

Chapter 9

Postscript



China is in a period of transition, moving from a modern laggard, latecomer, and pursuer to an innovator and leader. Along the way, China encountered a number of fundamental hurdles: should China develop? Why develop? What is the purpose of development? How to measure development? How to develop? How to achieve development goals? In essence, these are the hurdles facing China's development idea, development concept, development path, and development mode.

Where can we find the answers to these problems? As Mao Tse-tung commented, "a correct understanding often needs to be completed through multiple repeats from material to spirit and from spirit to material, namely from practice to understanding and from understanding to practice".¹ Therefore, to properly address the hurdles and problems facing Chinese development, it requires a few decades to experience the repeated process of repeated practice and understanding, to change from scant knowledge to greater knowledge, from shallow knowledge to deep knowledge, and from one-sided knowledge to comprehensive knowledge. China's significant period of reform, opening-up, and its unique practices provide us with practical innovation and knowledge sources, while also providing the decision makers and think tanks with interactive exploration, generalization, summary, and sublimation. That is, the two brains of the "Oriental giant".

This book presents a monographic study on the new development idea proposed by the CPC Central Committee. It has taken us more than 20 years to conduct the necessary academic research, tracking study, and long-term research on the problem. To engage in a deep and comprehensive study of China's national conditions, we needed start our research on China's development path at 1949, and from the perspective of the relationships between development and the natural environment, development and human resources, development and innovation, development and fair coordination, and development and globalization. We also needed to look at the six aspects of the new development idea. We were then able to form various

¹Mao Tse-tung: *Where do Right Human Thoughts Come from. Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, pp. 320–321, Vol. 8. People's Publishing House, 1999.

processes of interaction, including theoretical and conceptual interactions, and discussions with the CPC Central Committee.

As early as 1989, the National Conditions Analysis and Research Group of Chinese Academy of Sciences presented a basic strategy and main countermeasures for sustainable development by 2000, and even in the first half of the following century via a system analysis of the necessity of choosing a non-traditional (non-Western) modernization pathway based on the China's national conditions and long-term constraints of development. These constraints included fundamental contradictions and the relationships between populations, resources, environment, food, survival, development, and the key trends thereof.² At that time, this attracted the attention of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

In 1995, I studied the concept of overall coordination in Mao Tse-tung's *On the Ten Major Relationships*³, and wrote and published *China: Ten Major Relationships towards the 21st Century* (Heilongjiang Education Press, 1995)⁴. Moreover, I recommended that the CPC Central Committee research the 10 new major relationships of contemporary China. In 1995, Comrade Jiang Zemin discussed the "12 major relationships" at the 5th Plenary Session of the 14th CPC Central Committee.⁵ Then, in 2010, I again researched China's 10 major relationships.⁶

²Hu AnGang & Wang Yi of National Conditions Analysis and Research Group of Chinese Academy of Sciences: *Survival and Development*, Science Press, 1989.

³Mao Tse-tung discussed ten major relationships, the relationship between (1) heavy industry and light industry and agriculture; (2) coastal industry and inland industry; (3) economic construction and national defense construction; (4) China, production units, and individual producers; (5) central and local governments; (6) ethnic Han and minority nationalities; (7) party and non-party; (8) revolution and counter-revolution; (9) right and wrong; and (10) China and foreign countries. Mao Tse-tung: *On the Ten Major Relationships, Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, pp. 23–44, Vol. 7, Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1999.

⁴This refers to the relationships between (1) central and local governments; (2) developed and underdeveloped regions; (3) industries and agriculture; (4) urban and rural areas; (5) economic growth and economic stability; (6) population and development; (7) environment and development; (8) state economy and non-state economy; (9) development and corruption; and (10) China and foreign countries. Hu AnGang: *China: Ten Major Relationships towards the 21st Century*, Heilongjiang Education Press, 1995.

⁵Jiang Zemin discussed 12 major relationships between (1) reform, development, and stability; (2) speed and efficiency; (3) economic construction and population, resources and environment; (4) primary, secondary, and tertiary industries; (5) East China and Central and Western China; (6) the market mechanism and macro-control; (7) public economic sectors and other economic sectors; (8) China, enterprises, and individuals in the income distribution; (9) opening wider to the outside world and adhering to self-reliance; (10) central and local governments; (11) national defense construction and economic construction; and (12) the construction of material civilization and the construction of spiritual civilization. Jiang Zemin: *Correctly Dealing with a Number of Significant Relationships in Socialist Modernization Construction, Collected Works of Jiang Zemin*, pp. 460–475, Vol. 1, Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2004.

⁶This refers to the relationships between (1) reform, development, and stability; (2) growth rate and development mode; (3) urban areas and rural areas; (4) regions; (5) economic construction and social construction; (6) human and nature; (7) governments and markets; (8) central and local governments; (9) material construction and cultural construction; and (10) China and the world.

In 1999, I proposed that the strategy of sustainable development was still one of the major strategies of the 10th Five-Year Plan and China's 2015 long-range plan. Furthermore, the key principle within the strategy was people-oriented and people-centered, that is, aiming to considerably improve people's quality of life (improvements to the environment quality are also an important aspect of the quality of life). A further aim was to change the development mode from "high capital investment, high resource consumption, and high pollution emissions", to a "resource-saving" and "environmentally friendly" national economic system suitable for China's national conditions using the market mechanism and technological progress. China also sought to move towards trade liberalization and invest in liberalization by making full use of the "two resources" and "two markets", and implementing this strategy in a wider scope.⁷

At that time, some colleagues and myself also put forward some recommendations and strategies that were not adopted. However, later we presented the "people-oriented" guiding ideology in the outline of the 11th Five-Year Plan to establish, for the first time, "a resource-saving and environment-friendly society" in Part VI, and also divided it into five chapters.⁸

In 2005, we further analyzed China's fundamental national conditions when we were researching the background of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Here, we presented an analysis framework of the "five major capitals", namely physical capital, human capital, knowledge capital, natural capital, and international capital. We comprehensively evaluated the success and costs of Chinese development, and analyzed and summarized China's long-term development mode, thus presenting four major strategies promoting the comprehensive, coordinated, and sustainable development of China. The four strategies are as follows: economic globalization strategy, human resource development strategy, knowledge development strategy, and green development strategy. These strategies embodied the basic concept of the new development idea. We also summarized China's three generations of development strategies: the first generation was the traditional development idea of the planned economy period (1950–1978); the second generation was the economic development strategy of the economic transition period (1978–2002); and the third generation was the new development concept strategy represented by the scientific development concept (after 2002).

We also pointed out that the three generations of development strategies had both similarities and differences, but overall were not that different. The similarities are reflected in the inheritance of previous development strategies, and the

Hu AnGang: *On "Ten Major Relationships" in the New Period*, *Journal of Tsinghua University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*, No. 2, 2010.

⁷Hu AnGang: *Ten Major Goals for Sustainable Development of China: about Recommendations for the 10th Five-Year Plan*, *Analysis and Research Report on National Conditions of China*, No. 61, 1999, July 25.

⁸*Outline of the 11th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of China*, adopted at the 4th Session of the 10th National People's Congress on March 14, 2011.

differences are reflected in the level of innovation of each development idea. The development idea of each generation is a connecting link between the preceding and the following, has a tie with the others, keeps pace with the times, and constantly innovates. Of course, the development idea of each generation is shaped by historical rationale and limitations.⁹ We also believed that because “existence determines consciousness”, our viewpoint constantly adjusted and changed with China’s development process. We also tried to learn from international development strategies, consciously summarized China’s development practices, and purposely refused to be constrained.

In August 2010, we provided the basic idea of “six major developments” as research for the 12th Five-Year Plan: green development, innovative development, coordinated development, shared development, security development, and win-win development.¹⁰

I also published a book titled *China: Innovative Green Development* (China Renmin University Press) in April 2012, with an English-language version published by Springer in 2014. A Japanese version was published by the Newspaper Office of Chinese living in Japan in 2015.

In September 2012, I published a further book titled *2020 China: Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in an All-Round Way* (Tsinghua University Press). I sought to “insist on the concept of scientific development: five major developments”. These are innovative development, green development, coordinated development, shared development, and win-win development.¹¹ I summarized green development therein as “respecting nature, following nature, protecting nature, benefiting from nature, using nature, and nurturing nature”. In this way we can achieve harmony between humans and nature. What surprises me most, is that “respecting nature, following nature, and protecting nature” is written in both the report of the 18th Party Congress and the revised CPC Constitution. However, at that time, we failed to fully and systematically develop and elaborate the new development idea. In 2015, I sent the book to the decision makers for reference and received positive feedback.

In 2013, my colleagues and myself were authorized by the National Development and Reform Commission to conduct a mid-stage assessment of the 12th Five-Year Plan. Based on the assessment results, we suggested China’s economic transformation and upgrading via “five major developments”. The 13th Five-Year Plan was based on these suggestions.¹²

⁹Hu AnGang & Wang YaHua: *National Conditions and Development*, pp. 163–165, Tsinghua University Press, 2005.

¹⁰Hu AnGang & Yang YiLong: *12th Five-Year Plan: Background, Idea and Goal of China, Report of National Conditions*, No. 24, 2010, August 8.

¹¹Hu AnGang: *2020 China: Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in an All-Round Way*, Tsinghua University Press, 2012.

¹²Hu AnGang, Yang YiLong & Yang ZhuSong: *Recommendations for Basic Idea of the “13th Five-Year Plan”*, *Review of Economic Research*, 2013 (55): 71–78.

In October 2015, the *Recommendations of the CPC Central Committee for the 13th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development* adopted at the 5th Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee outlined the need to firmly establish a new development idea of innovation, coordination, green, openness, and sharing. For this purpose, Comrade Xi Jinping specifically discussed the new development idea at the plenary session.¹³

My basic evaluation is as follows: since the 18th Party Congress, the CPC Central Committee, lead by Comrade Xi Jinping, has promoted the “five-in-one” overall layout based on full consideration, coordinated to promote the strategic layout of the “four comprehensive factors”, and presented the “people-centered” new development idea. This has become the guiding ideology of the CPC, People’s Liberation Army, and China, and it has become the guiding concept of innovation and practical innovation. It is mainly reflected in the following aspects: first, the new development idea comes from the largest development practices of reform and opening-up in the world; second, the new development idea summarizes the innovation and essence of previous five-year plans; third, the presentation of the new development idea is a major breakthrough in five-year plan designs, and becomes an important way to achieve the building of an all-round moderately prosperous society; fourth, the new development idea is one aspect of the comprehensive scientific development concept; and fifth, China’s development idea is bound to have a huge impact on the world. Thus, the new development idea not only represents the latest theoretical achievements of Chinese development economics, but also the best practices of development economics in the contemporary world.¹⁴ As Mao Tse-tung stated, “people’s social existence decides people’s thinking. The right thoughts representing the advanced classes, once mastered by the masses, will become a material force in transforming the world and transforming society”.¹⁵ In my mind, I likened Comrade Xi Jinping’s new development idea as a “spiritual atomic bomb”. Once it is understood by billions of Chinese people, it will represent great innovation and entrepreneurship, as well as the innovation of intelligence and wealth.

This is a process in which the “material atomic bomb” interacts with the “spiritual atomic bomb”. For us, it is also a process of constant learning, exploration, innovation, and writing.

The 5th Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee officially presented the new concept containing “five major developments”: innovative development, coordinated development, green development, open development, and shared development. We have repeatedly edited the book after careful learning, in-depth research, and group discussion. In the process of research and writing, Assistant

¹³Xi Jinping: *Speech by President Xi Jinping at the 2nd Plenary Meeting of the 5th Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee (Excerpts)*, (October 29, 2015), *Qiushi*, No. 1, 2016.

¹⁴Hu AnGang: *How do Five Major New Development Ideas Guide the 13th Five-Year Plan*, *People’s Tribune*, November 17, 2015.

¹⁵Mao Tse-tung: *Where do Right Human Thoughts Come from. Collected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, p. 321, Vol. 8. People’s Publishing House, 1999.

Professor Yan YiLong helped me to organize research and writing. Tang Xiao, Lu YuFeng, Zhang Xin, and Dr. Jiang Jiaying participated in the research and writing of various chapters in the book. Associate Professor Zhou Shaojie provided relevant research findings. The first edition of the book was completed at the end of 2015, and was officially published in April 2016.

As a second edition, the book now includes Chap. 7. Since the 18th Party Congress, General Secretary Xi Jinping has introduced two new areas of innovation. The first is security development idea innovation, that is adhering to the concept of overall national security, aiming for the security of the people, fully considering domestic and international situations, and development and security. It also means to adhere to the new strategies including that national security is for the people and depends on the people. The second is national security system innovation. On January 24, 2014, after much research, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting to establish the National Security Commission. Xi Jinping serves as the chairman of the National Security Commission, and Li Keqiang and Zhang Dejiang are the Vice Presidents. China has established a centralized, unified, efficient, and authoritative national security system. For both the CPC and China, it represents prime examples of institutional innovation and mechanism innovation. On October 14, 2013, the *Report of National Conditions* (No. 15 of the 2013 Special Issue) of the *Recommendations for the Establishment of the National Security Commission* written by professor Men Honghua and I, recommended that for major national security issues, it was essential that the following occur: “high authority, the decentralization of low-level authorities, decisions to be made by the Commission, and various parties to handle affairs”. All this was to operate under the direct leadership of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and the Standing Committee. The aim is to establish a national security leadership system led by the President of China. This strategy coincides with the strategic decision of the central government. On November 12, 2013, the Communiqué of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee stated its intention to establish the National Security Commission, perfect the national security system and the national security strategy, and ensure China’s national security. For this purpose, I further felt that it was necessary to summarize the new idea of security development of China from the viewpoint of China’s security development practices. When Chap. 7 of the book was finalized, I did not think that on December 10, 2016, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee would hold a meeting to deliberate the *Opinions on Strengthening the National Security Work*. Comrade Xi Jinping delivered an important speech at the meeting. Xinhua News Agency only published two paragraphs, but a substantial amount of information was provided, and the idea was very innovative, and helped us to finalize the “Security Development” chapter.

Chapter 7 “Security Development” was written by Tang Xiao, Tang YiLong, and myself, and was finally complete after my careful and repeated revision. This article was internally published as the *Report of National Conditions* (No. 42 of 2016 Special Issue) for the reference of policy makers.

Moreover, I wrote a book titled *China: Determine the Victory of the Centenary Goal* in light of the recommendations adopted at the 5th Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee. The book was also published by the Zhejiang People's Publishing House. The two books and the book titled *Grand Strategy of the "13th Five-Year Plan"* (Zhejiang People's Publishing House, edition of June 2015) written by Yan YiLong, Zhou Shaojie, and I epitomize our research on the 13th Five-Year Plan, represent the systematic research achievements of the development theory, development idea, and development plan, and provide intellectual support for policy makers and public knowledge for all society.

As a think tank, the Research Institute of National Conditions of Tsinghua University aims for "knowledge serving the people, and serving China". Furthermore, "it is concerned with the issues China is concerned about, it thinks about the issues China thinks about, and also thinks about those issues that China is not thinking about". For a long time now, we have been tracking both professional and occupational research on China's five-year plans, and have provided advice to the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. Recently, the Research Institute of National Conditions of Tsinghua University has also been honored as one of the first pilot units of the national high-end think tank, and directly serves the decisions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. This fully affirms our previous work, and represents expectations of our future development. We feel great responsibility, and will focus on further research on China's national conditions, national policies, and medium and long-term strategic planning, and create a world-class high-end think tank with the Tsinghua brand with Chinese characteristics. We will also continue to provide high-end knowledge products for high-end customers, namely the *Report of National Conditions*, and take the initiative to strengthen communication and contact with decision-making sectors and other high-end think tanks. We will continue to create channels of knowledge spillover and communication, and strive to start a new journey to building high-end think tanks.

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