)" ("Promote the Building of a Community of Human Destinies (Seriously Study, Propagate and Implement the 19th CPC National Congress Spirit)"), *The People's Daily*, November 19, 2017, available at: paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2017-11/19/nw.D110000renmrb_20171119_1-06.htm, accessed February 9, 2018.

[54] On socialism at a low ebb, see Jiang Zemin, "The Future of Socialism Remains as Bright as Ever," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume I,* Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2010 p. 327. On the resulting foreign policy guideline often summarized by Western scholars as "hide and bide" see Jiang Zemin, "The Present International Situation and Our Diplomatic Work," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume II*, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2012, pp. 191-202.

[55] The 8th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 18th, and 19th Party Congress reports all contain versions of this phrase about the superiority (优越性) of socialism or of the socialist system. The texts of these Party Congress reports are available at cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64168/index.html, accessed October 1, 2017. Even in the wake of the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe, Deng maintained: "We shall be satisfied if history proves the superiority of China's socialist system," in "China Will Never Allow Other Countries to Interfere in Its Internal Affairs" *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III (1982-1992),* p. 347. Jiang Zemin called exemplifying "the superiority of socialism over capitalism" one of the "fundamental tasks of socialism" in his "Speech at a Meeting Celebrating the 80th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China," cited above, p. 268. Xi frequently refers to the superiority of socialism as well. See, for example, Xinhua's coverage of his speech at the 42rd Collective Study Session of the Politburo: "习近平：继续推进马克思主义中国化时代化大众化" (Xi Jinping: Continuously Promote a Marxism in China that is Sinicized, Keeps Up with the Times, and Reflects the Masses), September 29, 2017, available at: news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2017-09/29/c_1121747887.htm, accessed October 2, 2017.

[56] Among the eight "makes clear" (明确) that define socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era" in Xi's report to the 19th Party Congress is that: "It makes clear that the overall goal of deepening reform in every field is to improve and develop the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernize China's system and capacity for governance." For continuity on this theme about the object of reform, see, for example, Jiang Zemin, "The Objective of Political Restructuring is to Improve the Socialist Political System," *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume III*, pp. 228-232. See also Deng Xiaoping *"*On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume II (1975-1982*), p. 304.

[57] For an excellent exegesis, of the concept of the basic line, see Heath, *China's New Governing Party Paradigm*, p. 60. From 1992, the basic line has been contained in the Party's constitution, amended at each Party Congress. The basic line (基本路线), the successor to the Maoist "general line" (总路线), is, as Heath has argued, the Party's "national strategy in a sentence." It contains an

expression of both Beijing's desired end for its present stage of socialist development and the bedrock policies designed to get there. As amended at the 19th Party Congress, it reads:

> The basic line of the Communist Party of China in the primary stage of socialism is to lead all the people of China together in a self-reliant and pioneering effort, making economic development the central task, upholding the Four Cardinal Principles, and remaining committed to reform and opening up, so as to see China becomes a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful.

"Constitution of the Communist Party of China," Revised and Adopted at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 24, 2017, available at news.xinhuanet.com/english/download/Constitution_of_the_Communist_Party_of_China.pdf, accessed November 3, 2017.

[58] Xi Jinping, "Uphold and Develop Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," Tanner Greer (trans.), available at: palladiummag.com/2019/05/31/xi-jinping-in-translation-chinas-guiding-ideology/, accessed July 01, 2019.

[59] In the wake of international media attention to the passage in Xi's 19th Party Congress report about providing a new option for developing countries, Beijing has sought to dampen international concern by publicly denying the Party seeks to export its model. See, Xi Jinping, "Working Together to Build a Better World" Keynote speech at the CPC in Dialogue with World Political Parties High-Level Meeting in Beijing, December 1, 2017, in *On Building a Human Community with a Shared Future*, p. 525. Yet the venue Xi used was a meeting of world political parties Beijing called precisely to promote its vision for the international order and promote its domestic governance model, holding seminars for African countries, for example, on "party-building." See Xinhua, "Xi calls on world political parties to build community with shared future," December 2, 2017, available at: xinhuanet.com/english/2017-12/02/c_136794028.htm, accessed April 30, 2018; Xinhua, "CPC to share party-building experience with world political parties," December 2, 2017, available at: xinhuanet.com/English/2017-12/02/c_136796024_2.htm, accessed April 30, 2018.

[60] The plan had interim targets for 1990, 2000, and 2010, each of which Beijing claims it achieved. These were identified and refined in past Party Congress reports, and in five-year plans. See notes 4, 22 and 23.

[61] Another passage in Xi's January 2013 speech only published in March 2019 similarly appears to maintain that Beijing's mid-century goal of becoming a global leader in terms of international influence includes the influence of its governing model:

> We firmly believe that as socialism with Chinese characteristics develops further, our system will inevitably mature; it is likewise inevitable that the superiority of our socialist system will be increasingly apparent. Inevitably, our road will become wider; inevitably, our country's road of development will have increasingly greater influence on the world.

Xi Jinping, "Uphold and Develop Socialism with Chinese Characteristics," Tanner Greer (trans.), cited above.

[62] The classic account is F.A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

[63] Neil Harding, *Leninism*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996, pp. 142-169. This idea is reflected in documents like China's 2016 white paper on "The Right to Development" claiming that development is the most fundamental human right. See State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, "The Right to Development: China's Philosophy, Practice and Contribution" December 2016, available at: news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2016-12/01/c_135873721.htm, accessed June 3, 2017.

[64] Since 1992, the "general program" of the Party's constitution has explicitly identified its mission in terms of not only development and the people's welfare, but also the power of the state:

> The general starting point and criteria for judging each item of the Party's work are that it must benefit the development of the socialist productive forces, *be conducive to increasing socialist China's overall strength*, and help to improve the people's living standards. [Emphasis added]

Here, the phrase "overall strength(综合国力)" is the same one officially translated as "composite national strength" in Xi's report to the 19th Party Congress report and which U.S. scholars in the past have translated "comprehensive national power." See "Constitution of the Communist Party of China, Revised and Adopted at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 24, 2017," p. 4.

[65] See, for example, Human Rights Watch, "Eradicating Ideological Viruses: China's Campaign of Repression Against Xinjiang's Muslims," September 9, 2018, available at: hrw.org/report/2018/09/09/eradicating-ideological-viruses/chinas-campaign-repression-against-xinjiangs, accessed October 9, 2019.

[66] See Chapter 9, "A Philosophy of Certainty," in Harding, *Leninism*, pp. 219-242.

[67] See, for example, Xinhua, "China's party system is great contribution to political civilization: Xi," March 5, 2018, available at: xinhuanet.com/english/2018-03/05/c_137015955.htm, accessed March 7, 2018.

[68] "Upholding the people's democratic dictatorship" is a component of the "Four Cardinal Principles" that are part of the Party's "basic line." (See note 57 above.) Articulated by Deng Xiaoping in 1979, the Four Cardinal Principles have been upheld by every leader since. Both Deng's and Jiang Zemin's discussion of the justification for the dictatorship are utterly Leninist. See Deng, "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume II (1975-1982)*, pp. 176-177, and his "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shanghai," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, p. 367. See also Jiang Zemin, "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume III*, pp. 216-218.

[69] Harding, *Leninism*, pp. 240-242.

[70] For an extensive discussion, see Samantha R. Hoffman, "Programming China: The Communist Party's autonomic approach to managing state security," PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2017. See also Xi Jinping, "A Holistic View of National Security," *The Governance of China*, pp. 221-222.

[71] A useful study of this phenomenon is Sarah Cook, "China's Global Megaphone: Beijing's Global Megaphone: The Expansion of Chinese Communist Party Media Influence since 2017, Freedom House Special Report, January 2020, available at: freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/01152020_SR_China_Global_Megaphone_with_Recommendations_PDF.pdf, accessed March 5, 2020.

[72] See Melanie Hart and Blaine Johnston "Mapping China's Global Governance Ambitions: Democracies Still Have Leverage to Shape Beijing's Reform Agenda" Center for American Progress, February 2019, available at americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/02/28/466768/mapping-chinas-global-governance-ambitions/, accessed December 7, 2019 and Liza Tobin, "Xi's Vision for Transforming Global Governance: A Strategic Challenge for Washington and Its Allies" *Texas National Security Review*, Volume 2, Issue 1, December 2018, pp. 154-166, available at: //tnsr.org/2018/11/xis-vision-for-transforming-global-governance-a-strategic-challenge-for-washington-and-its-allies/, accessed January 1, 2019.

[73] See, for example, Ted Piccone, "China's Long Game on Human Rights at the United Nations" Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, September 2018, available at: brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/FP_20181009_china_human_rights.pdf, accessed March 5, 2020 and Adam Segal, Chinese Cyber Diplomacy in a New Era of Uncertainty, Hoover Working Group on National security, Technology, and Law, Aegis Paper Series No. 1703 (June 2, 2017), available at lawfareblog.com/chinese-cyber-diplomacy-new-era-uncertainty, accessed March 5, 2020.

[74] The notion that China's rise and integration with the world has made it both more dependent on the world and the world more dependent on China has been an authoritative judgment since Hu Jintao's 2007 report to the 17th Party Congress, which declared "Historic changes have occurred in the relations between contemporary China and the rest of the world, resulting in ever closer interconnection between China's future and destiny and those of the world." See: Hu Jintao, "Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive for New Victories in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects," Report to the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on Oct. 15, 2007, available at: bjreview.com.cn/17thCPC/txt/2007-10/25/content_83051.htm, accessed October 15, 2016. Xi Jinping now maintains: "As China has increased its dependence on the world and its involvement in international affairs, so has the world deepened its dependence on China and had greater impact on China." See his "China's Diplomacy Must Befit Its Major-Country Status" *The Governance of China II*, p. 481. Deng Xiaoping made the case that "we must never close our doors" on the eve of putting down the Tiananmen demonstrations, arguing that isolation brought "disasters like the 'Cultural Revolution'" and that it was "impossible to develop the economy" or keep up with science and technology in isolation. See his "We Must Form a Promising Collective Leadership that Will Carry

Out Reform," *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume III (1982-1992),* p. 291. Deng's successors have consistently reaffirmed this view.

[75] "Constitution of the Communist Party of China, Revised and Adopted at the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on October 24, 2017," p. 7; Xi, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," pp. 6, 17, 21-22, and 51-54. See also Xi, "A New Partnership of Mutual Benefit and a Community of Shared Future," *The Governance of China II,* pp. 569-575, and Xi, "Working Together to Build a Human Community with a Shared Future" Speech at the United Nations Office in Geneva, January 18, 2017, *On Building a Human Community with a Shared Future,* pp. 427-440.

[76] See also note 74 above. Jiang Zemin's report to the 16th Party Congress assessed the trend of economic globalization. See "Build A Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Initiate a New Phase in Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" November 8, 2002, Report at the Sixteenth National Congress of the CPC, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume III*, p. 511, a trend Jiang had identified in a speech to foreign affairs officials in his "The Present International Situation and Our Diplomatic Work" Excerpt from a speech at the Ninth Meeting of Chinese Diplomatic Envoys Posted Abroad, August 28, 1998, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume II,* 2012, pp. 194-197. Hu Jintao assessed "cultural diversification" and the emergence of "an information society" in his report to the 18th Party Congress, trends Hu had talked about in his speech to the 2006 Central Foreign Affairs Work Conference. See, Hu, "Firmly March on the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive to Complete the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects," Report to the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on November 8, 2012, available at: china-embassy.org/eng/zt/18th_CPC_National_Congress_Eng/t992917.htm, accessed 6 May 2017 and Hu Jintao (胡锦涛), "国际形势和外交事工作" ("The International Situation and Our Foreign Affairs Work"), *Selected Works of Hu Jintao, Volume II*, p. 505.

[77] China Daily, "习近平主席 2016 年新年贺词 (双语全文)" Chairman Xi's 2016 New Year's Address (Bilingual Full Text)", available at: chinadaily.com.cn/interface/yidian/1139302/2016-01-04/cd_22925566.html, accessed March 5, 2018.

[78] China's Foreign Minister, Wang Yi, recently maintained:

> The initiative of building a community with a shared future is inspired by the traditional Chinese philosophy that sees the world as one big family. It reflects profound thinking on the future of mankind and embodies a spirit of humanity; it points the way forward for global governance and represents the ultimate goal of multilateralism. It is a Chinese proposal on how to address today's challenges and has become an overarching goal of our major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. China is ready to join hands with all countries and make unremitting efforts to this end.

Wang Yi, "Bringing the East and West Together in Shared Commitment to Multilateralism" Speech at the 56th Munich Security Conference, Munich, 15 February 2020, available at:

fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/2461_663310/t1745384.shtml, accessed February 18, 2020.

[79] See Tobin, "Xi's Vision for Transforming Global Governance: A Strategic Challenge for Washington and Its Allies," pp. 155-156 and Rolland, *China's Vision for a New World Order*, pp. 36-40.

[80] The introduction to a collection of Xi's speeches on China's foreign relations compiled in 2019 begins:

> Since ancient times, the Chinese nation has upheld the belief that "all under Heaven are of one family" and has advocated the ideas of peace among all nations and harmony under Heaven. The Communist Party of China (CPC) regards making new and greater contributions to humanity as its abiding mission. Since the CPC's 18th National Congress in November 2012, Xi Jinping has called for the building of human community with a shared future.

See the "Editor's Note," on the first of two unnumbered pages prior to page *i* in Xi, *On Building a Human Community with a Shared Future,* cited above.

[81] Hu Jintao, "Build Towards a Harmonious World of Lasting Peace and Common Prosperity," pp. 7-8, argues that making a "fetish" or a particular development model would take away the "vitality" and diversity of world civilizations, and that countries with differences in "history, culture, social system, and mode of development" should learn from one another while preserving differences. Jiang Zemin had made similar arguments, see for example, his, "Harmony Without Uniformity is an Essential Aspect of the Balanced Development of Cultures" *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin, Volume III*, pp. 506-507.

[82] I am indebted to William A. Callahan, "History, tradition and the Chinese dream: socialist modernization in the world of great harmony," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 24, No. 96 (2015), pp. 983-1001, for the observation that the traditional Chinese concept of "harmony" can be invoked either in terms of harmony while reserving differences "harmony with diversity" or harmony via "a unified, organic order" in Callahan's phrases. Xi's "Community of Common Destiny" (which Callahan does not address), while it appears to invoke both concepts Callahan has identified, leans toward to the latter of the two in envisioning a tightly connected world built via BRI.

[83] This is clear from several of Xi Jinping's speeches carried in *The Governance of China II* cited above. In "A New Partnership of Mutual Benefit and a Community of Shared Future," p. 574, Xi employs his frequently used phrase: "We are ready to share our experience and opportunities with other countries and welcome them aboard our development train." In his "China's Diplomacy Must Befit Its Major-Country Status" (pp. 482-483), he maintains, "We should protect China's development opportunities and space, and work hard to form a highly-integrated, mutually beneficial network through extensive economic, trade, and technological cooperation. We should make more friends without prejudice to the non-aligned principle and build a global network of partnerships." In a speech to a Politburo study session on global governance (p. 488), Xi declared "we must pursue the transformation of the global governance system by the following the principles of extensive

consultation, joint development, and shared benefits. We must endeavor to reach consensus on transformation proposals, and turn it into concerted actions."

[84] In talking about national rejuvenation as the "historic mission" of the Party in the New Era, Xi's report to the 19th Party Congress talks about the "great dream" of national rejuvenation being related to the "great struggle" (implicitly, ideological conflict to preserve the Party's ruling status). Xi, "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era," p. 14. Indeed, Xi suggests that China's growing strength will intensify the external pressure Beijing faces. In a March 2013 speech to PLA delegates to the National People's Congress (NPC), where Xi detailed his "Strong Military Dream" vision, he maintained (my translation):

> The more our strength develops, the greater the resistance pressure and the more external risks we will face. This is an unavoidable challenge on our country's path from big to strong. It is an unavoidable threshold we must cross to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

China Central Television, 《强军》 第一集 逐梦 (*Strong Military*, Episode I: "The Dream"), available at: youtube.com/watch?v=TUYpfNSpELk, accessed October 8, 2017.

[85] Xi Jinping, "The Belt and Road Initiative Benefits the People" August 17, 2016, in Xi, *The Governance of China II*, p. 549.

[86] The classic study of BRI is Nadège Rolland, *China's Eurasian Century? Political and Strategic Implications of the Belt and Road Initiative*, Washington, DC: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2017. On the extension of BRI to Latin America, see Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "Remarks by Foreign Minister Wang Yi at the Opening Ceremony of China-CELAC Economic and Trade Cooperation Forum and China-LAC Business Council Annual Meeting 2018" January 23, 2018, available at: fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/wjbz_663308/2461_663310/t1529529.shtml, accessed March 8, 2018. On the extension of BRI to the Arctic, see: The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, "China's Arctic Policy," January 2018, available at: xinhuanet.com/english/2018-01/26/c_136926498.htm, accessed January 26, 2018.

[87] See "Statement by Chad Sbragia, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for China, Office of the Secretary of Defense, and Lieutenant General Giovanni Tuck, Director for Logistics, The Joint Staff before the U.S. Congress Subcommittee on Coast Guard and Maritime Transportation Hearing on China's Maritime Silk Road Initiative" October 17, 2019, available at: transportation.house.gov/imo/media/doc/DOD%20Joint%20Testimony.pdf, accessed January 3, 2020.

[88] For a discussion of these issues, see Michael S. Chase, "The Space and Cyberspace Components of the Belt and Road Initiative" in Nadège Rolland (ed.), *Securing the Belt and Road Initiative: China's Evolving Military Engagement Along the Silk Roads*, NBR, 2019, pp. 20-32.

[89] See Rolland, *China's Vision for a New World Order*, cited above and Srikanth Kondapalli, "Regional Multilateralism with Chinese Characteristics" in David Shambaugh (ed.), *China and the World*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020, pp. 313-339.

[90] See, for example, Yang Jiechi, "Promote the Building of a Community of Human Destinies (Seriously Study, Propagate and Implement the 19th CPC National Congress Spirit)" cited above.

[91] For an enlightening overview, see 梁治平(Liang Zhiping), "想象'天下': 当代中国的意识形态建构," ("Imagining 'Tianxia': Building Ideology in Contemporary China,"), David Ownby (trans.), 思想 36 (Dec. 2018): 71-177, available at: eadingthechinadream.com/liang-zhiping-tianxia-and-ideology.html, accessed March 2, 2020.

[92] Rolland, *China's Vision for a New World Order*, p. 36.

[93] I had noticed the frequent use of this quotation in Xi's speeches (the official English translations are inconsistent and the official English version of Xi's report to the 19th Party Congress (p. 64) obscures it by rendering it: "A just cause should be pursued for the common good." I am indebted to Callahan, "History, tradition and the Chinese dream: socialist modernization in the world of great harmony," cited above, for pointing out the quote's prevalence in contemporary Chinese academic writings.

[94] Tingyang Zhao (translated by Liqing Tao), *Redefining a Philosophy for World Governance*, Staten Island, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, especially p.5, pp. 13-14, and p. 23.

[95] Xi Jinping, "Improve Our Ability to Participate in Global Governance," p. 488.

[96] Zhao, *Redefining a Philosophy for World Governance*, especially pp. 2-3 on 45-65.

[97] Xi, "Shouldering the Responsibilities of Our Age and Promoting Global Growth Together," *On Building a Human Community with a Shared Future*, p. 419. I have only changed the phrase "with a shared future" to "of common destiny."

[98] Xi Jinping, "Working Together to Build a Better World" Keynote speech at the CPC in Dialogue with World Political Parties High-Level Meeting in Beijing, December 1, 2017, in *On Building a Human Community with a Shared Future*, p. 524

[99] Ibid., p. 521. I have only changed the phrase rendered "with a shared future" to "of common destiny."

[100] Xi, "China's Diplomacy Must Befit Its Major-Country Status," p. 482-483; Xi Jinping, "A New Partnership of Mutual Benefit and a Community of Shared Future," pp. 266-267.

[101] I am indebted to Timothy R. Heath for the point that Beijing's official foreign relations theory sees development as a panacea. On the one hand, the Party believes shelving disputes and focusing on common development will ameliorate the disputes over time as the benefits of development become more important to both sides than the original source of tension. At the same time, development maximizes China's comprehensive national power, providing more leverage to settle the disputes both peacefully and favorably in the future. For a version of this point, see Heath, *China's Governing Paradigm*: *Political Renewal and the Pursuit of National Rejuvenation*, pp. 99-114.

[102] Zhao, *Redefining a Philosophy for World Governance*, pp. 36-42.

[103] On these three past cases see Douglas T. Stuart, *Creating the National Security State: A History of the Law that Transformed America* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008; James A. Locher II, *Victory on the Potomac: The Goldwater-Nichols Act Unifies the Pentagon,* College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2002; Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, Fourth Edition,* Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009.

[104] The European Commission's 2019 identification of China as "a systemic rival promoting alternative models of governance" is a good starting place here. See European Commission and HR/VP contribution to the European Council EU-China – A strategic outlook, 12 March 2019, available at: ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/communication-eu-china-a-strategic-outlook.pdf, accessed March 3, 2020.