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#72 May 2022

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- **Centenary of the Communist Party of China**
- **Our CPC Comrades on the Nature of China's Socialist Path**
- **The foundation of the Communist Party of China**
- **China as a Leading Partner State**
- **CPA greeting from the CPA President Vinnie Molina**
- **The Role of Modern China in a Changing World**



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Issue #72 – May 2022

Editorial

In this special edition of the *Australian Marxist Review* the editorial board has sourced a series of articles from international contributors and members of the Communist Party of Australia around the theme of the Communist Party of China and the Peoples Republic of China. This is to commemorate the centenary of the foundation of the Communist Party of China as a world historic event.

The first of these articles is a reproduction of the speech by **Xi Jinping** commemorating the centenary of the foundation of the Communist Party of China. This speech was delivered at a grand ceremony in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, on the 1st of July 2021. It is a significant contribution that recognises the profound achievements of the Communist Party of China while looking forward to the future in the struggle to realise the goal of comprehensively building China into a great modern socialist country in all respects by the centenary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. It among other recent documents and historic resolutions is one the foremost statements of how the Communist Party of China views its past, present, and future. As the Communist Party of China is the leading party of an immense country building socialism and an emerging great power this speech is worthy of diligent study by Communists and those interested in the development of the People's Republic of China. Xi Jinping is the current President of the People's Republic of China and General Secretary of the Communist Party of China.

Following this, well-known Australian Marxist academic, member of the Communist Party of Australia and member of the *AMR* editorial board **Roland Boer** presents an article aiming to deepen the perspective around the nature of China's development. Some development policy approaches of the CPC have been controversial among Communists

in other societies, and the nature of China's development has been subject to debate internationally. Roland urges that Communists listen to the viewpoints and discussion from CPC cadres on the Socialist path that China is pursuing when we make evaluations of this development. The article persuasively argues "that it is important to listen to what our CPC comrades think about their own system, based upon immense amounts of research on the concrete reality in China, and not let bourgeois criticisms and Western imperialist assumptions set the agenda."

David Matters on behalf of the Communist Party of Australia provided a contribution as one of 100 world Communist leaders to pay respect and congratulations to the Communist Party of China on the 100th anniversary of that party's foundation. The *AMR* reproduces the English version for our readers. David is the Assistant General Secretary of the Communist party of Australia and was the former Brisbane Secretary of The Australian Tramway and Omnibus Union and Assistant Secretary of the Rail Tram and Bus Industry Union. He is currently Editor of the *Australian Marxist Review* and a member of the World Association of Political Economy.

The next article is by Correspondent **Franc Stregone**. It is a study on China as a global partner that examines from the perspective of an Australian Marxist the developing characteristics of China's international relations and participation in the global governance system, as well as challenges it is experiencing from USA-led opposition to China's development and growing influence across the world. Stregone is currently editor of the *Guardian – The Workers' Weekly*. He also currently serves as the Assistant President of the CPA NSW State Committee and Secretary of the CPA Sydney Central Branch. Stregone has a

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bachelor's degree in Fine Art (Video, Sound, and Image) and Arts (Philosophy) in addition to an honours degree (Philosophy) at the University of New South Wales. He is currently studying a master of Political Economy at the University of Sydney.

The *Australian Marxist Review* is proud to reproduce the statement delivered by **Vinnie Molina**, President of the Communist Party of Australia, to the Centenary celebrations of the Communist Party of China. Vinnie is the former president of the Western Australian CFMMEU and a current organiser for the construction and general division of the CFMMEU.

The *AMR* reproduces a speech given by retired academic and barrister **James O'Neill**, who specialises in writing about Geopolitics. James is an active member of the Queensland branch of the Australia-China Friendship Association. James delivered this speech at the 2022 Annual General Meeting of the ACFS QLD and has kindly agreed to allow the *AMR* editorial board to publish his speech on "The role of Modern China in a Changing World." This speech raises some thought provoking issues and questions for readers of the *Australian Marxist Review* relating to monumental and historic changes currently occurring within the international system.

These articles, and statements from the Communist Party of Australia leadership, have been selected to give an overview of recent developments arising from the rise of China on the occasion of the foundation of the Communist Party of China. It is hoped that readers of the *AMR* and that Communists, workers and progressives in Australia will find these works to be interesting and useful.

Following the 14th National Congress of the Communist Party of Australia at the end of February 2022 the newly elected Central Committee appointed a new editorial board to lead the production of the *Australian Marxist Review*. The editorial board consists of Comrades David Matters, Roland Boer, and Christian Goopy. Comrade David Matters leads the work of the *AMR* as editor. The editorial board would like to recognise and thank Comrades Anna Pha and Elizabeth Hulm for their significant contribution to the *AMR* in their role on the previous editorial board of the *AMR*.

The editorial board calls for submissions to the next edition #73 of the *AMR*. Articles can be submitted to the *AMR* in areas of interest for the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the working-class struggle in Australia. The editorial board suggests that labour and work, class structure in Australia, the environmental movement, the national question, developments in the national and global economy, resisting imperialist war, and fighting for gender and racial equality as possible topics advancing Marxist-Leninist theory. The *AMR* has a particular interest in articles that aim to advance the development and building of the CPA into the leading force of the working-class struggle in Australia. If you wish to discuss any ideas for articles, to seek advice on writing for the *AMR* or if you have any suggestions and feedback please provide them to the *AMR* editorial board and editor by emailing amr@cpa.org.au, mattersd1@gmail.com and christian@cpa.org.au. The due date for articles to appear in edition #73 of the *AMR* is Friday the 20th of May for publication in June.

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Official logo of the 100th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China, displayed in front of Changsha Ecological Zoo, in Changsha, Hunan, China. Photo: Huangdan2060 (CC BY 3.0)

Speech at a Ceremony Marking the Centenary of the Communist Party of China

July 1, 2021

Xi Jinping¹

Comrades and friends,

Today, the first of July, is a great and solemn day in the history of both the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Chinese nation. We gather here to join all Party members and Chinese people of all ethnic groups around the country in celebrating the centenary of the Party, looking back on the glorious journey the Party has traveled over 100 years of struggle, and looking ahead to the bright prospects for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

To begin, let me extend warm congratulations to all Party members on behalf of the CPC Central Committee.

On this special occasion, it is my honour to declare on behalf of the Party and the people that through the continued efforts of the whole Party and the entire nation, we have realized the first centenary goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. This means that we have brought about a historic resolution to the problem of absolute poverty in China, and we are now marching in confident strides toward the second centenary goal of building China into a great modern socialist country in all respects. This is a great and glorious accomplishment for the Chinese nation, for the Chinese people, and for the Communist Party of China!

Comrades and friends,

The Chinese nation is a great nation. With a history of more than 5,000 years, China has made indelible contributions to the progress of human civilization. After the Opium War of 1840, however, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society and suffered greater ravages than ever before. The country endured intense humiliation, the people were subjected to great pain, and the Chinese civilization was plunged into darkness. Since that time, national rejuvenation has been the greatest dream of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation.

To save the nation from peril, the Chinese people put up a courageous fight. As noble-minded patriots sought to

pull the nation together, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement, the Reform Movement of 1898, the Yihetuan Movement, and the Revolution of 1911 rose one after the other, and a variety of plans were devised to ensure national survival, but all of these ended in failure. China was in urgent need of new ideas to lead the movement to save the nation and a new organization to rally revolutionary forces.

With the salvoes of Russia's October Revolution in 1917, Marxism-Leninism was brought to China. Then in 1921, as the Chinese people and the Chinese nation were undergoing a great awakening and Marxism-Leninism was becoming closely integrated with the Chinese workers' movement, the Communist Party of China was born. The founding of a communist party in China was an epoch-making event, which profoundly changed the course of Chinese history in modern times, transformed the future of the Chinese people and nation, and altered the landscape of world development.

Since the very day of its founding, the Party has made seeking happiness for the Chinese people and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation its aspiration and mission. All the struggle, sacrifice, and creation through which the Party has united and led the Chinese people over the past hundred years has been tied together by one ultimate theme—bringing about the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

To realize national rejuvenation, the Party united and led the Chinese people in fighting bloody battles with unyielding determination, achieving great success in the new-democratic revolution.

Through the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, and the War of Liberation, we fought armed counter-revolution with armed revolution, toppling the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism and establishing the People's Republic of China, which made the people masters of the country. We thus secured our nation's independence and liberated our people.

The victory of the new-democratic revolution put an end to China's history as a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society,

¹ The English translation of this speech is drawn from the CPC Central Committee's journal, *Qiushi*. See http://en.qstheory.cn/2021-09/06/c_658164.htm.

to the state of total disunity that existed in old China, and to all the unequal treaties imposed on our country by foreign powers and all the privileges that imperialist powers enjoyed in China. It created the fundamental social conditions for realizing national rejuvenation.

Through tenacious struggle, the Party and the Chinese people showed the world that the Chinese people had stood up, and that the time in which the Chinese nation could be bullied and abused by others was gone forever.

To realize national rejuvenation, the Party united and led the Chinese people in endeavouring to build a stronger China with a spirit of self-reliance, achieving great success in socialist revolution and construction.

By carrying out socialist revolution, we eliminated the exploitative and repressive feudal system that had persisted in China for thousands of years, and established socialism as our basic system. In the process of socialist construction, we overcame subversion, sabotage, and armed provocation by imperialist and hegemonic powers, and brought about the most extensive and profound social changes in the history of the Chinese nation. This great transformation of China from a poor and backward country in the East with a large population into a socialist country laid down the fundamental political conditions and the institutional foundations necessary for realizing national rejuvenation.

Through tenacious struggle, the Party and the Chinese people showed the world that the Chinese people were capable of not only dismantling the old world, but also building a new one, that only socialism could save China, and that only socialism could develop China.

To realize national rejuvenation, the Party united and led the Chinese people in freeing the mind and forging ahead, achieving great success in reform, opening up, and socialist modernization.

We established the Party's basic line for the primary stage of socialism, resolutely advanced reform and opening up, overcame risks and challenges from every direction, and founded, upheld, safeguarded, and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics, thus bringing about a major turn with far-reaching significance in the history of the Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China. This enabled China to transform itself from a highly centralized planned economy to a socialist market economy brimming with vitality, and from a country that was largely isolated to one that is open to the outside world across the board. It also enabled China to achieve the historic leap from a country with relatively backward productive forces to the world's second largest economy, and to make the historic transformation of raising the living standards of its people from bare subsistence to an overall level of moderate prosperity, and then ultimately

to moderate prosperity in all respects. These achievements fueled the push toward national rejuvenation by providing institutional guarantees imbued with new energy as well as the material conditions for rapid development.

Through tenacious struggle, the Party and the Chinese people showed the world that by pursuing reform and opening up, a crucial move in making China what it is today, China had caught up with the times in great strides.

To realize national rejuvenation, the Party has united and led the Chinese people in pursuing a great struggle, a great project, a great cause, and a great dream through a spirit of self-confidence, self-reliance, and innovation, achieving great success for socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

Following the Party's 18th National Congress, socialism with Chinese characteristics entered a new era. In this new era, we have upheld and strengthened the Party's overall leadership, ensured coordinated implementation of the five-sphere integrated plan and the four-pronged comprehensive strategy, upheld and improved the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, modernized China's system and capacity for governance, remained committed to exercising rule-based governance over the Party, and developed a sound system of intraparty regulations. We have overcome a long list of major risks and challenges, fulfilled the first centenary goal, and set out strategic steps for achieving the second centenary goal. All the historic achievements and changes in the cause of the Party and the country have provided the cause of national rejuvenation with more robust institutions, stronger material foundations, and a source of inspiration for taking greater initiative.

Through tenacious struggle, the Party and the Chinese people have shown the world that the Chinese nation has achieved the tremendous transformation from standing up and growing prosperous to becoming strong, and that China's national rejuvenation has become a historical inevitability.

Over the past hundred years, the Party has united and led the Chinese people in writing the most magnificent chapter in the millennia-long history of the Chinese nation, embodying the dauntless spirit that Mao Zedong expressed when he wrote, "Our minds grow stronger for the martyrs' sacrifice, daring to make the sun and the moon shine in the new sky." The great path we have pioneered, the great cause we have undertaken, and the great achievements we have made over the past century will go down in the annals of the development of the Chinese nation and of human civilization.

Comrades and friends,

A hundred years ago, the pioneers of Communism in

China established the Communist Party of China and developed the great founding spirit of the Party, which is comprised of the following principles: upholding truth and ideals, staying true to our original aspiration and founding mission, fighting bravely without fear of sacrifice, and remaining loyal to the Party and faithful to the people. This spirit is the Party's source of strength.

Over the past hundred years, the Party has carried forward this great founding spirit. Through its protracted struggles, it has developed a long line of inspiring principles for Chinese Communists and tempered a distinct political character. As history has kept moving forward, the spirit of the Party has been passed on from generation to generation. We will continue to promote our glorious traditions and sustain our revolutionary legacy, so that the great founding spirit of the Party will always be kept alive and carried forward.

Comrades and friends,

We owe all that we have achieved over the past hundred years to the concerted efforts of the Chinese Communists, the Chinese people, and the Chinese nation. Chinese Communists, with comrades Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, and Hu Jintao as their chief representatives, have made tremendous and historic contributions to the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. To them, we express our highest respect.

Let us take this moment to cherish the memory of comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, and other veteran revolutionaries who contributed greatly to China's revolution, construction, and reform, and to the founding, consolidation, and development of the Communist Party of China; let us cherish the memory of the revolutionary martyrs who bravely laid down their lives to establish, defend, and develop the People's Republic; let us cherish the memory of those who dedicated their lives to reform, opening up, and socialist modernization; and let us cherish the memory of all the men and women who fought tenaciously for national independence and the liberation of the people in modern times. Their great contributions to our motherland and our nation will be immortalized in the annals of history, and their noble spirit will live on forever in the hearts of the Chinese people.

The people are the true heroes, for it is they who create history. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, I would like to pay my highest respects to workers, farmers, and intellectuals across the country; to other political parties, public figures without party affiliation, people's organizations, and patriotic figures from all sectors of society; to all members of the People's Liberation Army, the People's Armed Police Force, the public security police, and the fire and rescue services; to all socialist working people; and to all members of the united front. I would like to extend my

sincere greetings to compatriots in the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions and in Taiwan as well as overseas Chinese. And I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to people and friends from around the world who have shown friendship to the Chinese people and understanding and support for China's endeavours in revolution, development, and reform.

Comrades and friends,

Though our Party's founding mission is easy to define, ensuring that we stay true to this mission is a more difficult task. By learning from history, we can understand why powers rise and fall. Through the mirror of history, we can find where we currently stand and gain foresight into the future. Looking back on the Party's 100-year history, we can see why we were successful in the past and how we can continue to succeed in the future. This will ensure that we act with greater resolve and purpose in staying true to our founding mission and pursuing a better future on the new journey that lies before us.

As we put conscious effort into learning from history to create a bright future, we must bear the following in mind:

We must uphold the firm leadership of the Party. China's success hinges on the Party. The more than 180-year-long modern history of the Chinese nation, the 100-year-long history of the Party, and the more than 70-year-long history of the People's Republic of China all provide ample evidence that without the Communist Party of China, there would be no new China and no national rejuvenation. The Party was chosen by history and the people. The leadership of the Party is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and constitutes the greatest strength of this system. It is the foundation and lifeblood of the Party and the country, and the crux upon which the interests and wellbeing of all Chinese people depend.

On the journey ahead, we must uphold the Party's overall leadership and continue to enhance its leadership. We must be deeply conscious of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership. We must stay confident in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must uphold the core position of the General Secretary on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole, and uphold the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership. Bearing in mind the country's most fundamental interests, we must enhance the Party's capacity to conduct sound, democratic, and law-based governance, and ensure that it fully exerts its core role in providing overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all sides.

We must unite and lead the Chinese people in working

ceaselessly for a better life. This country is its people; the people are the country. As we have fought to establish and consolidate our leadership over the country, we have in fact been fighting to earn and keep the people's support. The Party has in the people its roots, its lifeblood, and its source of strength. The Party has always represented the fundamental interests of all Chinese people; it stands with them through thick and thin and shares a common fate with them. The Party has no special interests of its own—it has never represented any individual interest group, power group, or privileged stratum. Any attempt to divide the Party from the Chinese people or to set the people against the Party is bound to fail. The more than 95 million Party members and the more than 1.4 billion Chinese people will never allow such a scenario to come to pass.

On the journey ahead, we must rely closely on the people to create history. Upholding the Party's fundamental purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people, we will stand firmly with the people, implement the Party's mass line, respect the people's creativity, and practice a people-centered philosophy of development. We will develop whole-process people's democracy, safeguard social fairness and justice, and resolve the imbalances and inadequacies in development and the most pressing difficulties and problems that are of great concern to the people. In doing so, we will make more notable and substantive progress toward achieving well-rounded human development and common prosperity for all.

We must continue to adapt Marxism to the Chinese context. Marxism is the fundamental guiding ideology upon which our Party and country are founded; it is the very soul of our Party and the banner under which it strives. The Communist Party of China upholds the basic tenets of Marxism and the principle of seeking truth from facts. Based on China's realities, we have developed keen insights into the trends of the day, seized the initiative in history, and made painstaking explorations. We have thus been able to keep adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, and to guide the Chinese people in advancing our great social revolution. At the fundamental level, the capability of our Party and the strengths of socialism with Chinese characteristics are attributable to the fact that Marxism works.

On the journey ahead, we must continue to uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development, and fully implement the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. We must continue to adapt the basic tenets of Marxism to China's specific realities and its fine traditional culture. We will use Marxism to observe, understand, and steer the trends of our times, and continue to develop the Marxism of contemporary China and in the 21st century.

We must uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must follow our own path – this is the bedrock that underpins all the theories and practices of our Party. More than that, it is the historical conclusion our Party has drawn from its struggles over the past century. Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a fundamental achievement of the Party and the people, forged through innumerable hardships and great sacrifices, and it is the right path for us to achieve national rejuvenation. As we have upheld and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics and driven coordinated progress in material, political, cultural-ethical, social, and ecological terms, we have pioneered a new and uniquely Chinese path to modernization, and created a new model for human advancement.

On the journey ahead, we must adhere to the Party's basic theory, line, and policy, and implement the five-sphere integrated plan and the four-pronged comprehensive strategy. We must deepen reform and opening up across the board, ground our work in this new stage of development, fully and faithfully apply the new development philosophy, and foster a new pattern of development. We must promote high-quality development and build up our country's strength in science and technology. We must ensure it is our people who run the country, continue to govern based on the rule of law, and uphold the core socialist values. We must ensure and enhance public wellbeing in the course of development, promote harmony between humanity and nature, and take well-coordinated steps toward making our people prosperous, our nation strong, and our country beautiful.

The Chinese nation has fostered a splendid civilization over more than 5,000 years of history. The Party has also acquired a wealth of experience through its endeavors over the past 100 years and during more than 70 years of governance. At the same time, we are also eager to learn what lessons we can from the achievements of other cultures, and welcome helpful suggestions and constructive criticism. We will not, however, accept sanctimonious preaching from those who feel they have the right to lecture us. The Party and the Chinese people will keep moving confidently forward in broad strides along the path that we have chosen for ourselves, and we will make sure the destiny of China's development and progress remains firmly in our own hands.

We must accelerate the modernisation of national defense and the armed forces. A strong country must have a strong military, as only then can it guarantee the security of the nation. At the point that it was engaged in violent struggle, the Party came to recognize the irrefutable truth that it must command the gun and build a people's military of its own. The people's military has made indelible achievements on behalf of the Party and the people. It is a strong pillar for safeguarding our socialist country and preserving

national dignity, and a powerful force for protecting peace in our region and beyond.

On the journey ahead, we must fully implement the Party's thinking on strengthening the military in the new era as well as our military strategy for the new era, maintain the Party's absolute leadership over the people's armed forces, and follow a Chinese path to military development. We will take comprehensive measures to enhance the political loyalty of the armed forces, to strengthen them through reform and technology and the training of competent personnel, and to run them in accordance with the law. We will elevate our people's armed forces to world-class standards so that we are equipped with greater capacity and more reliable means for safeguarding our national sovereignty, security, and development interests.

We must continue working to promote the building of a human community with a shared future. Peace, concord, and harmony are ideas the Chinese nation has pursued and carried forward for more than 5,000 years. The Chinese nation does not carry aggressive or hegemonic traits in its genes. The Party cares about the future of humanity, and wishes to move forward in tandem with all progressive forces around the world. China has always worked to safeguard world peace, contribute to global development, and preserve international order.

On the journey ahead, we will remain committed to promoting peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit, to an independent foreign policy of peace, and to the path of peaceful development. We will work to build a new type of international relations and a human community with a shared future, promote high-quality development of the Belt and Road Initiative through joint efforts, and use China's new achievements in development to provide the world with new opportunities. The Party will continue to work with all peace-loving countries and peoples to promote the shared human values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy, and freedom. We will continue to champion cooperation over confrontation, to open up rather than closing our doors, and to focus on mutual benefits instead of zero-sum games. We will oppose hegemony and power politics, and strive to keep the wheels of history rolling toward bright horizons.

We Chinese are a people who uphold justice and are not intimidated by threats of force. As a nation, we have a strong sense of pride and confidence. We have never bullied, oppressed, or subjugated the people of any other country, and we never will. By the same token, we will never allow any foreign force to bully, oppress, or subjugate us. Anyone who would attempt to do so will find themselves on a collision course with a great wall of steel forged by over 1.4 billion Chinese people.

We must carry out a great struggle with many contemporary features. Having the courage to fight and the

fortitude to win is what has made our Party invincible. Realizing our great dream will require hard work and persistence. Today, we are closer, more confident, and more capable than ever before of making the goal of national rejuvenation a reality. But we must be prepared to work harder than ever to get there.

On the journey ahead, we must demonstrate stronger vigilance and always be prepared for potential danger, even in times of calm. We must adopt a holistic approach to national security that balances development and security imperatives, and implement the national rejuvenation strategy within a wider context of the once-in-a-century changes taking place in the world. We need to acquire a full understanding of the new features and requirements arising from the change to the principal contradiction in Chinese society and the new issues and challenges stemming from a complicated international environment. We must be both brave and adept in carrying out our struggle, forging new paths and building new bridges wherever necessary to take us past all risks and challenges.

We must strengthen the great unity of the Chinese people. In the course of our struggles over the past century, the Party has always placed the united front in a position of importance. We have constantly consolidated and developed the broadest possible united front, united all the forces that can be united, mobilized all positive factors that can be mobilized, and pooled as much strength as possible for collective endeavors. The patriotic united front is an important means for the Party to unite all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, both at home and abroad, behind the goal of national rejuvenation.

On the journey ahead, we must ensure great unity and solidarity and balance commonality and diversity. We should strengthen theoretical and political guidance, build broad consensus, bring together the brightest minds, and expand common ground and the convergence of interests, so that all Chinese people, both at home and overseas, can focus their ingenuity and energy on the same goal and come together as a mighty force for realizing national rejuvenation.

We must continue to advance the great new project of Party building. A hallmark that distinguishes the Communist Party of China from other political parties is its courage in undertaking self-reform. An important reason why the Party remains so vital and vibrant despite having undergone so many trials and tribulations is that it practices effective self-supervision and full and rigorous self-governance. It has thus been able to respond appropriately to the risks and tests of different historical periods, to ensure that it always remains at the forefront of the times even as profound changes sweep the global landscape, and to stand firm as the backbone of the nation through-

out the process of meeting various risks and challenges at home and abroad.

On the journey ahead, we must keep firmly in mind the old adage that it takes a good blacksmith to make good steel. We must demonstrate greater political awareness of the fact that full and rigorous self-governance is a never-ending journey. With strengthening the Party politically as our overarching principle, we must continue advancing the great new project of Party building in the new era. We must tighten the Party's organizational system, work hard to train high-caliber officials who have both moral integrity and professional competence, remain committed to improving Party conduct, upholding integrity, and combating corruption, and root out any elements that would harm the Party's advanced nature and purity and any viruses that would erode its health. We must ensure that the Party preserves its essence, colour, and character, and see that it always serves as the strong leadership core in the course of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

Comrades and friends,

We will stay true to the letter and spirit of the principle of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong, and the people of Macao administer Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy. We will ensure that the central government exercises overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong and Macao, and implement the legal systems and enforcement mechanisms for the two special administrative regions to safeguard national security. While protecting China's sovereignty, security, and development interests, we will ensure social stability in Hong Kong and Macao, and maintain lasting prosperity and stability in the two special administrative regions.

Resolving the Taiwan question and realizing China's complete reunification is a historic mission and an unshakable commitment of the Communist Party of China. It is also a shared aspiration of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation. We will uphold the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus, and advance peaceful national reunification. All of us, compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, must come together and move forward in unison. We must take resolute action to utterly defeat any attempt toward "Taiwan independence," and work together to create a bright future for national rejuvenation. No one should underestimate the resolve, the will, and the ability of the Chinese people to defend their national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Comrades and friends,

The future belongs to the young people, and our hopes also rest with them. A century ago, a group of young progressives held aloft the torch of Marxism and searched

assiduously in those dark years for ways to rejuvenate the Chinese nation. Since then, under the banner of the Communist Party of China, generation after generation of young Chinese have devoted their youth to the cause of the Party and the people, and remained in the vanguard of the drive to rejuvenate the nation.

In the new era, our young people should make it their mission to contribute to national rejuvenation and aspire to become more proud, confident, and assured in their identity as Chinese people so that they can live up to the promise of their youth and the expectations of our times, our Party, and our people.

Comrades and friends,

A century ago, at the time of its founding, the Communist Party of China had just over 50 members. Today, with more than 95 million members in a country of more than 1.4 billion people, it is the largest governing party in the world and enjoys tremendous international influence.

A century ago, China was in decline and withering away in the eyes of the world. Today, the image it presents to the world is one of a thriving nation that is advancing with unstoppable momentum toward rejuvenation.

Over the past century, the Communist Party of China has secured extraordinary historical achievements on behalf of the people. Today, it is rallying and leading the Chinese people on a new journey toward realizing the second centenary goal.

To all Party members,

The Central Committee calls on every one of you to stay true to our Party's founding mission and stand firm in your ideals and convictions. Acting on the purpose of the Party, you should always maintain close ties with the people, empathize and work with them, stand with them through good times and bad, and continue working tirelessly to realize their aspirations for a better life and to bring still greater glory to the Party and the people.

Comrades and friends,

Today, a hundred years on from its founding, the Communist Party of China is still in its prime, and remains as determined as ever to achieve lasting greatness for the Chinese nation. Looking back on the path we have travelled and forward to the journey that lies ahead, it is certain that with the firm leadership of the Party and the great unity of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups, we will achieve the goal of building a great modern socialist country in all respects and fulfill the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Long live our great, glorious, and correct Party!

Long live our great, glorious, and heroic people!

Listening to Our CPC Comrades on the Nature of China's Socialist Path

Roland Boer

I would like to make a small contribution to a topic of discussion and debate in a number of Communist parties in the world today, including the CPA. It concerns the nature of socialism in China, or what is also known as Socialism with Chinese Characteristics – better translated as “socialism in light of China’s conditions.” My contribution arises from more than a dozen years of experience in China. I would like to do so in three main parts: what our comrades in Communist Party of China say about their own system; what insights the Marxist-Leninist method provides; and how Chinese communists see the economic development of China from 1949 through to today. The assumption in what follows is that discussions such as this are undertaken in a comradely manner. I hope that what is provided here can aid our discussion in some ways.

Listening to Our CPC Comrades

The CPC is a fraternal party with the CPA, so it would be helpful to listen carefully to what our CPC comrades say about the nature of their system. There are a number of ways we can do so. As for me, I prefer engaging in person-to-person discussion with members of the CPC. This has meant that over the last 12 years of my engagement with China (living and working there for up to 6 months a year), I have learnt the language and researched in depth Chinese Marxism and its socio-economic system. I have spoken with CPC cadres at many levels of the party, in the city and in the countryside, at major meetings and at local party branches. We have discussed many, many topics concerning the Marxist method and the difficult tasks of constructing socialism.

Another approach is to keep up with the many developments via CPC sources. Given the size of the party and its close involvement at all levels of Chinese society, there are very many of these sources. The following comprise only a small sample: the Central Committee journal *Qiushi*,¹ which comes out twice a month (www.qstheory.cn)– note that English translations lag by a few months (<http://en.qstheory.cn>) and not all of the articles on the Chinese site are translated into English; *Red Flag* ([www.qstheory.cn/dukan/hqwg/2021-07/09/c_1127638960](http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/hqwg/2021-07/09/c_1127638960.htm).

1 *Qiushi* means “Seeking Truth,” which is one part of a four-character saying: “seek truth from facts [shishi qiushi].” It was first mentioned by Mao Zedong in Yan’an in the 1930s, and promoted widely by Deng Xiaoping.

<http://cpc.people.com.cn>); CPC news (<http://cpc.people.com.cn>); the party history site (<http://dangshi.people.cn>); the party’s newspaper, *Renmin ribao* (www.people.com.cn), and so on. If you need to use an online translator, it would better to use more reliable ones, such as fanyi.youdao.com or fanyi.baidu.com (google translate is not reliable). Of course, there are even more local party sites and social media apps for local branch members. After all, the CPC has almost 100 million members.

What have I found out over the last 12 years? (You can also find material such as this in the sources mentioned above):

1. Marxist philosophy is China’s honed or “special skill [*kanjia benling*]” for guiding the country, and Marxist philosophy is defined as dialectical and historical materialism, a definition that comes straight out of the Marxist-Leninist tradition.
2. The guide for China’s economic development is Marxist political economy.
3. Socialism with Chinese characteristics means the use of the Marxist-Leninist method to solve specific problems arising from a specific location, with its own history and conditions. In other words, the basic principles of Marxism need to be applied to specific problems in light of local conditions, which in turn leads to a deepening of the basic principles.
4. They prefer to speak of socialist construction and the socialist road, since it is an ongoing project with many twists and turns. And they prefer to speak of a socialist system, since it is the many components – economic, political, social, cultural, educational – of the overall system that make it socialist.
5. The core human right in China is the right to socio-economic well-being – a right that was already articulated in the Soviet Union in the 1930s.
6. China has a maturing socialist democratic system, with seven components: a) electoral democracy (in the five levels of people’s congresses, with direct and indirect elections every year); b) consultative democracy (with a history going back to pre-Liberation times and embodied in the many levels of people’s political consultative conferences); c) widespread practices of base-level, or grass-roots democracy; d) minority nationalities preferential policies; e) socialist rule of law; f) promotion of

Chinese Marxist human rights; g) and leadership of the Communist Party.

7. The political model for country-wide governance is democratic centralism, in which the relationship between “people are masters of the country” and the leadership of the Communist Party are dialectically related and enhance one another.

8. But what system does China have? Let me quote from a very well-known statement from 2013:

Socialism with Chinese characteristics is socialism and not some other -ism. The basic principles of scientific socialism should not be abandoned; if we abandon them, we will not have socialism. Our party has always emphasised that socialism with Chinese characteristics not only adheres to the basic principles of scientific socialism, but also endows it with distinctive Chinese characteristics according to the conditions of the times. That is to say, socialism with Chinese characteristics is socialism, and not some other -ism ...

It was Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought² that led the Chinese people out of the long night and established a new China, and it was socialism with Chinese characteristics that made China develop rapidly ... History and reality tell us that only socialism can save China and only socialism with Chinese characteristics can develop China. This is the conclusion of history and the choice of the people.

In recent years, some people at home and abroad have questioned whether China is still pursuing socialism at all. Some say it is “capitalist socialism,” while others say it is “state capitalism” and “new bureaucratic capitalism.” These opinions are completely wrong. We say that socialism with Chinese characteristics is socialism.

This quotation comes from May Day in 2013, in the early days of Xi Jinping’s tenure as General Secretary of the CPC. You can find an initial shorter version in the first volume of *The Governance of China*, and a fuller text in issue 7 of *Qiushi*, in March 2019 (http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2019-03/31/c_1124302776.htm). It is a well-known and much studied speech in China, originally given as part of the discussion in the regular Central Committee study sessions. The speech also includes some detail on what the socialist system means in China, how we should understand the periods of New China’s history (pre-1978 and post-1978), and has a clear assessment of what happened in the Soviet Union. I would also recommend that you read the full text of the speech given at

the celebration of 200th anniversary of Marx’s birth, on 4 May, 2018. It is available on many sites, and it is the most extensive engagement with the texts of Marx, Engels, and Lenin for the sake of socialist development (<http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2018/0504/c1024-29966121.html>).

But why quote this part of the text here? If you say, for example, that China has some version of capitalism, then you face a problem: when the General Secretary of the CPC says that China does not have some version of capitalism but has a socialist system, is he lying? When almost 100 million members of the CPC assume that China is following the socialist road, are they lying? Or do you assume that they do not really know what is going on, so that foreigners in some Western countries “know better” than Chinese Communists? Are CPC cadres “hiding something” when they speak of “Chinese characteristics”? I suggest it would be better to listen to our CPC comrades.

Marxist-Leninist Background

Since Marxism-Leninism has already been mentioned above, in this second part I will give a brief analysis in light of this approach. Again, I do so on the basis of what Chinese Communists have researched and studied in great depth. There are many potential topics (see the list above), but let us focus on the core socio-economic question. No better place to begin is with the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, where Marx and Engels write:

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

There are two main parts in this sentence. The first concerns the gradual – by degrees – seizure of capital after a successful proletarian revolution and the centralisation of all the instruments or means of production in the hands of a proletariat that now controls the reigns of power in terms of the state. In short, this is the centralised ownership of the means of production by the proletariat. The second part concerns the accelerated increase of productive forces, or what we may call the liberation of productive forces. Clearly, for Marx and Engels both ownership and liberation of productive forces are needed for the process of socialist construction. This pairing of ownership and liberation is not an isolated occurrence in their texts (see, for example, Engels’s texts “Karl Marx” and *Anti-Dühring*).

Three points arise from this text. First, the statement is brief (as are the others on the same line) and it opens up various possible interpretations. What is the time frame?

² Note carefully: Mao Zedong Thought and not “Maoism,” which is a Western concept.

Is there a causal relationship between the liberation and ownership of productive forces? How will the dialectic of liberation and ownership of the productive forces unfold over the long process of socialist construction? We should remember that Marx and Engels were very careful to note that they had no experience of the construction of socialism, with a Communist Party in power, so they stressed that the actual results could be determined only from experience and “only scientifically” (“Critique of the Gotha Program” from 1875). The earliest answers would come from the Soviet Union, in light of the actual experience of constructing socialism (see more below).

Second, it is clear that Marx and Engels are speaking of the time after a proletarian revolution, when a Communist Party is in power. A simple point perhaps, but much turns on it. As Lenin observes, gaining power through a proletarian revolution is the relatively easy part; setting out on the long road of socialist construction is way more difficult. In short, everything changes when a Communist Party is in power: this is the perspective of our Chinese comrades. It can be quite difficult for us in a capitalist context to understand what this means.

Third, what are the implications for the definition of socialism in economic terms. Let me put it this way: ask a knowledgeable person, in one of the few highly developed countries in the world, for a definition of socialism. This person will most likely say, “the ownership of the forces of production by the working class.” This is an understandable emphasis in light developed productive forces. But it is also one-sided. Now let us ask a person from a poor developing country, which has suffered colonial exploitation: this person will prefer to say, “the liberation of productive forces.” This has been precisely the emphasis in places like Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, the DPRK, and China. Or rather, they set out to find the best way to liberate the productive forces.

A little earlier, I mentioned that the Soviet Union provided the first on-the-ground experience of how the ownership and liberation of productive forces would unfold during socialist construction. While Lenin came to see that the road of socialist construction is a long and winding one indeed, so as to prepare the ground for communism, it fell to Stalin to provide a comprehensive assessment in his 1952 work, “Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR.”

Stalin pointed out that certain economic laws hold during socialist construction, such as the reality of classes (in non-antagonistic relations), and the contradictions between the forces and relations of production. On the one hand, the radical shift in relations of production – public ownership and collectivisation – had a profound effect on unleashing productive forces after the October Revolution; on the other hand, the dialectic of forces and relations

of production changes in light of specific conditions. In a certain situation, the forces of production lag and become a fetter on production relations, while in another situation the reverse applies. The solution: the laggard needs to be brought up to speed.

Assessment of China’s Economic Development

How is all this relevant for China? Our comrades in the CPC distinguish between three stages of China’s economic development, which can be assessed in light of Marxist-Leninist dialectical analysis (also known as “contradiction analysis” in China).

Stage 1: 1949-1978

The first stage was characterised by an emphasis on radical changes in the ownership (relations of production) so as to liberate productive forces. The logic behind this move was straightforward: drawing from Marx and Engels, they identified the main contradiction of a capitalist system in terms of socialised labour and the private ownership of the forces of production by the bourgeoisie and remnants of the landlord class. Thus, a Communist Party in power should solve the contradiction by socialising the ownership of the forces of production. Other factors made this a necessary move, particularly the need to prevent counter-revolution and instigate the economic structures needed both to overcome the previous system and begin the process of socialist construction—abolition of bourgeois private property, industrialisation in light of “backward” economic conditions, collectivisation of agriculture, and a fully planned economy.

This approach produced what is known as the “first economic miracle” in China. From being one of the poorest countries in the world, there were great improvements in socioeconomic well-being, population growth (in numbers and life expectancy), significant developments in science and technology, an independent industrial and national economic system, development of education, culture and health, and China’s emergence in international affairs, all the way from the UN to increased appeal in and engagement with developing countries.

Stage 2: 1978-2012

Nonetheless, internal contradictions began to mount: the relations of production became a drag on productive forces, since the latter had leapt ahead and the former had not kept pace. Poverty was still a major problem in rural areas and many regional cities, the non-antagonistic contradictions between classes broke out into open struggle in

the second half of the 1960s, the economy was stagnating and creative solutions dwindled.

The response was to seek alternative ways to liberate productive forces, with what is now known as the period of the reform and opening-up. As the life-long Communist, Deng Xiaoping, put it in 1980, the “development of the productive forces ... is the most fundamental revolution from the viewpoint of historical development.” For Deng, “poor socialism” is not socialism; instead, socialism should seek to develop productive forces, improve the country’s strength and the lives of the people. And as Chinese scholars and policy-makers have made very clear, the reform and opening-up had nothing to do with neoliberal policies; instead, the policy arose in response to internal contradictions (as dialectical materialism indicates).

During this period, we found the combination of both planning and market components (the technical term is an “institutional form”) within a socialist system, public ownership as the mainstay and other forms of ownership alongside, incentives to innovate as the way to solve problems, and a resolute emphasis on the socialist principle, “from each according to ability, to each according to *work*.” As a result, China launched itself on a path that has led to it becoming a global economic power. While nominally the “second largest economy” in terms of GDP, it contributes more than any other country to the global economy (more than 30 per cent), its industrial output and foreign exchange reserves are the highest in the world, it has the largest internal market, it has developed a comprehensive system of quality education, health, and welfare, and it has seen Hong Kong and Macao return.

Stage 3: 2012-Present

However, by the 1990s the reform and opening-up was revealing its own contradictions, due to an at times over-emphasis on liberating productive forces. In the midst of China’s stunning economic success, a spate of well-documented and widely-studied problems became apparent during the “wild 90s,” and even into the early 2000s: declining conditions for workers and consequent unrest; illegal appropriation of collectively owned village lands; a growing gap between rich and poor regions; environmental degradation; ideological disarray, with proposals ranging from the recovery of Confucianism to bourgeois liberalisation; and a rift between the CPC and the common people, leading to corruption, loss of trust, and lack of knowledge of Marxism even by leading cadres.

In light of these new contradictions, two core questions arose. First, were they systemic, as a few too many Western observers assumed, or were they incidental to the overall process of socialist construction? The answer from our CPC comrades comes straight out of Marxist-Leninist

analysis: they were incidental to the larger process of socialist reform. Second, what was to be the solution? Here the answer too is dialectical: the way to solve these internally generated contradictions was to deepen the reform process itself.

One way to consider the results is in terms of public ownership. In light of repeated warnings from scholars and policy advisers concerning a drift away from public ownership as the mainstay, there has been a notable strengthening and reform of state-owned enterprises so that, as efficient hubs of innovation, their role as the backbone of the economy is being enhanced. They now contribute to over 50 percent of China’s total economy. But this is only one perspective, and it risks seeing the shift in emphasis as a type of return to the features of the first stage. Instead, the process of deepening reform is far more comprehensive, covering a full range from the economic base to super-structural components. We can already begin to see clear results: about 800 million rural and urban workers have been lifted out of absolute poverty, with almost 500 million now in a “middle-income” group (and not a “middle class”); a comprehensive welfare system continues to be rolled out for 1.4 billion people; the gap between rich and poor has been decreasing now for about a decade; rural and urban workers are in control of China’s path through the ever-strengthening socialist democratic system; in light of ecological civilisation, China has become a world leader in “green growth”; and the almost 100-million strong CPC is more united, more knowledgeable about Marxism, and more focused on people’s needs and the task ahead than at almost any time in its past.

The formulations of the new stage vary, such as “the great leap from prosperity to strength,” the “third economic miracle,” or “socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.” However, it is best captured with the resolute emphasis on “taking the people as the centre,” or, more simply, a “people-centred” approach. Obviously, the emphasis is on the relations of production. Will new contradictions arise? Of course they will, and they have already been anticipated.

Conclusion

Is China on the socialist road? This is not a question that arises in China so often, since they are clear that the answer is “yes.” There are many other questions we can discuss, such as what the definition of socialist distribution—“from each according to ability, to each according to work”—actually means during socialist construction; the role of trade unions and mass organisations in such construction; how industrial workers (*gongren*) are one category of labourers (*laodong*) and how they control China’s productive forces and path; how the CPC exercises leadership in the socialist democratic system; how the China model works

in relations with other fraternal Communist Parties; and so on. On these matters and more, I suggest that it is important to listen to what our CPC comrades think about their own system, based upon immense amounts of research on the concrete reality in China, and not let bourgeois criticisms and Western imperialist assumptions set the agenda.

One last example of a distinctly Chinese way of speaking about socialist construction. They speak of the “two inevitabilities” and the “two impossibilities.” The first is from the *Communist Manifesto*: “The fall [of the bourgeoisie] and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.” The second is from Marx’s preface to *A Critique of Political Economy* (1859): “No social formation is ever destroyed before all the productive forces for which it is sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the framework of the old society.” For our Chinese comrades, these two pairs “help us understand why capitalism has not completely died, why socialism still has twists and turns like the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the upheavals in Eastern Europe, and why the communism foreseen by Marxism still needs a long historical development to come true’. In this situation, Marxist dialectical and historical materialism is even more important today, for it enables a sound understanding of historical development, “so that the advantages of the socialist system can continue to be revealed and enriched.”

Contribution on 100th Anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of China

David Matters

The Communist Party of Australia rejoices and welcomes the 100th anniversary of the foundation of Communist Party of China. This anniversary provides an opportunity to pause and reflect on the events of these 100 years. The Communist Party of China (CPC) has made great political, social, economic and defence achievements for its people. It is a special institution, having gathered the most developed, committed, and heroic elements of Chinese society. The first gathering of Patriots in Shanghai had a gigantic task before them: to restore the Chinese nation by ending the colonial domination and division of the country; to liberate the peasantry from centuries of bondage, allowing them to create a life free from poverty and endless toil. The CPC liberated millions of Chinese Labourers, giving them the dignity to be masters of their country and their lives.

The Chinese civilisation has contributed much to human society, but the 19th and 20th century saw the Chinese fall victim to foreign powers. The Chinese people resisted with rebellions and popular movements including the Boxer Rebellion and the May 4th movement. The British used the first Opium War to gain control over Hong Kong in 1842, while US troops, as part of the Eight-Nation Alliance, looted and vandalised Peking (Beijing) in 1900. European nations, the United States of America (USA) and the Japanese partitioned China as spoils of war. Under the leadership of Dr Sun Yatsen a republic was proclaimed, but the partitioning of China continued. With the successful Russian Revolution of 1917, and the uprisings in central Asia, the role of the toiling masses in spreading revolution moved eastwards and the Party's relations with the Soviet Union resulted in co-operation and support for the new republic.

The birth of the CPC bore the first steps towards the application of the theory and practice of Scientific Socialism to Chinese soil. The Party's history can be measured by its experience and political development, creating the expertise to develop Marxist theory that produced the practical application of Scientific Socialism to the needs and reality of the Chinese nation.

The CPC put the nation first, co-operating with the Kuomintang and the new republic. Comrade Zhou Enlai played a significant part in the development of the Whampoa (Huangpa) Military Academy. The Party's close

connection to the people required great personal risk and sacrifice. Many times, Zhou faced death but in characteristic style went forward with the skilful and difficult task of advancing the interests of the people. Zhou played a vital role in strengthening the strategy of the Communists and in supporting Comrade Mao Zedong in the Eighth Army. He was in the centre of the struggles in Shanghai, Wuhan and played a strong role in advancing the Communist Party. A dedicated Communist and a man of the people, he was always there when the people needed a voice. The bond between Zhou and Mao was of great importance in the forging of a relationship that advanced the Revolution.

A revolution and a revolutionary party based on Scientific Socialism, learns from its experience along its difficult path to success. These experiences are embodied in the calibre of its leaders and the cadre of the Party that succeeded through tremendous personal sacrifice. Their struggle produced the mature collective leadership found in the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party and China had a champion in Comrade Mao Zedong. His firm connection with the people and strategic thinking enabled success in founding the New China. Seeking truth from facts was revolutionary in its impact. By understanding the class structure of China and producing the tremendous force that the liberated peasantry brought about the economic powerhouse that is present China. Mao operated as a committed Marxist, developing new political theories, such as his epic work "On Contradiction." To develop China required the building of Socialism to increase defence through the building of new alliances and by producing a united front of Progressive forces against Imperialism.

With the defeat of Japan in the Second World War, the Communist Party of China found itself in a life and death struggle with the Kuomintang forces, led by the reactionary General Chiang Kai Shek. The heroic victory of the CPC led the nation towards a new future of unequalled social and economic success. A country severely damaged by war and underdevelopment stood up to the Imperialist USA: trade sanctions and the recognition of the Comprador Government in Taiwan. The US refused to admit China to the United Nations resulting in a Soviet boycott of the Security Council in protest against this criminal act. The US retaliated by launching a war under the United Nations against the Korean people, including the threat to use nuclear weapons against both China and Korea.

Under the moral authority of the CPC a movement of Chinese Volunteers was developed, which included Mao's eldest son, the martyr Mao Anying, to defend Korean sovereignty. Such internationalism continued with its support for the Vietnamese people in their struggle for independence against US Imperialism and the support of African nations' independence struggles against the European powers. These colonial powers continue to control the economies of their former colonies through policies of underdevelopment and corruption, allowing them to plunder these countries' vast resources.

The development of the crisis within the Soviet Party damaged the International Movement, subjecting Communist parties to interference and domination. This crisis was witnessed in the Communist Party of Australia, whose tried and tested leaders became subjected to vilification as "Stalinists." Meanwhile, the Communist Party of China found its own road and maintained unity within its party.

The strength of the Chinese nation is that the Party had the strength to override any political crisis. The revolutionary spirit within the Communist Party of China had the strength to resist counter-revolutionary forces, which culminated in the overthrow of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of communist parties around the world. Under the party leadership the theory of a Multi-Polar world was developed as a strategy to defeat the Bi-Polar world formed around US imperialism to defeat the Soviet Union. China is opposed to great power chauvinism and has set up its international relations to encourage the independence of developing nations.

Under the leadership of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, China opened its economy and sought new ways to develop the economy, to advance the interest of the mass of the people. The leadership of the Communist Party of China pays attention to international and internal contradictions and leads with timely campaigns. China reaches out to the world with increased engagement through trade, tourism, education exchanges, and economic development, creating a powerful environment for world peace.

Modern China today is a far cry from before the CPC first led China to prosperity. China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, upon which the Imperialists tried to force the Washington Consensus on the Chinese economy. The CPC firmly combatted this with a campaign against corruption and criminal behaviour within the Party. The Chinese dream of Scientific Socialism was a timely reminder of the aspirations of the Chinese nation and served to remind everyone what would be lost if the people embraced the ideology of the Imperialists. China is today a world-leading economic power, having overcome the US's policy of restricting technological transfer, it now produces over 300,000 patents annually, the largest in the world. It presently has a GDP (Gross Domestic Product)

of over US\$17 trillion. Such economic success was built upon spending 2.5 per cent of GDP on Research and Development. The 13th Five-year Plan (2016 to 2020) aimed to make China a leading power in science and technology, making it today a world leader in the sciences, from theoretical mathematics to Artificial Intelligence. Its technologies have produced the Tiangong II Space Lab to conduct experiments in space and the Long March 5 rocket allows for the sending of unmanned probes to Mars. The recent retrieval of Moon rocks proves China's capacity for great scientific achievements.

President Hu Jintao and the veteran leadership saw the need to revitalise Marxism within the Chinese nation and the Party by establishing the Chinese Academy of Marxism. Strengthening Party Schools and taking the struggle to the educational institutions, ensuring the winning of a new generation of Communists by actively engaging and combating Bourgeois Liberal views that potentially could undermine Scientific Socialism within China. The CPC possesses the enormous strength to recognise and correct its errors, through its Scientific Socialist approach of Self-Criticism, ensuring that no leader is above the Party, but all are part of a healthy party. Under Comrade Xi Jinping, the Chinese Nation has now reached a New Era. The task of eliminating absolute poverty has been achieved and now the goal is to build a mature Socialist society through the high level of participation of its people in national development and economic production. China's Belt and Road Initiative contributes to a sustainable world, based on promoting peace, independence and Socialism.

The Communist Party of China has heroically struggled against the distortions of Marxism and the enemy of Scientific Socialism – Opportunism and Dogmatism. In the working-class movement, the present attitude to China and the CPC portrayed in the media is becoming a test of our ability to apply Marxism as a science, calling for a struggle against opportunism to restore and strengthen our own understanding and practice of Marxism. The task for Communists is to determine what is universal and what is specific to the reality that we encounter in society. The Communist Party of China gives us an example of how to apply the universal laws of Socialism and the dictatorship of class struggle depending on the class forces in any nation. While the CPC leads through its examples of Marxism in practice, with flexible and dynamic application to the reality of modern China, it does require Communists to not mechanically apply the model to realities for which it is unsuited. This has contributed to our understanding of Scientific Socialism, and the importance of theory and practice to overcome opportunism and dogma.

At our present point in history there remains many challenges to understand and confront. We do not yet know the impact that a mature Socialist system will have in the world. The Capitalist forces were confident that they could

corrupt and destroy Chinese Socialism, and the CPC. The living science of Marxism, freed from dogma, continuing to seek truth from facts, is alive and well in our world. Imperialism constantly shifts between Liberal Bourgeois and Fascist solutions to intensify the world Capitalist crisis. The predatory Imperialist class has identified the Communist Party of China as standing with Humanity against their predatory intentions. The CPC has shown that it has the strength to lead the Chinese nation through many trials and to advance the nation and its people, steadfastly holding to the principles established by generations of Communists.

As Communists in Australia, we must stand calmly and firmly against the lies being told about our good friends and comrades, the Communist Party of China, and resist the pressure of the Bourgeoisie and Left Liberals in the workers' movement. The ruling class have grown fat on the exploitation of others and sees a significant challenge to their racist domination, forcing them to rely on lies as they see their grip on the world loosening.

The Communist Party of Australia opposes colonialism, racism, war and all forms of oppression upon which our nation was founded. We must develop the fraternal friendship and comradeship between our peoples to strengthen this struggle and campaign for our liberation. From friendship with the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people we will find the strength to change our Nation.

Long Live the Communist Party of China, at one with the Chinese people, and the guarantor of the Chinese people's prosperity and independence.

AMR

China as a Leading Partner State

Franc Stregone

The pattern of global governance depends on the international balance of power, and the transformation of the global governance system originates from changes in the balance of power. [...] We should actively participate in global governance and shoulder international responsibilities. We must do all we can within the limitations of our capabilities.

President Xi Jinping, September 27th 2016.¹

Xi's words, delivered at a group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, marks how far China has come in its view of its position in global politics. The seeds of this transformation took place during the Reform and Opening-Up period under the auspices of then-paramount leader Deng Xiaoping. However, during that period of development, China's economic growth was still much behind most states and was not in a position to take a leading role. Furthermore, even if China was in an economic position to lead, the leadership styles exhibited by Western countries such as the US are foreign to China's approach culturally.²

That is what makes Xi's words above so noteworthy. They display a markedly different approach than all of Xi's predecessors: With China's major economy, it must shift into being a willing and active participant in global affairs. Xi's signal came at a pivotal moment. It followed the successful G20 Hangzhou summit – marking China's turn – and on the eve of Donald Trump's presidential election victory – which would change the course of US foreign policy (more on these below).

But while China's role in global governance has evolved, it has not simply morphed into a leadership style we have been accustomed to by former great powers. In the following, I will qualify China's elaborate role in global economic governance as a leading partner state. I will elaborate on this idea, present counter-theories, and explain why they fail to capture the totality of China's role. I will demonstrate China acting as a leading partner state through examining its experiences in the World Trade Organisation (WTO), G20, and the Belt and Road Initiative

(BRI). Lastly, I will discuss the obstacles China faces in global economic governance.

The concept of China as a leading partner state emphasises two positions that China holds as fundamental to global governance: countries with the capacity to lead must lead, and global governance as a process of collective decision-making. However, this philosophy, in altered forms, also reflects China's approach to governance internally. On leadership, CPC rhetoric, particularly since the start of the "Reform" period, places great emphasis on its members being "skilled in one's field of endeavour"³ and "ready to take on responsibilities."⁴ Here, knowledge and preparedness are seen as core components in whether one has the capacity to lead. Without such things, one does not have the means to lead. Secondly, collective decision making is fundamental to the processes of the CPC and its governance of China. Generally, the post-Deng period has been characterised as "a new era of collective leadership" where former party leaders such as Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao were considered "first among equals."⁵ While many debate whether the Xi era is a continuation or a reversal of this trend, we will see below how this preference for collective work manifests in global affairs.⁶

Turning to global economic governance, we can see the above perspective in China's foreign policy doctrine *Tao Guang Yang Hui* from 1989-91. Translations and interpretations of this policy differ. It is officially translated as "keeping a low profile"; however, many international scholars translate it as "hiding one's capabilities and biding one's time."⁷ Thus, as noted above, China's position on leadership is that one must first have the means to lead (i.e. have the "know-how" and be prepared). Thus, China's approach to global economic governance accords with *Tao Guang Yang Hui* as it waited until it had the economic capacity to participate in international affairs. The examples below show how China's entrance into the financial world order is an acknowledgement of its current economic position.

However, before I turn to the examples mention above, it

1 Xi Jinping, "Improve Our Ability to Participate in Global Governance," in *The Governance of China*, Vol. 2 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2017), 488.

2 Xiao Ren, "China, the G20 and global governance," in *Handbook on the International Political Economy of China*, ed. Ka Zeng (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2019), 331.

3 Jiang Zemin, "Be Truly Worthy of the Honorable Title of Communist Party Member," in *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. 1 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2010), 38.

4 Xi Jinping, "Train and Select Good Officials," in *The Governance of China*, Vol. 1 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2014), 478.

5 Li Cheng, *Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era: Reassessing Collective Leadership* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2016), 8.

6 Li, *Chinese Politics in the Xi Jinping Era*, 12-15.

7 Pang Zhongying, *From Tao Guang Yang Hui To Xin Xing: China's Complex Foreign Policy Transformation and Southeast Asia*, Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2020, 3.

is important to acknowledge where the idea of China as a leading partner state sits with other concepts of China. China, as a leading partner state, has areas of agreement and disagreement with other theories. For instance, those that conceptualise China as a trading state, based on the “profound impact that China has had on the international trading system (and vice versa),” would not be completely at odds with the concept of China as a leading partner state.⁸ Trade has indeed had a profound impact on how China interacts in the international economy. However, as outlined above, China’s approach to global economic governance is philosophical rather than purely economical. As will become evident, China sees trade as important, but it constantly highlights an inclusive philosophical approach. Indeed, those that criticise the “trading state theory” highlight its “apolitical nature, with its attendant inability to satisfactorily account for how states that are locked in a relationship of deep interdependence nevertheless experience high levels of conflict.”⁹ However, those that hold an “offensive realist view” of China are likely to find the concept of China as a leading partner state appealing. Here, those who hold this view, such as John Mearsheimer, believe that “almost certainly translate its economic might into military might and make a run at dominating Northeast Asia.”¹⁰ This idea runs absolutely counter to the concept as a collaborative participant and demonises it as an imperialist power. In fact, as Nicholas Khoo states, Mearsheimer believes that China is “*more dangerous*” (emphasis his) than Imperial Japan and Nazi Germany.¹¹ However, Khoo refutes much of this claim stating that it is “it is far from clear [...] [that] China’s ability to achieve regional hegemony are as inevitable as he claims” largely on the basis that “dislodge[ing] the US from its post-1945 position of maritime supremacy in East Asia” would be a monumental task.¹²

When China joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001, it marked the first concrete step by the state to engage in world affairs. This ascension to the WTO was no mere symbolic gesture. It committed itself to “the objectives of the WTO,” international rules in specific sectors such as textiles and telecommunications, and “signed a series of bilateral agreements” with the US, EU, and Japan.¹³ Furthermore, since its entry into the WTO, “China is largely complying with WTO rules, albeit with varying levels of compliance” and is “using the WTO dispute settlement mechanism [...] to resolve trade disputes,

[...] generally complying with adverse rulings.”¹⁴ These actions are indicative of China being a willing partner in the international economy.

As a partner of the WTO, China has also been a leader in defending the institution. Donald Trump’s presidency challenged the WTO, imposing tariffs without going through its processes and “accusing it of bias against the US.”¹⁵ Such was the president’s disdain for the organisation that he “allegedly ordered the drafting of legislation that would ignore WTO disciplines.”¹⁶ While Trump was publicly returning America to an era of protectionism, China stepped up to the plate to defend international trade. At the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, in 2017, Xi made a critical but clear defence of economic globalisation. Xi cited China’s past reservations about economic globalisation (referencing China’s entry into the WTO) and the obstacles it faced. However, Xi stated that it was “the right thing to do” and that countries “should adapt to and guide economic globalisation, cushion its negative impact, and deliver its benefits to all countries and all nations.”¹⁷

Others have a different perspective on China’s participation in the WTO. While noting that China has increased their presence and want to lead, Marcia Don Harpaz states that the “willingness of other WTO members to follow China is, however, the most problematic aspect of China’s WTO leadership potential” as “China is perceived to pose a competitive trade threat to developing countries and developed countries alike.”¹⁸ Here, China’s role as an economic leader isn’t defined by how it acts but by how others perceive and act in response to China.

While its relationship with the WTO has evolved, particularly under Xi, China’s desire to lead in partnership with other countries became apparent during the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) period. The GFC was a foundation-shaking event for the international economy. China, which had been a part of the G20 since its foundation, was one of the first countries to answer the call for collective action to fight the crisis.¹⁹ In 2008 at the first G20 summit in Washington, then-president Hu Jintao, far from staying quiet, delivered a speech on what China’s vision for a post-GFC must entail. Hu Jintao spoke to “reforming the international financial system” with an aim to establish “a new international financial order that is fair, just, inclusive

8 Nicholas Khoo, *China’s Foreign Policy since 1978: Return to Power* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020), 6.

9 Khoo, *China’s Foreign Policy since 1978*, 7.

10 Khoo, *China’s Foreign Policy since 1978*, 13.

11 Khoo, *China’s Foreign Policy since 1978*, 14.

12 Khoo, *China’s Foreign Policy since 1978*, 14.

13 Pan Rui, “China’s WTO Membership and the Non-Market Economy Status: Discrimination and Impediment to China’s Foreign Trade,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, no. 94 (2015): 743.

14 Marcia Don Harpaz, “China and the WTO: On a path to leadership?” in *Handbook on the International Political Economy of China*, ed. Ka Zeng (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2019), 260-261.

15 Harpaz, “China and the WTO: On a path to leadership?” 263.

16 Harpaz, “China and the WTO: On a path to leadership?” 263.

17 Xi Jinping, “Full Text of Xi Jinping’s keynote at the World Economic Forum,” (2017). <https://america.cgtn.com/2017/01/17/full-text-of-xi-jinping-keynote-at-the-world-economic-forum>.

18 Harpaz, “China and the WTO: On a path to leadership?” 274.

19 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 329-30.

and orderly.”²⁰ This was part of four major proposals China presented with “particular attention to the damage the crisis has brought to developing countries.”²¹

However, China’s message was not just rhetoric. As the GFC came to pass, the role of the G20 in subsequent years worked on various reforms until it stalled during Australia’s G20 presidency.²² Instead of allowing the summit to languish, when China took over the presidency, it started several initiatives that highlighted its serious commitment to leading in economic affairs. In 2016, there were 3300 investment agreements that were “fragmented” and “complicated.”²³ China put on the agenda time to coordinate better investment policy. The result was “The G20 Guiding Principles for Global Investment Policymaking,” which was ratified at the Hangzhou Summit. This was a huge achievement as it was “the first multilateral guideline for global investment, thus filling the void in this area.”²⁴ It also initiated the “1+6” Roundtable, which was considered to be an “imaginative and creative collective dialogue” with “Chinese Premier Li Keqiang and six leaders of the world’s leading international economic and financial organisations” such as the World Bank and IMF.²⁵

Furthermore, China backed up its rhetoric and brought developing countries into the fold. For example, China took “the lead in implementing the 2030 Development Agenda,” which “for the first time agreed to take collective actions to support industrialisation in Africa and the least developed countries.”²⁶ China also invited leaders from various groups representing developing nations, such as the African Union Chair Chad and the Group of 77 Chair Thailand.²⁷ The Hangzhou Summit, as a result, had the most leaders from developing countries invited in the history of G20.²⁸

Thus, while China’s work in the WTO has shown its willingness to participate and defend the international economy, it is in the G20 we see substantial examples of China working with leading financial institutions along with developed and developing countries. Therefore, the 2016 Hangzhou Summit can be seen as a watershed moment for China as a leading partner state in global economic governance.

China’s most ambitious project –the Belt and Road

Initiative (BRI) – is perhaps the clearest example of China’s willingness to lead while working with other nations in building a connected, international economy. Proposed during Xi’s visit to Kazakhstan in September of 2013, the BRI “aims to promote the economic connectivity and partnership of Asia, Europe, and Africa and their adjacent seas along six economic corridors.”²⁹ Rather than challenging and competing against the existing Western hegemony, many, such as Thomas D. Lairson hold that the BRI “reflect[s] and operate[s] within the liberal world order created by the USA.”³⁰ Indeed, China’s leadership, particularly in the BRI, is cooperative rather than antagonistic as its “leadership understands the nature and value of structural power in a global system of deep interdependence.”³¹

China’s willingness to work with various countries, as an equal rather than a superior, can best be seen not in its relationship with established Western powers but its treatment of smaller, developing countries. This is evident in China’s relationship between Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). China has worked with LAC on sustainable development and the 2030 agenda, with “several official documents [...] emphasis[ing] the importance to have dialogues and cooperation, including South-South cooperation.”³²

However Lairson’s raises some concerns about the BRI and its ability to be the game-changer that China states it to be. Part of the issue “significant capability deficits” from several of the participating countries.³³ However, Lairson’s states that “Chinese experiences with similar efforts in Africa and Asia” which have been a mixture of “poor choices for projects, coupled with loan defaults” and that “even in successful cases Chinese management has generated considerable hostility due to the inability to organise sufficient mutual gains.”³⁴

In the above, I have highlighted how China has participated and lead through outlining its work in the WTO, G20, and the BRI. I’ve also brought in some perspectives that have cautioned about China’s ability to lead based on experiences within the WTO and foreign investment projects. However, I think the greatest obstacle to China being able to lead, or be a part of a collective leadership are the challenges that Western hegemony present.

20 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 330.

21 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 330.

22 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 339.

23 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 340.

24 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 340.

25 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 336.

26 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 339.

27 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 336-337.

28 Xiao, “China, the G20 and global governance,” 336.

29 Li Yuanbo and Zhu Xufeng, “The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and China’s Belt and Road Initiative in Latin America and the Caribbean,” *Sustainability* 24, no. 8 (2019): 2

30 Thomas D. Lairson, “The Global Strategic Environment of the BRI: Deep Interdependence and Structural Power,” in *China’s Belt and Road Initiative: Changing the Rules of Globalization*, eds. Zhang Wenxian, Ilan Alon, and Christoph Lettemann (New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2018), 40.

31 Lairson, “The Global Strategic Environment of the BRI,” 41.

32 Li and Zhu, “The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development,” 4.

33 Lairson, “The Global Strategic Environment of the BRI,” 45.

34 Lairson, “The Global Strategic Environment of the BRI,” 45.

Resistance to socialist countries or those not within the sphere of the West's influence (e.g. non-aligned movement) has been well-documented for decades. For example, despite China working in earnest to be in accordance with the rules and regulations of the WTO, Chinese firms from the outset have been the subject of "discriminatory treatment."³⁵ This is most evident in the labelling of China with non-market economy status, which was "exclusively set for China, and China is the only victim of such a discriminatory provision while all other WTO members can invoke this provision at their own discretion to impose discriminatory restrictions on imports from China."³⁶ The resistance towards China has perhaps been most evident since Xi became the leader who has changed the way China has engaged in the world economy through various statements, policies, and actions within different institutions. Trump's presidency brought, albeit crudely, out many of these tensions. As mentioned above, Trump's protectionism and "America First" approach marked a stark contrast to the free trade, neoliberal world order that the US had created and led since WW2. As a result, Trump's presidency reorientated the US' position in the international economy, which meant that the US was no longer seeking to be the bastion of free trade. While the US in this period raised taxes on virtually everyone (e.g. steel tariffs), China was a primary target of many trade spats.³⁷ In order to undermine the Chinese economy, the US made a number of protectionist policies, such as "\$50 billion in proposed tariffs on imports" and "banning [Huawei] from buying vital US technology without special approval" sanctions for reasons such as "repeatedly engaged in practices to unfairly obtain America's intellectual property" and "national security grounds" respectively.³⁸ These efforts by the Trump administration to frustrate China were limited in their effect as many countries continued to trade and foster economic relations, such as the EU who also decried Trump's protectionism.³⁹

However, the US did find some success in undermining China's ability to be a leader. The human rights stories concerning Uyghurs and the Hong Kong riots were areas where the US was able to garner support. In regards to the former, the US passed the Uyghur Human Rights Policy Act. In conjunction with this act, the Trump administration

imposed sanctions and visa restrictions against members of the CPC Politburo such as Chen Quanguo and Zhu Hailun.⁴⁰ The EU also responded by freezing "the assets of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps Public Security Bureau, which it describes as a 'state-owned economic and paramilitary organisation' that runs Xinjiang and controls its economy."⁴¹ The EU also imposed sanctions on China due to the activity in Hong Kong by limiting exports.⁴² And while the Trump administration has been responsible for many anti-China actions, it is important to note that it is continuing under the Biden administration, with Washington sanctioning "24 Chinese and Hong Kong officials over Beijing's ongoing crackdown on the city."⁴³

This is a legitimate point of weakness for China. However, while one may see the irony of the US calling out human rights violations, the international narratives curated to support Western hegemony pose severe challenges to China being viewed with legitimacy in the West. Its internal politics are simply not congruent with the liberal conception of democracy and rights, and as long as it continues as a one-party state, particularly as one that promotes a proletarian perspective, it will never be in full agreement with the capitalist West. Here, China will have to continue to find ways to separate its internal and international politics, which given its global status from the above, it has managed to do fairly successfully.

From the above, if one thing is clear, understanding China's role in global economic governance is no simple task. However, it is important to understand that China, much like all countries, position and role in the world are not static and subject to change as history progresses. Moreover, global economic governance should be considered a shared responsibility, and it is a position that China has understood well.

35 Pan, "China's WTO Membership," 742.

36 Pan, "China's WTO Membership," 747.

37 Heather Long, "Trump has officially put more tariffs on U.S. allies than on China," *The Washington Post* 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/work/wp/2018/05/31/trump-has-officially-put-more-tariffs-on-u-s-allies-than-on-china>.

38 Donald J. Trump, Statement from President Donald J. Trump on Additional Proposed Section 301 Remedies (Washington, D.C. 2018). David Shepardson and Karen Freifeld, "Trump administration hits China's Huawei with one-two punch," Reuters 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-china-trump-telecommunications/trump-administration-hits-chinas-huawei-with-one-two-punch-idUSKCN1SL2QX>.

39 Jennifer Rankin, "EU opens WTO case against Trump's steel and aluminium tariffs," *The Guardian* 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2018/jun/01/eu-starts-retaliation-against-donald-trumps-steel-and-aluminium-tariffs>.

40 "Xinjiang: US sanctions on Chinese officials over 'abuse' of Muslims," BBC, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-53355697>.

41 "EU, US, UK, Canada target China officials over Uyghur abuses," ABC, 2021, accessed 25/05/2021, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-03-23/eu-us-uk-canada-target-china-officials-over-uyghur-abuses/100022544>.

42 "EU, US, UK, Canada target China officials over Uyghur abuses."

43 "US sanctions 24 Hong Kong and Chinese officials ahead of Blinken meeting with Beijing," CNN, 2021, accessed 26/05/2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/03/17/asia/us-hong-kong-china-sanctions-intl-hnk/index.html>.

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CPA greeting to the Centenary of the Communist Party of China by CPA President Vinnie Molina

Xi Jinping

**General Secretary
Communist Party of China
President of the People's Republic of China
Chairman of the Central Military Commission**

Dear comrade,

On the historic occasion of the centenary of the founding of your esteemed Party, the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) sends its fraternal greetings and congratulations.

The CPA appreciates its growing fraternal relations with the Communist Party of China, and the deepening relations amongst the international Communist movement generally. The experience of the CPC in carrying out revolution and socialist construction, as well as the adaptation of Marxism to the complex circumstances of China, is a vast library of knowledge studied throughout the world.

Since the tragic counterrevolutions in the USSR and Eastern Europe, it has been widely commented that the international Communist movement has been at a low ebb. The unipolar world with US hegemony has been a disaster for the people of the world. But world events are moving in a new direction. China's growing prestige amongst the developing world is revealing new opportunities for human development, independence, peace, and happiness for the people.

International solidarity is growing between the world's progressive people striving for independence, peace, and socialism. While the socialist camp took a serious hit towards the end of the 20th century, the growing solidarity and cooperation between China, Vietnam, Lao PDR, DPRK, and Cuba, as well as the revolutionary processes in Venezuela and elsewhere, inspires confidence in the future of international socialism and the long march towards Communism.

The United States spreads vicious lies and manipulations, and applies grossly unfair means such as murderous sanctions and interventions, in its desperate attempts to maintain dominance. But the emerging new standard of international relations, exemplified by China's commitment to multilateralism, equality, and respect, reveals the unacceptability of hegemony seeking in the modern world, and its incompatibility with the interests of humanity.

The new model of building a community with shared

future for humankind shows the way towards a peaceful model of international development and relations.

The Communist Party of China's achievements in poverty reduction show what is possible with a scientific, materialist outlook on development and governance. The difference between the capitalist and socialist systems is here brought into clearest focus: under capitalism the interests of the working and poor people are only considered where they are relevant to the interests of the wealthy; under socialism, the interests of the wealthy are only considered where they are relevant to the interests of the working and poor people. The class nature of the state and government impress themselves on the whole society.

The CPC's ambitious goals towards the People's Republic of China's centenary in 2049 will surely be met, transforming China into a powerful modern socialist country and an undeniable model for the world.

"The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true"—these immortal words of Comrade Lenin remain as valid as ever. And as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Armed with Marxist-Leninist Theory and ideology, the Communist Party Of China Has brought a new style of work to the Chinese people, a style of work which essentially entails integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism." This style of work continues to be carried on by the CPC, guiding the successive victories of the Chinese people.

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Long live socialism!

In socialism,

Vinnie Molina
Party president
International Department
Communist Party of Australia

14th June 2021

The Role of Modern China in a Changing World

James O'Neill*

We are currently witnessing the greatest change in the Geo political landscape that has ever occurred in the lives of those alive today.

At the end of the Second World War there were two major powers in the world: Russia and the United States. Only one, the United States, then had the atomic bomb, which they had used in July 1945 in a live experiment on the people of two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki. From the United States point of view, the experiment was a success. It killed and maimed hundreds of thousands of Japanese and brought the war to a rapid conclusion.

Importantly from the United States point of view it demonstrated that they alone possessed an awful means of mass destruction. The United States retained its nuclear monopoly for a further three years until August 1948 when the Soviet Union successfully tested its first nuclear bomb at the Semipalatinsk test site in Kazakhstan.

They were followed by the United Kingdom in 1952, Israel in 1963, China in 1964, France in 1968, Pakistan in 1972, India in 1974 and North Korea in 2006. To date they are the only known nuclear armed powers. It has contributed to an uneasy peace being maintained between the great powers ever since. An attack by one upon the other would result in immediate retaliation and the probable extinction of life on this planet.

It would be a mistake however, to call the past 77 years a time of peace, notwithstanding the uneasy peace that has existed between the great powers. The United States has bombed and invaded at least 31 countries since the end of World War II, none of them possessing either the means to defend themselves or to retaliate. The number of countries that have experienced United States interference in their internal affairs is at least double that number.

By comparison, China has fought border wars with Tibet, India, the USSR and Vietnam. Tibet is a special case and regarded by China as part of its own territory. China is now allied with India as common members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. It similarly now has good relations with Vietnam. Russia is a special case. The two countries are now close allies, not the least because of the unrelenting hostility of the Americans. Interference in the internal affairs of China is waged nonstop, and the American attitude to Taiwan is only one example of blatant interference in China's internal affairs.

The beginning of the close relationship can be traced back to their formation of the Shanghai Five Mutual Security Agreement formed in 1996. In that year the five founding countries, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan signed a mutual security agreement.

Then later in June 2001 those same countries formed the basis of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. It currently has eight member states, having added India and Pakistan in 2009 and Uzbekistan in 2015. There are four observer states, including Afghanistan which joined in 2012 and Iran which joined in 2005. There are six dialogue partners of whom the largest is Turkey with nearly 79,000,000 people in its population.

The existence of this organisation is almost totally invisible in Australia which maintains a remarkably ambivalent attitude towards the Asian nations that are its closest neighbours and include its most important trading partners. The recent hostility manifested by the Prime Minister and largely echoed by the leader of the Opposition toward China is a remarkable example of pursuing policies that are the antithesis of what one would expect toward its neighbours and major trading partners.

In this context it was therefore somewhat surprising that Australia joined the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, a grouping of Asian nations plus New Zealand and including China. It remains to be seen whether Australia actually utilises that relationship or whether its antipathy to China prevents Australia from gaining full benefits from its membership.

The dominant geopolitical feature of recent years has been the growth of the economies of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation countries and their association with the other Asian regional grouping of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAAU) which consists of Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Three of those five are also members of the SCO. The pattern is becoming clearer all the time. An association of Asian neighbours with a consistently growing economic relationship. They represent the powerhouse of world economic development at the present time and for the foreseeable future.

The very success of this growing economic relationship and with their social and political ties has prompted attempts to disrupt their growing strength. Last year there was a rather clumsy United States inspired bid to overthrow the government of Kazakhstan. Russia's rapid reaction to the attempted coup in association with its

EAEU Partners nipped the attempted overthrow of the Kazakhstan government in the bud.

All the while the ties between China and Russia grow progressively stronger. The visit of Mr Putin to Beijing in February this year when he met with China's Mr Xi was clearly a watershed moment in the world's geopolitical development. The meeting received very little coverage in the Australian media, yet it clearly marked a watershed moment in the history of the two nations and their vision as to the future.

It is clear that Russia has given up on Western Europe, a decision undoubtedly prompted by European reaction to Russia and the events in Ukraine. The western powers have seized approximately \$600 billions of Russia's foreign exchange holdings, an astonishingly brazen example of blatant theft. It undoubtedly had a major influence on not only Russian but also Chinese thinking.

The Chinese government holds \$3.25 trillion in foreign exchange reserves as at the end of 2021. The exact composition of China's foreign exchange reserves is classified information, although China's foreign exchange administration announced that at the end of 2014 that 58 per cent of China's foreign exchange reserves were held in United States dollars, down from 79 per cent in 2005. It is believed to have fallen much further over the past seven years.

At their February 2022 meeting, Putin and Xi agreed on a program to accelerate their dealings with Asian, African and Latin American countries. A number of important decisions were made at that meeting, including the highly significant decision to accelerate the use of alternatives to the United States dollar. The control exerted by the world's use of the United States dollar has been a principal factor in United States global dominance in the post-World War II period. The decision by Russia and China to move out of the dollar is of enormous significance, and its implications are again missing from Australian media discussion.

Ironically, the United States theft of Russia's financial assets (together with that of the European powers,) has accelerated the trend for other countries, especially among the so-called developing regions, to also move their assets out of the United States dollar. One example of the major shift occurring in world trade is that China has recently agreed a major deal with Saudi Arabia to pay for the purchase of Saudi oil using the Chinese yuan. This decision reflects the deterioration of Saudi – United States relations in recent times. It sent a shockwave through the United States financial system.

The Saudis hold >15 per cent of the world's known oil reserves and is the largest exporter of crude oil in the world. The Saudis are the world's second largest producer of oil, exceeded only by Russia. China has only 1.5 per cent of

the world's oil reserves, and is ranked 14th in the world. Both Russia and Saudi Arabia are therefore crucial to China's economy which in parity purchasing power terms is now the world's largest economy, with the gap between itself and United States growing wider by the day.

None of this is acceptable to the United States which has used its economic and military power to pretty much do what it wanted to do to the rest of the world. This is now changing, and at an ever-increasing pace. The decision by Russia and China to create a new world financial system is going to celebrate the relative United States decline at an ever-faster rate. Again, there has been minimal discussion of this world shaking event in the Australian media.

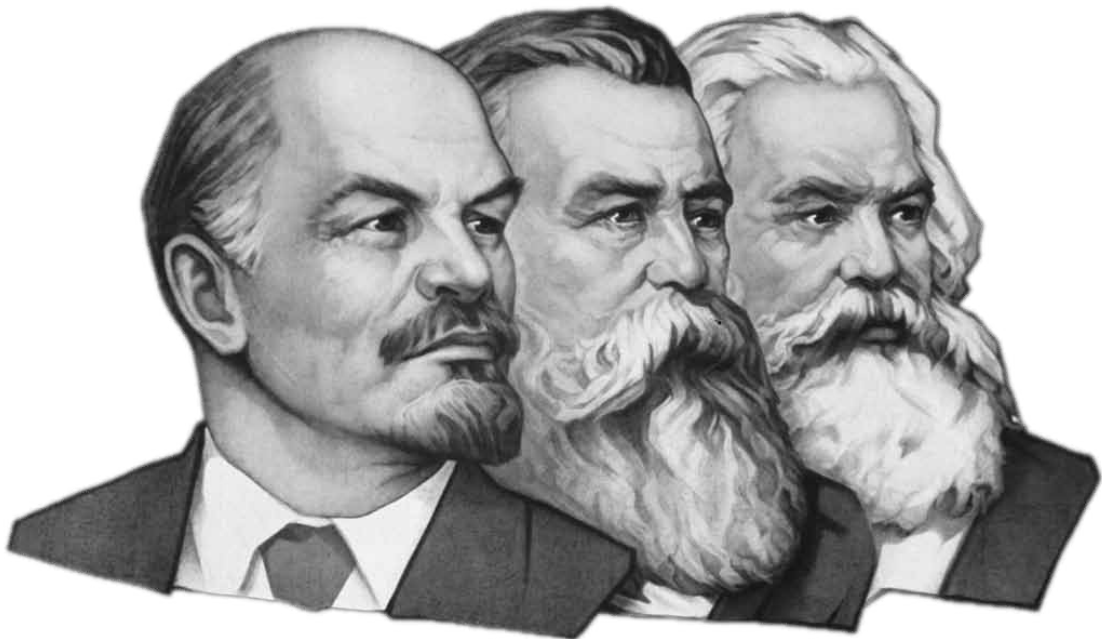
The blunt fact is that the world economic and financial centre of gravity has moved away from Europe and the United States from where it had ruled the world for a very long time.

The United States shows no signs of accepting that reality and their reaction poses potentially the greatest threat the world has faced. Australia has willingly accepted an inferior role in this blatant bullying.

China is showing that it can lead the world in a different way, without invasions, bullying and waging war on others. The challenge for Australia is to recognise that the world has changed and to adapt to the new reality. Frankly, the signs are not encouraging.



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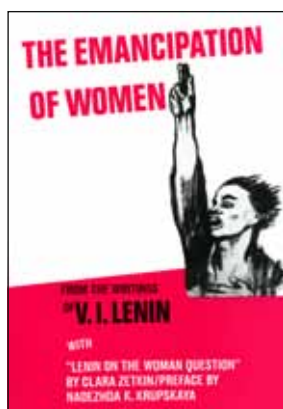


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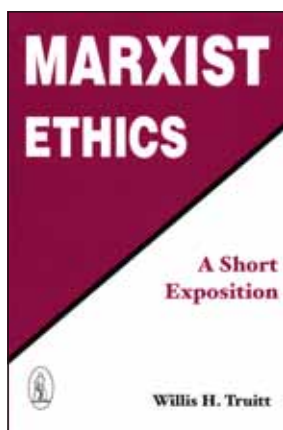
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We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Communist Manifesto, Marx & Engels



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