

中国报导

CHINA-  
REPORT

Nummer 173-174/2018

**Ö.G.C.F.**  
Gesellschaft zur Förderung  
freundschaftlicher und kultureller Beziehungen  
zur VR China

1080 WIEN, JOSEFSTÄDTERSTR. 20/24, TELEFON: 406 97 93

## **EHRENPRÄSIDENT**

Dr. Helmut **Sohmen**  
Vorsitzender BW Group Limited

## **PRÄSIDENT**

Dr. Heinz **Fischer**  
Bundespräsident a.D.

## **STELLVERTRETENDE PRÄSIDENTEN**

Doris **Bures**  
2. Nationalratspräsidentin

Univ. Prof. Dr. Gerd **Kaminski**  
(State University of New York)  
Leiter des Österreichischen Institutes für China- und Südost-  
asienforschung, Geschäftsführender Vizepräsident

Kommerzialrat Zhan **Weiping**  
Unternehmer

## **PRÄSIDIUMSMITGLIEDER**

Karl **Blecha**  
Bundesminister für Inneres a.D.,  
Ehrenpräsident des PVÖ

Mag.<sup>a</sup> Muna **Duzdar**  
Abg. z. NR

Dr. Wendelin **Ettmayer**  
Botschafter a.D.

Anna Elisabeth **Haselbach**  
stv. Präsidentin des Bundesrates a.D.

Mag. Dr. Josef **Höchtl**  
Abg. z. NR a.D.  
Präsident des Forchtensteiner Kreises

Dr. Johannes **Jarolim**  
Abg. z. NR  
Justizsprecher der SPÖ

Mag. Othmar **Karas**  
Leiter der ÖVP Delegation im Europaparlament

Mag. Dr. Walter **Koren**  
Österr. Handelsdelegierter in Los Angeles

Dr. Peter **Kostelka**  
Präsident des PVÖ

Mag.<sup>a</sup> Susanne **Kurz**

Mag. Michael **Otter**  
Leiter der AUSSENWIRTSCHAFT AUSTRIA

Dr. Sepp **Rieder**  
Vizebürgermeister der Stadt Wien a.D.

Mag. Andreas **Schieder**  
Stv. Klubobmann der SPÖ im NR

Dr. Wolfgang **Schüssel**  
Präsident der Öst. Ges. f. Außenpolitik & die Vereinten Nationen

Dr. Peter **Wittmann**  
Abg. z. NR  
Vorsitzender der Chinagruppe im NR

## **KURATORIUM**

### **PRÄSIDENT**

Walter **Strutzenberger**  
Bundesratspräsident a.D.

### **VIZEPRÄSIDENTEN**

Dr. Martin **Bartenstein**  
Bundesminister a.D.

Dr. Herbert **Cordt**  
Aufsichtsratspräsident RHI

Mag.<sup>a</sup> Karin **Gastinger**  
Bundesministerin für Justiz a.D.

Dr. Alfred **Gusenbauer**  
Bundeskanzler a.D.

Anna Elisabeth **Haselbach**  
Stv. Präsidentin des Bundesrates a.D.

Mag. Harald **Himmer**  
Stv. Präsident des Bundesrates a.D.

Rudolf **Hundstorfer**  
BM f. Arbeit, Soziales u. Konsumentenschutz a.D.  
Präsident der Bundessportorganisation

Christian **Illedits**  
Landtagspräsident Burgenland  
Vorsitzender der Zweigstelle Burgenland der ÖGCF

Karlheinz **Kopf**  
Abg. z. NR, Generalsekretär der WKO

Sebastian **Kurz**  
Bundeskanzler

Mag.<sup>a</sup> Susanne **Kurz**

Prof. **Lu Jiaxian**  
Unternehmer, Professor an der Hangzhou Wirtschafts-  
Universität

Dr. Christoph **Matznetter**  
Vizepräsident der WKO

Edgar **Mayer**  
Fraktionsvorsitzender der ÖVP im BR a.D.

Dr. Josef **Moser**  
BM für Justiz

HR Johannes **Pinczolits**  
Protokollchef der Burgenländischen LR

Mag. Thomas **Reindl**  
Präsident des Wiener Gemeinderates

KR Ingrid **Winkler**

## KURATORIUMSMITGLIEDER

Mag.<sup>a</sup> Saya **Ahmad**  
Bezirksvorsteherin Alsergrund

Univ. Prof. Dr. Ludwig **Adamovich**  
Präsident des Österr. Verfassungsgerichtshofes a.D.

Ingo **Appé**  
Bundesrat, Bürgermeister von Ferlach

Mag.<sup>a</sup> Ruth **Becher**  
Abg. z. NR

Ludwig **Bieringer**  
Bürgermeister von Wals-Siezenheim a.D.

Dr. Erhard **Busek**  
Vizekanzler a.D.

General Mag. Othmar **Commenda**

General i.R. Mag. Dr. Peter **Corrieri**  
Ehemals nationaler Rüstungsdirektor d. ÖBH

KR Edith **Corrieri**  
Bundesinnungsmeisterin, WKO

Renate **Csörgits**

Mag. Walter **Ebner**  
Vorsitzender der Zweigstelle Kärnten der ÖGCF

Mag. Wolfgang **Erlitz**

Dr. Beatrix **Eypeltauer**  
Staatssekretärin a.D.

Dr. Werner **Fasslabend**  
Präsident des AIES

Barbara **Frischmuth**

Dr. Gabriele **Führer**  
Leiterin der Abt. Außenwirtschaft der WKO Wien

Dr. Kurt **Gaßner**

Dr. Wilhelm **Gloss**  
Vizepräsident der Gewerkschaft öffentlicher Dienst (GÖD)

Mag.<sup>a</sup> Elisabeth **Grossmann**

Komm. Rat Franz **Grundwalt**  
Bezirksvorsteher Innere Stadt a.D.

Fritz **Hochmair**  
Landeshauptmannstv. a.D., Vorsitzender der  
Zweigstelle OÖ der ÖGCF

Leopold **Hofinger**

Mag.<sup>a</sup> Johanna **Jachs**  
Abg. z. NR

Renate **Kaufmann**

Mag. Christian **Koidl**  
Swarovski-Familienunternehmen

Dr. Günter **Kräuter**  
Volksanwalt

Mag. Hubert **Kreuch**

Sonja **Ledl-Rossmann**  
Landtagspräsidentin Tirol

Dr. Reinhold **Lopatka**  
Abg. z. NR

Dr. Michael **Ludwig**  
Bürgermeister der Stadt Wien

Martina **Malyar**  
Bezirksvorsteherin Alsergrund a.D.

Mag. Lukas **Mandl**  
Abg. z. Europa Parlament

Nico **Marchetti**  
Abg. z. NR, Landesobmann der Jungen ÖVP Wien

Marco **Mercuri**  
Büro Obmann des Verteidigungsausschusses

Dr. Reinhold **Mitterlehner**  
Vizekanzler a.D.

Mag.<sup>a</sup> Christine **Muttonen**

Dr. Johannes **Neumann**

Dr. Alfred **Peischl**  
Magistratsvizedirektor i.R.

Primaria Dr. Elisabeth **Pittermann**

Dipl. Ing. Josef **Reschen**  
Bürgermeister von Salzburg a.D.,  
Geschäftsführer der Zweigstelle Salzburg der ÖGCF

Dr. Peter **Rezar**  
LAbg., Burgenland

Klaus **Samlicki**

Mag. Dr. Günther **Sidl**  
Direktor VHS Wiener Urania

Konsul Dr. Rudolf **Schneider**

Stefan **Schnöll**  
Landesrat, Salzburg, Vorsitzender Junge ÖVP

DI Eugen **Sprenger**  
Stv. Bürgermeister von Innsbruck a.D., Honorarkonsul  
Vorsitzender der Zweigstelle Tirol der ÖGCF

Dr. Norbert **Steger**  
Vizekanzler a.D.

Dr. Hannes **Swoboda**  
Präsident des WIIW

Ferdinand **Tiefnig**  
Mitglied des Bundesrates

A.o. Univ.Prof. Dr. Richard **Trappl**  
Institut für Ostasienwissenschaften/Sinologie  
an der Universität Wien  
Leiter des Konfuzius Instituts der Universität Wien

Liang **Yan**  
Direktor Shaolin Tempel Kulturzentrum

MR. DDr. Claus **Walter**  
Gruppenleiter im BMWF a.D.

Dr. Oskar **Wawra**  
Vizepräsident von PaN

Manfred **Wurm**  
Bezirksvorsteher Liesing a.D.

## Rechnungsprüfer

Klaus **Samlicki**

**ÖSTERREICHISCHES INSTITUT FÜR  
CHINA – UND SÜDOSTASIENFORSCHUNG**

**Betrieben im Zusammenwirken mit der ÖGCF**

**REFERENTEN**

**BAUER**, Univ. Prof. Dr. Rudolph: Chinesische Sozialpolitik

**BUCHAS**, Peter: Chinesische Wirtschaft

**CAO**, Dr. Guiying: Chinesische Sozialpolitik

**CH'EN**, Univ. Prof. Dr. Jerome: Chinesische Geschichte und Philosophie

**FELLNER**, Dr. Hannes A.: Minoritätensprachen im alten China

**GAO**, Univ. Prof. Zhongfu: Chinesisch - ausländische Beziehungen in der Literatur

**GINER-REICHL**, Dr. Irene: China in den internationalen Beziehungen

**GISSENWEHRER**, Univ. Prof. Dr. Michael: Fernöstliches Theater

**HETZEL**, Mag. Ludwig, LL.M.: Chinesisches Recht

**KAMINSKI**, HR Univ. Prof. Dr. Gerd: Rechts- insbesondere Völkerrechtskonzeption und Außenpolitik in Ost- und Südostasien, Institutsleiter

**KREISSL**, Mag. Barbara: Chinesische Geschichte und Gesellschaft, stv. Institutsleiterin

**LI**, Dr. Xiangxia: Chinesisches Recht

**LIU**, Univ. Prof. Guoguang: Chinesische Wirtschaft und Urbanisierungsforschung, Special invited consultant des wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Institutes der CASS

**LUKAS**, Univ. Doz. Dr. Helmut: Ethnologie Ost- und Südasiens

**MADL**, Dr. Benedikt: EU-China, Bildungswesen

**MENG**, Dr. Gustav: Chinesisches Gesundheitswesen

**OPLETAL**, Dr. Helmut: Innen- und Medienpolitik der ost- und südostasiatischen Staaten, Lektor an der Universität Wien

**RILEY**, Josephine, M.A.: Chinesische Literatur, fernöstliches Theater

**RINGHOFFER**, Mag. Emanuel: Geschichte Chinas und der südostasiatischen Staaten

**RUPPERT**, Univ. Prof. Dr. Wolfgang: Naturwissenschaft und Technik in China

**TUNG**, Univ. Prof. Dr. Constantine: Chinesische Literatur

**URBAN**, Mag. Waltraut: Wirtschaft Ost- und Südasiens

**WANG**, Univ. Prof. Jing: Literatur, interkulturelle Kommunikation

**WANG**, Mag. Jing: Chinesische NGOs

**WEISSEL NIKOL**, Dr. Laura Emilia: Chinesisches Recht

**Xu**, Dr. Fangfang: Internationale Entwicklung

**YE**, Univ. Prof. Tingfang: Chinesisch – ausländische Beziehungen in der Literatur

**ZETTL**, Dr. Fritz: Chinesische bildende Kunst



# INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

<b>Ansprache auf dem Symposium „Chinese Strategies“ am 18.10.2018 im Palais Trautson</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>Botschafter Li Xiaosi</i>	
<b>Socialism with Chinese Characteristics</b>	<b>9</b>
<i>Botschafter Li Xiaosi</i>	
<b>Domestic and International Strategies of the PR of China: Chances for Climate-Neutral Development</b>	<b>13</b>
<i>Dr. Irene Giner-Reichl</i>	
<b>Traditional Chinese Elements in Xi Jinping’s Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in a New Era</b>	<b>23</b>
<i>Gerd Kaminski</i>	
<b>Rede, gehalten am 30. Oktober 2018 vor dem China Businessforum in Pörschach am Wörthersee</b>	<b>48</b>
<i>Kurt Seinitz</i>	
<b>Offizielle chinesische Dokumente ernst nehmen!</b>	<b>51</b>
<i>Harro von Senger</i>	
<b>Interview mit Yu Dan anlässlich ihres Vortrags in Wien am 15.11.2018</b>	<b>54</b>
<i>Gerd Kaminski</i>	



## **Ansprache auf dem Symposium „Chinese Strategies“ am 18.10.2018 im Palais Trautson**

*Botschafter Li Xiaosi*

Sehr geehrter Herr Bundespräsident a.D. Dr. Fischer!  
Geschätzte Expertinnen und Experten aus China und Österreich!  
Meine Damen und Herren!

Es freut mich sehr, dem heutigen Symposium zum Thema Chinese Strategies beiwohnen zu dürfen. Ich bedanke mich sehr bei der ÖGCF, beim Bundesministerium für Justiz und weiteren Ministerien, den Handelskammern und Vereinigungen für die gemeinsame Veranstaltung, die das wechselseitige Kennenlernen und Verständnis zwischen China und Österreich bzw. China und Europa fördert.

Ich arbeite seit über zwei Jahren in Österreich und habe das Gefühl, dass das gegenseitige Kennenlernen und Verständnis zwischen China und Europa bzw. Österreich am meisten schwerfällt. Viele pflichten uns zwar bei, wenn wir sagen, dass es ganz normal ist, dass beide Seiten aufgrund verschiedener Historien, Kulturen, politischer Systeme und Wirtschaftsentwicklung in gewissen Fragen geteilter Meinung sind und unterschiedlich agieren; aber in der Tat haben europäische Staaten immer noch viele Vorurteile gegenüber China, die meines Erachtens von ihrer Grundeinstellung und ihrer Art der China-Betrachtung herrühren.

China ist ein komplexes Phänomen. Es hat eine 5000 Jahre alte Geschichte und Kultur, eine Fläche von 9,6 Millionen Quadratkilometern, 1,4 Milliarden Menschen und 56 Ethnien. In der Geschichte hat China immer wieder Höhen und Tiefen erlebt und wurde seit dem Opiumkrieg an den Grundfesten gerüttelt, bis schließlich die Volksrepublik China gegründet wurde. Seit Einführung der Reform- und Öffnungspolitik vor 40 Jahren hat sich die chinesische Wirtschaft schnell entwickelt, nun ist China politisch, gesellschaftlich stabil und die Lebensqualität der Menschen steigt ständig. Das Land pflegt außerdem regen internationalen Austausch und spielt eine immer wichtigere Rolle in der Weltpolitik und -wirtschaft. Es ist kaum vorstellbar, dass die ÖGCF vor 40 Jahren auf die Idee gekommen wäre, ein so groß angelegtes Symposium zum Thema Chinese Strategies wie heute zu veranstalten. Gewiss hat China wie alle Länder unserer Welt auch zahlreiche Schwächen. Dort leben noch über 30 Millionen Menschen unter der Armutsgrenze, in punkto Wirtschaftsstrukturwandel, Innovations-

kraft, Umweltschutz und Rechtsstaatlichkeit haben wir noch eine Reihe großer Aufgaben zu bewältigen. Um das heutige Niveau von Österreich zu erreichen, hat China noch einen langen Weg zu gehen.

Daher soll man China objektiv und nicht subjektiv, dynamisch und nicht statisch, umfassend und nicht einseitig, systematisch und nicht punktuell, in einem großen Zusammenhang und nicht isoliert betrachten und verstehen.

China war nie ein westliches Land. Ausschließlich an westlichen Kriterien gemessen würde man an China kaum Positives feststellen. China selbst hat in der Vergangenheit versucht, verschiedene Modelle auszuprobieren, wie z.B. das westliche Modell und das Sowjetmodell. Die Versuche sind aber alle gescheitert. Schlussendlich hat China in der Reform- und Öffnungspolitik einen Weg gefunden, der für das Land bestens geeignet und bis dato sehr erfolgreich ist. Auch der Zukunft sehen wir voller Zuversicht entgegen. Alle Wege führen nach Rom. Um zu beurteilen, ob der chinesische Weg gut ist, kommt es nicht darauf an, ob er ein westlicher ist, sondern, ob er der eigenen Bevölkerung realen Nutzen bringt und der Völkergemeinschaft einen positiven Beitrag leistet. Da die Antwort hier eindeutig JA lautet, haben wir keinen Grund, diesen Weg der sich in der Realität als richtig erwiesen hat zu verlassen. Auch die Außenwelt soll China nicht daran hindern, diesen Weg fortzusetzen.

Die Menschenrechtslage in China ist nicht perfekt. Aber verglichen mit der Zeit vor der Gründung der Volksrepublik oder vor der Einführung der Reform- und Öffnungspolitik kann man konstatieren, dass die derzeitige Menschenrechtslage in China historisch die Beste ist. Außerdem dürfen wir nicht übersehen, dass die Entwicklungsphase, in der sich China aktuell befindet, mit sich bringt, dass der Schutz der ökonomischen und sozialen Rechte der Bürgerinnen und Bürger Priorität genießt und erst auf dieser Grundlage der Schutz der politischen und Bürgerrechte an die Reihe kommt und stetig verbessert wird. Übrigens hat auch der Westen den modernen Menschenrechtsschutz nicht innerhalb von 70 oder gar 40 Jahren bewerkstelligt, sondern dafür waren jahrhundertlang harte Bemühungen vonnöten, obwohl die Menschenrechtslage auch in

vielen westlichen Ländern bis heute viele Mängel aufweist. Wir sollen aber nicht gegenseitig Vorwürfe machen, sondern uns austauschen und voneinander lernen, damit der Schutz der Menschenrechte immer vorangetrieben wird. Ich bin jedenfalls fest überzeugt und auch sehr optimistisch, dass die Menschenrechtslage in China immer besser wird.

Die umfassende schnelle Entwicklung der Wirtschaft und Wissenschaft in China ist das Ergebnis der harten Arbeit und Innovation der chinesischen Bevölkerung. Neulich hat ein großes Land behauptet, dass ES China wiederaufgebaut habe und Chinas Entwicklung der Verletzung des geistigen Eigentumsrechts anderer zugrunde liege. Das ist reine Verleumdung. Kein Land in der Welt außer China selbst ist in der Lage, China wieder aufzubauen. Laut der Weltorganisation für geistiges Eigentum war China 2017 das weltweit zweitgrößte Land in Patentanmeldung. 2001 hat China internationale Lizenzgebühren von nur 1,9 Milliarden USD gezahlt, im Jahr 2017 waren es aber schon 28,6 Milliarden USD. Im selben Jahr betragen die chinesischen Ausgaben für Forschung und Entwicklung 2,15% des BIP, also mehr als in vielen EU-Ländern. Selbst im Falle einer Verletzung des geistigen Eigentums soll man unterscheiden, ob sie auf den Staat oder ein Unternehmen oder eine Privatperson zurückgeht. Eines steht fest: Die chinesische Regierung ergreift seit Jahren immer effektivere Maßnahmen gegen Verletzung des geistigen Eigentums.

China hält an der friedlichen Entwicklung, Reform und Öffnung, Kooperation zum gemeinsamen Nutzen fest. Unsere Hoheitsrechte an den Inseln und den umgebenden Gewässern im südchinesischen Meer sind historisch und rechtlich begründet. An unseren Infrastruktur- und Landesverteidigungsmaßnahmen auf unseren eigenen Eilanden gibt es nichts zu kritteln. Die bestehenden Streitigkeiten sind – wie wir immer meinen – durch Dialog und Verhandlung beizulegen. „One Belt One Road“ ist eine Wirtschaftsinitiative für internationale Zusammenarbeit und dient der weltweiten Konjunkturförderung und Global governance, und wird von allen teilnehmenden Staaten begrüßt. Naturgemäß sind alle neuen Dinge mit den einen oder anderen Problemen konfrontiert, die man aber weder übertreiben noch verzerren soll. Sonst würde man vor lauter Bäumen den Wald gar nicht sehen und sich von einer umfassenden, objektiven und fairen Beurteilung entfernen.

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren! Chinas Aufwachen wird nicht schmerzfrei sein. Damit haben wir gerechnet und uns darauf vorbereitet. Wir sind voller Geduld und Zuversicht, unsere eigenen Hausaufgaben gut zu meistern. Ich hoffe, dass China, Österreich und Europa sich über die Differenzen der Ideologien hinwegsetzen, sich mehr dem Austausch, der Verständigung und dem Verständnis widmen und im Sinne unserer gemeinsamen Interessen und für den Frieden und die Prosperität der Welt miteinander enger zusammenarbeiten.

Ich bedanke mich und wünsche dem Symposium viel Erfolg!

# Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

*Botschafter Li Xiaosi*

Paper presented at the Conference Chinese Strategies in Politics, Foreign Policy, Economy and Law Vienna, 18 and 19 October 2018

## I. Definition of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Socialism with Chinese Characteristics was proposed by Deng Xiaoping, the chief architect of China's reform and opening up. The basic meaning is that under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC), on the basis of our national context, we must fulfill the central task of economic development, uphold the Four Cardinal Principles, continue to reform and open up, unleash and develop productive forces, build the socialist market economy, socialist democracy, advanced socialist culture, socialist harmonious society and socialist ecological civilization. We must work to promote well-rounded human development, ultimately achieve common prosperity for everyone, and strive to build China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful.

Socialism with Chinese Characteristics includes four components, the path, the theory, the system, and the culture. That is, four major characteristics. Following the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics means that we must work from the Chinese reality and take the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics instead of copying others' models.

The theory includes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, the Scientific Outlook on Development, and Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

The system includes basic political systems, such as the system of people's congress, the system of Party-led multiparty cooperation and political consultation, the system of regional ethnic autonomy. It also includes basic economic system in which public ownership is the main body, multi-ownership economy develops together.

The culture includes China's fine traditional culture and the advanced socialist culture.

## II. The origin

With a history of more than 5000 years, our nation created a splendid civilization and made remarkable contributions to mankind. But after the Opium War of 1840s, the Chinese people was once long ravaged by war, seeing their homeland torn apart and living in poverty and despair. With tenacity and heroism, countless Chinese tried every possible means including the peasant uprising (the Taiping Rebellion led by Hong Xiuquan), national capitalism (Westernization Movement), constitutional monarchy (Hundred Days Reform), and democratic revolution (the revolution of 1911 led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen), to seek the nation's salvation, but all failed. In 1917, the salvos of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China. In the scientific truth of Marxism-Leninism, Chinese progressives saw a solution to China's problems. In July 1921, the CPC was established. After 28 years of relentless efforts, the People's Republic of China was established in 1949.

During the period of socialist revolution and construction, the Party's first generation central collective leadership with Comrade Mao Zedong at the core led the Chinese people in establishing the basic system of socialism. The Party developed distinctively creative theories and had tremendous success despite serious setbacks, thus enriching and developing Mao Zedong Thought, providing invaluable experiences as well as the theoretical and material basis for launching the initiative of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new historical period.

During the new period of reform, opening up and socialist modernization, the Party's second generation central collective leadership with Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the core led the Chinese people in conducting a thorough review of China's experiences in building socialism, both positive and negative. On this basis and drawing on the experience of world socialism, they made the historic decision to shift the focus of the Party and the government to economic development and to pursue the policy of reform and opening up, hence Deng Xiaoping Theory. On this basis, the initiative of building socialism with Chinese characteristics was successfully launched.

The Party's third generation central collective leadership with Comrade Jiang Zemin at the core led the Chinese people in upholding socialism with Chinese characteristics in the face of the severe tests of complex domestic and international developments and major setbacks in world socialism. They created the Theory of Three Represents, ushered in a new phase in carrying out all-around reform and opening up.

The Central Committee of the CPC with Comrade Hu Jintao as the General Secretary led the Chinese people to seize the important period of strategic opportunities for development, and developed the Scientific Outlook on Development during the course of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and successfully consolidated and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Since the 18th National Congress of CPC, in the face of a complex environment abroad and reform and development tasks at home, as well as major risks and problems within the party, the Central Committee of CPC with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core led the people into a new era, having developed the Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

The socialism with Chinese characteristics didn't fall from the sky, it's the result of China's tortuous and unrelenting efforts. It was gained through the exploration and practice of 40 years of reform and opening up, nearly 70 years after the founding of the People's Republic of China and 97 years after the founding of CPC. It comes from the 170-year history of the process from decline to prosperity of the Chinese nation in modern times and from the heritage and development of the over 5000-year-long Chinese civilization.

### **III. Great achievements have been made in the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics**

Over the past 40 years since reform and opening up, China's GDP has been growing at an average annual rate of double digits. In 2009, China surpassed Japan to become the world's second-largest economy. In 2010, China surpassed Germany to become the world's largest exporter. More than 97 percent of China's exporting goods are manufactured products, making it the world's new workshop after Britain, the United States, Japan and Germany since the industrial revolution in 18th century. In 2013, China's total import and export surpassed the United States' and became the largest trading country in the world. In 2017, China's per capita GDP reached \$8,640, its share of the

world economy rising from 1.8% in 1978 to around 15% in 2017. China contributes more than 30% to the world's economic growth. In 2017, China's railway mileage reached 127,000 km, an increase of 1.5 times compared with 1978, among which the high-speed railway reached 25,000 km, accounting for more than 60% of the world's total high-speed railway mileage. In 2017, Chinese netizens reached 772 million and the penetration rate reached 55.8%, among which mobile Internet users accounted for 97.5%, exceeding the global average by 4.1 percentage points and the Asian average by 9.1 percentage points. Major achievements have been made in manned spaceflight, lunar exploration, quantum science, deep-sea exploration, supercomputing, satellite navigation and nuclear power. Sustained and rapid economic growth has greatly improved the living standards of Chinese people. More than 700 million people have been lifted out of poverty. Such a development miracle has never before been seen in human history. China is able to achieve such rapid development because it adheres to the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

### **IV. The Socialism with Chinese Characteristics has entered a new era**

Last October, the 19th CPC national congress made a major judgment that socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era.

First, the socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new stage of development. Since the 18th CPC national congress in 2012, China's reform and opening up and socialist modernization have made historic achievements and undergone historic changes. This shows that on the basis of the major achievements, China has made in its development since the founding of the People's Republic of China, especially since the reform and opening up, China's development has reached a new historical starting point and socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new stage of development.

Second, the principal contradiction facing Chinese society has evolved. With decades of hard work, China has seen the basic needs of over a billion people met, and the needs for the people to live better lives are increasingly broad. Not only have their material and cultural needs grown; their demands for democracy, rule of law, fairness and justice, security, and a better environment are increasing. At the same time, China's overall productive forces have significantly improved and in many areas our production capacity leads the world. The more prominent problem is that our development is unbalanced and inadequate.



Third, CPC's goal has new requirements. The period between the 19th and the 20th National Congress is the period in which the timeframes of the two centenary goals converge. In this period, not only must we finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and achieve the first centenary goal; we must also build on this achievement to embark on a new journey toward the second centenary goal of fully building a modern socialist country, basically realizing socialist modernization by the end of the first stage from 2020 to 2035 as well as developing China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful by the end of the second stage from 2035 to the middle of the 21st century.

Fourth, the international environment that China is facing has changed. The world is in the midst of profound changes. China is still in an important period of strategic opportunity for development; the challenges are severe and the external environment is more complex. Some countries and international forces have more fear about China and exert greater pressure. At the same time, China's development has become increasingly interconnected and interactive with the outside world. China is moving closer to the world's center stage. The international community's expectation of greater responsibility from China is on the rise.

#### **V. Implications of the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era**

The 19th National Congress established Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as the CPC's new guide to action. The overarching goal of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is to realize socialist modernization and national rejuvenation. We must therefore continue the commitment to our people-centered philosophy of development, and work to promote well-rounded human development and common prosperity for everyone. The overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the five-sphere integrated plan (The five spheres are economy, political affairs, social development, culture and ecological conservation.), and the overall strategy is the four-pronged comprehensive strategy, (which is building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, transforming the functions of government to deepening reform in all areas, ensuring every dimension of governance is law-based, and exercising full and rigorous governance over the Party). The overall goal of deepening reform in every field is to improve and develop the system of socialism with Chinese characteris-

tics and modernize China's system and capacity for governance. The overall goal of comprehensively advancing law-based governance is to establish a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and build a country of socialist rule of law. The CPC's goal is building a strong military in the new era as world-class forces. Major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics aims to foster a new type of international relations and build a community with a shared future for mankind. The defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of CPC.

#### **VI.**

Socialism with Chinese characteristics is an institutional arrangement made by CPC in accordance with China's national conditions and a key to the success of China's reform and opening up. China's remarkable achievements over the past 40 years of reform and opening up have attracted worldwide attention, but the development and function of the CPC itself is often neglected. CPC is the governing party that plans and implements the reform and opening up policy, as well as renews the system by self-reform. The only governing party in the world with such a long-term plan is CPC. This is obviously not only the development of social economy, but also the development of political system and order. In this process, CPC has never stopped exploring or trying new reforms.

Since WWII, the western democratic politics has assumed itself as the world's mainstream political order for a long time. But now, the western order is facing unprecedented challenges. The multiparty political system which the West is proud of has turned into endless battles between political parties. Though there is no shortage of far-sighted people in the West, in the absence of an effective government, ideas can hardly be transformed into practical policies to solve the problems that the West is facing.

There is no such thing as a "best" political system. There is never a one-size-fits-all political system that works everywhere. Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a choice different from the Western model. China would neither import any foreign system nor export the Chinese system to any other country. In fact, socialism with Chinese characteristics has brought benefits to the Chinese people as well as made important contributions to the world's peace and development. It is our genuine hope that western countries could view China objectively and fairly.



中國銀行

BANK OF CHINA



# BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND CHINA



中國銀行

BANK OF CHINA

## BANK OF CHINA (HUNGARY) CLOSE LTD VIENNA BRANCH

Börseplatz 6 • 1010 Wien • Österreich  
Tel: +43-1-53666 • Fax: +43-1-53666888  
Swift Code: BKCHATWWXXX • UID: ATU70098468  
Service.at@bankofchina.com  
Company Registration No. FN 442863 w





# Domestic and International Strategies of the PR of China: Chances for Climate-Neutral Development

Dr. Irene Giner-Reichl\*

Paper presented<sup>1</sup> at the Conference Chinese Strategies in Politics, Foreign Policy, Economy and Law Vienna, 18 and 19 October 2018

## I. Introductory Remarks

It has become common place to say that China's development – the way in which China develops – significantly influences the development options of the rest of the world. We are therefore well-advised to scrutinize carefully how China is developing. This article attempts to identify chances for sustainable development which are opening up as a consequence of the recent adoption of strategic directions by the PR of China. Because of limitations of time and space, I can only sketch out some broad lines and point to some examples.

## II. Context

### A growing middle class aspires to higher quality of life

Building upon the success in poverty reduction which freed hundreds of millions of people in China from hunger and poverty, a middle-class has formed in China and continues to grow each year. This middle class is financially secure; children study in elite foreign universities, play the piano or get riding lessons; vacations are spent abroad and luxury consumption desires are satiated. Instead of more consumption, members of this middle class are aspiring to higher quality of life. And higher quality of life means in the first instance clean air and drinking water, safe foods and functioning public transport systems.

Environmental protection and sustainable management of natural resources are major challenges for China. Already now, China experiences severe water stress, especially in the Northern regions; many of the water courses and the groundwater of many cities are severely polluted. Large areas of agricultural soil are contaminated. Air pollution

in major cities is constantly reported about in Chinese and international media. The home-made video „Under the Dome“, in which Chinese journalist and mother CHAI Jing describes her endeavors to protect her baby daughter against air pollution, had more than a 100 million hits before it was taken from the web.

Members of the middle class articulate their aspirations in many ways, and often through the internet (China has some 300 million blogs, comparable to Twitter) – and I assume that the Chinese government listens carefully.

### The New Normal

Since the opening-up policy of Deng Xiaoping (邓小平) China's economic ascendancy was built on investments in infrastructure and export of manufactured goods (availing of abundant and cheap labor); China was termed the „workshop of the world“. A few years ago, it became apparent, however, that this economic model would create severe problems, such as a steel glut and international dumping accusations. It was no longer suitable to generate prosperity in China.

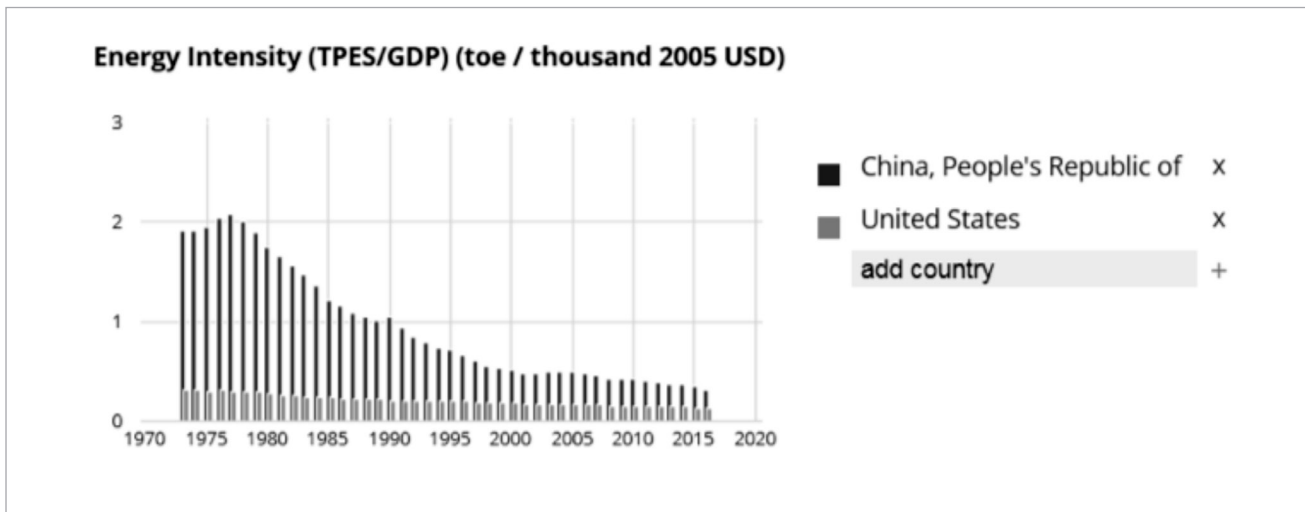
XI Jinping (习近平) therefore termed the expression “new normal” – xīn cháng tài 新常态 : China's growth rates would hitherto oscillate between 6.5 and 7 %; the economy would be transformed with a view of producing higher-end goods, with special focus on state-of-the-art technology in a defined list of sectors; services would amount to a higher percentage of the overall GDP, and domestic consumption would become more important as engine of growth than exports.

This change in the fundamental orientation of the Chinese economy meant that productivity increases would be of the essence. China's economy was and is – in comparison to other major economies – more energy-intensive. The IEA-charts below show this in comparison with the economies of the US and of Austria.

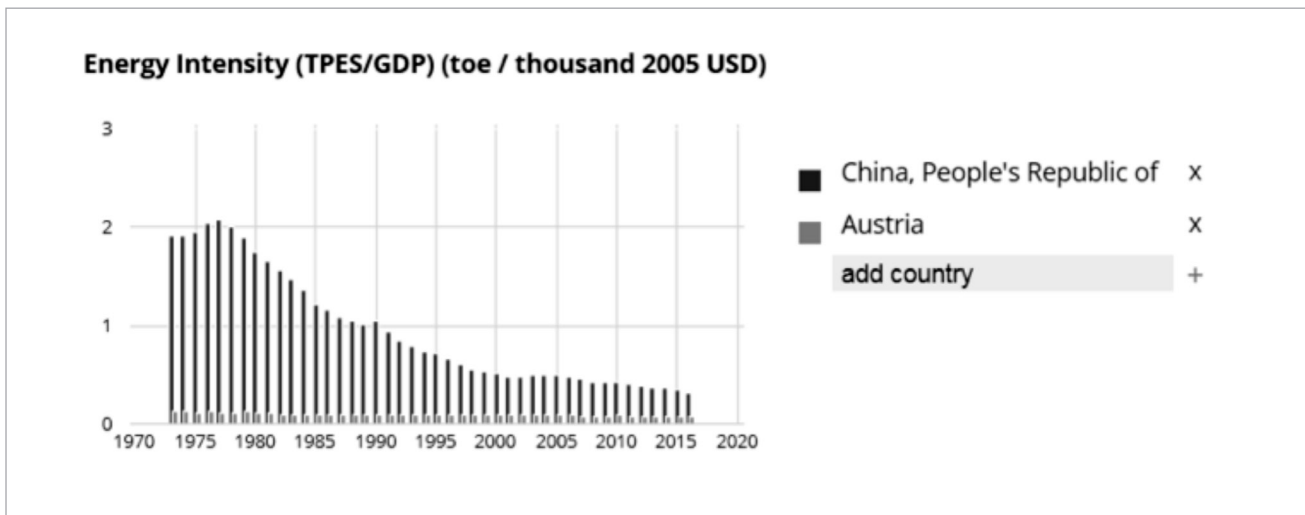
---

\* Dr. Giner-Reichl war Botschafterin in Peking und ist nun Botschafterin in Brasilia.

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful for Mag. Angelika Schönegger-Men who delivered the oral presentation in German during the Conference on 19 October 2018, since I was prevented from doing so myself because of unforeseeable civic duties.



Source: <http://energyatlas.iea.org/#!/tellmap/-297203538>



Source: <http://energyatlas.iea.org/#!/tellmap/-297203538>

### III. Overarching Directions

#### 13th Five-Year-Plan (2016-2020)

The changes in the economic strategies toward the new normal require a transformation of the Chinese energy system and a major efficiency increase in the use of energy and raw materials in general.

Already the 12<sup>th</sup> Five-Year-Plan (2011-2015) contained instructions to this end. The 13<sup>th</sup> Five-Year-Plan (2016-2020), adopted in March 2016, is very explicit in the matter<sup>2</sup>.

Some of the quantitative targets of the 13<sup>th</sup> Five-Year-Plan are of particular relevance for this article<sup>3</sup>:

- 6,5 % of yearly economic growth from 2016 to 2020, in order to double the GDP of 2010 by 2020;
- R&D budgets increased from 2,1 % of GDP in 2015 to 2,5 % in 2020;
- Urbanization rate increased from 56,1 % in 2015 to 60% in 2020;
- Reduction of emissions per unit of GDP by 2020 of 40 to 45 % against the base-line of 2005;
- Increase of the percentage of non-fossil energy to 15 % of the national energy mix by 2020;

<sup>2</sup> <http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201612/P020161207645765233498.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> see also [http://www.cepii.fr/PDF\\_PUB/pb/2016/pb2016-12.pdf](http://www.cepii.fr/PDF_PUB/pb/2016/pb2016-12.pdf)

The 13<sup>th</sup> Five-Year-Plan contains, of course, many other highly relevant objectives and targets, including in social welfare and restructuring of SOEs or currency policy which this article cannot address.

If the Plan is implemented, it will have excellent effects on the improvement of the local environment in China – which is the major concern of the Chinese population. At the same time, the new strategic directions for the Chinese economy open up new possibilities for international cooperation. The intended restructuring of the energy sector, in particular, turns China into a natural ally of the EU on climate action.

#### Amendments to the Constitution of the PR of China

Among other amendments, the preamble of the PR of China's Constitution was amended in spring of 2018, in order to enshrine XI Jinping's Thought (and also the legacy of his predecessor HU Jintao) in the canon of great Chinese leaders. The relevant text now reads in English:

“The victory in China's New-Democratic Revolution and the successes in its socialist cause have been achieved by the Chinese people of all nationalities, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, by upholding truth, correcting errors and surmounting numerous difficulties and hardships. China will be in the primary stage of socialism for a long time to come. The basic task of the nation is to concentrate its effort on socialist modernization along the road of Chinese-style socialism. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the important thought of Three Represents, **the Scientific Outlook on Development, and the Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era**, the Chinese people of all nationalities will continue to adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist road, persevere in reform and opening to the outside world, steadily improve socialist institutions, develop the socialist market economy, develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist rule of law, **apply a new vision of development**, and work hard and self-reliantly to modernize the country's

industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology step by step and promote the coordinated development of the material, political, spiritual, **social and ecological civilizations**, to turn China into a **strong modern socialist country that is prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful, and to realize the great rejuvenation for the Chinese nation.**”<sup>4</sup> (*new text in bold*)

The end of the paragraph picks up the phrasing of XI Jinping's Chinese Dream (中国梦 Zhōng guó mèng) and explicitly anchors the concept of „ecological civilization“ in the Constitution. I should like to revert to this concept now a bit more in detail.

#### Ecological Civilisation

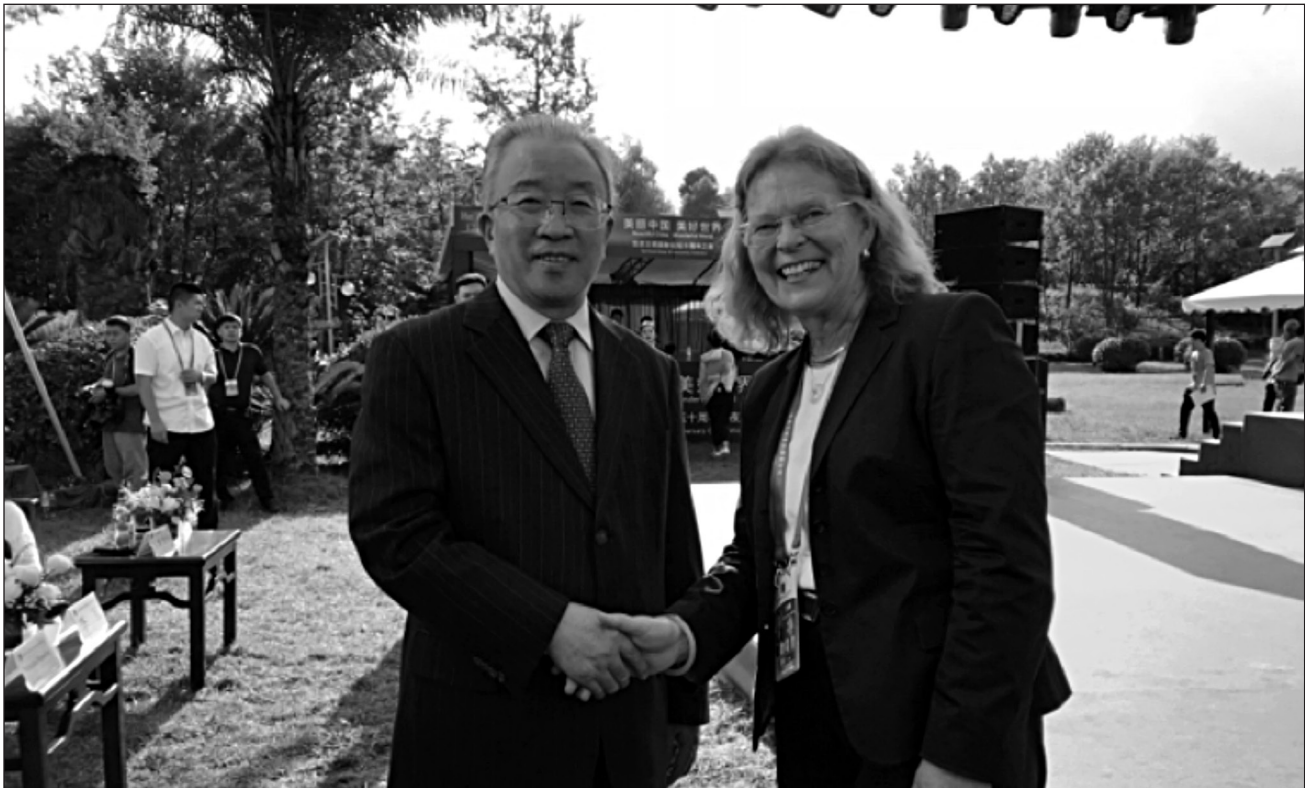
Ecological Civilization - 生态文明 Shēng tài wén míng - is a concept that has gained acceptance in China over the last several years; it means more or less what we call „sustainable development“, that is to say a development which integrates economy, ecology and social progress<sup>5</sup>.

The Eco Forum Global in Guiyang (www.efglobal.org) is to be credited for effective advocacy on behalf of the concept of ecological civilization and the implementation thereof. The Eco Forum Global was initiated in 2008 by then State Counsellor DAI Bingguo (戴秉国) and benefits from the leadership of former Minister for Education ZHANG Xinsheng (章新胜, since 2012 also President of IUCN) and its Executive Director (Alex) ZHANG Hǎi (张海). Since 2009 the Eco Forum Global takes place each year with a specific mandate from the State Council as the only national conference on this topic. DAI Bingguo keeps faith with the Eco Forum and presides in person over an international Advisory Council. In 2018 deputy Prime-Minister Madam SUN Chunlan 孙春兰 was the key-note speaker at the opening and read out a personal message from President XI Jinping. The Conference convenes all relevant Chinese stake-holders; government representatives, scientists, CEOs of big companies. Internationalization is pursued consistently. The current governor of Guiyang Province, Madam SHEN Yiqin (谌贻琴), had supported the Eco Forum already as Vice-Party Chief of Guiyang and continues to do so in her new responsibility.

---

<sup>4</sup> <https://npcobserver.com/2018/03/11/translation-2018-amendment-to-the-p-r-c-constitution/>

<sup>5</sup> Irene Giner-Reichl, Nachhaltigkeit hat viele Namen, in China spricht man von Ökologischer Zivilisation. <https://irenerreichl.wordpress.com/2015/08/20/nachhaltige-entwicklung-hat-viele-namen-in-china-spricht-man-von-oekologischer-zivilisation/>



*Former State Counsellor DAI Bingguo with the author at the EFG in July 2018 in Guiyang (private photograph)*

The concept of „Ecological Civilisation“ was formally consecrated in May 2015, when the „Opinions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council on Further Promoting the Development of Ecological Civilization“<sup>6</sup> were published. The text has 9 parts and contains 35 measures with many concrete quantitative targets many of which were taken up in the 13th Five-Year Plan (2016-2020) (mentioned above). The proposals encompass urbanization, energy-saving, scientific innovation and new technologies for recycling and circular economy; they include financial measures, deal with public participation in processes of decision making, transparency, international cooperation and much more.

In order to create incentives for political leaders, environmental objectives will be considered in the future in the context of promotions. Officials and society alike should be helped to better understand ecological connections. Data collection and monitoring of environmental data, natural resources and emissions should be improved and access to information simplified. The Chinese Environmental

Protection Law has already been upgraded and the judiciary on environmental issues strengthened.

In his speech at the 19<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in November 2017 Xi Jinping used the concept of „ecological civilization“ several times. This is all the more significant - according to China experts who compared the “key concepts” of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Party Congresses – because “ecological civilization” did not figure at all five years ago. At the 19<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, Xi used “ecological civilization” not as often as other key words (“national resurgence”, or “Chinese Dream”), but more often than “Belt and Road”, the international initiative of the new silk roads, and also more often than the slogan of a “beautiful China”.

These days it is frequently recalled in China that Xi Jinping had stated, during his time as Party Secretary in Zhejiang, that “we would rather have green mountains and blue water than mountains of gold and silver”, a phrasing that he also used in his Opening Speech at the B20 Forum in Hangzhou on 3 September 2016<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Central Document Number 12. See also: Sam Geall, Interpreting Ecological Civilization. <https://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/8018-Interpreting-ecological-civilisation-part-one> It was followed in September of 2015 by the “Integrated Reform Plan for Promoting Ecological Progress”, [http://english.gov.cn/policies/latest\\_releases/2015/09/22/content\\_281475195492066.htm](http://english.gov.cn/policies/latest_releases/2015/09/22/content_281475195492066.htm)  
<sup>7</sup> [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjdt\\_665385/zyjh\\_665391/t1396112.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1396112.shtml)



The anchoring of the concept of “ecological civilization” in the Constitution of the PR of China is meaningful and significant in this context. A new Ministry, Ministry of Ecological Environment (MEE, Shēng tài huán jìng bù 生态环境部) was mandated with all environmental dimensions of air, rivers, lakes, seas, soil, ground water, agricultural contamination, climate change and control of emissions. How effective the new Ministry will be able to be, will depend to a large degree also on the newly configured Ministry of Natural Resources (MNR, Zì rán zī yuán bù, 自然资源部) and on the cooperation between the two Ministries<sup>8</sup>.

Eco Forum Global has managed to become something like an innovations laboratory for sustainability policy initiatives. Proposals hatched at the Eco Forum Global regarding “green financing” for example were taken up by the Chinese government in June 2017 and are currently tested in various Chinese pilot provinces. China is currently the biggest emitter of green bonds.

#### IV. Opportunities for International Cooperation

Against the backdrop of the fundamental Chinese policy orientations which I referred to in Chapter III, I see several possibilities to cooperate with China with a view of promoting climate-neutral development. The following five areas offer, in my view, particular potential:

- Further development of the „green economy“ in China and „smart urbanisation“ (since several hundred million of people will be transferred from rural areas to small and middle-sized towns and cities)
- Combined efforts to protect the global climate system
- Cooperation in the context of the Strategic Partnership between China and the EU (which encompasses numerous areas, including climate, water, R&D)
- Cooperation in and with partners of the African continent (China is extremely present in Africa,

- including in the energy sector)<sup>9</sup> and
- Cooperation initiatives along the new silk roads<sup>10</sup>.

Because of the limitations in time and space I will only delve into two of these areas for cooperation: climate protection and Belt and Road.

#### Cooperation for the Protection of the Global Climate

Internationally China’s announcement of its contribution to climate protection was widely noticed. In November 2014 US President Barack Obama and China’s President XI Jinping had declared that cooperation on climate change would be a new dimension of “major powers’ relations”. A joint statement followed on 29 June 2015 at the EU China Summit in Brussels<sup>11</sup>. And a day later Chinese Prime Minister LI Keqiang announced in Paris – which was to host the 21st Conference of the Parties of the UNFCCC in December later that year – China’s Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) to the global reduction of greenhouse gases.<sup>12</sup>

China’s INDC constituted, in my view, a major step on the way to the Paris Climate Agreement. Of course China’s INDC is propelled by priorities of domestic policy; but that, in my view, makes the declaration of intent only more credible. China showed determination to base the country’s development no longer primarily on coal; rather it would shift increasingly to renewable energies, with the view of renewables accounting for 20 % of the final energy consumption by 2020. Emissions would be peaking by 2030 at the latest, and China would undertake sincere efforts to peak earlier. China also pledged to increase its climate-related development assistance to developing countries.

Under its current Director General, IEA is engaging intensely with China (which has an association agreement with the IEA). In November 2017 IEA published a World Energy Outlook country report on China<sup>13</sup>. In this report, the “New Policies Scenario” counts on significant changes of the Chinese energy system.

8 see also the Brunswick consultancy’s assessment of the new portfolios <https://www.brunswickgroup.com/media/4124/brunswick-china-analysis-npc-2018-2018-03-22.pdf> ).

9 Irene Giner-Reichl/Christof Tatschl, Schlaglichter auf Chinas Beziehungen zu Afrika. ÖMZ 4/2018; Irene Giner-Reichl and Luka Powanga, China’s Contribution to the African Power Sector: Policy Implications for African Countries. Journal of Energy (in print);

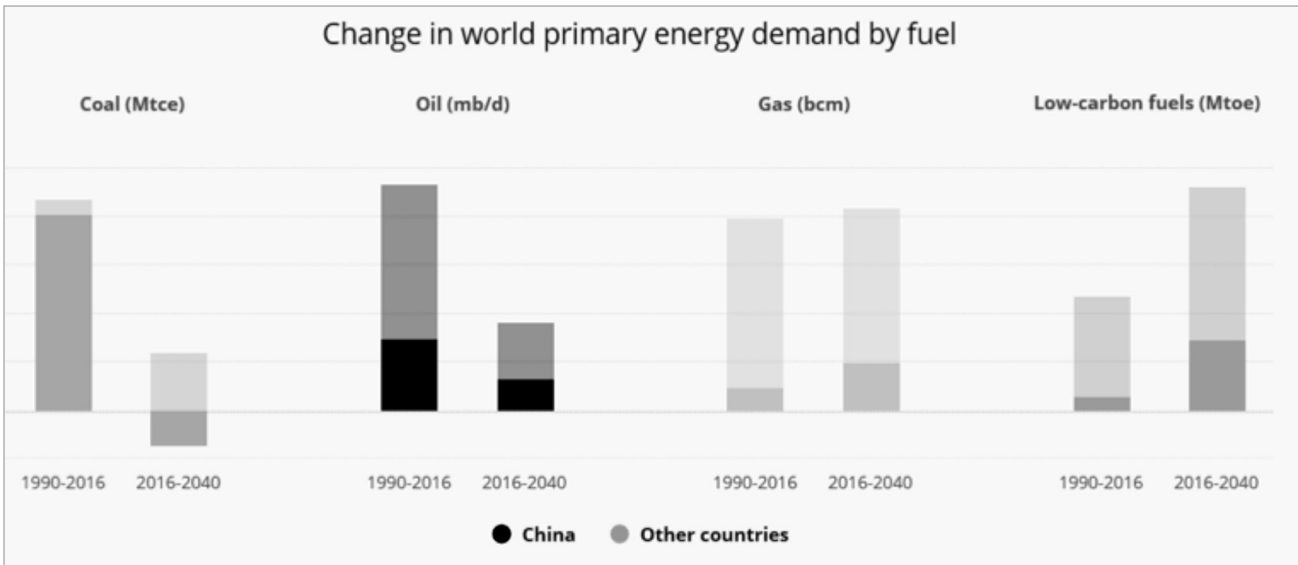
10 Irene Giner-Reichl, One Belt, One Road. <https://irenereichl.wordpress.com/2015/11/09/one-belt-one-road/> ; Irene Giner-Reichl: “Ein Gürtel, Eine Straße” von Asien nach Europa für Frieden und Wohlstand. <https://irenereichl.wordpress.com/2016/01/06/ein-guertel-eine-strasse-von-asien-nach-europa-fuer-frieden-und-wohlstand/>

11 [https://cdn1-eeas.fpfis.tech.ec.europa.eu/cdn/farfuture/JGW3IMFPqfzdfZxUqC52ueZuG6Jgi7KwhX1D54kCxPo/mtime:1484286997/sites/eeas/files/eu-china\\_summit\\_2015\\_joint\\_statement.pdf](https://cdn1-eeas.fpfis.tech.ec.europa.eu/cdn/farfuture/JGW3IMFPqfzdfZxUqC52ueZuG6Jgi7KwhX1D54kCxPo/mtime:1484286997/sites/eeas/files/eu-china_summit_2015_joint_statement.pdf)

12 <http://www4.unfccc.int/Submissions/INDC/Published%20Documents/China/1/China's%20INDC%20-%20on%2030%20June%202015.pdf>

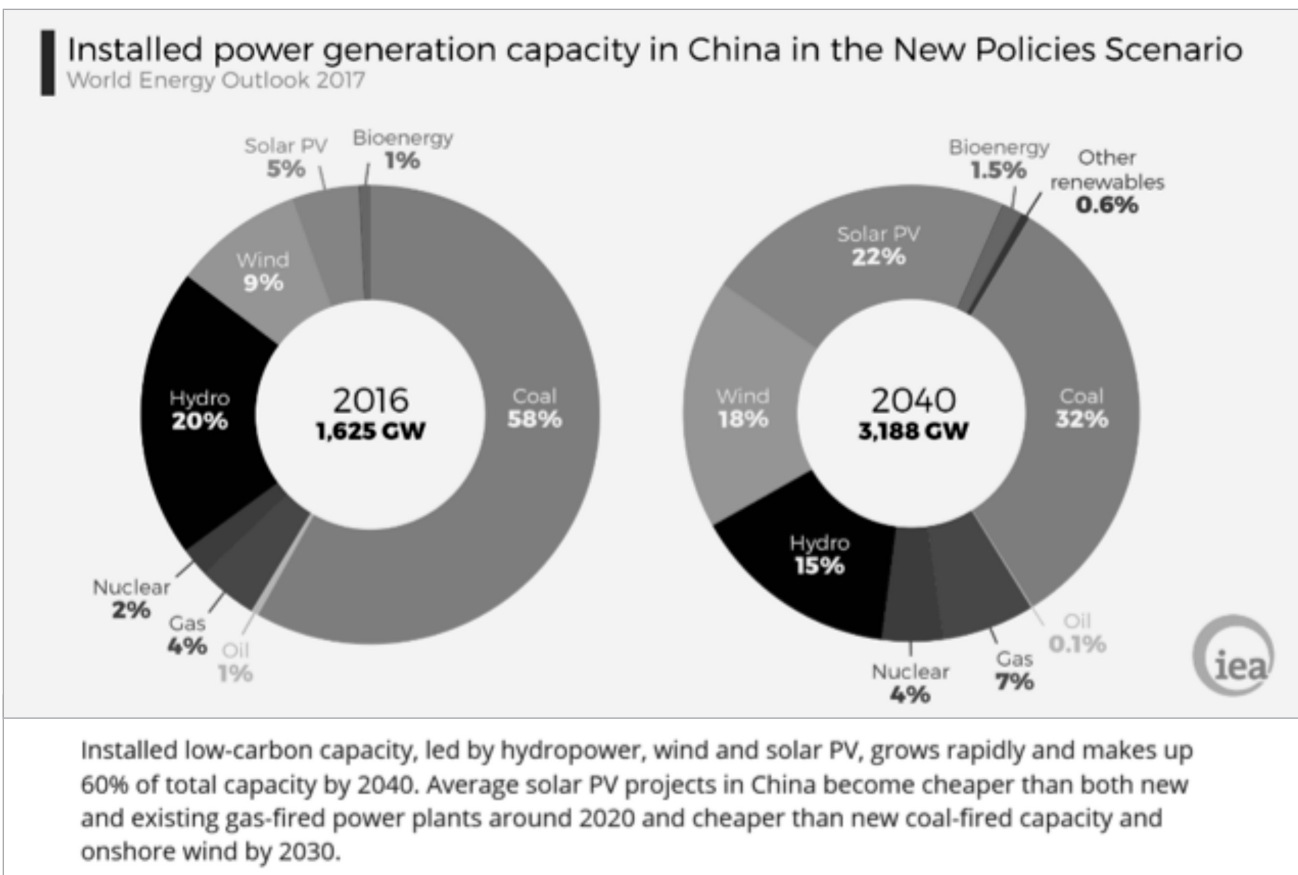
13 <https://www.iea.org/weo/china/>

As the next figure shows, IEA assumes that Chinese coal consumption will turn negative in the time period 2016 to 2040, that oil consumption will be halved while gas and renewables will increase significantly.



Quelle: <https://www.iea.org/weo/china/>

The following figure shows how – according to the IEA Scenario – electricity production will change between 2016 and 2040.



Source: <https://www.iea.org/weo/china/>

The Global Status Report of the international policy network REN21 attests that China is number 1 in practically all the categories when it comes to adding installed capacity of renewables and investments in renewables.

## TOP 5 COUNTRIES 2017

### Annual Investment / Net Capacity Additions / Production in 2017

	1	2	3	4	5
Investment in renewable power and fuels (not including hydro over 50 MW)	<b>China</b>	United States	Japan	India	Germany
Investment in renewable power and fuels per unit GDP <sup>1</sup>	<b>Marshall Islands</b>	Rwanda	Solomon Islands	Guinea-Bissau	Serbia
🔌 Geothermal power capacity	<b>Turkey</b>	Indonesia	Chile	Iceland	Honduras
⚡ Hydropower capacity	<b>China</b>	Brazil	India	Angola	Turkey
☀️ Solar PV capacity	<b>China</b>	United States	India	Japan	Turkey
☀️ Concentrating solar thermal power (CSP) capacity <sup>2</sup>	<b>South Africa</b>	-	-	-	-
🌪️ Wind power capacity	<b>China</b>	United States	Germany	United Kingdom	India
☀️ Solar water heating capacity	<b>China</b>	Turkey	India	Brazil	United States
🚰 Biodiesel production	<b>United States</b>	Brazil	Germany	Argentina	Indonesia
🍷 Ethanol production	<b>United States</b>	Brazil	China	Canada	Thailand

Source: REN21 Global Status Report 2017, [www.ren21.net](http://www.ren21.net)

There is good reason to believe that China will not only fulfill its climate commitments, but will do so early and probably also overshoot them. This should open up many business opportunities for providers of advanced environmental technologies and could also be used to an enhanced exchange of views on regulatory frameworks and ways of proceeding which have maximized buy-in from citizens and businesses.

### Belt and Road

President Xi Jinping's initiative of the new silk roads ("Yi dai, yi lu", 一带一路, Belt and Road – B&R) is a long-term, visionary initiative. Since its first announcement in 2013, the initiative grew very fast; 30 Heads of State and Government took part in the first B&R Summit in May of 2017; some 70 countries and international organizations signed agreements on the further unfolding of B&R. Key areas are industrial development, financial cooperation and reform, and – of course – infrastructure. The next B&R Summit will take place in 2019, possibly in Xi'an.



Source: Economist



Source: Xinhua

B&R fulfills many – economic and political – functions (and many are related to the domestic development priorities); for reasons of time and space I cannot discuss these functions here<sup>14</sup>. However, B&R is also and quite essentially an answer to the unmet need of high-quality infrastructure in many regions of the world. In Asia alone the unmet infrastructure need was calculated by the ADB with some 1.7 trillions of US-\$ per year by 2030, in order to maintain economic growth momentum, reduce poverty and adapt to climate change<sup>15</sup>. Electricity and transport infrastructure rank top in the ADB list of priorities. The B&R infrastructure investments will foster trade, commerce and development and will be accompanied by cultural cooperation and increased people-to-people contacts.

China makes available new financing facilities, through a number of channels and institutions. I should like to mention the Silk Road Fund (with a current 50 billion \$). Financing will also be provided through a re-capitalization of the China Development Bank (CDB) and new credit facilities of the Exim Bank (also roughly 50 billion \$). CITIC Group

and other major Chinese banks are also heavily invested in B& R.

Multilaterally, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB, [www.aiib.org](http://www.aiib.org)) and the New Development Bank (“BRICS”-bank, NDB, [www.ndb.int](http://www.ndb.int)) are new finance institutions which complement the existing Bretton Woods family, with its banks such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) or the World Bank. China also joined the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) in 2015.

Given the global expanse and the expected investment volume a „green“ B&R could have very positive effects on the world wide implementation of the sustainability goals of Agenda 2030 and the Paris Climate Agreement. If, however, the infrastructure projects are implemented without sufficient regard for sustainability and climate impacts, the initiative also may pose unprecedented environmental risks. Infrastructure is long-lived and has high capital costs; so there is a real risk that unsustainable and high-carbon infrastructure gets locked in for decades to come.

14 For a more in-depth discussion, please go to: Irene Giner-Reichl, One Belt, One Road. Chinas Seidenstraßen-Initiative. In Bayer/Giner-Reichl (Hrsg.), *Entwicklungspolitik 2030: Auf dem Weg zur Nachhaltigkeit*. Manz 2017.

15 ADB, “Meeting Asia’s Infrastructure Needs”, <https://www.adb.org/publications/asia-infrastructure-needs>



Much is therefore at stake, depending on whether B&R investments will be „brown“ or „green“. Today there are no unified world-wide standards for carbon-neutral infrastructure. B&R investment projects which are already under implementation in many places orient themselves according to local standards and regulations. Often China is being criticized that its international involvement is not too mindful of environmental impacts or labor rights<sup>16</sup>. Even in the perspective of the preservation of long-term good relations with its partner countries, China should be interested in making progress on this account.

An initiative of UNIDO, which was presented at the Eco Forum Guiyang in July 2018 under my moderation, attempts to fill the void of unified climate-friendly carbon standards through a consultation process with finance institutions, developers, infrastructure companies, NGOs such as Global Infrastructure Basel and governments. We propose an approach to accelerating the uptake of carbon neutral standards through the development of a Carbon Neutral Infrastructure Framework and Implementation Guidelines. The framework and guidelines would be developed through a multi-stakeholder process and would complement existing efforts to green the belt and road. The proposed approach would build upon existing standards and focus on making these standards appropriate for implementation along the BRI.

Incentive structures for their rapid uptake would also be fostered. Once implemented the approach would reduce greenhouse gas emissions from BRI infrastructure; boost resilience against future cli-

mate change impacts; ensure infrastructure is compliant with international sustainability standards and create co-benefits. Projects built according to these standards would be considered of higher creditworthiness and would allow participating governments to attract additional funds for more infrastructure investment.<sup>17</sup>

The UN system, under the leadership of UN Environment, works with China in a wider sense on the comprehensive „greening“ of Belt and Road; this includes support for an „International Coalition for Green Development on the Belt and Road“<sup>18</sup>.

The Chinese finance sector has started to issue green B&R bonds. ICBC (Industrial and Commercial Bank of China) has issued the first „OBOR Climate Bonds“ in September of 2017 and was able to raise more than 2 billion \$ for the financing and re-financing of projects in low-emissions transport, renewable energies, energy efficiency and management of water resources. China's part in the global green bonds market increased from 2.4 % in 2015 to more than 23 % in 2017. Other green finance products are also under development<sup>19</sup>.

Many opportunities should present themselves for technology and service providers to work with the authorities of the countries in which the Belt and Road Investments will occur. These investments should be as carbon-neutral as possible in order to steer the countries along the Belt and Road towards ecological civilization. This would steer the entire world unto more secure sustainable development and climate protection pathways.

---

16 Cf. e.g. the recent BBC report, „China- backed coal projects prompt climate change fears“, <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-46310807>  
17 Technical Document: Developing a Carbon Neutral Infrastructure Framework and Implementation Guidelines along the Belt and Road. Prepared for UNIDO by the Global Basel Foundation, July 2018.

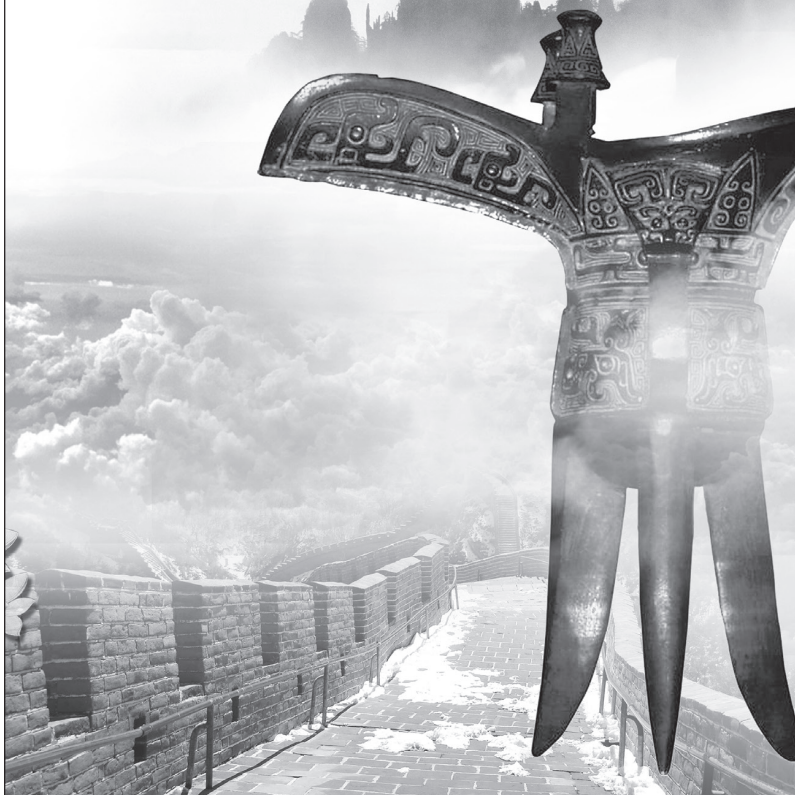
18 <https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/25178/UN%20Environment%20Belt%20and%20Road%20Strategy%20final.pdf?sequence=38&isAllowed=y>

19 Chi Lo, Demystifying China's Mega Trends. Emerald Publishing 2017. See also: Chi Lo on China, Megatrends of China (3C): The Belt and Road Strategic Plan – The „Green BRI Opportunities and Challenges“, Newsletter for Professional Investors (pdf), 25 July 2018.



# 奥地利中资企业协会

Vereinigung Chinesischer  
Unternehmen in Österreich



奥地利中资企业协会 | Vereinigung Chinesischer Unternehmen in Österreich

c/o Bank of China (Hungary) Close Ltd. Vienna Branch, Börseplatz 6, 1010 Wien  
E-mail: [Info@vcuoe.at](mailto:Info@vcuoe.at) Website: [www.vcuoe.at](http://www.vcuoe.at)

# Traditional Chinese Elements in Xi Jinping's Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in a New Era

Gerd Kaminski

Paper presented at the Conference Chinese Strategies in Politics, Foreign Policy, Economy and Law Vienna, 18 and 19 October 2018

Xi Jinping 习近平 in comparison to other leaders of the PR China after Mao, has paid most attention to Confucius and Confucianism. This is surprising because the position of the Sage after the overturn of the Qing Dynasty has not been unchallenged. Strong criticism arose within the framework of the May 4<sup>th</sup> reform movement.<sup>1</sup>

In the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century revolutionary students came back from abroad. Chen Duxiu 陈独秀, the later founder and first secretary general of the Chinese Communist Party returned from Japan in 1915. In 1916 Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 arrived from France and Hu Shi 胡适 from the USA. These ardent fighters for a new, modern and democratic China chose Confucius and Confucianism as their main target. Chen Duxiu started in 1915 a periodical called *New Youth* (*Xin Qingnian* 新青年) which served as a spearhead against old, autocratic and feudal traditions. The liberal reformer Hu Shi's slogan was "Down with the Confucius Shop" (*Daodao Kongjia dian* 打倒孔家店). Fierce attacks came from Chen Duxiu and the communist historian and co-founder of the Communist Party Li Dazhao 李大钊. Chen Duxiu did not distinguish between Confucius and Confucianism. In essays like "The Constitution and Confucianism", "The Way of Confucius and Modern Life" and "Restitution of the Monarchy and Veneration of Confucius" he called Confucius a "fossil of the past" and stressed the fact that Confucianism and modern life are incompatible. Li Dazhao called Confucius a "millennium year old skeleton".<sup>2</sup> Lu Xun 鲁迅, China's most eminent writer of the 20<sup>th</sup> century wrote the novel *A Madman's Diary*, branding the Confucian as a man-eating society.

After the founding of the People's Republic there were ups and downs in the evaluation of Confucius. After the ups during the period "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend" came the down during the time of the Anti-Rightist Campaign. After the disaster of the Great Leap Forward, came years of a better evaluation in academic circles. There were visible indications of a political change. In 1961 the mansion, the temple and the tomb of Confucius were renovated and opened to the public. President Liu Shaoqi's 刘少奇 *How to be a Good Communist* was republished in 1962, which owes much to the Confucian idea of self-cultivation. Yet a backlash came soon in the second half of 1963 under the influence of Mao Zedong's Lei Feng Campaign to draw attention to class conscience and Maos call "Never forget class struggle". In January of the same year an article appeared in the paper for intellectual readers *Guangming Ribao* 光明日报, which lashed out against those who were in favor of applying Confucian thinking to modern times.<sup>3</sup> The Cultural Revolution completed the condemnation of the sage.<sup>4</sup>

Mao who incited and dominated the Cultural Revolution has never been a friend of Confucius. In *The Orientation of the Youth Movement* he ridiculed the saint by recalling the fact that Confucius had refrained to work with his hands, and answered questions of his students by „I don't know, I am not as good at that as a farmer“ ; „I don't know, I am not as good at that as a vegetable gardener“<sup>5</sup> During the Cultural Revolution Mao's main antagonist within the party president Liu Shaoqi was branded "Confucianist" and those scholars who had praised Confucius during the Confucius revival in 1961-1963 were persecuted by the Red Guards.<sup>6</sup>

---

1 On May 4th 1919 students and people from other strata of the Chinese population protested against the signing of the Peace treaty with Germany which was supposed to include the cession of the former German concession in Shandong to Japan. In spite of the fact that China in 1917 had declared war to Germany and 1919 belonged to the victorious allied powers. The demonstrations all over the country blocked the delegation of Beijing Government from signing and accelerated reform endeavors which had started already a few years before.

2 Brunhild Staiger, *Das Konfuzius-Bild im kommunistischen China. Die Neubewertung von Konfuzius in der chinesisch-marxistischen Geschichtsschreibung*, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 16-23; Kam Louie, *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China*, Hong Kong 1980, p. 6-12

3 Brunhild Staiger, *Das Konfuzius-Bild im kommunistischen China Die Neubewertung von Konfuzius in der chinesisch-marxistischen Geschichtsschreibung*, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 49

4 Brunhild Staiger, *Das Konfuzius-Bild im kommunistischen China Die Neubewertung von Konfuzius in der chinesisch-marxistischen Geschichtsschreibung*, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 34-55; Kam Louie, *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China*, Hong Kong 1980, p. 17-74

5 [https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2\\_14.htm](https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_14.htm) 6.9.2018

6 Kam, p.90-92





1. To condemn Confucius at the door to his temple, Chao Kun-han  
 In: Peasant Painting from Huhsien County, People's Fine Arts Publishing House, Peking 1976, p.10

In 1969 the end of the Cultural Revolution was officially proclaimed (in fact it went on till Mao's death in 1976) but it was not the end of criticizing Confucius. Already at the end of 1969 an article "Ghost of Confucius' Shop and Actual Class Struggle"<sup>7</sup> was widely published, other articles followed. In September 1973 a forum on criticism of Confucius convened, organized by the faction of Jiang Qing, Mao's wife.<sup>8</sup> After Lin Biao's abortive attempt of a coup d'état the campaign changed into the "pi Lin pi Kong" 批林批孔 Movement (Criticize Lin Biao, Criticize Confucius Campaign).<sup>9</sup> There was a difference of this movement compared to previous attacks. Before the critics – how zealous and fiery they might have been – remained in the circles of the scholars and intellectuals. The pi Lin pi Kong Campaign was a mass movement with vociferous participants from the ranks of farmers and workers. Even small children were involved.



2. Critic, Wang Xiaodong  
 In: Chinas Kinder malen, Peking 1976

7 Chi, Fan-Hsiu, Ghost of Confucius' Shop and Actual Class Struggle, Peking Review No. 50, Dec. 12, 1969, p. 18-21

8 Kam, p.100

9 See Materialien der Tagung des Österreichischen Chinaforschungsinstituts über „Die Kritik an Lin Biao und Konfuzius nach dem 10. Parteitag“, in *China-Report* 19-20/1974, p. 30-65



3. Confucius statue from the early 80ies and the late 90ies

Women who have been wronged by the discriminatory rules of Confucianism for many centuries and even during the time of the People's Republic happily joined. The Confucius heritage sites in his hometown Qufu 曲阜 and in many other places were heavily devastated. The steles of his tomb were shattered in hundreds of pieces.

The comeback of Deng Xiaoping, who had been disgraced during the Cultural Revolution, produced a lingering comeback of the sage. In summer 1981 the author had the chance of visiting Confucius Temple, Confucius Mansion and Confucius Tomb. For the first time, when visiting China, he could spot souvenir statues of the master. They were still crude that time, reflecting the text of the famous historian Sima Qian 司马迁, that Confucius was ugly and had two protruding rabbit teeth. During the next decades beautified statues came into fashion and were generously distributed by Chinese Delegations on occasion of their visits to foreign countries.

Deng Xiaoping has shown no objection to the sage. The Confucian virtue of obedience to superiors served his target of making China economically strong. He also welcomed the organizing of a great Confucius conference 1994 in Beijing with Lee Kuan Yew 李光耀 from Singapore as a keynote speaker. Deng's concept of a Xiao Kang Society *xiaokang shehui* 小康社会, a moderately prosperous society, roots according to scholars of the International Bureau of the Central Committee, in Confucius'



ideal of a Da Tong Society *datong shehui* 大同社会, a society of big harmony. It is a lower grade of the Confucian pattern.<sup>10</sup>

In 1996 the author had the opportunity of a meeting with Li Chunting 李春亭, governor of Shandong province, the old home of Confucius. He was told by Governor Li: "The ideas of Confucius will finally find room in building up the state and in the stability of our society (...). One may say that Confucius developed genuine theories which are fit for solving contemporary problems." – An anathema for the Confucius critics of 1963!

The prognosis of governor Li stood the test of time. Confucius came back with accelerating speed. 1994 the International Confucius Association *Guoji Ruxuewang* 国际儒学网, which unites scholars from many countries, was established in Beijing. The association does research, organizes symposiums and publishes books and magazines. Since 2004 many hundreds of Confucius Institutes have been established in a multitude of countries.<sup>11</sup>

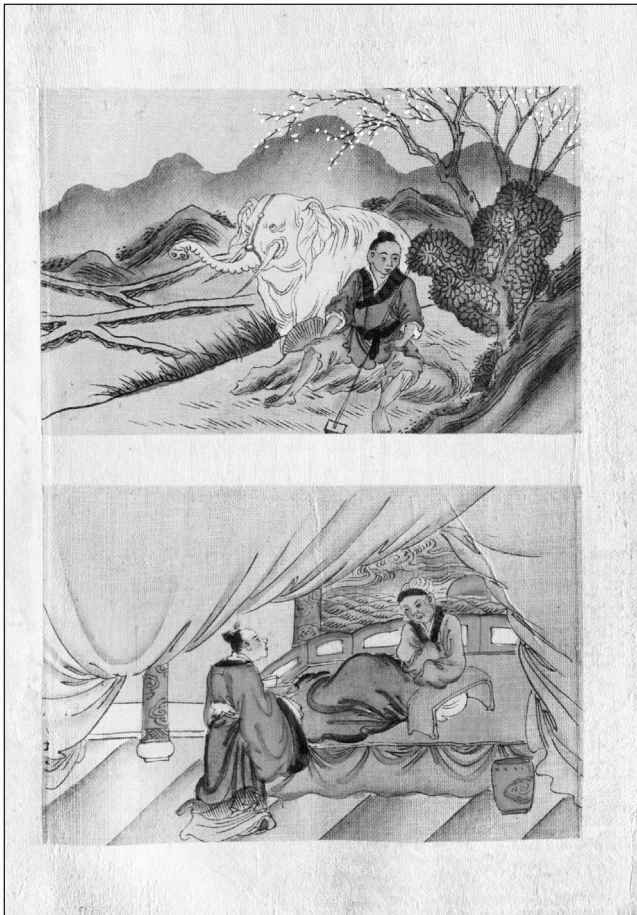
Chinese magazines on ethics communicate traditional Confucian family values.<sup>12</sup> The set of traditional *24 Illustrations of Filial Piety* *ershisi xiao quantu* 二十四孝全圖 has been reprinted including the illustration showing a father's attempt to kill his own son in order to have more food for the grandmother in a time of famine.

10 An analysis in *International Understanding*, No. 2, 2003, a magazine issued by the International Bureau

11 Richard Trappl, Von der „Pi Lin-Pi Kong“ Kampagne 1974/75 zu den „Konfuzius Instituten“ des 21. Jahrhunderts, in Wang Jing, Gerd Kaminski, Richard Trappl, *Konfuzius. Mensch, Macht und Mythos*, Wien 2013, p. 95-103

12 Luo Ti-lun, Alte Werte im Neuen China, in *China-Report* 143-144/2004, p. 27-32





THE TWENTY FOUR CASBS  
OF FILIAL PIETY  
FILIAL PIETY MOVING HEAVEN  
TO SYMPATHY

Emperor Shun, the son of Ku So of the Yubynasty was very filial in nature; but his father obstinate, his mother ill-tempered, and his younger brother Shang haughty. When Emperor Shun tilled the field at Li Shan, an elephant come to plow for him, and the bird helped him weed. Such was the reward he got from filial piety.

Upon learning of this Emperor Yao thersupon sent nine of his sons to serve him gave bo thof his daughters to him in marriage and fully left him thrane.

TO TASTE THE MEDIGINE  
IN PERSON

Emperor Wen Ti named Heug of the Hun dynasty was the third son of Kao Tzu, and was begotten dy his mother aftewards called Empress Dowager Po secondary wite to Kao Tzu. prior to his accession to the throne, he was appointed Prince Tai, and served his mother without showing any negligence. In course of her three years, illness, his eyee were constantly kept open and he did not undress himself while going to bed, while the medicine she took was never presented unless he tasted it in persin beforehand. Hence his kindness and filial piety became well known throughout the empire.

康舜睿之子性至孝  
父頑母器弟象傲耕於歷  
山有象為之耕鳥為之耘  
其孝感如此帝堯聞之事  
以九男妻以二女遂以天  
下讓焉

兒童學古孝為先  
父頑母器子道全  
二十四人皆孝子  
須知開卷格蒼天

孝感動天

詩曰

前漢文帝名恆高祖第  
三子生母薄太后初封代  
王帝養無怠母嘗病三年  
帝目不交睫衣不解帶湯  
藥非口親嘗弗進仁孝聞  
天下

親嘗湯藥

孝治天下漢文皇  
侍疾傳揚百世芳  
三載辛勤衣不解  
豈惟湯藥必親嘗

詩曰

4. Old and new issue of the 24 Illustrations of Filial Piety

**12 埋儿奉母**

郭巨，晋代隆虑（今河南林县）人，一说河内温县（今河南温县西南）人，原本家道殷实。父亲死后，他把家产分作两份，给了两个弟弟，自己独取母亲供养，对母极孝。后家境逐渐贫困，妻子生一男孩，郭巨担心，养这个孩子，必然影响供养母亲，遂和妻子高议：“儿子可以再有，母亲死了不能复活，不如埋掉儿子，节省些粮食供养母亲。”当他们挖坑时，在地下二尺处忽见一坛黄金，上书“天赐郭巨，官不得取，民不得夺”。夫妻得到黄金，回家孝敬母亲，并得以兼养孩子。

**09 刻木事亲**

丁兰，相传为东汉时期河内（今河南黄河北）人，幼年父母双亡，他经常思念父母的养育之恩，于是用木头刻成双亲的雕像，事之如生，凡事均和木像商议，每日三餐敬过双亲后自己方才食用，出门前一定禀告，回家后一定面见，从不懈怠。久之，其妻对木像便不太恭敬了，竟好奇地用针刺木像的手指，而木像的手指居然有血流出。丁兰回家见木像眼中垂泪，问知实情，遂将妻子休弃。

This revival is not limited to print: The *24 Illustrations of Filial Piety* resurrected also in form of murals and statues. A small village in Hebei 河北 Province called Liushahe 流沙河 boasts 24 groups of sculptures for the price of one million RMB.<sup>13</sup> In this context we may recall that the 24 Illustrations have been a special target of Lu Xun's fight against filial piety. As early as in 1919 he wrote that filial piety should be relegated to the past. In regard of the 24 illustrations he dealt with each of the stories one by one. When the turn came to the attempted murder of the son, Lu Xun commented sarcastically "it made him feel relieved that his own father has not been so filial."<sup>14</sup> Now pregnant women go to institutes for prenatal education, where Confucian wisdoms are chanted to the unborn.<sup>15</sup>

The environment for Xi Jinping's commitment to Confucianism has been well prepared. This commitment can be traced in domestic politics as well as in foreign politics.

### Domestic Politics

Feng Youlan 冯友兰, one of New China's leading philosophers, who has been disgraced several times during the anti-Confucian campaigns because of his positive attitude, saw the essence of the sage's teaching in "loving others", i.e. or "human-heartedness".

"Confucius says: 'Human-heartedness consists in loving others' (*Analects*, XII,22). The man who really loves others is one able to perform his duties in society. Hence in the *Analects* we see that Confucius sometimes used the word *jen* not only to denote a special kind of virtue, but also to denote all the virtues combined, so that the term 'man of jen' becomes synonymous with the man of all-round virtue. In such contexts, *jen* can be translated as 'perfect virtue'.<sup>16</sup>

This virtue of really loving others, this Confucian "ren" 仁 is attributed frequently to Xi Jinping by the Chinese media, which qualifies him for Confucius' Kingly Way *wangdao* 王道. Traditional Confucian principles are an inseparable part of Xi Jinping's

thinking. In contrast to vanguards of the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement, who demanded a complete destruction of the Chinese traditions and a thorough reception of Western thinking, in order to reform the country, Xi has frequently called upon treasuring Chinese traditional cultural values:

*"We must never forget our history; only then can we open up a new era. We should know how to inherit before we become good at innovation.*

*Outstanding traditional culture is the root of the heritage and development of a country and a nation. Renouncing it is tantamount to severing our cultural lifeline. We should learn how to best carry forward our fine cultural traditions, and at the same time promote contemporary culture. We should put emphasis on both inheriting and development."<sup>17</sup>*

*"The splendid Chinese culture that spans thousands of years offers fertile soil for the growth of philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features. As I have said on other occasions, backed by a territory of 9.6 million square kilometers, rich cultural "nutrients" amassed over the long course of strenuous endeavors, and the formidable strength of a united people of 1.3 billion, China can follow its own path with great determination, with boundless horizons ahead and a peerless civilization behind it. We Chinese people – each and every one of us – should be confident of this.*

*Our confidence in our path, in our theories and in our system all boil down to our confidence in our culture – the essential, underlying and enduring strength of a nation. It has been proved in both this and previous times that a people who renounce or betray their history and culture can in no way achieve development, and what is worse, may face tragic consequences.*

*The rich cultural traditions and the system of thought with indigenous features embody the knowledge, wisdom, and rational thinking Chinese people have garnered over millennia. They give us an unparalleled strength.*

*The Chinese civilization carries on the spiritual, ethical lineage of the Chinese nation and its people. It must be passed down from generation to generation, keep*

13 Wang Jing, Die öffentliche Präsenz von Konfuzius in China in Wang Jing, Gerd Kaminski, Richard Trappl, *Konfuzius. Mensch, Macht und Mythos*, Wien 2013, p. 42

14 Kam, p.7-8

15 Gerd Kaminski, *Von roten Schleiern und bunten Eiern*, Wien 2016

16 Feng Yu-Lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Derk Bodde, New York 1962, p. 42-43

17 Xi Jinping, Transform and Boost Traditional Culture in a Creative Way, Part of the speech at the opening ceremony of the International Conference Commemorating the 2565<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Confucius' Birth and the Fifth Congress of the International Confucian Association, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p.341



abreast of the times through innovation, and get rid of the stale and bring forth the fresh. We should make great efforts to find and expound the best elements of traditional Chinese culture, acclimating core cultural genes of the Chinese people to contemporary culture and modern society, and promoting those cultural elements whose lasting appeal defies time and borders and which are still relevant today.”<sup>18</sup>

Chinese problems should be solved by Chinese methods and knowledge:

“We must stand in the Chinese worldview and methodology when solving domestic problems and proposing to address issues concerning all humanity. Blindly worshipping foreign thoughts and methods without due analysis will deprive us of originality...”<sup>19</sup>

On November 30<sup>th</sup> 2016 Xi Jinping addresses the 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress of China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the 9<sup>th</sup> National Congress of China Writers Association. Choosing the title “Confidence in Chinese Culture”, he points out the relation between national rejuvenation and strong confidence in China’s profound culture.

“Culture is the soul of both a country and a nation. History and reality have proven that a nation which abandons or betrays its own history and culture cannot prosper and is likely to end in tragedy. (...) The Chinese nation has created numerous brilliant works at every step of its historical course, such as ‘Book of Songs’, ‘Songs of Chu’, fu poetry of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD220), poems of the Tang (618-907) and Song (960-1279) dynasties, operas of the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368), and novels of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1616-1911) dynasties, that give birth to the splendid history of Chinese art and literature. It is the prolific literary and artistic creativity of the Chinese nation, our marvelous achievements, and confidence in culture that make us so proud.”<sup>20</sup>

For the county party secretaries who form the backbone of governance in China, Xi Jinping offers advice from Chinese history and philosophy. He cites Zheng Banqiao郑板桥, who served as a

local magistrate during Qing Dynasty in Henan and Shandong.

“When I hear the rustles of bamboo leaves outside my study,  
I feel it is the wails of hungry people;  
For petty county officials like us,  
Every concern of the people weighs in our heart.”<sup>21</sup>

At the end of the lecture he gave on January 12<sup>th</sup>, 2015 to a class of county party secretaries Xi Jinping digs deep into the treasure of Confucian thinking:

“You must conscientiously foster and practice core socialist values, strengthen morality and self-cultivation, develop healthy hobbies, be cautious in the friends you make, and examine your own conduct in life, in order to build healthy social trend in the county. You should further understand and carry forward the fine traditions of our ancestors, as exemplified in these quotations to guide our action:

‘When the Great Way rules, the land under Heaven belongs to the people’ (Book of Rites- Li Ji)

‘Fortune and riches obtained through unjust means are like floating clouds for me’ (The Analects of Confucius – Lun Yu)

‘A man of virtue has a good knowledge of righteousness.’ (ibid.)

‘Be true in word and resolute in deed.’ (ibid.)

‘A man of high moral quality will never feel lonely’ (ibid.)

‘If a man does not keep his word, what is he good for?’ (ibid.)<sup>22</sup>

The citations came from the *Book of Rites Li Ji*礼记, which was compiled by Confucius and from the *Analects Lunyu* 论语 of Confucius. It is remarkable that Xi stresses “Self-cultivation” which is just that Confucian principle Liu Shaoqi has been committed to and which was one of the reasons, why he was attacked by the zealots of the Cultural Revolution.

Possibly still more visible is Xi’s commitment to Confucian values, when expounding his convictions in regard of family civility. At the beginning of the speech he made at the meeting with repre-

18 Xi Jinping, Develop Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Feature, Part of the speech at the Seminar on Philosophy and Social Sciences, May 17<sup>th</sup> 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 367-368

19 Xi Jinping, Develop Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Feature, Part of the speech at the Seminar on Philosophy and Social Sciences, May 17<sup>th</sup> 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 370

20 Xi Jinping, Confidence in Chinese Culture, Part of the speech at the opening ceremony of the 10<sup>th</sup> National Congress of China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the Ninth National Congress of China Writers Association, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 378 und 379

21 Xi Jinping, Be a Good County Party Secretary, Part of the speech at the meeting with a class of county Party secretaries at the Central Party School, January 12<sup>th</sup> 2015, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 153

22 Xi Jinping, Be a Good County Party Secretary, Part of the speech at the meeting with a class of county Party secretaries at the Central Party School, January 12<sup>th</sup> 2015, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p.162-163



sentatives to the First national Congress of Model Families, he recalled the Confucian values of family life, not hesitating to repeat sayings of the sage which could reveal hierarchy thinking, inequality and traditional concepts of relations between husband and wife.

*"The Chinese nation has always valued the family. As an ancient saying goes, 'The family is essential under Heaven.' Traditional Chinese family virtues include: One should respect the elderly and love the young; a virtuous woman brings her husband good; a kind mother brings up children dutiful to the family; the younger brother should respect the elder brother and the elder brother should be gentle with the younger brother; passing good traditions of reading and farming from generation to generation; one should run the family diligently and thriftily; one should be learned and practice etiquette; one should observe discipline and the law; a peaceful family will prosper. These family values have been imprinted on our people's minds and mixed into our blood. They have been passed on through generations as a vital moral strength while being treasured as a precious legacy of Chinese family civility."<sup>23</sup>*

The disciple of Confucius You Zi 有子 commented: "Those who at home show respect to parents and elder brothers will hardly in public life show a tendency of challenging the authority of their superior."<sup>24</sup>

Recalling the time of the Cultural Revolution it is especially interesting to note that Xi Jinping in his speech favorably cites "Mencius' mother moving home three times". The story goes like this: The mother of Mencius lived with her son first in the vicinity of butchers, then near grave diggers, till she finally moved near the quarters of scholars in order to secure a good education for the boy.

This story came under the fire from the protagonists of the My 4<sup>th</sup> Movement as well as from the Red Guards during the Time of the Cultural Revolution. They blamed the mother of Mencius for despising the working people.

There is still another surprising part in this speech of Xi Jinping: *"The admonitions of Zhuge Liang (181-234) to his son, the family instructions of Yan Zhitui (531-c. 591), and the family mottos of Zhu Xi*



5. Mencius Mother moving home

*(1130-1200) all advocate positive family culture."<sup>25</sup>*

In this context one cannot but mention that Zhu Xi 朱熹 instructions have been responsible for rigid and authoritarian restrictions in regard of women, children and marriages and many other family affairs. Marriage was not a matter governed by the free will and the emotions of two individuals, but a contract between two clans without any say of the two people concerned. Bridegroom and bride were not supposed to see each other before the marriage. After the ceremony the young wife was doomed to bear all kind of tempers and ill treatment of the parents in law as well as from the husband.

The prove for it can be found in folksongs and bride lamentos.

*"My wife is like a pony,  
I ride and beat her  
As a I like"*

*"My husband's family eats the best in the pot.  
Brother in law and sister in law must have rice.  
I am the last  
Eating daily thin mash.  
Oh mother  
I can eat porridge and rice  
But I cannot bear cold words and looks  
The green twig leaves its traces  
The sharpened bamboo hits me"*

23 Xi Jinping, Family Values, Family Education and Family Tradition, Part of the speech made at the meeting with representatives to the First National Conference of Model Families, December 12<sup>th</sup> 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p.382

24 Vitaly A. Rubin, Individual and State in Ancient China: Essays on Four Chinese Philosophers, New York 1976, p. 17

25 Xi Jinping, Family Values, Family Education and Family Tradition, Part of the speech made at the meeting with representatives to the First National Conference of Model Families, December 12<sup>th</sup> 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p.385

When pulling my hair  
He cracks the doorbolt on my back"<sup>26</sup>

"Wife, wife where do you sleep?  
I sleep in the stove-vent.  
What do you have for bedsheet?  
I have goat skin.  
What do you have for cover?  
A dog's skin.  
What is your pillow?  
A laundry beater.  
The father in law  
Takes so many bricks in his hand  
That it is enough for a pile.  
The mother in law holds in her hand a bunch of whips.  
Thus they are beating the daughter in law.  
She runs away as fast as smoke."

"The small second brother eats too much and when  
he has finished eating he beats his wife  
and the wife is so beaten that she jumps on the win-  
dow the window has no bars and the wife is so beaten  
that she looks in the mirror the mirror has no bottom  
the wife is beaten so that she begins to sing  
the song has no end  
the wife is so beaten that she 'plays with the monkey'  
the monkey has no circle and the wife is so beaten  
that she springs up to the sky."<sup>27</sup>

Zhu Xi's instructions were responsible for those "Three iron nets" in which Chinese women were caught, described by Mao in his essay *The Suicide of Miss Zhao*: Society, parents and the future parents in law. Zhu Xi fought adamantly against the remarriage of widows. His circle of neo-Confucians advised women to starve themselves to death after the decease of their husband, in order to show their loyalty. The wife was a mere appendix of the husband, banned into the inner yard of the house, in order to keep her virtue and chastity. Therefore Zhu Xi was a great promotor of foot-binding, which had become fashionable during the Song Dynasty. Crippled feet would protect women from any evil challenge coming from outside. When Zhu Xi was acting as a local magistrate in places with minority population, he even tried to force the women of minority tribes to bind their feet in order to make them civilized.<sup>28</sup> Zhu Xi and other neo-Confucian zealots restricted the liberty of women according to four principles: 1. physical, social and intellectual separation, 2. Submission towards the husband, 3.

Going to the extreme in regards of female chastity, 4. Exclusion of women from any direct or indirect political involvement.

For the sake of fairness it should be mentioned that Xi Jinping in his appreciation of Zhu Xi and other Confucians does not stand alone. Prof. Yang Zhao-ming, director of the renowned Confucius Research Institute in Qufu, concluded a lecture in Vienna in presence of the author like this:

"The virtue of a woman is decided by her status within the family. If a man wants to improve his position within the society he needs on his side a virtuous wife. (...) Since women and men are different the activities of the wife mainly resort to the family. Like the men obey their superiors the wives should obey their husbands. Of course this does not mean to obey blindly..."

Recently the author had the chance to interview Prof. Yu Dan 于丹 from Peking Normal University, who became very famous by her TV lectures and her book on Confucius. Yu Dan is a very emancipated woman. She told the author: "A nationalist fever for studying the classics is not good. (...) We cannot limit ourselves to one single cultural approach." But on the other hand she said in regard of family instructions: "Family instructions generally are very important in China. Not only those from Zhu Xi but also from Zhou Gong 周公 and Zeng Guofan 曾國藩. The family is part of society. If the family is well organized society is stable." A view, which can be very well related to Xi Jinping.

After referring to Zhu Xi, Xi Jinping cites the Book of Rites, which has been edited by Confucius:

*As the ancient Confucian classic Book of Rites puts it, "What is meant by 'in order to govern the state rightly, it is necessary first to regulate the family' is that it is impossible for one to teach others while he cannot teach his own family." (...) They should maintain moral integrity and a healthy lifestyle, while at the same time placing strict demands on their spouses and children and teaching them to be self-disciplines and law-abiding, frugal and self-reliant...<sup>29</sup>*

After reading admonitions with traditional flavor one might get tempted to recall other old sayings of the past: "Hens should not announce the morning. Women should not rule"<sup>30</sup> One might feel remin-

26 Yang Pi-wang, Ancient Bridal Laments. China Reconstructs, Vol.12, No.10, October 1963, p.43

27 Guido Vitale, *Chinese Folklore: Pekinese Rhymes*. Peking 1896, p. 33-34

28 Gerd Kaminski, *Das Spiel von Wolken und Regen. Erotik im alten China*, Schiedlberg 2018, p.166

29 Xi Jinping, Family Values, Family Education and Family Tradition, Part of the speech made at the meeting with representatives to the First National Conference of Model Families, December 12<sup>th</sup> 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p.385

30 Keith McMahon: *Women Shall Not Rule: Imperial Wives and Concubines in China from Han to Liao*, Lanham 2013



# READY TO SERVE THE PEOPLE

The new lineup of China's State Council, nominated by Premier Li Keqiang, was endorsed on Monday during the ongoing session of the 13th National People's Congress

## VICE-PREMIERS



**HAN ZHENG**

Born in April 1954, member of Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of 19th Communist Party of China Central Committee



**SUN CHUNLAN**

Born in May 1950, member of Political Bureau of 19th CPC Central Committee



**HU CHUNHUA**

Born in April 1963, member of Political Bureau of 19th CPC Central Committee



**LIU HE**

Born in January 1952, member of Political Bureau of 19th CPC Central Committee

## STATE COUNCILORS



**WEI FENGHE**

Born in February 1954, member of Central Military Commission and Minister of National Defense



**WANG YONG**

Born in December 1955, member of 19th CPC Central Committee



**WANG YI**

Born in October 1953, member of 19th CPC Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs



**XIAO JIE**

Born in June 1957, member of 19th CPC Central Committee and Secretary-General of State Council



**ZHAO KEZHI**

Born in December 1953, member of 19th CPC Central Committee and Minister of Public Security

## LEADERS OF THE 26 MINISTERIAL-LEVEL CENTRAL GOVT AGENCIES



**WANG YI**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs



**WEI FENGHE**  
Minister of National Defense



**HE LIFENG**  
Head of National Development and Reform Commission



**CHEN BAOSHENG**  
Minister of Education



**WANG ZHIGANG**  
Minister of Science and Technology



**MIAO WEI**  
Minister of Industry and Information Technology



**BATER**  
Head of State Ethnic Affairs Commission



**ZHAO KEZHI**  
Minister of Public Security



**CHEN WENQING**  
Minister of State Security



**HUANG SHUXIAN**  
Minister of Civil Affairs



**FU ZHENGHUA**  
Minister of Justice



**LIU KUN**  
Minister of Finance



**ZHANG JINAN**  
Minister of Human Resources and Social Security



**LU HAO**  
Minister of Natural Resources



**LI GANJIIE**  
Minister of Ecological Environment



**WANG MENGHUI**  
Minister of Housing and Urban-Rural Development



**LI XIAOPENG**  
Minister of Transport



**E JINGPING**  
Minister of Water Resources



**HAN CHANGFU**  
Minister of Agriculture and Rural Affairs



**ZHONG SHAN**  
Minister of Commerce



**LUO SHUGANG**  
Minister of Culture and Tourism



**MA XIAOWEI**  
Head of National Health Commission



**SUN SHAOCHENG**  
Minister of Veterans Affairs



**WANG YUPU**  
Minister of Emergency Management



**YI GANG**  
Governor of People's Bank of China



**HU ZEJUN**  
Auditor-General of National Audit Office

### COMMITTEE CHAIRS OF 13TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

**BAI CHUNLI**  
Born in September 1953, of Manchu ethnic group, chairman of Ethnic Affairs Committee

**WU YULIANG**  
Born in April 1952, chairman of Supervision and Judicial Affairs Committee

**LI XUEYONG**  
Born in September 1950, chairman of Education, Science, Culture and Public Health Committee

**ZHANG YESUI**  
Born in October 1953, chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee

**WANG GUANGYA**  
Born in March 1950, chairman of Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee

**GAO HUCHENG**  
Born in August 1951, chairman of Environmental Protection and Resources Conservation Committee

**CHEN XIWEN**  
Born in July 1950, chairman of Agriculture and Rural Affairs Committee

**HE YITING**  
Born in 1952, chairman of Social Construction Committee

ded of this old proverb, when looking at the gender structure of Party and Government.

It seems that newly introduced Confucian views on family affairs and xiao 孝 = pious attitudes of children toward ascendants, worm themselves into affairs of daily life. During the time of the Chinese emperors children were responsible for offences committed by the parents. Those who committed high treason had not only to pay off with their own life, but the male members of the next generations were also victims of the execution. The daughters became public slaves or were sold to brothels. Memories from old times come back when reading the headline of *China Daily* from July 10<sup>th</sup> 2018: "Courts put pressure on defaulters via their kids." In the text: "A court in Hengshui Hebei province has told expensive private schools not to admit applicants whose parents have failed to comply with court-ordered payments..."

When talking about morality it is interesting to investigate Xi Jinping's approach to the rule of law. On one hand Xi commits himself to China's law reform which was started by Deng Xiaoping after the Cultural Revolution. See Xi's speeches on "Promote Socialist Rule of Law", "Officials Must Set a Good Example in Observing the Law", "Reform of the Judicial System".<sup>31</sup> Yet after these speeches held in 2014 and 2015, there came another one on December 9<sup>th</sup> 2016 with the significant title "The Rule of Law and the Rule of Virtue".<sup>32</sup> In this speech at a study session of the Political Bureau, Xi emphasized quite in harmony with teachings of the sage:

*"...Virtue is the foundation of society that should never be allowed to dissipate ... We need to integrate the rule of law with the rule of virtue so that they complement and reinforce each other ... The rule of law and the rule of virtue are inseparable ... This path is marked by the integration of the rule of law with the rule of virtue, placing equal importance on both." And again clearly with Confucian background: "Laws and regulations must establish clear ethical guidelines to promote virtue and righteousness."*

Cohabitation between law and virtue existed during the late Qing Dynasty and the time of the Chinese Republic. Foreign lawyers, to their dismay, had to study the Confucian *Analects* for securing a good outcome for their clients at court. Mao Zedong's father has lost a law suit because his opponent skillfully cited a saying of Confucius. Therefore he decided to send the boy to school. In other case world history would have turned to another direction. In regard of petitions (xinfang 信访) by which way the overwhelming majority of the Chinese citizens try to redress wrongs from local authorities, quite a few scholars demand to abolish this feudal relic in favor of legal settlements through courts. Xinfang, which means to solve problems by gaining favors from magistrates, would be a serious challenge to the rule of law.<sup>33</sup> Xi Jinping seems on the other hand rather inclined to traditional forms of litigation. Mao once stated that three old farmers would be fit to replace a county judge. He was impressed by the way how Fengqiao 枫桥, a township in Zhejiang successfully dealt with xinfang matters. The focus was directed at mediation without involving legal procedures, like in old times. Mao in 1963 issued a decree, that in the whole country everybody should learn from Fengqiao. When Xi Jinping from 2002-2007 held the position of party secretary in Zhejiang province he recalled Mao's instruction as early as 2003 and did the same after taking over the leadership of the Party.

There are still other Confucian elements in Xi Jinping's domestic politics. Media and scholars see him in line with the sage because of Xi's principle "putting people first" and his effort of improving people's livelihood. "We must work hard constantly to improve people's wellbeing"<sup>34</sup>, "Our success in securing and improving the wellbeing of the people can increase social consumption and expand domestic demand; improving standards of living is in essence promoting development."<sup>35</sup>, "The work of securing and improving wellbeing of the people will never end."<sup>36</sup>, "In the context of growing pressure from the economic downturn and increasing social strains, it is particularly important to guarantee the basic living standards and welfare of the

31 Xi Jinping, *The Governance of China II*, p.119-143

32 Xi Jinping, *The Governance of China II*, p.143ff.

33 Xie Zhouyan, Petition and Judicial Integrity, in *Journal of Politics and Law*, Vol.2, No1, 2003, p.24-27; Yang Xiaojun in *Xinhua* from 27.2.2014, Zhang Yonghe, Zhang Wei, Lintong *Xinfang*, Beijing 2006, pp. 234-245, 265-268

34 Xi Jinping, Improve the Wellbeing of the People, from the speech at the deliberation session of the Jilin delegation to the Third Session of the 12<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress, March 9<sup>th</sup> 2015, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 389

35 Xi Jinping, Develop Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Feature, from the speech during a fact-finding trip to Guizhou Province, June 16-18, 2015, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 389

36 Xi Jinping, Develop Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Feature, from the speech during a fact-finding trip to Jiangxi Province, February 1-3, 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 390



people.”<sup>37</sup>, “In the face of a complex domestic and international economic situation, we should focus on securing and improving people’s wellbeing, and do everything to maintain the standard of living.”<sup>38</sup>

A permanent element in Xi Jinping’s speeches is China’s glorious past. He talked f.i. about “a civilization of over 5,000 years”<sup>39</sup> about “outstanding traditional culture”<sup>40</sup>, about “a splendid civilization that can be traced back over 5,000 years”<sup>41</sup>, about

“rich traditional traditions and system of thought with indigenous features”<sup>42</sup>

His evaluation of China’s glorious past finds many echos in Chinese everyday life. One interesting example is the introduction of Tang Culture in Xi’an’s subway. The headlines in *China Daily* from 21.6.2018: “Subway keeping history on track – Carriages on the Xi’an Metro remind passengers of city’s glorious heritage”



Volunteers dressed in costumes from the Tang Dynasty (618-907) ride subway carriages adorned with artwork inspired by Tang poetry on the car’s maiden journey along Line 2 in Xi’an, Shaanxi province, on Monday. GOU BINGCHEN / FOR CHINA DAILY

## Subway keeping history on track

7. Subway keeping history on track, *China Daily*, June 21, 2018

37 Xi Jinping, Develop Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Feature, from the speech during a fact-finding trip to Anhui Province, April 24-27, 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 390

38 Xi Jinping, Develop Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Feature, from the speech during a fact-finding trip to Heilongjiang Province, May 23-25, 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 391

39 Xi Jinping, Study, Disseminate and Implement the Guiding Principles of the 18th CPC National Congress, Speech at the first group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee which Xi presided over, November 17, 2012, in *The Governance of China*, Beijing 2014 <http://www.bannedthought.net/China/Individuals/XiJinping/XiJinping-TheGovernanceOfChina.pdf>

40 Xi Jinping, Transform and Boost Traditional Culture in a Creative Way, Part of the speech at the opening ceremony of the International Conference Commemorating the 2565th Anniversary of Confucius’ Birth and the Fifth Congress of the International Confucian Association, September 24, 2014, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 341

41 Xi Jinping, A Bright Future for Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, Part of the speech at the seminar commemorating the 11th anniversary of the birth of former Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, August 10, 2014, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 13

42 Xi Jinping, Develop Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Feature, Part of the speech at the Seminar on Philosophy and Social Sciences, May 17, 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 367-368



The next picture shows pupils wearing historic dresses while reciting texts from *Lunyu*. Mark the comment: “Ancient classic provide lessons that are still relevant today” and “Traditional Chinese culture should not lose its grip on young Chinese as it is good for their moral development and the cultivation of their character”

Not only the children but also the grown-ups are wearing traditional dresses. An article in *China Daily* from March 3/4, 2018 claims those garments “Clothing Fit for a People”: “They feel more comfortable in voluminous robes than in a taut pair of jeans”. The reader learns that during recent years Hanfu organizations have been mushrooming all over the country.



8. *China's Young return to Traditional Roots, China Daily, October 7, 2015*



**Main illustration** for the third Hanfu Cultural Festival in Xitang in 2015: 16 men in *feiyufu*, clothes worn by the imperial guards of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

9. *Clothing Fit for a People, China Daily, March 3-4, 2018*



Maybe they learned from the traditional clothing with imperial touch Xi Jinping and his wife were wearing 2014 at the APEC Conference.

At the same time we observe a revival of the Qipao.

Xi Jinpings slogan “Family binds nation, its people” dedicated to traditional Xiao found response among local cadres. According to the report of *China Daily* (22.8.2018) “Many places in China have started pioneering ways to put an end to unfilial practices. The Wan’an county people’s court in Jiangxi province lists unfilial children on a blacklist and makes their names public to shame them into compliance”.

Xi Jinpings frowning in regard of westernizing China had recently an impact on the sending of season greetings from Chinese officials to foreign friends. Those cards hardly any more contain Christmas wishes and they are not any more posted before Christmas but before Chinese Lunar Year, containing wishes for the New Year. Chinese TV-teams in Austria avoided Christmas markets because they were afraid of criticism.



10. Xi Jinping and his wife at the APEC Conference 2014, *China Daily*, November 11, 2014

On the other hand China is busy introducing the spring festival to other countries.



## DRESSES TO THRILL

A new exhibition, featuring 72 vintage qipao, charts the evolution of women's fashion in 19th century Shanghai





Qipao was believed to have been adapted from the traditional robe worn by Manchu women during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). PHOTOS BY GAO ERQIANG / CHINA DAILY

by ZHANG KUN in Shanghai  
zhangkun@chinadaily.com.cn

**T**he qipao exhibition, currently running at Shanghai History Museum, offers a glimpse into the culture and fashion of Shanghai in the first half of the 1900s.

Wang Shuizhong from Taiwan is the director of the Taipei Chinese culture and fine arts association. He donated his collection of 338 qipao to Shanghai History Museum, and the exhibition is showcasing 72 of them.

Qipao — the traditional costume of Chinese women — originated in Shanghai, and went on to influence the whole world, Wang said at the



and Wang's donation is a brilliant contribution to the museum."

Wang has been collecting vintage qipao dresses for more than 30 years, he said of his fascination with the outfit. "As a young man I was obsessed with the feminine beauty in qipao, and began to collect these dresses."

It was a difficult decision to donate his whole collection to the Shanghai History Museum, he said, but "seeing the dresses in the exhibition hall, I feel very much fulfilled. I have found the best home for my lifelong collection."

"Here at the museum, they can play a part in teaching the history and culture of Shanghai, and their

New details were added to the dress, such as the wide cuff with the bell-shaped sleeves. Art Deco elements were introduced to Chinese fashion in the 1920s, and Shanghai qipao, alongside architecture, furniture, daily utensils and book binding, became a unique branch of Art Deco, known as Shanghai Art Deco, Bao explained.

Zhang guided journalists through the exhibition, pointing out the changing collar designs, fine embroidery and various accessories.

Aside from the fine craftsmanship, she brought to attention how the weaving technology developed in the early 1900s, allowing new patterns and color combinations to

the qipao on show at the exhibition are made of fine silk or lace, and have been well looked after because of their high value. "Mr. Wang has acquired some of these rare Indanthrene qipao, so that we are able to present them in the exhibition," Zhang said. However, the museum being an institution of education and public service, "doesn't consider the price of the objects in our collection, so we can't tell how much money these dresses are worth."

She also pointed out that, as fashion developed in the 1930 and '40s, the cut of qipao became more three-dimensional, optimizing the feminine curves of the wearer's body. "This was also a process of libera-

11. Dresses to Thrill, *China Daily*, September 1-2, 2018



# SPRING FESTIVAL FEVER

From book fairs in Casablanca and Havana to libraries in Oxford and London, the spirit of Chinese New Year is infectious. **Mei Jia** reports.

As China celebrated the Spring Festival and the arrival of the Year of the Dog, in Morocco, four red lanterns and big Chinese decorative knots enlivened things at the China booth at the 24th Casablanca International Book Fair.

From Feb 8 to 18 (Feb 16 marked the start of the Chinese New Year this year), the book fair showcased 300 Chinese books (1,500 copies each) mostly in Arabic.

"The Monkey King masks we carried were audience favorites, but we also had red handheld fans with tai chi characters," says Liu Yehua, from Renmin University Press.

Though the Spring Festival themed decorations meant extra baggage for Liu and her colleagues, she says it was worth the trouble.

"For book fair visitors (who came to the China stall), the Spring Festival (and its significance) is something they understood and represents China," says Liu, adding that after returning from Morocco she received greetings from foreign publishers, wishing her a happy and prosperous new year.

At the Casablanca fair, the children's picture books got a lot of attention.

This was also because the Monkey King masks are based on illustrations from a new 10-volume picture book series inspired by the Chinese novel *Journey to the West*.

Many visitors also lingered at the booth looking at the two volumes of *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China*.

"I could tell that the visitors were interested in the books," says Liu.

Books on China's development and works of fiction were also in high demand.

A veteran in promoting Chinese publications abroad, Liu says she was impressed to see so many new Chinese titles in Arabic at the fair.

"It was not like this 10 years ago. I know it takes time to see results, but now I can see the effect," she says.

She says the Belt and Road Initiative, the China-proposed connectivity project, has seen increased interest from Arabic readers in China, "as the locals are feeling more connected (with China)", especially when it comes to contemporary issues.

"Book fairs like this add to the channels of mutual understanding and opens new avenues for cooperation," she says.



China is the guest of honor at the Havana International Book Fair in February. PHOTOS BY ZHANG HAIJU AND PROVIDED TO CHINA DAILY



A visitor wears a Monkey King mask, an audience favorite at the Casablanca book fair.

“Book fairs like this add to the channels of mutual understanding and opens new avenues for cooperation.”

Liu Yehua, editor, Renmin University Press

According to a survey by China International Publishing Group about promoting China in English-speaking world, it was found that words related to culture form the majority of the 100 top ones.

Spring Festival was the most popular along with red envelop, lanterns and festival rush.

Su Yen Hu and her colleagues from Oxford-based Snowflake Books know this well because during the Spring Festival, Hu hosts workshops at libraries and museums in Oxford and London.

And, under their guidance, youngsters try out the dragon dance and other cultural elements featured in Snowflake's bilingual books.

Hu says the audience reaction is always good when the participants spread the word about future events.

"We reach out to children in a way they are accustomed to, and we celebrate our shared values based on traditional Chinese tales and legends," says Hu.

Contact the writer at [meijia@chinadaily.com.cn](mailto:meijia@chinadaily.com.cn)



Children try out the dragon dance in London at a workshop during Spring Festival hosted by Oxford-based Snowflake Books.



Children's picture books get a lot of attention at the Casablanca International Book Fair.

ture, says Jiang.

In a related development, there will be a China library built at the University of Havana to offer more access to Chinese books, both print and digital formats, according to Jiang.

Also, at the fair, the Foreign Language Press released the

first 25 volumes of *Library of Chinese Classics* in Spanish.

And Yilin Press announced that it would join hands with Chile's Lom Publishing to publish the Spanish version of veteran literary critic Li Jingze's first novel.

To mark the Spring Festival,

200 bookstores overseas also held promotional events.

And, online, Amazon's China Books had a page featuring English titles on Chinese culture, history and literature.

Chinese New Year is also a featured category in its holidays section.

12. Spring Festival Fever, China Daily, March 2, 2018

Xi Jinping's "Be cautious in the friends you make" has obviously influenced the relations of Chinese civil servants with foreigners. The author realized during the last years that even old friends, especially in higher positions, are hesitating to meet or accept invitations to share a meal.

Even Kentucky Fried Chicken feels obliged to pay tribute to the new wave of historical consciousness. According to reports from *China Daily* (February 14<sup>th</sup> and March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2018) the fast food chain launched cultural relic themed restaurants in 18 cities. Tribute to the past has also been paid in the air. In

their book *The Xi Jinping Era: His Comprehensive Strategy Toward the China Dream*, New York 2015, the senior reporters of Xinhua News Agency Liu Hong, Cheng Ying and Zhou Xingwang compare Xi with Genghis Khan. It is but a mere coincidence that "Genghis Khan Airlines" flying domestically manufactured airplanes, were recently established in Inner Mongolia.

In the same year another famous brand, Moutai 茅台, paid tribute to China's past: "Moutai (the most famous Chinese liquor) has long been fond of the cultural inclusiveness of Dunhuang. It began to use





13. Counter measure recipe to redress enlightened dining, *China Daily*, March 3-4, 2018

the image of the Flying Apsara — a female spirit of the clouds frequently depicted in the Dunhuang murals — as its trademark six decades ago. As Moutai goes global, this beautiful Indian goddess known for her elegant dance has also become better recognized by the world.”<sup>43</sup>

Although Xi in his speech on occasion of Mao Zedong’s 120<sup>th</sup> birthday did commit himself fully to the “enduring spirit of Mao Zedong Thought”<sup>44</sup>, he corrected Mao in a very important issue. In contrast to Mao who always stressed that the main contradiction lies in the contradiction of the masses to the class enemy, Xi perceives the main contradiction in the contradiction between rich and poor.

In his continuous efforts of tying everybody to the Party-line<sup>45</sup> and in regard of his limited sympathy to open challenges of the Party Xi Jinping can also

rely on principles set forth by the sage. This can be proved by two episodes from the Confucian *Analects*. As soon as Confucius was entrusted to act as a minister of justice in his native state Lu, he had Shao Zhengmao 少正卯 beheaded because of “wrong thinking”. Shao was a prominent teacher like Confucius and even some of Confucius’ disciples had run over to Shao. Another episode tells about a visit of Confucius with his students to the Honji Temple. At the entrance they saw the bronze statue of a man whose mouth was sealed. On the back there were characters engraved with the message: “Don’t talk too much, otherwise you will make mistakes. Precaution is the essence of luck, while talking too much is the source of difficulties” Confucius told his students: “These words are very important. If you are successful in such attitude, you will not get into difficulties because of your own words.”



14. Killing Shao Zhengmao

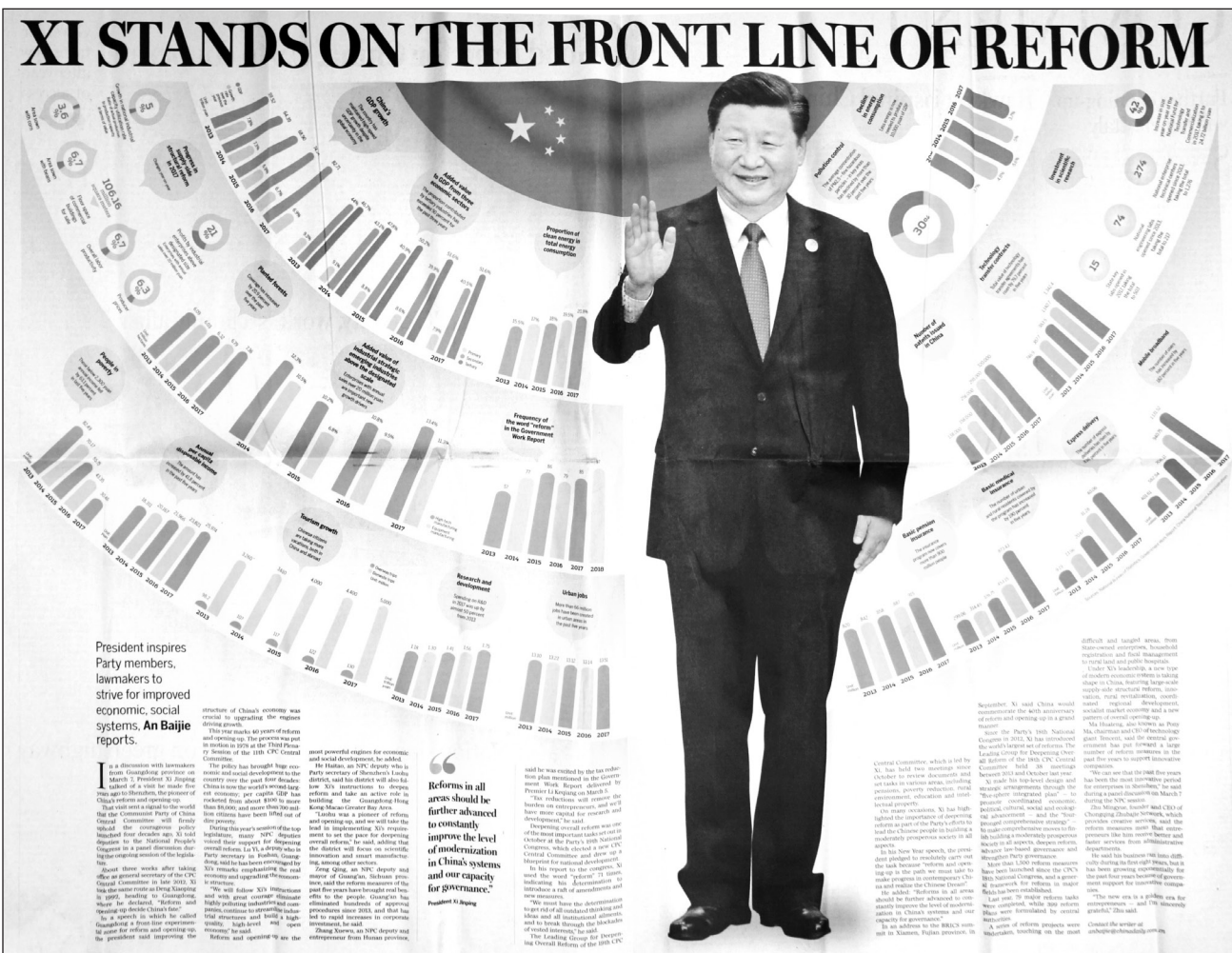


14. The Inscription Carved on a Copper Man

43 Ancient hub offers inspiration for future. Moutai’s chairman Li Baofang articulates vision for better world forged through expanding cultural and economic exchanges, in *China Daily*, October 12, 2018

44 Xi Jinping, Carry on the Enduring Spirit of Mao Zedong Thought, Part of the speech at the symposium to commemorate the 120<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Mao Zedong’s birth, December 26, 2013, in *The Governance of China*, Beijing 2014 <http://www.bannedthought.net/China/Individuals/XiJinping/XiJinping-TheGovernanceOfChina.pdf>

45 Xi Jinping, The Four Consciousnesses and the Authority of the Central Committee, Main points of the speech at a meeting for criticism and self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC Central Committee, December 26-27, 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 207-210 and CPC Leadership Is Essential to Chinese Socialism, Excerpts from speeches made between September 5, 2014 and February 13, 2017, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 18-21



15. Xi Stands on the Frontline of Reform, China Daily, March 17-18, 2018

Contemporary Chinese scholars are convinced that Xi Jinping has the will, power and decisiveness to set through all those goals he did summarize in his Chinese Dream and after. “Xi Jinping is ending the dispersal of power and moving towards centralization. This is extremely important”.<sup>46</sup> This means in traditional Confucian terms: “He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place when all the stars are rotating about it.”

**Foreign Policy**

Confucius regarded the Middle Kingdom as center of the world and the Chinese emperor as the supreme ruler of the world. It would take time till his ideal could be related with the actual conditions

in China. Between 771 BC and 221 BC China has been split up into a group of sovereign states. After the short intermezzo of Qin Shi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 and the abortive reign of his son came 400 years of Han 汉Dynasty. During that time the idea of the Confucian benevolent emperor, who cares like a father for the multitude of nations gained scope and validity. During the following time of the Three Kingdoms the rulers strived for becoming the sole emperor because, like Confucius stated: “There are not two suns in the sky, there cannot be two emperors on earth.” The tribute states got a seal from the Chinese emperor for ascending the throne, used the Chinese calendar, were obliged to appear occasionally at the Chinese court and send tribute. If the tribute delegations came from places far away, they got more back than they brought in. In return they got protection, like the Panchen Lama when his

46 Zheng Yongnian, Xi Jinping’s Political Roadmap, Oct. 4 speech by Prof. Zheng Yongnian of Singapore National University, <https://www.uscnpm.org/blog/2014/11/17/8847/>; ©Phoenix Internet University, Editor-in-charge Wang Demin, Singapore correspondent Jin Luying; or Zhang Weiwei, *The China Wave: Rise of a Civilizational State*, New York 2014, p.61

borders were raided by the ferocious Gurkha tribes. The Chinese emperor waged a kind of “Falkland-War” for aiding the Panchen Lama, which costed much and brought little. It has taken a long time till those who were ruling China perceived that they were only one state among other states. As late as 1869 – decades after the Opium- and quite a few other lost wars – the Chinese emissaries desperately quarreled with the Austrian delegation about the Austrian monarch’s emperor title when negotiating the treaty for taking up diplomatic relations.<sup>47</sup> When foreign mercenaries who had participated in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion asked for acquiring the Chinese citizenship, it was permitted with the comment: “They have turned to civilization”.<sup>48</sup> The US ambassador asking for an audience was surprised by the answer: “This foreigner means, that he respects the Chinese emperor like some of these presidents, is nothing but placing the Middle Kingdom on the same level with barbarian tribes. Such a ferocious arrogance can only be evaluated by laughing about it.”<sup>49</sup> Even during darkest times of Chinese history, when China was sliced up by imperialist powers, Chinese leaders felt that China is morally superior to Western powers, the destiny of China is closely linked with the world community and like during the times of the Chinese emperors China would pacify, unify, and lead the multitudes of nations.

Like Sun Yatsen, the father of the Chinese Republic, has put it in his lectures about the Three Principles of the People. Sun Yatsen cited the old saying of Confucius: “He who is happy about not killing a man, he can unite the world.” According to Sun this Chinese principle is in odd contrast to the virtues of the foreigners. Traditional Chinese virtues like loyalty, the devotion of children to the parents, kindness, love and dutifulness would be by nature superior to those of the foreigners. But in term of loving peace China would outrank all other nations. China has an important task in the world community. In order to fulfill this task China would have to be strong and united according to the old

principle “those who want to pacify the world must first put their own state in order.” After that China could comply with its international duties to help the weak states and protect them from the bullying of big powers. As Confucius did demand. Then the world could be united on basis of the traditional Chinese moral, love of peace and a universal rule of equality and brotherhood could be secured. In regard of these aspirations Sun Yatsen saw himself in one line with Confucius.<sup>50</sup>

Deng Xiaoping concentrated on China’s economic reconstruction and therefore propagated: “Tao guang yang hui, jue bu dang tou, you suo zuowei” 韬光养晦, 决不当头有所作为 which means: “conceal our capacities, never become the leader and wait for your time”<sup>51</sup> Xi Jinping is obviously convinced that under his leadership China’s time has come and he links the fate of China and the world on the basis of traditional Confucian Chinese thinking. Choosing the motto “The Chinese Dream Will Benefit Not Only the People of China, But Also of Other Countries” he stressed “We will concentrate both on China’s development and on our responsibilities and contributions to the world as a whole. We will bring benefits to both the Chinese people and the people of the rest of the world.”<sup>52</sup> In this connection Xi Jinping supports his thesis with traditional Confucian ideal of “being the first to worry about the affairs of the state and the last to enjoy oneself”, a quotation from Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052), a statesman and literary scholar of the Northern Song 宋 Dynasty (960-1127).<sup>53</sup> Further references to principles from Chinese past can be found in “The Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation Is a Dream Shared by All Chinese”: “China will thrive only when the world prospers.”<sup>54</sup>

In order to enable China to make special contributions to world community Xi Jinping demands international relations of a new characteristic: “..., all peoples should work together to safeguard world peace and promote common development.”<sup>55</sup> An important factor for achieving this collective deve-

---

47 Gerd Kaminski, Else Unterrieder, *Von Österreichern und Chinesen*, Wien 1980, p.159-164

48 John K. Fairbank, The Early Treaty System, in John K. Fairbank, *The Chinese World Order*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1968, p. 271

49 Hosea Ballou Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, Reprint Taipei 1964, Vol. 2, p. 436

50 Harold R. Isaacs, Documents of the Comintern and the Chinese Revolution, in *The China Quarterly* No. 45, 1971, p.104

51 Gerald Chan, Pak K. Lee, Lai-Ha Chan, *China Engages Global Governance: A New World Order in the Making?*, Routledge 2011, p.40

52 Xi Jinping, The Chinese Dream Will Benefit Not Only the People of China, But Also of Other Countries, Part of the answers in a written interview with reporters from Trinidad and Tobago, Costa Rica and Mexico, May 2013, in *The Governance of China*, Beijing 2014, p.78

53 Xi Jinping, Right Time to Innovate and Make Dreams Come True, Part of the speech at the centenary celebration of the Western Returned Scholars Association, October 21, 2013, in *The Governance of China*, Beijing 2014, p.79

54 Xi Jinping, The Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation Is a Dream Shared by All Chinese, Main points of the speech to representatives attending the Seventh Conference of Friendship of Overseas Chinese Associations, June 6, 2014, in *The Governance of China*, Beijing 2014, p.85

55 Xi Jinping, Follow the Trend of the Times and Promote Global Peace and Development, Speech at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Moscow, Russia, March 23, 2013, in *The Governance of China*, Beijing 2014, p.298



lopment, are Xi's Belt and Road initiatives, with China as a leading force.<sup>56</sup>

Xi Jinping's concept of "A Community of Shared Future" was first introduced in 2015<sup>57</sup> and he elaborated the vision of building such a community for mankind in a speech in Geneva in 2017.<sup>58</sup> In his speech at the Central Conference on Foreign Affairs on November 28<sup>th</sup> 2014 Xi pointed out:

*"Today the world is changing. It is a world in which new opportunities and new challenges keep emerging, a world in which the international system and international order are going through a profound adjustment and a world in which the balance of international forces is shifting steadily in favor of peace and development. (...)*

*China has entered a crucial stage of achieving the great renewal of the Chinese nation. Profound changes are taking place in China's relations with the rest of the world, with closer interactions between China and the international community."*<sup>59</sup>

Interpreting these sentences in the light of Sun Yatsen's model and of the principles of China's new foreign policy the message is: China, in Xi's eyes, was successful in getting international acceptance for slogans focusing on peace and development and he brought - in harmony with Sun Yatsen's principles - the own state in order, which is the precondition to strive for Sun Yatsen's Confucian ideas of helping the weak and keep a tight rein on bullying big powers: "... we should act in good faith, value friendship, champion moral principles and uphold justice. (...) What we pursue is the wellbeing of both the Chinese people and the people of all other countries."<sup>60</sup>

In the Confucian framework of helping the weak and checking the big powers fit also the remarks

done by Xi at a Political Bureau conference on September 27<sup>th</sup> 2016:

*"We must seize the opportunity and take appropriate actions to foster an international order that is fairer, more equitable, and more rational and to ensure that the common interests of our country and other developing countries are more securely assured ..."*<sup>61</sup>

Xi propagated the Belt and Road Initiative all over the world and traced it back to Confucian principles: "The ancient Chinese philosopher Mencius said, 'Ensuring the right conduct and upholding justice should be the path to follow across the land.'"<sup>62</sup> The Swiss sinologist Harro von Senger in this context assumes that Belt and Road are not merely Confucian but owe much to moulüe – supraplanning – propagated by the strategist Sunzi, who is next to Confucian classics one of Xi Jinping's favorite authors. In fact 人民日报Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) reported on May 26<sup>th</sup> 2016: "一带一路": 大谋略与大智慧 Yi dai yi lu: da moulüe yu da zhihui "One Belt one Road: Great Moulüe and Great Wisdom"<sup>63</sup> The Confucian principle of right and proper conduct was introduced by Xi Jinping into China's relations to the other members of BRICS. He started his speech at the BRICS Xiamen Summit on September 4<sup>th</sup> 2017 by citing Qiao Zhou 谯周 (201-270), a Confucian moralist who lived during the time of the Three Kingdoms: "As an ancient Chinese saying goes 'A partnership forged with the right approach defies geographical distance; it is thicker than glue and stronger than metal and stone'"<sup>64</sup>

Other cartoons in Chinese papers go in the same direction: It is China, who is able to solve existing problems.

When relating traditional Chinese thinking with Chinese foreign politics Xi Jinping can rely on the sup-

56 Xi Jinping, Work Together to Build the Silk Road Economic Belt, part of the speech at Nazarbayev University, Astana, Kazakhstan, September 7, 2013, in *The Governance of China*, Beijing 2014, p.311; Work Together to Build a 21st-century Maritime Silk Road, part of the speech at the People's Representative Council of Indonesia, October 3, 2013, in *The Governance of China*, Beijing 2014, p.316

57 Xi Jinping, A New Partnership of Mutual Benefit and a Community of Shared Future, speech at the General Debate of the 79<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly at the UN Headquarters in New York, September 28, 2015, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 569ff.

58 Xi Jinping, Towards a Community of Shared Future for Mankind, speech at the United Nations Office at Geneva, January 18, 2017, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 588ff.

59 Xi Jinping, China's Diplomacy Must Benefit Its Major-Country Status, main points of the speech at the Central Conference on Foreign Affairs, November 28, 2014, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 480-481

60 Xi Jinping, China's Diplomacy Must Benefit Its Major-Country Status, main points of the speech at the Central Conference on Foreign Affairs, November 28, 2014, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 480-482

61 Xi Jinping, Improve Our Ability to Participate in Global Governance, main points of the speech at the 35<sup>th</sup> group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, September 27, 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 487

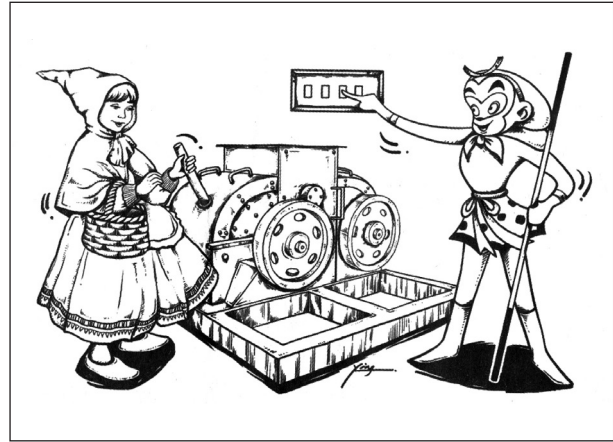
62 Xi Jinping, Increase Sino-Arab Dialogue and Expand Common Ground, part of the speech at the Arab League Headquarters, January 21, 2016, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 502-503

63 Harro von Senger, [Moulüe] *Supraplanung. Unerkannte Denkhorizonte aus dem Reich der Mitte*, 2. Ed.. München 2018, p. 6 quoted from Zhongguo Gongchandang Xinwenwang (News Network of the CPC), 26.05.2016, <http://cpc.people.com.cn/n1/2016/0526/c64387-28382173.html>

64 Xi Jinping, Usher in the Second Golden Decade of BRICS Cooperation, part of the speech at the BRICS Xiamen Summit, September 4, 2017, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 535



16. A frequently appearing advertisement in Chinese newspapers. Who is driving?, *China Daily*, August 30, 2018



17. The Chinese Monkey King knows the right way, *China Daily*, June 11, 2015

## China and EU can jointly counter protectionism



18. Young China and old Europe defend jointly against Trump's aggression, *China Daily*, September 25, 2018

port and expertise of think-tanks nurtured by elites from top Chinese universities and academies. Most of these professors have lived for quite long time in western countries and are still guest professors at renowned universities in der USA, England and other countries. It is interesting to observe that although they are familiar with western systems and values, they prefer turning back to Chinese history and philosophy for gaining wisdom and road-signs in regard of China's cause in 21<sup>st</sup> century. We can count to this group for instance Prof. Yan Xuetong

阎学通, director of the Department of International Relations of Tsinghua University. In his book *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*, he claims that the patterns of international relations which were governing the Chinese multi-states-system in the first millennium BC are valid and applicable to modern times not only for China but for the whole world. China should lay claim to a "human authority" in the community of the states.<sup>65</sup> Prof. Dan Chun, a prominent member of the Confucius Association wrote in his book *The Charm*

65 Yan Xuetong, *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*, Princeton 2011, p. 200, p. 204

of the Confucian Thinking that in times of Chinese antiquity barbarians and animals did not acknowledge the Chinese morality code and therefore have been despised. This morality code consists of love for one's fellow-men, justice, honesty, trust, respect and modesty.<sup>66</sup> Only this way the union between heaven and men could be achieved ... Only the center knows the way. Friends living too distant from the center, face the danger of being alienated from good moral. According Mencius the Wang Dao, the Kingly Way paved by the rules of Confucius, would be the most important and would defeat power politics because morality is the weapon of Confucius.

Already in 2006 the director of the Chinese Institute for International Strategic Research General Xiong Guangkai published his book *"International Situation and Security Strategy"*:

*„Over 2500 years ago, during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States period, that followed, flames of war spread throughout China as different states fought against one another. This same period however, also gave birth to Confucius, the founder of Confucianism. He appealed to statesmen and common people alike to pursue universal peace and harmony between Man and Nature. Distressed by frequent military conflicts among states at the time, Confucius urged his contemporaries to ‚prize harmony in the participation of rites‘ means handling relations among countries in the line with fair and rational international principles, while ‚to prize harmony‘ means that peaceful coexistence is to be cherished.“<sup>67</sup>*

About the same time Prof. Zhao Tingyang 赵汀阳, Great Wall Professor of Philosophy at Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, got much attention when he came out with a best-seller on China's traditional tianxia 天下 system. Tianxia = "everything under the sky" till 1911 was one of the official titles of the Chinese Empire. This title indicated that the Chinese emperor, similar to a pater familias was on top of all other rulers and represented the whole world in his communication with heaven.<sup>68</sup>

According to the opinion of Prof. William A. Callahan Zhao Tingyang was successful in moving the topic of tianxia, which had started already ten

years before, into the center of Chinese political discussion.<sup>69</sup>

*"Although Chinese scholars have been employing traditional concepts – including Tianxia – to explain current domestic and foreign policies for more than a decade, Zhao's plan for a Chinese-inspired world utopia provides an exemplary case of the workings of normative policymaking because it dramatically shifted these discussions from the margins to the mainstream. The popularity of Zhao's very singular understanding of Tianxia thus powerfully demonstrates a broader trend that will outlive the considerable impact of his particular book: "Chinese-style IR" has become a topic of conversation not just among public intellectuals and IR scholars but also in the much broader arenas of popular culture and state policy as a sort of patriotic cosmopolitanism."*

Zhao Tingyang claims that the old Chinese tributary state system worked on the basis of voluntary access and of ren (loving one's fellow-men), which he interprets according to the old root of the pictogram "1000 hearts." Other states have joined the Chinese system, because China was successful in winning their hearts.<sup>70</sup> Zhao believes that the tianxia system would work better than the United Nations.

*"The All-under-Heaven pattern of all-states-in-a-family reminds us of the similarities with the United Nations pattern, one of which is that they are both world organizations dedicated to solve international problems and to ensure peace and order in the world. But their differences might be more important, taking into account the successes that the All-under-Heaven pattern has had in Chinese society in many dynasties, in contrast with the inability of the UN pattern to deal with international conflicts. Furthermore, we might be encouraged to find in the All-under-Heaven pattern the theoretical potential to resolve international and intercultural problems.*

[...]

*The UN has made great efforts to validate rational dialogue to replace conflicts. There is no doubt that rational dialogue has had an impact in reducing wars and fighting, but not in conflict reduction, and instead has encouraged the strategic game of non-cooperation, thus universally enhancing the personality of the selfish maximizer. And, worse, the United Nations has*

66 Dan Chun, *The Charm of the Confucian Thinking*, Beijing 2011, pp 197-225

67 Xiong Guangkai: *International Situation and Security Strategy*. Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2009, pp. 352f, p. 249f und p. 250f.

68 Compare Jan Jakob Maris de Groot, *Universismus. Die Grundlage der Religion und Ethik, des Staatswesens und der Wissenschaften Chinas*, Berlin 1918

69 William A. Callahan, *Tianxia, Empire and the World: Chinese Visions of World Order for the 21st Century*,

In: William A. Callahan and Elena Barabantseva, (ed), *China Orders the World?: Soft Power, Norms and Foreign Policy*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012. p. 92ff

70 Zhao Tingyang, *Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept 'All-under-Heaven' (Tian-xia, 天下)*. In: Callahan/Barabantseva 2011, p. 28



*no power to stop a superpower from universalizing itself alone in name of globalization. The UN is more of a political market for nations and less of an institution for the world itself.*"<sup>71</sup>

The tianxia system on the contrary would unite the hearts of all people. Zhao is supported by the President of the China Foreign Affairs University Qin Yaqing 秦亚青. Qin refers to the American sinologist John K. Fairbank:

*„Fairbank thus discusses the important differences between the traditional Chinese world view and the Western view of the international system; in China the world is a holistic unit that is based on order, rather than Hobbesian culture’s battlefield of nation-states.”<sup>72</sup>*

Those Chinese professors call upon replacing American values by Chinese morality against American money-worship – a call which did not fail getting Xi Jinping’s attention and consent. Another author who certainly gained Xi Jinping’s sympathy is Prof. Zhang Weiwei 张维为 a Chinese professor of international relations at Shanghai Fudan University. His book *The China Wave, Rise of a Civilizational State*, published in 2011 sold 1 million times immediately after coming from print. Zhang tells his readers that it is high time for the West to learn from China. Confucius does not need support from Plato. Western scholars should make efforts to understand Chinese thinking. The Chinese should refrain from “cut one’s feet to suit Western shoes.” “In essence the CPC continues the long tradition of a unified Confucian ruling entity.” “Morality according teachings of Confucius has to be put on the first place.”<sup>73</sup> “The contents of the Chinese civilization are 100 times more complicated and sophisticated than these shallow (Western) concepts are able to capture.”<sup>74</sup>

It is worth mentioning that these ideas of rejuvenating China by old principles of China-centrism and Chinese superiority have not been unchallenged in Chinese academic circles. A critical assessment came from Xu Jilin, east China Normal University, whose “New Tianxia” envisages quite another ideal of Tianxia. In his essay *The New Tianxia: Rebuilding China’s Internal and External Order*<sup>75</sup> Xu Jilin comments the nationalist ambitions of other scholars:

*“Nationalism has always been an integral part of modernity, yet when it becomes the highest value of statecraft, it can inflict destructive calamities on the world, as in the European World Wars.*

*To truly address the problem at its roots, we need a form of thought that can act as a counterpoint to nationalism. I call this thought the „new tianxia,“ an axial civilizational wisdom that comes from China’s pre-modern tradition, interpreted anew along modern lines.*

*(...) China’s civilizational tradition was not nationalistic, but rather grounded in tianxia, whose values were universal and humanistic rather than particular. Tianxia did not belong to one particular people or nation.”*

Xu also finds fault with chauvinistic views among his colleagues and is surprisingly outspoken:

*“The reason that Chinese civilization did not decline over the course of five thousand years is precisely because it was not closed and narrow. Instead, it benefitted from its openness and inclusiveness, and never stopped transforming outside civilizations into its own traditions. Employing the universal perspective of tianxia, China was concerned only with the question of the character of these values. It did not ask ethnic questions about “mine” or “yours,” but absorbed everything that was „good,“ connecting “you” and “me” in an integrated whole which became “our” civilization.*

*However, today’s extreme nationalists see China and the West as absolute, natural enemies. They use absolute distinctions of race and ethnicity to resist all foreign civilizations. Even in the academic world there is a popular “theory of the original sin of Western learning,” according to which anything created by Westerners must be rejected out of hand. The judgements of these extreme nationalists regarding standards of truth, goodness and beauty no longer display the universalism of traditional China. All that is left is the narrow perspective of “mine”: as if as long as it is “mine” it must be “good,” and as long as it is “Chinese” then it is an absolute good that does not need to be proven. This kind of “politically correct” nationalism seems like it is extolling Chinese civilization, but in fact it is doing just the opposite: it takes the universality of Chinese civilization and debases it into nothing but the particular culture of one nation and one people.”*

71 Zhao, p.30f.

72 Qin Yaqing: The Possibility and heritability of a Chinese School of International Relations Theory. In: Callahan/Barahantseva 2011, S. 42f.

73 Zhang Weiwei, *The China Wave: Rise Of A Civilizational State*, English edition 2012, pp. 3,13, 55-56, 60, 63, 66-67, 83, 199

74 Zhang Weiwei, *The China Wave: Rise Of A Civilizational State*, English edition 2012, p.67

75 许纪霖, “新天下主义: 重建中国的内外秩序,” in Xu Jilin and Liu Qing 刘擎, eds., *新天下主义, 知识分子论丛* (New Tianxia, Intellectuals Series) no. 13 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2015), translated by Mark McConaghy, Tang Xiaobing, and David Ownby, [https://www.readingthechinadream.com/xu-jilin-the-new-tianxia.html?fbclid=IwAR2UM20RLy6m8N38GGbHrwt84l\\_BX1ZGNBdsjnP4zYE7DkEcfk98mSbW5l](https://www.readingthechinadream.com/xu-jilin-the-new-tianxia.html?fbclid=IwAR2UM20RLy6m8N38GGbHrwt84l_BX1ZGNBdsjnP4zYE7DkEcfk98mSbW5l)

Other significant messages from Xu's pen are:

*"As a great power with global influence, what China must achieve today is not just its dream of rejuvenating the nation and the state, but more importantly the redirection of its nationalistic spirit toward the world."*

*"In the new tianxia order, there is no center, there are only independent and peaceful peoples and states who respect one another."*

*"Why is it that even as China repeatedly states that its rise is peaceful it cannot convince its neighbors? One important reason is that within China's terrifying imperial body lurks a frightening soul that values national supremacy above all else, an empire without consciousness of tianxia."*

Xi Jinping seems to have a more open ear for those voices with a little more national scent echoed from scholarly circles. He is possibly inclined to lay more weight on presenting China as a big political, economic, scientific and military power.<sup>76</sup> Counting his personal international contacts he turned out to be more active than his predecessors. Xi's traveling diplomacy was successful. On the other hand he is a never tiring host of state visitors and international conferences. Already in previous periods of the Chinese People's Republic before Xi, there existed a tendency, which was also experienced by the author, to welcome foreign guests with a saying of Confucius: "What a big joy it is to welcome guests coming afar." This sentence sounds nice and seems to be a token of Chinese hospitality. Few visitors might grasp the point Confucius intended to make. The original meaning was to praise the far living barbarians, who attracted by the virtue of the Chinese emperor, come to the Chinese court for instruction. Nowadays under Xi Jinpings leadership China makes great efforts to host big international conferences, which offer opportunities for China to influence the agenda and this way developing international relations of a new Chinese character. Previous times are gone, when the Chinese leaders were satisfied with representing Chinese interest within the framework of an established world order of Western brand. Xi Jinping understands himself as a player in a new framework of international

relations, which has a Chinese brand. To clad high ranking foreign statesmen in traditional Chinese silk jackets is not but a mere symbol of Chinese hospitality.



The foreigners should come to China and learn from China. Similar to the attempt of challenging the World Economic Forum of Davos with the Boao Forum for Asia China tries to get a topics leadership within international affairs. The relevant conferences boast with gigantic opening ceremonies, a luxurious setting and floods of participants. The Chinese media react with headlines like "Xi's idea [building a community of shared future for mankind] seen as beacon to guide mankind to shared future"<sup>77</sup> and collect flattering comments from foreign countries: "Xi's community vision praised by many around the globe"<sup>78</sup>. The same counts for those conference participants representing all kinds of political parties: "Parties say they can learn from China"<sup>79</sup>. China likes to be praised by heads of foreign countries, f.i. "Austrian head lauds China's 'meteoric' economy"<sup>80</sup>. Foreigners who choose a longer stay in China, for instance students wearing dresses of Confucius' times and reciting texts of the sage, are a favorite snapshot motive of Chinese newspaper. Scholars "turning to civilization" are treasured by Chinese media like Roger T. Ames, vice-president of the International Confucian Association: "It's time for a new band of Confucians to make Chinese culture a world culture and endow it with a world relevance"<sup>81</sup>; "Professor develops

76 See Camilla T.N. Sørensen, Constraints on the Soft Power Efforts of Authoritarian States: The Case of the 2015 Military Parade in Beijing, in: *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 46, 2, 111–134. Compare also Zhao Lei, "Self-reliance sought in science, defense" ("self-reliance", a term which had been treasured by Mao Zedong), in: *China Daily*, October 16, 2018 <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201810/16/WS5bc4dda7a310eff3032827cd.html>

77 *China Daily*, April 16, 2018

78 *China Daily*, April 16, 2018, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2018-04/16/content\\_36035398.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2018-04/16/content_36035398.htm)

79 *China Daily*, June 4, 2018, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2018-06/04/content\\_36318351.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2018-06/04/content_36318351.htm)

80 *China Daily*, April 7-8, 2018 <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201804/07/WS5ac8090fa3105cdf65168b2.html>

81 *China Daily*, September 3, 2018, <https://www.chinadailyhk.com/articles/14/180/95/1535968241290.html>

# THE NEW CONFUCIAN

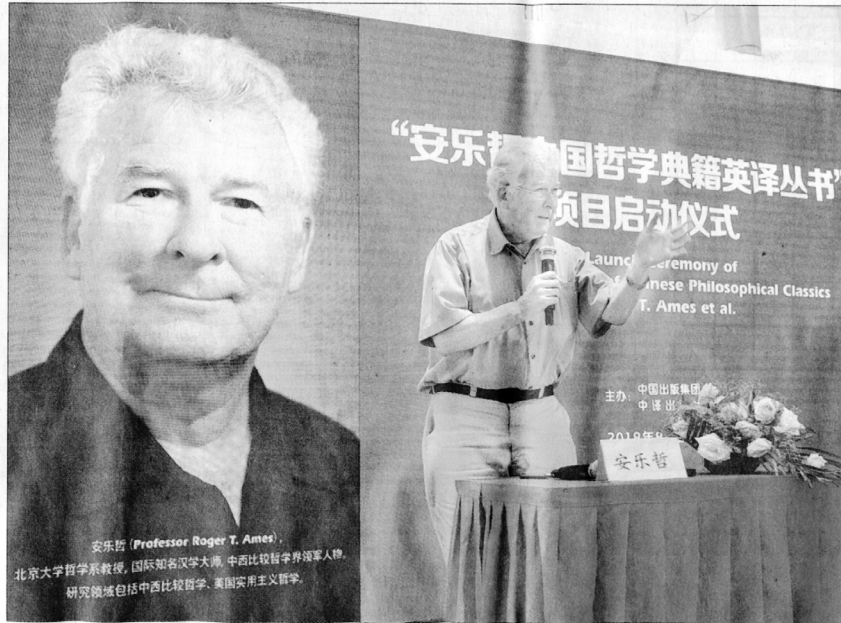
Canadian scholar Roger T. Ames is pushing for Chinese culture to play a global role, **Shen Wendi** reports.

**H**aving cultivated the field of Chinese-Western comparative philosophy studies for over thirty years, Roger T. Ames is already one of its big names. In academic circles, his translations of Chinese philosophical theory are widely regarded as valuable reference materials and accepted as standard texts. Yet, he insists on referring to his contributions as just "a little bit of work that I've done".

The Canadian scholar with the Berggruen Institute is also the vice president of the International Confucian Association and a professor of philosophy at Peking University. He divides his time between Canadian and Chinese universities and academic conferences and has trained over 40 PhD students.

Now, his years of effort in translating Chinese philosophical classics are to be brought to the world through a series of books produced by the Chinese Translation & Publishing House, including eight of the most important Chinese works like *Analects of Confucius* and *Dao De Jing*.

"The publisher made a forward-looking decision by choosing the right time and



Roger T. Ames, vice-president of the International Confucian Association, speaks at the launch event of his English translations of Chinese philosophical classics at the Beijing International Book Fair on Aug 23. PROVIDED TO CHINA DAILY

nese philosophy dates back to 1966, when he went to Hong Kong at the age of 18 and was tutored by prestigious Neo-Confucians like Lao Siguang and Tang Junyi as part of an exchange program. As a witness to the enormous changes taking place in China over the past decades, he thinks the time has come to pose a new task for Confucianism.

"Neo-Confucians, represented by the great names of Liang Shuming, Mou Zongsan and so on, are heroes and philosophical warriors," he says. "They were so different individually yet they carried the same mission to save the country. We are standing on their shoulders, but we have a different job to do. It's time for a new band of Confucians to make Chinese culture a world culture and to endow it with a world relevance."

His devotion to Confucianism also comes out of a sense of responsibility to the younger generations.

"My worry for young Chinese people is that everything in this transitional time is too much and too fast for them to take in. The international community needs the wisdom of Chinese philosophy to address global issues. It is

20. *The New Confucian*, *China Daily*, September 3, 2018

'Chinese Heart'<sup>82</sup> "Sinologist sees China changing the World"<sup>83</sup>; "Chinese Wisdom Enriches Shanghai Spirit."<sup>84</sup>; "Xi's Speech Praised Home, Abroad"<sup>85</sup>; "China Provides Example for the World"<sup>86</sup>.

Anyway there is nothing wrong with the Chinese feeling good after so many years of humiliation. And there is nothing wrong with Xi Jinping's revival of Confucianism in China's foreign policy, nothing wrong with morality, peace and virtue. In regard of domestic politics it has been pointed out above that the picture is a bit different. How much to take from the Confucius Shop, should be well considered. The sage did not grant a right of resistance versus wrong decisions of superiors. In the past there were only three choices in such case: to criticize the leader which bore considerable risks, to withdraw from office or to commit suicide, which was

done by famous figures from history and mythology like Qu Yuan or Zhongkui.

There exists even in modern China a kind of "lingdao bing" 领导病 – leader-sickness as the author likes to call it. In the more than 55 years of his dealing with Chinese, he could experience over and over again that after talking reason for hours, hoping that the message finally would find its way into the Chinese mind, the discussion would often frustratingly end on the other end of the telephone line with a couple of words: *lingdao shuo* 领导说... (leader has said...). Such existing authoritarian attitudes do not promote "the liberation of thoughts" as Deng Xiaoping has put it and would not support the desired development of China if an extra portion of Confucian autocracy is added. That is the opinion of the author. Maybe he is wrong. Advisors

82 *China Daily*, October 15, 2018, <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201810/15/WS5bc3f590a310eff3032824b4.html>

83 *China Daily*, October 11, 2018, <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201810/11/WS5bbea100a310eff303281b64.html>

84 *China Daily* June 13, 2018, <http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201806/13/WS5b2053f5a31001b82572004a.html>

85 *China Daily*, January 2, 2018, <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201801/02/WS5a4abca5a31008cf16da4832.html>

86 *China Daily* October 30, 2017

[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201710/30/WS5a14ea6aa310c41b9ea7288e\\_4.html](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201710/30/WS5a14ea6aa310c41b9ea7288e_4.html)



# XI'S GLOBAL STEPS IN 2017

**Switzerland:** Xi met with his Swiss counterpart Doris Leuthard, agreeing to align their respective development strategies.

**WEF meeting:** Xi delivered a keynote speech, making a strong case for advancing globalization and rejecting protectionism.

**Geneva:** Xi made a keynote address at the United Nations Office, proposing a global community defined by multilateralism.

**January 15 to 18**

**April 4-7**

**June 7-11**

**July 3-8**

**November 10 to 14**

**and:** Xi met with his Finnish counterpart Sauli Niinistö. The two presidents announced they would build future-oriented, new-type cooperative partnership.

Xi met with his US counterpart Donald Trump for the first time, comparing notes on bilateral ties and discussing international regional issues.

**Kazakhstan:** Xi held talks with Kazakh President Nurbayev. The two presidents agreed to maintain high-level and mutual exchanges.

**Shanghai Cooperation Organization summit:** Xi highlighted China's firm stance on fighting terrorism and safeguarding regional peace while addressing the Shanghai Cooperation Organization summit in Astana.

**Russia:** Xi agreed with his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin, to continue deepening two countries' comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination and further align Belt and Road Initiative with the Eurasian Economic Union.

**Germany:** Xi told German Chancellor Angela Merkel that the development of China-Germany ties over the decades is a "story of success" that has delivered real benefits to the two peoples.

**G20 Summit:** Xi offered a set of proposals to build a more open world economy and realize more inclusive global economic growth while speaking at the G20 summit.

**Vietnam:** Xi met with Nguyen Phu Trong, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee. The two leaders agreed to pursue a friendly policy toward each other and continuously boost the China-Vietnam comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership.

**APEC:** Xi underscored the significance of innovation, opening-up and inclusive development for a new round of global prosperity while speaking at the 25th APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting.

**Laos:** Xi and his Laotian counterpart Bounnhang Vorachith witnessed the signing of 16 documents to enhance collaboration in areas such as finance, trade, infrastructure and people-to-people exchanges.

**Map Labels:** US, Finland, Germany, Switzerland, Russia, Kazakhstan, China, Laos, Vietnam

21. Xi's Global Steps in 2017, China Daily, December 29, 017

of Xi Jinping like Wang Yiwei 王义桅, professor of the School of International Studies, director of the Institute of International Affairs, director of the Center for EU Studies at Renmin University of China, and advisor of the International Department of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, cites in his book on the Belt and Road Initiative Voltaire: "The European's greatest misfortune is that they cannot be Chinese". Voltaire and other European philosophers might disperse the well-intentioned worries of the author.<sup>87</sup>

Xi Jinping himself has referred to the fact that important flag bearers of European enlightenment like Leibniz and Voltaire were sympathizing with Confucianism: "Confucianism, which originated in China gained appreciation by European thinkers such as Leibniz and Voltaire."<sup>88</sup> In fact one cannot deny that eminent figures of enlightenment have fully committed themselves to Confucianism. Leibniz was so deeply impressed, and so eager in collecting every information about Confucianism that he joked, he would fix a board on his door saying "Bureau d'adresses pour la Chine". In his book *Novissima Sinica* (1697) he pointed out "that in regard of the rules for life and state moral, China outranks us." "Who would have thought that we, who are brought up in proper manners, would be outranked by this people in regard of forms of more civilized life?" Christian Wolff in his inauguration lecture as a pro rector of Halle University in 1721 has praised Confucius' morality and called him forerunner and representative of enlightenment." In the reprint of the speech in 1726 he stressed: "It is a higher providence if this world wisdom of the Chinese will be known in a time when Christian virtue has been deserted; the example of the non-Christian virtue of Confucius which only directed to distinguish proper from improper conduct will prevail."



22. Foreign students in Chinese robes, *China Daily*, February 27, 2015

Voltaire wrote in his *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* in regard of the sage from the east: "I have read his books attentively. I grasped that he only talked about pure morality." He compared Confucius with the Greek philosopher Epictet: "Reciprocity, forgive wrong doings, cherishing of friendship, modesty". In comparing Mohammed with Confucius Voltaire expanded the differences: "Mohammed was conqueror, legislator, monarch and high priest, he incorporated the highest function a man could have on earth, but the sages will prefer Confucius just because he did not aspire to anything of that, but was content with teaching pure morality."

King Frederic of Russia, a friend of Voltaire, wrote in a letter of 8.4.1776 that he was impressed about the moralist sense of the Chinese: "In regard of the Chinese everything is clearer, purer and more moralistic."<sup>89</sup> Such observations from great European thinkers might fit well into any contemporary Chinese report about Xi Jinping's thinking on communism with Chinese characteristic in a new era.

Am I convinced? We shall see.

87 Wang Yiwei, *China Connects the World. What Behind the Belt and Road Initiative*, Beijing 2017, p.14

88 Xi Jinping, *Work Together to Build the Belt and Road*, speech at the opening ceremony of the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, May 14, 2017, in *The Governance of China II*, Beijing 2017, p. 555

89 The citations can be found in Theodore Devarenne, *Konfuzius in aller Welt*, Leipzig 1929, pp. 11, 17, 29, 25,



# Rede, gehalten am 30. Oktober 2018 vor dem China Businessforum in Pörschach am Wörthersee

Kurt Seinitz

## Aktuelle Entwicklungen in China – Auswirkungen auf Europa

Was können wir von der Entwicklung in China erwarten?

Ich beginne mit einem Zitat: „Mao Zedong hatte China befreit, Deng Xiaoping hat China zu (bescheidenem) Wohlstand geführt und Xi Jinping wird China stark machen“.

Diese Darstellung einer chinesischen Dreifaltigkeit bekam die österreichische Staatsbesuchsdelegation zu hören, als sie im Frühjahr 2018 das Reich der Mitte besuchte. Staats-, Partei- und Militär-Chef Xi Jinping wird also schon jetzt als ein besonderer Repräsentant der roten Kaiser-Dynastie hervorgehoben.

Auf dem letzten Parteikongress war durchaus im konfuzianischen Sinne – worauf ich noch später zurückkommen werde – die Amtszeitbeschränkung von zweimal 5 Jahren aufgehoben worden, welche Deng Xiaoping eher im westlichen Sinne eingeführt hatte, um die Wiederholung der Auswüchse der Mao-Ära zu verhindern.

Jeder der Drei steht also ganz für sich für einen Geschichtsabschnitt des jüngeren China. Die Ära des Xi Jinping ist gekennzeichnet durch

1) die Überzeugung, dass China einen Entwicklungsstand erreicht hat, bei dem es auch seine Stärke zur Geltung bringen kann – ganz im Gegensatz zum Gebot des Reformpatriarchen Deng Xiaoping, wonach China in seinem Entwicklungsprozess möglichst wenig auffallen solle, um kein Misstrauen zu wecken.

2) durch die Notwendigkeit innerer Korrekturmaßnahmen:

a) Kampf gegen die ausufernde Korruption des Herrschaftsapparates – wobei auch gleich politische Rechnungen beglichen werden, sowie

b) die Notwendigkeit innerer wirtschaftlicher Korrekturmaßnahmen, um nicht in der sogenannten „Middle-Income-Trap“ – (das ist die Stagnation an der oberen Grenze mittlerer Entwicklung und die

Gefahr vieler Schwellenländer) – stecken zu bleiben. Es müssen neue, höhere Marktsegmente, neue Wege der Wertschöpfung erschlossen werden und natürlich Jobs, Jobs, Jobs geschaffen bzw. gesichert werden.

Jobs sind das Um und Auf der Stabilität des politischen Systems in dem Reich der 1400 Millionen Menschen; – das ist 2x EU plus USA. Solange diese Menschen die Gewissheit haben können, dass es ihnen in 1, 2, 5 Jahren noch besser geht als gestern und heute, werden sie nicht das Bedürfnis haben, dieses System zu zerstören.

Die chinesische Job-Maschine der letzten 10, 20 Jahre durch Hereinholen ausländischer Investitionen ist an ihre Leistungsgrenze gelangt, wenn schon chinesische Firmen ihre Produktion in billigere asiatische Länder auslagern. Peking hatte auf den Wall Street Krach von 2008 und die folgende Weltwirtschaftskrise mit einem enormen Investitionsprogramm und mit Milliardenspritzen vor allem für die vier großen Staatsbanken reagiert – Stichwort „too big to fail“, allerdings noch viel massiver als bei uns in Europa.

Heute hat China zwar nach wie vor den größten Devisenschatz der Welt, aber eine Binnenverschuldung von mutmaßlich schon über 200 Prozent, wobei die Zentrale in Peking Mühe hat, den Überblick über die Verschuldung von Provinzen, Gemeinden, Schattenbanken etc. zu gewinnen. Noch mehr Geld in die Wirtschaft pumpen birgt die Gefahr der Inflation.

Andererseits haben die auch von nationalem Ehrgeiz getragenen Hyperinvestitionen und Prestigeprojekte wie das größte Hochgeschwindigkeitszüge-netz der Welt, die längsten und höchsten Brücken der Welt, das größte Autobahnnetz der Welt, nicht wirklich jene notwendige Masse an Jobs geschaffen.

Jüngste Daten lassen den Schluss zu, dass China an Fahrt verliert. Die Aktienkurse sind auf Tauchfahrt gegangen.

Das hängt nicht nur mit Trumps Maßnahmen gegen den Freihandel zusammen. Ich möchte aber davor warnen, das Auf und Ab wirtschaftlicher Zuwachs-

raten - ob 6,8; 6,7; 6,6; 6,5 - wie einen Fetisch zu behandeln. Die Statistik wird vom jeweiligen Entwicklungsniveau gemessen, welches in China stark ansteigt. Bei niedrigerem Niveau hatte China statistisch zweistellige Zuwachsraten. Bei noch höherem Niveau wird die Prozentzahl sinken, obwohl das Volumen zumindest gleichbleibt.

Nichts desto weniger braucht China den Ausbau des Dienstleistungs- sowie des Klein- und Mittelbetriebssektors in einer von Konsum geleiteten Wirtschaft.

Zugleich drängt der nationale Ehrgeiz, sich an die Spitze der globalen Entwicklung zu setzen. Und da zahlt es sich aus, dass ein straff geführter Staat die Kräfte und die notwendigen Ressourcen bündeln kann.

Das Ziel heißt: führende Rolle in der digitalen Welt, wie künstliche Intelligenz oder Biotechnologie. Dieses Ziel soll 2025 erreicht werden und 2035 soll Chinas Modernisierung vollendet sein.

Chinas Entwicklung wird in drei Stufen beschrieben: von „Made in China“ über „Made from China“ zu „Made by China“. Das Wort „Werkbank der Welt“ will China nicht mehr hören.

Man macht sich bei uns kaum eine Vorstellung, wie die Chinesen der etwa 400 Millionen starken Mittelschicht heute schon in der digitalen Welt leben. In China stirbt das Geld in realer Form einfach aus. Man hat für alles eine App am Handy, kauft digital und zahlt digital. In manchen Restaurants ohne Servierpersonal wird digital bestellt und ein Roboter schiebt es an den Platz. In Geschäften und Restaurants ohne Kassen wird beim Hinausgehen automatisch abgebucht. Chinesische Touristen kommen sich bei uns wie in der wirklich alten Welt vor, wenn sie nach Kreditkarte oder gar Bargeld gefragt werden.

China ist nicht nur modernisierungswillig, sondern regelrecht modernisierungswütig.

Das Reich der Mitte denkt global und es denkt langfristig. Auf der Suche nach neuen Absatzmärkten und Einflussausweitung wurde die Neue-Seidenstraße-Initiative erfunden. In dieses Vorhaben werden enorme Investitionsmittel für Infrastrukturmaßnahmen außerhalb Chinas gesteckt, die ein Vielfaches des seinerzeitigen Marshallplans ausmachen.

Chinas Außenpolitik ist Rohstoffsicherungs- und Exportabsatz-Politik. Diese Transport- und Niederlassungs-Strategie wird Perlenkette genannt und

sie reicht von den umstrittenen Inseln im Südchinesischen Meer über Südostasien, Sri Lanka, Pakistan bis zum Golf und Ostafrika.

Die Hauptroute der Neuen Seidenstraße reicht nach Europa, vornehmlich nach Deutschland im Norden, Ungarn in Zentraleuropa sowie Griechenland, Balkan im Süden. Dahinter steckt auch ein strategisches Konzept: China rollte Europa auf und Peking lässt sich das vorerst viel kosten. Wirtschaftliche Verbindungen schaffen auch Abhängigkeiten – zuweilen sehr einseitige.

China hat in Europa schon mehrere „Anlandezentren“ geschaffen, von denen der Hafen von Piräus das spektakulärste ist. Peking plant von dort den Ausbau der Transitroute über den Balkan: Bulgarien, Mazedonien.

Quizfrage, die sich stellt: Wer ist früher in Belgrad: China oder die EU?

Chinas enger Partner in Europa ist ein Forum mit dem Namen „16+1“ aus osteuropäischen, südosteuropäischen EU-Staaten und EU-Beitrittskandidaten. Diese 16 investitions hungrigen Staaten sollen mit dem Reich der Mitte eng vernetzt werden durch günstige Kredite der chinesischen Staatsbanken und Investitionen von Konzernen, die manchmal nur dem Namen nach privat sind, in denen aber staatliches Kapital steckt.

So kommt es vor, dass sich chinesische Firmen in der EU an Ausschreibungen beteiligen, unschlagbar günstig anbieten, den Zuschlag erhalten und dazu noch die für dieses Projekt vorgesehene EU-Förderung, wie jüngst geschehen bei der kroatischen Brücke nach Dubrovnik. Eine chinesische Firma hat dort ein österreichisches Unternehmen ausgestochen.

Österreich wollte bisher aus Vorsicht keine derartige Seidenstraßen-Verpflichtung eingehen. Staaten, die durch übermäßige China-Kredite in die Schuldenfalle – und damit in Abhängigkeit – geraten, sind ein deutliches Warnzeichen.

Auch sind die bevorzugten Ansprechpartner Chinas, welches nicht nach Menschenrechten fragt, kein attraktives Beispiel. Jedenfalls treten Ungarn, Griechenland & Co. schon jetzt innerhalb der EU als politische Interessenssachwalter Chinas auf. Beide verhinderten so im Vorjahr EU-Kritik an der Menschenrechtssituation in China. Tschechiens verhaltensauffälliger Präsident Milos Zeman bot sein Land China sogar als wörtlich „unsinkbaren Flugzeugträger“ an.

Ich könnte noch weitere Kottaus vor China anführen. So lässt Südafrika den Dalai Lama, immerhin ein Nobelpreiskollege des Nelson Mandela, nicht mehr einreisen. Die Firma Daimler entschuldigte sich in Peking für ein Zitat des Dalai Lama in der Werbung. China hatte mit Konsequenzen gedroht.

Im hochentwickelten Teil Europas befand sich China in den letzten Jahren im Einkaufsrausch. Es sind strategische Vorstöße, um Hochtechnologie zu erwerben, die China zur Weiterentwicklung brauchen kann. Dahinter steckt ein ausgeklügelter Wirtschaftsplanungsapparat in Form der National Development and Reform Commission und die Partei hat immer das letzte Wort.

Chinesisches Kapital hat Volvo aufgekauft, finanziert den umstrittenen britischen AKW-Riesen Hinkley Point, und steckt in der Deutschen Bank, in Daimler, im Flughafen Heathrow, in Peugeot, Citroën, Pirelli oder in Portugal im Stromversorger des Landes, in der nationalen Fluglinie und in Hotels.

Weingüter in Frankreich sind das Hobby chinesischer Oligarchen. Denn China hat bereits die weltgrößte Zuwachsrate an Dollarmilliardären; jede Woche einer mehr.

Spitzenunternehmer sind sogar als nationale Helden des Volkes Mitglieder des Volkskongresses, des Parlaments, und sogar Mitglieder der Kommunistischen Partei, die einmal den Kapitalismus abschaffen wollte. Das alles muss man sich auf der Zunge zergehen lassen.

In den meisten chinesischen Konzernen steckt aus ihrer Entstehungsgeschichte heraus staatliches Kapital. Der heute weltgrößte Telekommunikationsausrüster Huawei wurden sogar von einem Oberst der Armee gegründet. Viele Staaten haben bei Aufkäufen aus China nun die Sicherheits-Notbremse gezogen.

Im Zuge seiner Disziplinierungspolitik und nach massiven Korruptions- und Misswirtschafts-Skandalen von Konzernbossen hat Chinas Führung zuletzt dem Spielraum des Privatunternehmertums deutliche Grenzen gesetzt. Staatschef Xi Jinping hat sich demonstrativ hinter die staatlichen Großkonzerne, etwa jene der Energiewirtschaft, gestellt und will den Einfluss der Partei in der Wirtschaft ausweiten.

Altmarxisten spüren schon Oberwasser und melden sich zu Wort. Einer erregte nationales Aufsehen in seinem Blog, wonach der Privatsektor seine historische Aufgabe erfüllt und nun zu verschwinden habe. In der heftigen Debatte darüber wurde zwar

auch spekuliert, ob es als Satire gemeint gewesen sei, doch die Reformer sind logischerweise beunruhigt.

Aber was heißt in China überhaupt Kommunismus? Die Partei, die man einfach „Partei der Macht“ nennen sollte, ist zwar die größte Partei der Welt, aber ihre 78 Millionen Mitglieder sind doch nur knapp mehr als 5 Prozent der Bevölkerung. Sie nennt ihre Diktatur „soziales Management“ und ihre Ideologie „Sozialismus mit chinesischen Vorzeichen“.

Meiner Meinung nach ist diese Sinisierung des Marxismus nichts anderes als die Rückkehr zum jahrhundertealten Urzustand Chinas, dem Konfuzianismus, oder hin zu einem Neo-Konfuzianismus des 21. Jahrhunderts; zumal beide Systeme, der Sowjetkommunismus und der Konfuzianismus den gleichen Herrschaftsmechanismus haben: die straffe Macht- und Gehorsamspyramide.

China ist eine konfuzianische Erziehungsdiktatur und die neueste Entwicklung ist die Einführung eines sogenannten „Sozialkreditsystems“. Ziel ist der gute, systemkonforme – früher hätte man gesagt: fromme – Bürger. Seine bösen Taten werden bestraft, seine guten Taten belohnt. In dem Punktesystem können beispielsweise gute Taten, wie regelmäßig die Eltern besuchen – (eine konfuzianische Pflicht)-, beispielsweise ein upgrading im Reiseverkehr erwirken und böse Taten können zum Ticketverbot führen.

Ein solches Punktesystem funktioniert natürlich nur mit totaler, totalitärer Kontrolle. Alle elektronischen Daten des gläsernen Bürgers werden gesammelt, Straßen systematisch videoüberwacht, Übeltäter per digitaler Gesichtserkennung aus der Menge herausgefiltert.

China ist die erste digitale Diktatur der Welt. Es will sein System niemandem aufdrängen. China hat keinen Missionierungseifer. Das Reich der Mitte ruht in sich selbst.

Ist dieses China eine Gefahr für die Welt? Ich meine: nein. Chaos in China wäre die wirkliche Gefahr.

Das Reich der Mitte hat keine Eroberungsgeschichte wie etwa jene der Mongolen und anderer in Europa. Kein aggressives Volk baut die größte Verteidigungsmauer der Welt.

China baute seinen Einfluss über Jahrtausende durch zivilisatorische Hegemonie aus. Fremde Herrscher, die dem Sohn des Himmels durch Tributbesuche ihre Aufwartung machten, wurden wohlwollend in den chinesischen Kosmos aufgenommen.

Ich kann mir nicht helfen, aber bei den heutigen Staatsbesuchsempfängen in Peking und der Neue-Seidenstraße-Initiative kommen mir solche Erinnerungen in den Sinn.

China ist jedenfalls das einzige Imperium der Welt, das zurückgekehrt ist. Alle anderen sind – außer mit Erbstücken – ein für allemal aus der Geschichte verschwunden.

Ist China stabil? In seiner langen Geschichte war China immer wieder auseinandergefallen, aber wieder zusammengewachsen. Mao Zedongs Kulturrevolution – ich nenne sie Unkulturrevolution – hätte China fast zerstört. Auch danach war Chinas KP von Flügelkämpfen gebeutelt und aktuell sagt man in der Partei dem Vorsitzenden Xi Jinping Opposition gegen seinen Kurs nach.

Bei meiner Begegnung 1972 mit Maos loyalem Weggefährten und Regierungschef Zhou Enlai, der die ärgsten Auswüchse verhindert hatte, frug ich ihn pseudonaiv, weshalb es in China nur eine Partei gebe. Er erklärte das geduldig damit, dass Chinas KP eine Befreiungsbewegung gewesen sei, die dann die Verantwortung für den Aufbau Chinas übernommen hatte.

„Aber“, so schloss er verschmitzt, „glauben Sie mir: Auch wenn es in einem Land nur eine Partei gibt, so gibt es doch viele Parteien in dieser Partei!“

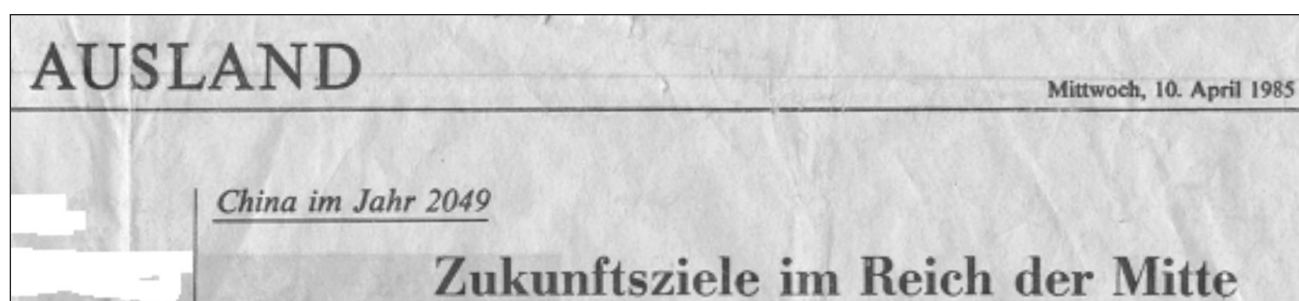
Aktuell gesehen sind wahrscheinlich die Millionäre in der Partei mit ihren Finanz- und Wirtschaftsinteressen das stabilisierende Element in China. Alles in allem ist das Reich der Mitte, wie es der frühere ORF-Korrespondent in Peking, Raimund Löw, in seinem jüngsten Buch „Weltmacht China“ ausdrückt: das größte Comeback aller Zeiten.

Ich begann mit einem Zitat und ich möchte mit einem Zitat enden. Napoleon wird der Ausspruch zugeschrieben „China ist ein schlafender Riese, lasst ihn schlafen, denn wenn er erwacht, wird die Welt erzittern“. Der Direktor des Forschungsinstituts der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Prof. Eberhard Sandschneider, wurde bei einer Diskussion gefragt: „Wie lässt sich der Riese, von dem Napoleon gesprochen hat, zähmen?“ Sandschneider dazu: „Die Antwort ist ganz einfach: GAR NICHT!“

---

## Offizielle chinesische Dokumente ernst nehmen!

Harro von Senger



Am 10.04.1985 zitierte ich in der *Neuen Zürcher Zeitung* in meinem Artikel „China im Jahr 2049 – Zukunftsziele im Reich der Mitte“ aus einer Rede, die der damalige Generalsekretär der KPCh Hu Yaobang am 19.01.1985 gehalten hatte. Er sagte u. a., dass „wir hoffen, nach Ablauf von 100 Jahren seit der Gründung der Volksrepublik China, also bis zum Jahr 2049, die höchstentwickelten kapitalistischen Länder in ökonomischer Hinsicht eingeholt zu haben“. Er sagte ferner: „Bis unser Land reich und stark wird, müssen wir nach der Jahrhundertwende noch etwa 30 bis 50 Jahre lang eifrig kämpfen.“

Den Artikel in der *NZZ* verfasste ich in der Schweiz ohne eine Reise nach China und ohne Augenschein vor Ort, ohne Interviews, ohne Feldforschungen etc., nur aufgrund der Lektüre chinesischer Zeitungen, die ich abonniert hatte, und insbesondere einer der zahlreichen angeblich langweiligen und irrelevanten, nur Propaganda verbreitenden offiziellen Reden.

Nun veröffentlichte ich 1985 bloße Worte einer chinesischen Führungsperson. Von Konfuzius stammt der Rat „ting qi yan, guan qi xing“, d. h., man sollte nicht nur auf die Worte eines Gegenübers hören,



# China entschlüsseln



E-Book  
inside

»Wer nicht für 10.000 Generationen plant, vermag nicht für eine Ära zu planen.«

Dieser in der Volksrepublik China viel zitierte Sinnspruch lässt den ungewöhnlich langen Atem chinesischen Zukunftsdenkens, wie es etwa im Seidenstrassen-Projekt zum Ausdruck kommt, erahnen. Das ist eine Dimension der »Supraplanung«. Eine zweite Dimension besteht in der Kompetenz, simultan über einen ganzen Fächer von nicht nur allgemein üblichen, sondern auch listigen Problemlösungsoptionen zu verfügen.

Harro von Senger gibt eine Einführung in dieses im Westen weitgehend unbekanntes, die chinesische Führung inspirierende Konzept der Zukunftsgestaltung und zeigt dessen Vernetzung mit einem weiteren in Europa und den USA ignorierten chinesischen Denksystem.

»Harro von Senger – Kenner der tiefen Wirkkräfte Chinas«  
BEAT KAPPELER, NZZ AM SONNTAG, 30.09.2018

von Senger | **Moulüe – Supraplanung**  
440 Seiten | € 26,-

Mehr Informationen und online bestellen unter  
[www.hanser-fachbuch.de](http://www.hanser-fachbuch.de)



Besuchen  
Sie auch den  
HANSER E-Book-Shop  
[www.hanser-fachbuch.de/ebooks](http://www.hanser-fachbuch.de/ebooks)

**Fax: +49 89 99830-157**

Ja, hiermit bestelle ich 14 Tage zur Ansicht und gegen Rechnung:

Harro von Senger

## Moulüe – Supraplanung

Unerkannte Denkhorizonte aus dem Reich der Mitte

2., überarbeitete Auflage 2018

ISBN 978-3-446-45525-2 | € 26,- [D] zzgl. Versandkosten

Firmenadresse

Privatanschrift

Name

Firma

Branche

Abteilung

Position

Straße | Postfach

Land | PLZ | Ort

Datum | Unterschrift

Unternehmensgröße:  1 – 49  50 – 99  100 – 199  200 – 499  500 – 999  über 1.000 Beschäftigte

Es gelten die Allgemeinen Geschäftsbedingungen (AGB) des Verlags die unter [www.hanser.de](http://www.hanser.de) verfügbar sind. Über die Verarbeitung Ihrer personenbezogenen Daten informiert Sie unsere Datenschutzerklärung unter [www.hanser.de/datenschutz](http://www.hanser.de/datenschutz).

sondern auch dessen Taten beobachten. Hat sich nun die VR China seit 1985 nicht tatsächlich über die Jahrzehnte hinweg Schritt um Schritt aktiv dem 1985 verkündeten Ziel angenähert? 22 Jahre nach Hu Yaobangs Vortrag konnte man jedenfalls lesen: „Blickt man auf die Wachstumsraten der chinesischen Volkswirtschaft oder auf die persönlichen Lebensumstände und Vermögensverhältnisse von mehreren hundert Millionen Chinesen, so muss man vorbehaltlos anerkennen, dass die chinesische Führung vor allem für die letzten zwei Jahrzehnte einen Leistungsausweis vorzeigen kann, der praktisch alle anderen Regierungen dieser Welt, seien sie nun demokratisch gewählt oder nicht, in den Schatten stellt.“ (Urs Schoettli: „Chinas Kommunisten halten am Machtmonopol fest“, in: NZZ, 25.07.2007, S. 5.). Womöglich wird Hu Yaobangs Zukunftsvorstellung schneller als vorgesehen Wirklichkeit, soll doch laut dem Centre for Economics and Business Research (CEBR) in London die chinesische Volkswirtschaft bis 2032 die USA überholen und den ersten Platz übernehmen. Am Beispiel von Hu Yaobangs 1985 geäußerten Worten dürfte man wohl feststellen können, dass offizielle chinesische Aussagen nicht einfach als Propaganda abgetan, sondern aufmerksam zur Kenntnis genommen werden sollten.

Zu Recht kritisiert der über eine sinologische Ausbildung verfügende ehemalige australische Premierminister Kevin Rudd westliche Führer und Analytiker. Sie „haben oft eher ein Bild ihrer Wunschvorstellungen auf China projiziert, anstatt sich Gedanken zu machen über die tatsächlichen Stellungnahmen von Chinas eigenen Führern“.

Im Dokument „National Security Strategy of the United States of America“ vom Dezember 2017 heisst es:

*„Jahrzehntelang war die US-Politik in der Überzeugung verwurzelt, dass die Unterstützung für Chinas Aufstieg und dessen Integration in die internationale Ordnung der Nachkriegszeit China liberalisieren würde. Entgegen unseren Hoffnungen hat China seine Macht erweitert [...]“*

„Überzeugung“, „Hoffnungen“ etc. – diese Wörter deuten an, dass man in den USA jahrzehntelang keine offiziellen chinesischen Dokumente zurate gezogen oder deren unmissverständlichen Absichtserklärungen nicht ernst genommen hat. Man schätzte die VR China ausschließlich gestützt auf eigene subjektive Denkvorgänge ein, und nicht auf das, was China offiziell und transparent aller Welt verkündete. Wenn man ausnahmsweise einmal ein amtliches Dokument oberflächlich las, dann auch nur, weil es als „intern“ gekennzeichnet war:

*„Tatsächlich haben die Ereignisse des letzten Jahrzehnts selbst bescheidene Hoffnungen auf eine politische Liberalisierung zunichtegemacht. Im Jahr 2013 warnte ein internes Memo der kommunistischen Partei, bekannt als Dokument Nr. 9, ausdrücklich vor ‚westlicher konstitutioneller Demokratie‘ und anderen ‚universellen Werten‘ als Täuschungsmanöver, die China schwächen, destabilisieren und sogar zerschlagen sollten. Diese Richtschnur zeigte die wachsende Kluft zwischen den Erwartungen der USA und Chinas bezüglich der politischen Zukunft des Landes.“ (Kurt M. Campbell, Ely Ratner: „The China Reckoning. How Beijing Defied American Expectations“, in: Foreign Affairs, März/April 2018, S. 64)*

Auch im Lagebericht 2016 des Nachrichtendienstes des Bundes wurde weder die Verfassung der Volksrepublik China, noch die Satzung der Kommunistischen Partei Chinas, sondern einzig und allein das interne Dokument Nr. 9 erwähnt.

*„In einem geheimen Parteidokument, das 2013 von einem chinesischsprachigen Auslandsmagazin veröffentlicht wurde, warnte die Partei vor „Gefahren“, die es in China zu unterdrücken gelte. Dazu gehören Pressefreiheit, universelle Menschenrechte, Parteidemokratie, Rechtsstaatlichkeit und Konstitutionalismus. Dieses Dokument zeigt auf, wie weit der Westen und China ideologisch auseinanderliegen.“*

Was in diesem „geheimen Parteidokument“ steht, sind Banalitäten. Dass die westliche Pressefreiheit abgelehnt wird, ergibt sich aus dem in der Verfassung vom 04. 12. 1982 verankerten Führungsanspruch der Kommunistischen Partei Chinas. Was heisst „universelle Menschenrechte“? In Wirklichkeit beruft sich die VRCh ständig auf UNO-Menschenrechtsdokumente, womit sie doch zweifellos auf „universelle Menschenrechte“ rekurriert. Leider sind wesentliche UNO-Menschenrechtsdokumente, insbesondere solche des UNO-Menschenrechtsrates in Genf, im Westen und insbesondere in der Schweiz unbekannt. Wenn „universelle Menschenrechte“ bekämpft werden, sollte man die entsprechenden chinesischen Formulierungen genau lesen. „Universell“ steht im Dokument Nr. 9 in Anführungszeichen. Denn es handle sich gar nicht um wahrhaft universelle (also z. B. von der UNO vertretene), sondern vom Westen als „universell“ bezeichnete, in Wirklichkeit aber genuin westliche Werte in Gestalt von „Western freedom, democracy, and human rights“ Dass die westliche Parteidemokratie abgelehnt wird, war schon immer so, dazu braucht man keine geheimen Dokumente zu lesen. Ich verweise auf Art. 1 der Verfassung vom 04. 12. 1982, welche die marxistisch-leninistische Diktatur ganz klar und deutlich vorschreibt, ohne jede Geheimnistuerei. Man täte ferner gut daran,

außer Art. 1 auch Art. 24 Abs. 2 der Verfassung der VR China vom 04.12.1982 und vom 11.03.2018 zur Kenntnis zu nehmen: „[...] der Staat bekämpft kapitalistisches, feudalistisches und anderes dekadentes Gedankengut“.

Da man wie im ganzen Westen, so auch in den USA offizielle chinesische Dokumente über all die Jahre hinweg nicht gelesen oder nicht ernst genommen und sich stattdessen auf subjektive Erwartungen und Hoffnungen abgestützt hat, da „amerikanische Geheimdienst- und Sicherheitsbeamte zu lange

einem Wunschdenken erlegen sind“ (Michael Pillsbury: *The Hundred-Year Marathon*, paperback edition, St. Martin's Griffin, New York 2016, S. 236.), beklagt man nun, dass „die China-Strategie der letzten Jahrzehnte nicht aufgegangen ist“ (Ulrich Speck: „Trump behindert eine vernünftige China-Strategie“, in: *NZZ*, 22.03.2018, S. 13.).

Siehe hierzu Harro von Senger: *Moulüe – Supraplanung. Unerkannte Denkhorizonte aus dem Reich der Mitte*, Hanser Verlag, München 2018.

---

## Interview mit Yu Dan anlässlich ihres Vortrags in Wien am 15.11.2018

Gerd Kaminski

Prof. Yu Dan wurde in Peking geboren und erhielt von der Peking Normal University einen Mastertitel im Bereich klassische chinesische Literatur und einen Dokortitel von der Fakultät für Medienwissenschaft der selben Universität. Sie wirkt nun an ihrer Alma Mater als Professorin für Medienwissenschaft. Darüber hinaus hält sie wichtige Funktionen in bedeutenden Mediengruppen wie China Television Artists Association, China Visual Association's Tertiary Arts Committee, China Visual Association's Research Group, der Forschungsgruppe des Zentralen chinesischen Fernsehens CCTV, der China News Research Group, China-Guangdong Research Institute, News Corp (Australia).

Yu Dan hat in China einen hohen Bekanntheitskoeffizienten, den Sie vor allem dem Umstand verdankt, dass sie vom CCTV eingeladen wurde, eine zehnteilige Fernsehserie über die Gespräche von Konfuzius zu gestalten. Dieser Fernsehauftritte schufen exzellente Vorbedingungen für ihr 2006 publiziertes Buch *Mein Verständnis der Analekten von Konfuzius*. Am ersten Tag wurden bereits 10.000 Exemplare verkauft und nach 40 Tagen stieg die Zahl auf mehr als 1,5 Millionen. Im September 2007 betrug die legal verkauften Exemplare 4,2 Millionen. Dazu kamen ca. 6 Millionen Piratenausgaben. Das Werk erschien auch auf Englisch unter dem Namen *Confucius from the Heart. Ancient Wisdom for Today's World*.

Yu Dans *Mein Verständnis der Analekten von Konfuzius* war im Januar 2007 die unangefochtene Nummer Eins auf der Pekinger Buchmesse und rangierte weit vor der in China sehr beliebten Comic Figur Snoopy, welche mit ihrem Multifunktionsstagebuch bloß den vierten Platz einnahm.<sup>1</sup>

Dieses Phänomen reizte einen Zeichner von China Daily zu einem Cartoon, welcher am 16.1.2007 in der Zeitung erschien.



China Daily, 16. Jan. 2007

---

<sup>1</sup> Wang Jing, Die öffentliche Präsenz von Konfuzius in China, in Wang Jing, Gerd Kaminski, Richard Trapp, (Ed) *Konfuzius. Mensch, Macht und Mythos*, Wien 2013, S.59



Im selben Jahr folgte wiederum eine Serie Yu Dans, diesmal über den chinesischen Philosophen Zhuangzi, welche sich wiederum großer Beliebtheit erfreute. Von dem auf der Serie beruhenden Buch „Yu Dans Anmerkungen zu Zhuangzi“ wurden am ersten Tag des Erscheinens 15.000 Exemplare verkauft. Lange Schlangen bildeten sich vor der Xinhua Buchhandlung und harrten acht Stunden lang im Regen aus, um zu einem Buch mit Autogramm der Autorin zu kommen.

Diese spektakulären Vorgänge erregten auch im Ausland Aufmerksamkeit. Am 3. September 2007 widmete Sheila Melvin von der New York Times Yu Dan einen langen Artikel. Vielleicht nicht ohne Neidgefühl hatten einige akademische Kritiker Yu Dan vorgeworfen, das intellektuelle Vermächtnis des Philosophen zu persönlich gefärbt und allzu einfach als eine Art „konfuzianische Hühnersuppe für die moderne chinesische Seele“ dazustellen. Yu Dan erwiderte „Sie haben ihr Recht zu sprechen und ich habe mein Recht. Ich glaube an eine Vielfalt der Meinungen. Meine Kritiker haben ihre eigene Logik. Man muss verstehen, dass einige diesen Leute ihr ganzes Leben lang Konfuzius studiert haben.“

Zu dieser Zeit waren in Chinas akademischen Kreisen schon Stimmen laut geworden, welche die geistige Hinterlassenschaft des alten China über alles andere im heutigen China und vor allem über die Doktrinen der westlichen Welt stellten. Ein Jahr bevor Yu Dans Buch über Konfuzius erschien, hatte Prof. Zhao Tingyang vom Philosophischen Institut der Chinesischen Akademie der Sozialwissenschaften seinen Bestseller über *Tianxia*, die alte chinazentrische Weltordnung veröffentlicht. Darin interpretiert Zhao das einstige chinesische *Tianxia* Konzept, d.h. das eines Tributstaatensystems mit dem chinesischen Kaiser an der Spitze, euphemistische als „freiwilliges Tributstaatensystem“ und vertritt die Ansicht, dieses chinesische Konzept sei dem der Vereinten Nationen bei weitem überlegen.<sup>2</sup>

Mit seiner Interpretation des konfuzianischen Ausdrucks *ren* (Menschenliebe), nämlich dass seine ursprünglichen Bedeutung „1000 Herzen“ gewesen wäre, kommt Zhao den Ansichten Yu Dans nahe, bei deren Auslegung von Konfuzius das Herz ebenfalls eine große Rolle spielt. Demnach erteilt Yu Dan in ihrem Interview mit der New York Times allzu nationalistischen Tendenzen eine klare Absage: „Ein Fieber nationaler Studien ist nicht gut. Man muss eine ruhige und aufrichtige Haltung einneh-

men. Wir können uns nicht auf eine einzige kulturelle Theorie beschränken. Die chinesische und die westliche Kultur sollen einander ergänzen.“

Zur Verbreitung der chinesischen Kultur hat sich Yu Dan in den letzten Jahren der Interpretation und Präsentation der chinesischen Schriftzeichen gewidmet. Das erste Mal vor drei Jahren startete sie bei der UNESCO in Paris einen internationalen Wettbewerb, bei welchem Designer ein chinesisches Schriftzeichen zum Schwerpunkt ihres Schaffens machen sollten. Dies war vor drei Jahren das Zeichen für Herz 心 und 2018 das Zeichen für Haus/Zuhause 家. Aufgrund der Ausschreibung entstanden die verschiedensten Designprodukte, deren Palette von Handtaschen über Leuchten bis zu Möbeln reicht. Die Gewinner, hauptsächlich Chinesen, aber auch einige Ausländer, werden mit Preisen ausgezeichnet. Von den preisgekrönten Objekten werden große Plakate gedruckt und zu einer Show zusammengestellt, welche sie mit Vorträgen zur „Schönheit der chinesischen Schriftzeichen“ selbst begleitet. Wien war am 15.11. die letzte Stadt einer Tournee der Autorin mit ihrer Ausstellung durch ganz Europa. Eingeladen hatte die Peking Normal University und das Chinesische Kulturzentrum der *Ouzhou Shibao (Nouvelles d'Europe)* in Wien, geleitet von Chefredakteur Wang Gan. An den Wänden waren Bilder der preisgekrönten Werke befestigt. Das Publikum war zahlreich erschienen und viele Teilnehmer mussten stehen. Vor allem waren es Chinesen, welche vom großen Namen der Vortragenden angelockt in Scharen kamen. Die Veranstaltung wurde von Vincent Gatke virtuos am Klavier begleitet. Es sprach der Kulturrat der chinesischen Botschaft Zhang Zhihong.

Dem Schreiber dieser Zeilen fiel auf Wunsch des Veranstalters Wang Gan die Einführung zu, was ihn bis heute verlegen macht, da mit dem bekannten Wiener Maler und Kalligraphen Yu Feng und dem für sein umfassendes Wissen ebenfalls berühmten Dr. Fritz Zettl, der einzige Österreicher, der die Kunst der chinesischen Kalligraphie beherrscht, viel Berufenere im Publikum saßen.

Die Veranstaltung, die wohl so ablief, wie in den andern Städten auch, umfasste zuerst den Vortrag von Prof. Yu Dan, bei welchem sie an Hand von Gedichten, welche von berühmten chinesischen Lyrikern den Jahreszeiten gewidmet worden sind, über die chinesischen Schriftzeichen philosophierte. Später ging sie auf den von ihr initiierten

---

<sup>2</sup> Zhao Tingyang, Rethinking Empire from the Chinese Concept 'All under Heaven' (*Tianxia*), in William A Callahan, Elena Barabantseva (Ed), *China Orders the World: Normative Soft Power and Foreign Policy*, Washington 2011, S.30ff.

Wettbewerb und die PreisträgerInnen ein. Für einen letzten Teil war eine Magnettafel vorbereitet, auf der verschiedene Figuren und Gegenstände haften wie Menschen, Füße, Hände, Messer, Opfergeräte etc. In einem Publikumswettbewerb durften die Teilnehmer Elemente zusammenstellen und dann das korrespondierende chinesische Zeichen raten. Erfolgreiche wurden mit Kalligraphien eben dieses Schriftzeichens belohnt, welches der Dekan der Fakultät der schönen Künste der Peking Normal University an Ort und Stelle anfertigte.

Danach bat Herr Wang Gan zu einem Essen im Green Cottage des chinesischen Starkochs Wu Limin. Der Verfasser nutzte seine Teilnahme für ein kurzes Interview.

*Frage: Konfuzius wurde von Exponenten der Reformbewegung des 4. Mai wie Chen Duxiu, Cai Yuanpei, Li Dazhao, Hu Shi, Lu Xun erbittert bekämpft. Was ist Ihre Meinung dazu?*

**Yu Dan:** Den Konfuzianismus kann man von zwei Seiten her betrachten. Die mehr als 2000 Jahre alte Theorie, man möge mit „Li“ regieren, ist durch das Regieren mit Demokratie und Wissenschaft überholt. Der zweite Aspekt, nämlich jener der Selbstkultivierung, welcher Selbstkontrolle, Selbstrespekt und Freiheit betont, ist nach wie vor aktuell.

*Frage: Was ist Ihre Interpretation der Haltung von Konfuzius gegenüber Frauen?*

**Yu Dan:** Die Frauen waren damals wirtschaftlich nicht selbständig und wurden von den Männern nicht respektiert. Nach mehr als 2000 Jahren sind die chinesischen Frauen unabhängig geworden. Die Haltung von Konfuzius gegenüber Frauen ist heute nicht mehr anwendbar.

*Frage: Was denken Sie über die Familienregeln von Zhu Xi?*

**Yu Dan:** Familienregeln sind ganz allgemein in China wichtig, nicht nur die von Zhu Xi sondern auch von Zhou Gong oder Zeng Guofan. Die Familie ist ein Teil der Gesellschaft. Ist die Familie gut organisiert, so ist die Gesellschaft stabil. Moral, das Richtige zu tun, Höflichkeit und Respekt sollten im ganzen Land gefördert werden.

*Frage: Was kann die moderne Frau von Konfuzius lernen?*

**Yu Dan:** Die konfuzianischen Theorien über Frauen sind heute nicht mehr anwendbar. Die Selbstkultivierung ist aber nach wie vor richtig. Rujia, der Konfuzianismus, versucht den Menschen und



*Der Autor überreicht Prof. Yu Dan zwei seiner Bücher*

die Gesellschaft in Balance zu halten. In diesem Zusammenhang sind aber auch Zhuangzi und der Daoismus von Bedeutung, denn über die Balance des Menschen und der Gesellschaft gilt es auch im Sinne des Daoismus die Balance zwischen Mensch und Natur aufrecht zu erhalten.

Die Tradition ist zu respektieren, aber nicht in allen ihren Elementen. Egal, um welche Philosophie es sich handelt, man muss sie mit den Augen des modernen Menschen betrachten. Der Konfuzianismus und der Daoismus ergänzen einander.

*Frage: Welche österreichischen Künstler mögen Sie besonders?*

**Yu Dan:** Bachs Musik ist so schwer und bedrückend. Ich bin romantisch und ziehe daher diesem deutschen Komponisten die Österreicher Mozart und Stauß mit ihren schwebenden Melodien vor. Bei den Malern fasziniert mich besonders Gustav Klimt und sein Einsatz von Gold in der Bildkomposition.

*Frage: Was sind Ihre nächsten Pläne?*

**Yu Dan:** Ich werde meine 24jährige Unterrichtstätigkeit weiter fortsetzen und versuchen die moderne Kultur mit der chinesischen Tradition zu harmonisieren. Mein besonderes Augenmerk gilt der klassischen chinesischen Lyrik und der Interpretation der chinesischen Schriftzeichen.

Vor letzten Frage war der Fragesteller vom mitreisenden Professor für Kalligraphie der Beijing Normal University unterbrochen worden, welcher meinte, man sollte Yu Dan endlich essen lassen. Der Autor erwiderte, man sei doch erst bei der kalten Platte, unterließ aber dann im Bewusstsein, welchen Stellenwert man in China dem Essen beimisst (vergleiche seine Studie; „Chi – Harmonie und Magie des Essens am Beispiel Chinas, Wien 2001) weitere Fragen.



Kalligraphie: Harmonie in der Familie führt zu Gedeihen und Aufblühen  
 Von re. nach li.: Prof. Guan Jun, Dekan der Fakultät für Kalligraphie der Chinese National Academy of Arts, Prof. Yu Dan,  
 Zhang Zhihong, Kulturrat der chinesischen Botschaft, Prof. Gerd Kaminski, Dir. Wang Gan



Prof. Yu Dan bei Ihrem Vortrag







