

The Roadmap of the 18th CPC National Congress *and* **The Chinese Dream**

*Compiled by Huang Huaguang
and Luan Jianzhang*



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Foreword

Thanks to over 90 years of persistent efforts, the Party has rallied and led the people of all ethnic groups of the country in turning the once poor and backward old China into an increasingly prosperous and powerful new China, opening up bright prospects for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

– Report to the 18th CPC National Congress

I

On November 29, 2012, the 21st day after the conclusion of the 18th CPC National Congress, Xi Jinping, newly-elected general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, led all the members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to the National Museum of China and visited the exhibition on *The Road to Rejuvenation*. After reviewing the historical progress that the Chinese people have gone through in modern times to realize national rejuvenation, Xi Jinping pointed out: Everybody has an ideal and pursues his or her own dream. Now, people are talking about the Chinese Dream. I believe that realizing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation has been the greatest dream of the Chinese people since the beginning of the modern era. This dream concentrates a long-cherished expectation of many genera-

tions of the Chinese people, and encapsulates the overall interests of the Chinese nation and its people. It is the common aspiration of every Chinese.

This was the first time that top CPC leader had focus on the Chinese Dream. Soon a passionate response rose from the people of China, and the concept attracted wide interest and triggered heated discussions in the international community. Many tried to explore the political meaning of the Chinese Dream and its internal and external ramifications. Others sought to understand the concept. According to China's political logic and conventional practice, people would immediately apply themselves to studying, promoting, and implementing the spirit of the report after the conclusion of the 18th CPC National Congress. How could the Chinese Dream, a new concept which had never appeared in the past report to the congress, be proposed instantly after the congress had just concluded?

A careful assessment of the situation would reveal that it is not unexpected. The proposal of the Chinese Dream is a very reasonable step to take. Although the phrase "Chinese Dream" did not feature in the Report to the 18th CPC National Congress, its synonym "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" appeared at least eight times. The Report began with "opening up bright prospects for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation," and concluded with "launching the Chinese nation's irreversible historic march to development and great rejuvenation." The overall task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is, as the Report emphasized, "to achieve socialist modernization and the great rejuvenation of

the Chinese nation.” This has been the greatest historical goal for the Chinese people for more than a century.

The Chinese nation would be regarded as “rejuvenated” when the goals determined at the 18th CPC National Congress are achieved – that the construction of a moderately prosperous society be completed at the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, and that the construction of a prosperous, democratic, harmonious and modernized socialist country be completed at the 100th anniversary of the founding of new China. So the Chinese Dream is simply a summary and a popular expression of the aforementioned goals of the “Two Centennials,” and the report to the congress has drawn a roadmap for realizing the Chinese Dream. If people want to understand the meaning of the Chinese Dream, they need to understand the essential spirit and the deep connotations of the 18th CPC National Congress, reflecting upon the political messages conveyed by the congress rather than speculating on what the Chinese Dream is and what it means.

II

There are different views and voices in the international community about the Chinese Dream. Some people recognize and appreciate the idea, while others fail to understand or misinterpreted it, or even link the Chinese Dream with pursuing hegemony and building “peace under the rule of China.” President Xi’s speech at the First Plenary Session of the 12th National People’s Congress on March 17, 2013, offered a more clear and precise interpretation of

the Chinese Dream: to realize the goal of completing the construction of a moderately prosperous society and completing the socialist modernization of a prosperous, powerful, democratic, civilized and harmonious society. To realize the Chinese Dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation means achieving the happiness of the people.

The Chinese Dream is a dream about national development, not about achieving hegemony. At the beginning of the modern era, China was impoverished and weak. The Chinese people sustained a hope in their hearts that one day their country would become prosperous and powerful. The word “prosperous” here refers to a wealth that is both material and spiritual, because neither material scarcity nor a spiritual void accord with socialist principles. The word “powerful” here refers not only to growth in economy, science, and technology but also to progress in other aspects like culture, education, sport, national defense, and ecology. That is to say, the true wealth and strength of a country stem from the realization of the comprehensive, coordinated and sustained scientific development of the country. This has nothing to do with hegemony. At present, China is still far from being wealthy and powerful in many aspects. There is still a very long road to go to meet the requirements of the scientific outlook of development. The “five-in-one” general deployment was proposed in the Report to the 18th CPC National Congress. This is in fact a general deployment to realize the prosperity of the country. To succeed in carrying out the many tasks that accord with this general deployment is the key for China to achieve prosperity, power and strength.

The Chinese Dream is a dream about national dignity, not about empire-building. The Chinese people have deep memories about the past: the gradual decline of the country, the loss of sovereignty, and the humiliations of the nation. They have always expected, and continue to expect, that the day will come when the Chinese nation is rejuvenated and reinvigorated. It means that people will live with a greater degree of fulfillment, and with more dignity. It is not a dream about “returning to the grand Tang Dynasty” or about “building a tributary system centering round China.” China wants dignity, and the most important characteristics of this are:

Firstly, it means that China should achieve self-improvement. Backwardness means failure, and self-improvement comes only from development. During more than 30 years of reform and opening up, China has concentrated on building the country and has applied itself wholeheartedly to the pursuit of development, otherwise China would not be where it stands today, and it would not have achieved its current level of respect from so many other countries.

Secondly, it means that China should have self-confidence. How can people achieve self-improvement if they have no confidence in themselves? The 18th CPC National Congress put forward that the path, theory, and system of socialism with Chinese characteristics are the basis for China’s self-confidence and strength. The international community need not fear that China will ever seek to export its own path, theory, and system.

The Chinese Dream is a dream about people’s happiness, not about constitutionalism. In the final analysis, the Chinese Dream is the dream of the people. Happiness is the core content of

the Chinese Dream and also the fundamental values of CPC members. In the view of the CPC, the happiness of the people is inspired more importantly by enjoying more extensive, more satisfactory, and more comprehensive people's democracy, not simply by having a better education, a more stable job, a more satisfactory income, more reliable social security, a higher standard of medical care and service, more comfortable living conditions, and a more beautiful environment, not simply by having the opportunity to achieve a more brilliant career and realize one's dreams, nor simply to grow and progress along with the homeland and the times.

According to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, rule by the people satisfies the need of self-actualization, and it is the highest level of happiness. So the first of the eight basic requirements of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the Report to the 18th CPC National Congress is that the status of the people must be ensured as the main party, the people's rights and interests guaranteed, and the rule by the people safeguarded. In China, the socialist democratic system with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental guarantee of rule by the people. The so-called "dream of constitutional government," which takes the basic political systems of the West such as the "tripartite" political system and the multi-party system as its orientation, cannot bring real and permanent happiness to the Chinese people because it is not compatible with China's national conditions nor with the cultural psychology of the Chinese people.

III

There are universal concerns in the international community on how China will realize the Chinese Dream. In particular, people want to know what the Chinese Dream implies for the rest of the world. In response to this, when delivering a speech at the First Session of the 12th National People's Congress, Xi Jinping emphasized that to realize the Chinese Dream, we must take the Chinese road, carry forward the Chinese spirit, and pool together the Chinese strength. During the informal meeting with US President Obama at the Annenberg Estate on June 7, 2013, President Xi further deliberated on the Chinese way to realize the Chinese Dream in terms of relations between China and the international community. He emphasized that the Chinese Dream means the realization of the prosperity of the country, the rejuvenation of the nation, and the happiness of the people. It is a dream of peace, development and win-win cooperation. It is connected to the dreams shared by peoples of many other countries, including the American Dream.

To realize the Chinese Dream, we have to adhere to the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and keep to the path of peaceful development. The path one takes determines one's fate. The Chinese people always adhere to the principle of "never imposing on others what one would not choose for oneself." China has experienced a century of hardships – of foreign invasion and civil war. It will never seek to realize the Chinese Dream by non-peaceful means. The Chinese people value history as a mirror. As China has witnessed the decline and fall of other countries that have sought

hegemony, it will never choose to follow their disastrous examples. The Chinese people value pragmatism. China has already been on the road to realize the Chinese Dream in the past 30 years of reform and opening-up, so there is no need to seek other roads. From the perspective of domestic events in China this road is called the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and from the perspective of relations with people in foreign countries it is called the road of peaceful development. In essence, they are interconnected. The key idea is to take economic development as the center while pressing forward the development in politics, culture, society, ecology and other aspects. We should adhere to both reform and opening-up and to the direction of socialism. We should constantly liberate and develop social productivity and gradually realize the common prosperity of the people, and promote all-round development of the people. We should develop China through the efforts for a peaceful international environment and promote joint development of the international community. In this process, China always adheres to independence, openness and win-win cooperation. Its national defense policy is based on non-aggression. It opposes any form of hegemony, colonialism and power politics. It will never engage in arms race, seek hegemony, or indulge in expansionism.

To realize the Chinese Dream, the Chinese people need to carry forward the national spirit with patriotism, reform, and innovation as the core, in a spirit of equality, mutual trust, tolerance, learning from each other, and win-win cooperation in international relations. The realization of the Chinese Dream is, first of all, the task of the Chinese people. Without patriotism, it

is impossible for the nation to create the solidarity and agreement of all the people. In realizing the Chinese Dream, which is an unprecedented undertaking, the Chinese people will encounter many new circumstances, problems and challenges. Without reform and innovation, it is impossible to succeed in this historical mission. Due to the historic changes in the relations between China and the rest of the world, whether the Chinese people can realize the Chinese Dream is determined to a large extent by two factors: On the one hand, whether China can take advantage of opportunities elsewhere in the world and help other countries to take advantage of opportunities in China; on the other hand, other countries' attitudes toward the Chinese Dream, namely whether they respond with belief or doubt, understanding or envy, support or obstruction. In essence, the Chinese Dream is connected to the dreams of other people in other countries around the world. The realization of the Chinese Dream will bring peace, cooperation, and opportunities for development to the world. It does not represent any kind of threat. But this needs understanding and support, or at least tolerance, on the part of the international community. If other parties stick to a rigid ideology, a cold war mentality or a zero-sum game, or if they respond with resentment to the sight of others enjoying something positive, there will never be peace in the world and no dreams can be realized, let alone the Chinese Dream.

To realize the Chinese Dream, people need to unite not only the Chinese strength, but also the worlds' strength that support, understand, and sympathize with China. The core of the Chinese strength is the Communist Party of China. The key to doing things

well in China lies in the CPC. Whether people can realize the Chinese Dream also depends on the CPC. Since the end of the Cold War, the most thought-provoking phenomenon in party politics around the world is that some large parties, and some parties with a very long history and lengthy period of rule, have lost their power. The change of fate of these parties was caused by either corruption, or lack of solidarity, or confusion in ideology. All these problems come down to one single question: How can a party retain its progressiveness? The CPC is not an exception. At the 18th CPC National Congress, it was proposed that the Party should adhere to the principle of liberating ideas in carrying out reform and innovation, should adhere to the principle that the party exercises self-discipline and runs itself strictly, and should adopt a scientific approach to the construction of the Party, with the aim to retain its progressiveness and ensure that the Party always stands as the strong leading core in the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The key to the world's strength lies in the extensive community of developing countries. Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "China shares the same destiny with all the Third World countries." Without the support of the extensive community of developing countries, it would have been impossible for China to resume its legitimate seat in the United Nations. The Chinese Dream will become unrealistic and empty talks if without the support of the extensive community of developing countries as multi-polarization and economic globalization further progress. Therefore the Report to the 18th CPC National Congress reaffirmed that China's international status as the largest developing country in the world has not changed, that

China would continue to strengthen its solidarity and cooperation with developing countries, and that China would always be a reliable friend and sincere partner of the developing countries.

This is a brief and simple explanation of the relationship between the Chinese Dream and the 18th CPC National Congress. Further study on the roadmap of the report will help understand every aspect of the Chinese Dream. Then you will find that the Chinese Dream is not only for China, but also for the rest of the world. China will not jeopardize the progressive interests of other countries and their peoples in its pursuit of the Chinese Dream. On the contrary, together with the international community it will make relentless efforts to realize the world's dreams of peace, development, and win-win cooperation.

July 2013

The Roadmap of the 18th CPC National Congress and The Chinese Dream

All Party members must heighten their sense of urgency, their sense of responsibility, and their focus on strengthening the Party's governance skills, development, and integrity. We should continue to free up our minds and carry out reform and innovation, and uphold the principle that the Party should supervise its own conduct and run itself with strict discipline. We should make comprehensive efforts to strengthen the Party theoretically and organizationally and improve its conduct. We should improve our capacity to fight corruption, uphold Party integrity and improve Party rules and regulations. We should enhance our own individual ethical structure, and improve our capacity for self-improvement, self-development and innovation, thereby building an innovative and service-oriented Marxist governing party that constantly strives to learn. By taking these steps we can ensure that the Party always provides the core of firm leadership guiding the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

— Report to the 18th CPC National Congress

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