

- China's Belt and Road Initiative: Its Significance for Bangladesh
- Bangladesh's Views of China's Global and Regional Engagements
- China Takes Bangladesh in Its Unstoppable Development Journey
- Digital Silk Road: Potential for Innovative Growth
- The Chinese Voyage-A Bangladeshi Observation

Rising Asia

December 2017 Special Issue

- The Rise of China and Lessons to be Learnt
- Efforts Towards National Rejuvenation in China
- China as Destination for Higher Education of Bangladeshi Students
- Skills Training-What Bangladesh Can Learn From China?
- China Vehemently Enhancing Openness of Its Own Economy
- Geo-economics and Security Implications for Bangladesh



Bangladesh and China Observe 2017 as the Year of Exchange and Friendship

中国和孟加拉国将2017年作为友好交流年。



China's new Politburo and Politburo Standing Committee

19th Politburo Standing Committee



Xi Jinping

Li Keqiang

Li Zhanshu

Wang Yang

Wang Huning

Zhao Leji

Han Zheng

19th Politburo

Note: All members of the Politburo Standing Committee (above) also hold a seat on the Politburo.



Ding Xuexiang

Wang Chen

Liu-He

Xu-Qiliang

Sun-Chunlan

Li-Xi



Li-Qiang

Li Hongzhong

Yang Jiechi

Yang Xiaodu

Zhang Youxia

Chen Xi



Chen Quanguo

Chen-Min-Er

Hu-Chunhua

Guo-Shengkun

Huang-Kunming

Cai-Qi



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Special Issue
December 2017

Striving for Asian Solidarity

Centre for East Asia Foundation (CEAF)
Bangladesh, Dhaka



Rising Asia

A Quarterly Magazine of CEAF

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Editor's Note



Bangladesh and China have dedicated 2017 as the year of Exchange and Friendship between the two countries when Chinese president Xi Jinping paid a state visit to Bangladesh on October 14-15, 2016 seeking a promising future.

A 150 member Bangladeshi youth delegation visited Yunnan University Campus in Kunming, which is famously known as the “City of Eternal Spring” as a part of “Bangladesh-China Youth Camp-2017” last September. Yunnan province is a close neighbor of Bangladesh with a distance that can be covered in less than three hours of air travel and its capital Kunming stands as the gateway to South and Southeast Asia offering many opportunities for the neighboring countries. To commemorate China-Bangladesh Exchange and Friendship Year 2017 the Yunnan Youth Summer Camp was a milestone which would help to create a platform among the young people of China and Bangladesh. We expect

Bangladeshi and Chinese Youths to work as “ambassadors of friendship” with much more closer cooperation and exchange to contribute to a better future for the two countries and help grow them at a faster pace.

The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) opened on 18 October, 2017 at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, Xi Jinping, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee delivered a keynote address. He revealed that the nation’s socialism with Chinese characteristics is entering in a new era. Xi unveiled a blueprint for China’s development in the future and launched the start of building China into a modern socialist country in an all-round manner. We firmly believe that, under the leadership of CPC Central Committee with president Xi Jinping at its core China has achieved remarkable results in both domestic and international fronts, and the Belt and Road Initiative proposed by President Xi Jinping has won extensive support in Europe and Asia and expected to give a powerful boost to regional prosperity. It is hoped that the deliberations of the 19th CPC National Congress will be a milestone in China’s future development and progress and will benefit China’s friends all around the world as well. It is our great privilege to have published highlights of his deliberation in this special issue. We feel the need to highlight this crucial event because of China’s impact on the world stage. CPC National Congress is an event that is held every five years and includes important discussions and plans to be executed by the Republic. The road-map of policy carved by China will surely affect all seven continents and it is imperative to pay close attention to the speech given by the Honorable Chinese President.

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, China and Bangladesh have been good neighbors and partners based on equality, mutual respect and mutual trust. The two countries should pursue transportation connectivity as well as understanding and friendship between the two people. We should encourage the people from all walks of life in the two countries to engage with each other. We are confident that with joint efforts between the two countries, China and Bangladesh will realize their dreams in the near future.

Best Regards

Nasim Mahmud

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Efforts Towards National Rejuvenation in China

Muhammad Zamir



China's 19th National Congress of the Communist Party which recently concluded in Beijing has been Chinese President Xi Jinping's big moment and also the most-watched event in China's political calendar. Many analysts consider this twice-a-decade meeting as akin to a closed-door election.

This time President Xi has been formally granted a second five-year term as the Party's General Secretary. The Congress has also anointed a new generation of senior Chinese leaders. They have also elected a new leadership for the next five years, including the now seven-strong Politburo Standing Committee, whose members effectively rule China.

The Congress which started on October 18 at the Great Hall of the People in Tienanmen Square, in the heart of Beijing was attended by 2,287 delegates from around the country. They represented nearly 90 million Party members. At stake was charting out China's future course in a world where China's reach is gradually extending and reaching out within the global strategic paradigm. Xi, it needs to be remembered, has taken several important steps over the last two years. His crackdown on corruption has been a hallmark of his leadership. He graphically underlined that "No tolerance has been shown in the fight against corruption. We have taken firm action to take out tigers, swatted flies, and hunted down foxes." This was reference to efforts undertaken by State authorities against officials big and small. It may be mentioned that this anti-graft drive has initiated greater accountability among more than one million officials within China.

Consequently, China, its neighbors, as well as the rest of the world paid attention.

This possibility is receiving special attention because of guesswork as to whether the world might see China gradually stepping into the global leadership vacuum as the USA continues to turn inward under President Donald Trump. Till now, China appears to have been consistent

with global norms associated with international order. This has assumed importance particularly at a time when the world badly needs China's assistance in tackling the North Korean issue. Some are suggesting that the first test of how this might play out will be clearer in November when Xi hosts Trump on his inaugural visit to Asia. In the meantime the Chinese leadership appears to have made it very clear to North Korea that they need to desist from provocative actions. In this regard, observers like Ben Westcott, Yuli Yang and Steven Jiang have drawn attention to North Korea's track record of provoking its only ally during key-profile events in China. This has included the unruly neighbor firing off missiles during the 2016 G-20 meeting convened in Hangzhou, during the One Belt One Road forum this May and again during the BRICS summit in Xiamen this September. It has been stressed indirectly during the Congress that such actions in the coming weeks would be viewed as having crossed the red line and directly challenging China's national and international interests.

President Xi Jinping during his three-and-a-half hour speech at the Congress, on several occasions used the word "Mission" to convey his views regarding modernization. He indicated that China, under his leadership would continue its quest to become a rich, strong and powerful nation in the next two decades. This was a message that was not lost both on the domestic as well as the international audience. He also clarified that this required international cooperation. With regard to dealing with Hong Kong, Taiwan and also matters related to the South and East China seas, Xi's language was categorical and strong. Observers noted that there was no suggestion of compromise or pluralism. On issues of foreign relations, Xi appeared to focus less on specifics and more on a common humanity approach. The connotation was that China has an interest in working with the world, and the world working with China. There was also the denotation that such activity would not be at the cost of China's sovereignty or national interests. This matrix laid out the approaches that would be undertaken in the areas of culture, ideology and also morals. Xi also

detailed China's economic accomplishments in the last five years, including the lifting of 60 million people out of poverty, improving living standards, education, enhancing law, order and national security. Some commentators have also noted that the degree of acceptance of Xi's ideas was reflected through the prolonged applause that followed when Xi touched on issues like bringing real estate speculation under control and reducing levels of poverty in both urban and rural areas. Mr Xi's deep and humble bow to delegates at the conclusion of his address was also met with genuine warmth and approval. At the Congress, Xi has also been able to raise his status and cement his standing within the Chinese political historical matrix through the unveiling of his much lauded "Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese characteristics for a New Era". Observers have noted that this step has elevated his stature nearer to Chairman Mao Zedong- the founding father of the People's Republic of China in 1949. It may be noted here that no other Chinese leader has had an eponymous ideology included in the Final Document while in Office other than Chairman Mao. The Communist Party gave Xi the title of "core" leader a year ago, thereby strengthening his position ahead of the Congress. Party Officials have now hailed him as a wise and great "lingxiu" or "a revered leader" – a title that was bestowed only on Chairman Mao and his short-lived successor Hua Guofeng. This has been another sign that Xi who came to power in 2012 has now accumulated more respect than his immediate predecessors- Hu Jintao and Jiang Zemin.

"Xi Jinping Thought" has 14 main principles which not only emphasize Communist ideals but also:

- ◆ Calls for "complete and deep reform" and "new developing ideas",
- ◆ Promises "harmonious living between man and nature",
- ◆ Emphasizes "absolute authority of the Party over the People's Army" and
- ◆ Reiterates the importance of "one country two systems" and reunification with the motherland". This last factor deals with the question of development of cross-strait ties under the "One China Principle" related to Taiwan and implementing the policy of "one country- two systems" with regard to Hong Kong and Macau.

Former Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd has correctly noted that this latest Congress will help China in building a different kind of economy of innovation, moving up the value chain and using new kinds of technologies. One needs to remember that after assuming power in 2012, President Xi faced some serious problems- the stock market crash and run on China's currency in late 2015 and early 2016. He has been able to overcome these difficulties. By combating corruption the Party has also increased public trust and restored greater confidence on the Party leadership. Business ethics which measure up to international standards have similarly played an important role. This aspect has been particularly important in view of China's initiative to implement the 'One Belt One Road' initiative. It would also be pertinent to point out that Xi through the Congress has been able to reiterate the Chinese national priorities within the geo-strategic paradigm. His comment- "China will never pursue development at the expense of others' interests, but nor will China ever give up its legitimate rights and interests," has through one sentence raised his international profile within the current evolving turbulence that characterizes international relations. The crunch moment came at the end of the Congress, when the Politburo Standing Committee, led by Xi, strode out onto the stage of the Great Hall of the People in a carefully choreographed performance of political pomp. That was a lesson for many outside the Great Hall.

Bangladesh, a friend and strategic partner of China definitely needs China's support in resolving the after-effects of socio-economic and humanitarian problems created through the massive influx of Rohingya refugees into Bangladesh from Myanmar. Such criminal ethnic cleansing has to stop. It is not only affecting the security of Bangladesh but is also creating instability and an osmotic effect that might encourage terrorism among the vulnerable masses in this sub-region- something which no one can really desire.

Muhammad Zamir is a former Ambassador and Chief Information Commissioner of the Information Commission, is an analyst specialized in foreign affairs, right to information and good governance.

China's Belt and Road Initiative: Its significance for Bangladesh

Muhammad Azizul Haque



The multi-billion dollar Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), also known as OBOR (One Belt, One Road), is the most ambitious economic and foreign policy projects yet undertaken by China. OBOR comprises the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, which are

basically mega-connectivity projects that would connect some 65 countries and regions in Asia, Europe and Africa, inhabited by around 4.4 billion people with a combined GDP of \$23 trillion (29% of the world's total GDP) through a massive program of infrastructure building embodying a modern network of highways, high-speed rail links, sea ports, airports, power grids, pipelines, digital connectivity, primarily linking the three continents. The Belt and Road are President Xi Jinping's pet projects. He launched those primarily to deepen reform and further open up China to the rest of the world.

BRI represents China's vision for itself and the rest of the world for the new century. The initiative symbolizes China's vision for global peace and development through establishment of intensive physical and other forms of connectivity as well as cooperative ties between China and the countries across Eurasia, Africa and beyond. China, which is currently the second largest economy of the world, is on its way to become its largest. As a major power of the 21st century, China is fast moving towards the centre stage of the world. Mr. Xi has a dream of rejuvenating the great Chinese nation and becoming a strong and prosperous country by 2050. However, the Chinese dream can be materialised only in cooperation with other countries; and establishing connectivity is a prerequisite for such co-operation.

The New Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) will especially connect China's central and western regions to the huge markets of Eurasia and Africa; and help close the prosperity gap between the eastern and the land-locked west-

ern and central regions of China, while the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road will further boost the economic prosperity in the eastern and coastal regions of the country. OBOR would immensely promote trade and economic relations, and cooperation between the countries across the continents and thereby facilitate economic integration and people-to-people interaction between them. The new overland silk routes (SREB) that would run through the Central and West Asian countries and connect China to the Middle East, Europe and Africa, would be a strategic alternative to the Maritime Silk Road. China would not, therefore, need to rely fully on the sea lanes for its crucially needed fossil fuel supplies from the Middle East. In the two-day Silk Road summit, held in Beijing on May 14th and 15th (2017), the participants endorsed the Chinese initiative and evinced interest to remain engaged with China on these transcontinental projects out of a common aspiration for the continuance of an economically liberal and integrated world. At the summit, Mr. Xi pledged \$124 billion towards the implementation of OBOR. Moreover, AIIB and the Silk Road Fund will also extend loans to the OBOR countries to implement the signature projects of President Xi. At the summit, Mr. Xi urged the world to build an open platform of cooperation and uphold and grow an open world economy. The summit was informed that the total trade between China and other OBOR countries had already crossed the \$3 trillion mark from 2014 to 2016, and that China's investment in those countries had exceeded \$50 billion. Under the initiative, China has signed cooperation agreements with 40 of them; and had also established 56 economic cooperation zones in 20 countries, which had yielded \$1.1 billion in tax revenues and had created 180,000 jobs in those countries. While the US, under President Donald Trump, is withdrawing itself into the cocoon of protectionism, isolationism and economic nationalism, China is filling the vacuum as the new global power with a vision of a new world economic order characterised by regional and global openness and cooperation



for a win-win outcome for every country.

During her visit to China in June 2014, Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, expressed Bangladesh's support and appreciation of this great initiative dubbed by some Chinese analysts as the number one project under the heavens. And in that context, Bangladesh started working with China, India and Myanmar for early implementation of the BCIM-EC (Bangladesh, China, India and Myanmar Economic Corridor). Although India initially evinced interest in BCIM-EC, it is now showing a lack of it because of its strategic mistrust of China and its sovereignty concerns over the ongoing \$46 billion China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project (which is expected to connect Kashgar in western China with the southern Port of Gwadar in Pakistan) that runs through Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan; both deemed by India to be its territories. India has reservations also over the Maritime Silk Road as they fear it would impact India's geostrategic interest in the Indian Ocean. The adverse impact, albeit indirect, of the Rohingya question on Bangladesh-Myanmar bilateral relations also seem to be an impediment to fast implementation of BCIM-EC.

Every year Bangladesh needs to create 2.5 million jobs. Broad-based and seamless physical connectivity through OBOR, and other regional and sub-regional connectivity networks like BBIN would help Bangladesh improve her infrastructure, enhance her export, help her attract more FDI, boost her industrial development and cooperation with the countries in Asia and beyond. The massive OBOR networks, of scope hitherto unknown in human history, when completed, will also serve as a conduit for our people's interaction in diverse spheres with different cultures and civilisations. All these would help Bangladesh create job opportunities for millions of her youths and further boost her socioeconomic prosperity.

Politicians, academics, intellectuals, the media, and the people at large in Bangladesh are unanimous in their view that Bangladesh should remain firmly and unwaveringly engaged in China's endeavour for attaining worldwide connectivity and economic integration through BRI so that the immense benefits it is likely to generate do not bypass her.

Muhammad Azizul Haque is a former Ambassador and Secretary to the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

A REMINISCENCE

My Tribute to PLA on the Founding Day

Lt. General M. Mahbubur Rahman (Retd)



On first of August this year, People's Liberation Army (PLA) of China celebrated its 90th Founding Anniversary. PLA indeed has come a long way in its arduous struggle and challenging journey since it took its bloody birth in the armed uprising led by Zhou Enlai in Nanchang, the capital

city of Jiangxi province on 1st August 1927. The glorious history of PLA is a long saga of a protracted war of the Chinese Army against imperialist and reactionary forces. PLA went through a long revolutionary process. It started as Red Army, took different names at different times and situations and different theatres of operations namely New Fourth Route Army, Eighth Route Army and finally all transformed to People's Liberation Army.

This great revolutionary Army in the course of its guerilla warfare, undertook the epic Long March unprecedented in the world military history covering a distance of twenty-five thousand li i.e. 12,500 kilometers continuing for a period more than 2 years, from October 1934 to October 1936. The Red Army fought protracted guerrilla battles over a vast area about half of whole China from South to North, from East to West, from Jinggang Shan mountains to the plains of Yenan, crossing the deep primary jungles, endless marshes and swamps, narrow valleys, steep gorges and snow capped rocky mountains, fighting all through. About Long March Mao Zedong wrote a classic poem which is worth quoting.

*"The Red Army fears not the trials of the March,
Holding light ten thousand crags and torrents.
The Five Ridges wind like gentle ripples
And the majestic Wumeng roll by, globules of clay.
Warm the steep cliffs lapped by the waters of Golden Sand,
Cold the iron chains spanning the Tatu River.
Minshan's thousand li of snow joyously crossed,
The three Armies march on, each face glowing."*

This great Army was led by great commanders like Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yi, Peng Dehuai, Nie Rongzhen, Ye Jienying, Liu Bochen, Shu Xiangqian, Ho Long and many others. It fought against Japanese aggression and Chiang Kaishek's reactionary forces, came out victorious and liberated the country. Post liberation this great Army continuously pursued highest combat excellence, struggled to consolidate the country's independence and sovereignty and always remained a bulwark of national defense as an invincible fighting machine.

PLA, true to its name always maintained its basic peoples' army character. It always bore in mind what Mao Zedong taught, "army is more like a fish and people are like the water in a river." This has been the ethos of PLA and the essence of China's civil military relationship. PLA never was isolated from the broad masses and always remained deeply involved in all national developments and socio-economic activities. It played a dominant role in national reconstruction and infrastructure building and combating natural disasters, like floods, cyclones, tornadoes, draughts and earthquakes. PLA never forgot Mao Zedong's words, "without people army, people have nothing." PLA always enjoyed the utmost trust, confidence, love and respect of the people of China. It is an all pervasive force with multidimensional characters. It is a fighting force par excellence with highest combat capability and readiness. It is a productive force beyond comparison and a workforce, the colossus of which the world has not seen before.

I recall, I had the opportunity to live in a PLA unit in a garrison very near to Beijing for a month in mid 1977. It was a part of the study curriculum, during my study in Beijing Modern Languages Institute (now university). President Ziaur Rahman, the visionary leader of Bangladesh, who believed in strong Sino-Bangla relation, sent me to China to study Chinese language for my future employment as military attaché in the embassy. In my outdoor study (kai men ban xue) I was sent to a PLA unit, I lived in the military barracks along with the PLA junior commanders. There was no rank system in PLA at that time



and officers were called commanders and soldiers, the fighters. I wore their uniform, ate, worked, played and slept with them as one of them.

I was introduced to the great master military strategist of ancient China, Sun Zu's epic work, *Art of War* and was given many tactical combat lessons. I was taken to the firing range to learn the skills of shooting. I found PLA soldiers were most accurate on to their targets and never missed any shot. The PLA unit, I lived was fully self-sufficient to cater its logistic needs. It had its own uniform and shoe making factory, it had its own agricultural fields to grow grains and vegetables, own farm yards to raise cattle and get meat and dairy products. The unit was even running a medicine factory to produce medicine for local use and surplus to be sold outside.

I recall, in my language class text book there were many easy reading short stories. I read stories of Baiquan Daifu (Dr. Norman Bethune), how the Canadian doctor travelled thousands of miles from Canada to help the Red Army in its fights against Chiang Kaishek's reactionary forces, how the Canadian doctor participated in the Long March and selflessly rendered his service in treating wounded soldiers, saving their lives, many a time giving his own blood as he was of blood group 'O' positive, the blood group of universal donors. My text book also contained stories of Lei Feng, the great soldier of PLA, who dedicated his life for the service of poor people and was always available to rush in their crises and difficulties. The motto of PLA, he believed, was *wei renmin fuwu*, serve the people. Many such moving stories and their valuable lessons and my intimate stay with PLA commanders and soldiers enriched and helped me to know and understand them very closely. They all left a deep impression and influenced me in my life and I still treasure them, dearly cherish them.

I went to China for study at a very significant period of her history. It was a time when the conspiring clique, the Gang of Four (Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen, Yao Wenyuan) had the total fall and the so called Great Cultural Revolution which caused untold sufferings to the people and the masses and brought chaos and disorder in the society had met its ultimate demise. I saw the grand jubilation of Chinese people. I saw their joys, happiness and ecstasies which were so spontaneous. I observed a deluge of flowing masses in the streets. Everybody, men, women

and children, old and young was thronging in the streets, carrying big character written large banners, beating drums, blowing trumpets, ringing bells and giving full throated slogans. I never saw such a scene of human outbursts of emotions in my life. I along with all the students, teachers and staff of the Language Institute most joyfully joined the celebration. I carried a big bell made of bronze in my hand which I was ringing all the time. As we walked past the streets and reached Tiananmen Square where already a million strong crowd assembled. For several days the jubilation continued and I participated in most of the rallies shouting slogans, *dadao si ren bang* (down with Gang of Four), *dadao wen hua da geming* (down with cultural revolution).

Now as I reminisce my good old days in China in my leisure hours at my home in Dhaka, strange spells of emotions do strike me. It makes me immensely proud. China, I always considered my second home, I lived there in the 1970s and 1980s for more than half a decade. About 40 years ago when I lived in China, she made a tiny footprint in global economy and political and military power. Today as I see China, I am totally amazed. What a wonder China has done! China today has emerged as a most vibrant and strong nation already occupying the center stage of world economy and power. China's phenomenal rise within shortest possible time (only four decades or so) is a miracle story. And miracle is a myth. It never happens. But miracles did happen in China. It happened because of country's correct leadership, pragmatic policies, national unity and solidarity, peace and harmony. The unifying factor and the stabilizing core element has been always PLA, the liberator, the redeemer, the most patriotic, dedicated, loyal and trusted.

I recall, I was invited to China by PLA in 1996 when I was the Chief of Army staff. General Fu Quanyou, was the PLA Chief, and General Chi Haotian the Defense Minister. I knew both of them personally very well. I was looking forward to meeting them very earnestly.

Bangladesh Armed Forces received almost their entire military hardware from PLA. Our Armed Forces were built from the scratches by PLA's support and assistance. I, as the first military attaché to China in the 1980s, am a witness, how PLA most generously supported to raise our Army, Navy and Air Force and strengthened our defense capability as we possess today. The services that PLA rendered in equipping, arming and training of our total



armed forces are immeasurable. That indeed is a yeoman's service. During my meetings with PLA Chief and the Defense Minister, I was loud in expressing my thanks and gratitude for the support they generously rendered and I sought their unabated continuity. During that visit I also had the honored privilege to meet His Excellency Jiang Zemin, the Hon'ble President of China and Chairman of the Central Military Commission, the highest military organ of the country. Our Ambassador to China Late Mustafizur Rahman and Defense Attache Brigadier General Shahidul Anam (now Associate Editor of the Daily Star) were present. I recall, President Jiang said, "China has changed a lot. It is not the same China which you saw when you lived here in the 1970s and 1980s. It is a changed China, developed China and it is a new generation, a new leadership. The world is changing. I heard Dhaka skyline has also changed. But in all these changes one thing has not changed and it will never change and that is our relationship with Bangladesh, our policy for Bangladesh." He continued, "I assure you General, China is your friend and will ever remain a friend. Whatever may

be the situation and time, she will be always beside you. The relationship between China and Bangladesh is a relationship only of friendship, friendship and friendship and nothing but friendship." His words still ring in my ear. I treasure them. I believe this epitomizes our two militaries and two countries true relationship.

As I conclude, I would like to mention Bangladesh Armed Forces with the cooperation and support of PLA is a combat efficient modern Armed Forces today. This year two submarines supplied by PLA have joined our fleet for the first time, making Bangladesh Navy a three dimensional Navy. We are happy with the excellent Sino Bangla cooperation in all arenas including defence. I would also like to recall here the most memorable visit of President Xi Jinping last year to Bangladesh. He assured all cooperations and supports for peace, progress and prosperity of Bangladesh to make her the economic hub of the region.

Lt. General M. Mahbubur Rahman (Retd) is a former Chief of Staff, Bangladesh Army.



The Chinese Voyage- A Bangladeshi Observation

Imran Choudhury



China is expanding. She is expanding her periphery so fast, that many of us even failed to follow the speed of new Chinese voyage- a voyage that will usher a new era not only for China itself, but also many other nations, who are eager to witness the goose bumps of the next era by Chinese eyes.

Bangladesh is among those nations.

Since the inception of diplomatic relation back in 1975, these two countries have witness steady growth on almost every aspect of mutual co-operation. These days, the Sino-Bengal friendship has been uplifted to strategic partnership, which itself is signatory, implying the mode of relationship between Bangladesh and China. In my humble opinion, the kind of strategic contiguity that Bangladesh and China shares in a natural course, is a rare form in its kind.

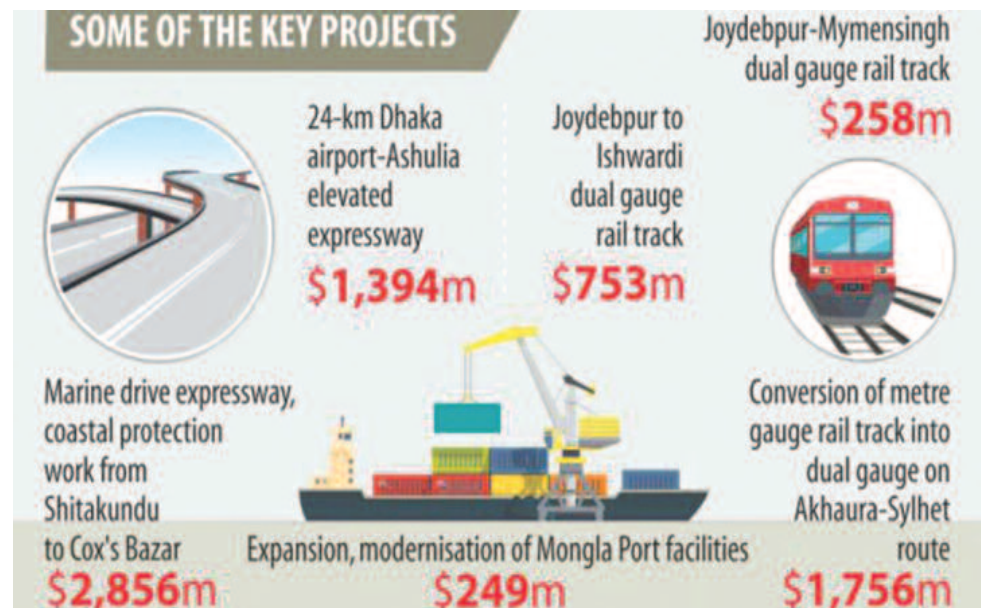
In recent years, almost every mega and important infrastructural projects in Bangladesh, has been implementing with the financial and technical support of China. And this is not a disjunctive situation at all. From Saudi Arabia to USA, and from Mexico to Namibia, China has been engaged in economic and infrastructural endeavor extensively. For me, this is a Chinese voyage, which griffins a reorganization of the world order. You can only compare this with similar US voyage in post-second world war era.

As I said before, Bangladeshi is already onboard with China's voyage. Almost every mega infrastructure projects has been

undergoing through Chinese assistance in various levels. Among them, Marin Drive Expressway from Sitakunda to Cox's Bazar, expansion and modernization of Mongla sea port, Dhaka Airport-Ashulia elevated expressway, Jaydebpor to Ishwardi and Joydebpor to Mymensingh dual gauge railway track, conversion of meter gauge railway track in dual gauge from Akhauara to Sylhet are some of major projects.

In the concluding remark, I want to utter that, Bangladesh has become an important part of this above mentioned Chinese voyage. In my earlier write ups in the Rising Asia, I hinted that, Bangladesh is a 'middle kingdom' for China. Bangladesh's overall development and amelioration of the overall competency is a strategic aim for China. Bangladesh also embarked on Chinase voyage that will genesis a new era. I hope, in that China-led era, a new epoch will emerge for all developing and least developed nations in this world, and a boundless prospect shall prevail for all.

Imran Choudhury is freelance researcher, syncretic political thinker.



Bangladesh's views of China's global and regional engagements

M. Serajul Islam



The establishment of diplomatic ties in January, 1976 between Bangladesh and China have developed and established a bilateral relationship that is unique among all foreign relations that Bangladesh has with the countries in the region and the rest of the world.

Bangladesh-China relations are government to government at the apex. It is also much more and beyond the two governments. China has an excellent relations with all the political parties of Bangladesh, in particular with the two mainstream parties, the Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, BNP. At the level of the people, no country is accepted as wholeheartedly and warmly in Bangladesh as China. In fact, Bangladesh-China relations could become the model for other countries to emulate because of its quality and comprehensiveness. It springs from the basic tenet of Bangladesh's foreign policy which is friendship for all and malice towards none, a tenet that is also present in the way China conducts its foreign policy.

Bangladesh-China relations were established when China was a far cry from where it is today. Mao Zedong was still in control and China was firmly in the hands of the Chinese Communist Party that were following only one path to socio-economic development, namely the communist path. The emergence of Deng Xiaoping as the leader of China and his dictum of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" transformed China from a developing country to what it is now, world's number 2 economy. It is now certain that the day is not far away when China would become the world's number 1 economy and overtake the United States, hitherto the world's sole Super Power.

Strategic writers in the United States and the West had not expected China to emerge as an economic power in the way it did and as quickly once under Deng Xiaoping, China had decided to open its economy. In fact, they had expected that China would fall apart during the transition of power from Deng Xiaoping to the new generation of

Chinese leaders led by Jiang Zemin. They had placed a great deal of hope upon the student uprising in Tiananmen in 1988; that it would lead to widespread movement for democracy around the country and bring political instability that would not allow China to develop economically because China's stupendous economic development was greatly helped by the fact that the Communist leaders in Beijing did not have to worry about any political opposition to their power.

Western strategists consoled themselves that China's economic rise was expected because of its sheer size but that it would never have the military power to emerge as equal to the United States. That pessimism is beginning to change as China is expanding its defense capabilities with an eye to dominate world politics. Still, the United States has a head start on China, particularly on the nuclear warheads where the USA has 7200 compared to China's 260. Nevertheless, China's determination to become number 1 military power was obvious in the demonstration of its military power during the celebrations on October 1st this year marking the 68th year of the communist revolution. This year has also witnessed the elevation of the current leader of China Xi Jinping to the status of Mao Zedong with the acceptance of "Xi Jinping Thought" as a mainstream social philosophy.

China's great achievements in the areas of economic development and rise as a military power have been largely achieved by hard work of its leaders who have led the Chi-



Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina shakes hands with Chinese President Xi Jinping in Dhaka, Bangladesh.



nese people successfully to where it stands today in world politics by promising that all Chinese would become rich eventually; some before and others, later. Towards that objective, the leadership allowed economic freedom but restricted political freedom. However, it has been a sort of divine intervention that the Chinese did not seek because of their indifference to religion but delivered nevertheless, call it luck in you want. This luck has come with the emergence of Donald Trump as the President of the United States. His policy to make America great again (a recognition that the country was sliding) by protectionist foreign policy has been a heaven sent favour for China's hopes to become the world leader.

President Trump is at odds with most of the European leaders. On his first visit to Europe as President, he had hesitated to commit his country to Article 5 of the NATO Charter upon which Europe-US alliance has been based since it was established in 1949. He has taken the USA out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) that was negotiated under President Obama to stop China's economic expansion in the Pacific and Southeast Asia. Thus in the name of making America great again, President Trump is taking his country out of the old alliances or making those connections weak, opening the door for China encouraging the European leaders to strengthen their country's relations with China.

And China has embarked with its own global imitative, the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) as well as the One Belt One Road Initiative (OBOR). The OBOR initiative now includes 65 countries and 70% of the world population. Bangladesh has joined OBOR in recognition of China's potential to lead the world. In addition, China, with Russia, India, Brazil and South Africa formed the BRICS association in 2009 covertly to challenge the dominance of the West on the world economic order that Bangladesh has wholeheartedly supported and welcomed. Thus China is already a major player in both the world economic and political orders and on course to challenge the United States that is world's number one military power.

Bangladesh has maintained excellent relations with China throughout its emergence from a developing country during the change of leadership of Mao to Deng to the present status where it is destined to overtake the United States overall, eventually. Today, China is Bangladesh's largest economic and trading partner involved deeply in

the economic infrastructural projects. China supplies to Bangladesh almost 80% of its defense requirements. In recent times, it has upgraded that partnership with purchase of submarines. In Bangladesh's highly politicized and partisan political environment, China is the only country that has support among all the political parties, particularly the two mainstream parties that both proudly claim equal closeness to the Chinese Government and its more powerful communist party. China is a country that every Bangladeshi proudly claims to be a friend of their country, a bipartisan liking that other countries do not enjoy among the Bangladeshis.

China's role in South Asia has endeared it to all other countries in the region except India with which it has deep-rooted border problems. They fought a war in 1962 over it. Bangladesh excellent relations with China is thus also based on its positive role in South Asia. In that spirit, Bangladesh hopes that China would play the same positive regional role to resolve the Rohingya problem that has brought a million refugees to Bangladesh and with it the prospect of attracting international terrorists to the country and the region.

China has closeness with Myanmar that is well acknowledged. Bangladesh hopes that China would use that closeness with Myanmar to help Bangladesh resolve a dangerous crisis for, among other things, a right cause and Bangladesh's unflinching friendship as a trusted friend throughout its journey from a developing country to become, as it is today, the most successful and powerful nation on earth.

During President Xi Jinping's visit to Bangladesh in October 2016, Bangladesh and China had signed 27 agreements worth US\$ 24.45 billion that had re-stressed the high quality of Bangladesh-China bilateral relations. In acknowledgement of that, this year has been named as the "Year of Exchange and Friendship." Therefore, the people of Bangladesh are eagerly expecting that on the Rohingya humanitarian crisis, China would stand with Bangladesh so that the conditions are created to pave the way for the Rohingya refugees to return home and the highest standard of Bangladesh-China bilateral relations would continue to grow to newer heights.

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The Role of China in Helping Bangladesh and Myanmar Forge Better Bilateral Relations

Major General (Retd) Anup Kumar Chakma, ndc, psc



It is unfortunate that bilateral relations between Bangladesh and Myanmar are being affected by irritants like the issue, caused by the mass exodus of the people, who identify themselves as Rohingyas, from the Rakhine State to Bangladesh. However, it is

now time that both these countries realize the need to remove this very irritant and create conditions to live and let live peacefully and in harmony. Bangladesh does believe in its foreign policy principle - **“Friendship to all and malice to none”** - based on which it wants to resolve this lingering crisis. It also looks forward to the support and co-operation of a powerful country like China, a friend of both Bangladesh and Myanmar, to play its constructive role in this regard. To understand why China can play such a role, one may understand China’s relations with both Bangladesh and Myanmar.

Bangladesh-China Relations

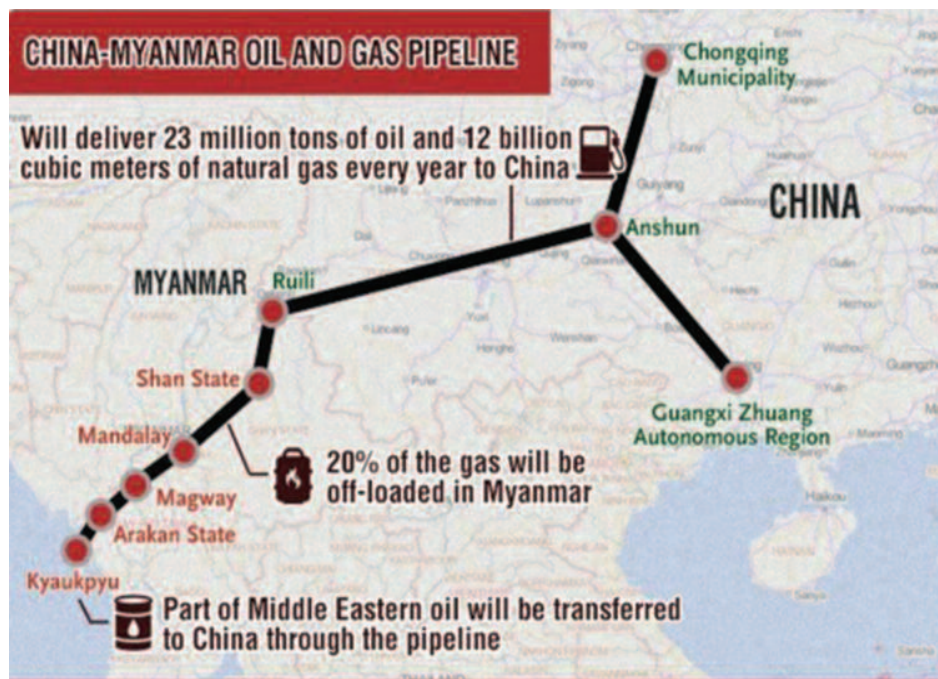
It is encouraging to see the bilateral relations between Bangladesh and China growing stronger and stronger as their relations date back to their century-old-shared history and culture with each other. It may also be attributed to the importance being given by both the countries on the economic as well as geopolitical advantages that they offer to

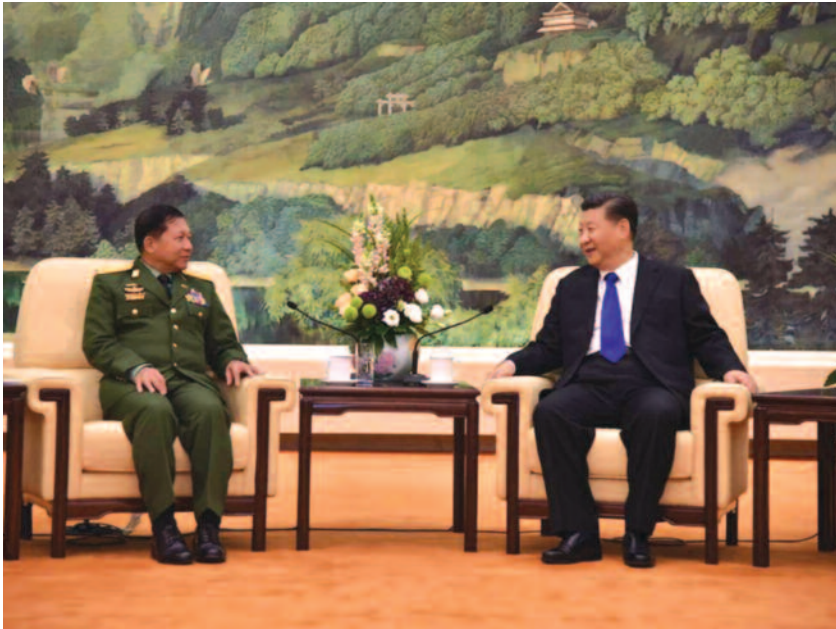
each other. One can have a fair idea about Bangladesh’s growing economic relations with China from a recent report, published in **The Daily Star** on November 15, 2017 (**China-funded Projects: Dhaka seeks to speed up deals**). It is also because of the fact that China rightly recognizes the importance of Bangladesh’s geostrategic location in its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to connect countries in Asia, Europe and Africa.

Myanmar-China Relations

China’s relations with Myanmar have grown stronger especially after it was subjected to sanctions by the US and its allies in the 1990s. Its foothold in Myanmar is now very well-established, and it is evident from few of the following Chinese ventures in Myanmar:

a. **Shwe Gas Field/Chinese Gas Pipeline:** Shwe Gas Field was discovered off the coast of Myanmar in 2004.





Myanmar Military Chief Snr-Gen Min Aung Hlaing and Chinese President Xi Jinping meet in Beijing on Nov 24. (Photo: Snr-Gen. Min Aung Hlaing / Facebook)

In 2008, China secured the rights to explore natural gas from this gas field. Its two 1,200 km overland gas pipelines from Rakhine State to the Yunnan Province of China are now operational carrying more than 12 billion cubic meters of natural gas per year to China.

b. Chinese Oil Pipeline: Its oil pipeline, completed in August 2014, now allows China to have an easier access to oil from the Middle East and Africa. What is important for China is that it no longer has to worry about its 'Malacca dilemma' involving the route of its oil imports through the straits of Malacca/South China Sea.

c. Kyaukphyu Special Economic Zone (SEZ)/Deep Sea Port: China is also investing about US\$ 10 billion into the Kyaukphyu Special Economic Zone, the implementation of which has started from December 2015. It includes a deep-sea port and an industrial park around the city of Kyaukphyu in Rakhine State.

d. Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): At the same time, it aims at developing new routes and trading networks from China to the European, African and Asian continents by using Myanmar's favourable geostrategic location, which it has termed as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

Myanmar-China-Bangladesh Relations

There is no denying the fact that the crisis involving the displaced Myanmar nationals from Myanmar to Bangladesh has now turned out to be a thorn in the flesh for bilateral relations of Myanmar and Bangladesh and the desired success of the great ventures of China in Rakhine State as well as for its far-reaching geostrategic goals like BRI.

It is also to be noted that China's interests and ventures in both Bangladesh and Myanmar surely allows China to play its influencing role in helping these two contiguous countries forge stronger bilateral relations. It may only happen if the Rakhine State of Myanmar remains stable in all respects allowing all its people including the displaced ones to live with honour and dignity. And such stability can

only come about if all the displaced Myanmar nationals, who are now having to live in camps in Bangladesh, quickly return to their respective places and start to live there as the citizens of Myanmar.

A Dream, which All should Dream Together

Stability in Rakhine State will also help pave the way for realizing the dream of having yet another corridor through Rakhine State in addition to the planned Bangladesh, China, India, Myanmar (BCIM) economic corridor through Manipur State for connecting the countries of the South Asia and the ASEAN as well as China. It is a dream, if it comes true, will also help resolve the on-going Rohingya crisis and positively contribute towards the success of all the ventures of China, India and the others in Rakhine State.

It is a dream, which should not be nourished by Bangladesh only but by all the countries concerned. In this regard, all may note what John Lennon has said, "A dream one dreams alone is a dream but a dream all dream together is a reality" or words to that effect.

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THE RISE OF CHINA

The Rise of China and the Lessons to be Learnt

Professor Dr. M. Shamsheer Ali



The rise of China is a phenomenon almost unprecedented in human history. Those who have read the book 'The Good Earth' by Pearl S Buck and those who have gone through the earlier accounts of Chinese men and women will immediately come to the conclusion that the

China of today has been a radical transformation of the China of the last century. In this connection, I feel tempted to quote a statement of Rabindranath Tagore which he made on his way to Japan a long time ago when China was far from being in lime light. Tagore witnessed the energy, skill and delight of the Chinese labour of the port of Hong Kong. In his own words:

“এই এত কালের একটা শক্তি যখন আপনার আধুনিক কালের বাহনকে পাবে, অর্থাৎ যখন বিজ্ঞান তার আয়ত্ত্ব হবে, তখন পৃথিবীতে তাকে বাধা দিতে পারে এমন কোন শক্তি আছে? এখন যে সব জাতি পৃথিবীর সম্পদ ভোগ করছে তারা

চীনের সেই অভ্যুত্থানকে ভয় করে, সেই দিনকে তারা ঠেকিয়ে রাখতে চায়।”

The English rendering of this is: “When a force existing for so long will get a modern vehicle for development, that is when she will acquire mastery in science there would hardly be any nation which could prevent her from becoming a great power. The nations which are enjoying the resources of the earth are afraid of the reawakening of China and wants to check it”.

In the above words, Rabindranath made a prediction in the role of a 'seer'. The prediction came true. China today is a great power. Apart from its military power (being a member of the nine-member Nuclear Club having nuclear weapons) China has emerged as a dominant economic force to be reckoned with by the other powers of the world. The rapidity with which China has made a great breakthrough in science, technology, education, economic and military strength is simply stupendous. But this was indeed a beginning when the Chinese leaders and policy makers made a thorough analysis of all their systems. Talk-



ing of the Cultural Revolution, I met in the late 1980's Dr. Li Chun, the then Vice Chancellor of the Beijing University. He started narrating his experiences to me and said 'During the cultural revolution I played the role of a cooker'. I then asked him with a sense of humour: 'How can a human being be a cooker?' He immediately replied with a smile, 'no no I was actually a cook'. I do not want to go into the merits and demerits of the Cultural Revolution but simply want to emphasise that the spirit of reawakening and catching up with the rest of the world had a great leap forward from that period onwards. When I first visited China in the late 1980's, I found the Chinese still wearing Mao coats and riding mostly on bicycles. Only in a few years time the situation changed dramatically. People started becoming more technically oriented and adopting newer life styles. A fact that needs to be mentioned is that for a large number of years China discouraged the general admission of students in Universities. The philosophy of doing this was to make China strong by diverting the students to different trade courses in which they were given extensive training in different trade courses. The students having passed the trade courses tended to become self sufficient economically and started building up backyard type small factories where all the family members used to work as a productive force. Unemployment was thus greatly reduced and people were turned into productive force. This does not mean that the Chinese overlooked the needs and functioning of advanced laboratories dealing with the researches on energy and power, communication and information technology, journey into space and basic fundamental research etc. The basic idea was not to generate educated unemployed persons, a phenomenon which is taking place in many developing countries including ours.

The GDP of the Chinese started mounting year by year. In this connection, I feel tempted to narrate an experience during my participation at the Pugwash Conference on Science and World affairs held at Beijing in 1991. Incidentally, the Pugwash Conference (named after the fishing village Pugwash in Nova Scotia, Canada) is held annually on the lines of the manifesto signed in 1955 by Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein for preventing the future use of nuclear weapons keeping in view the dire consequences witnessed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. This conference had made substantial contribution

to SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) and NPT (Non Proliferation Treaty) amongst others in the UN family because of the high level of deliberations by top quality scientists who matter. The Beijing Conference was attended by Mr. Robert McNamara the one time President of World Bank. While we were having a lunch at Beijing one day, McNamara told us an interesting story. He said 'This is not my first visit to China, I have come here before. But my first visit has been really memorable in my life'. I requested him to explain why this was memorable? He went on to say "On my first visit I made an appointment to meet the Chinese President. When I met him he greeted me warmly and enquired if the hospitality extended to him was adequate. Then I said I had come with a good financial package to help you in the developments projects of your country". Before McNamara could say anything further, the President said 'good, can I talk to you for just a minute and you can then talk for half an hour'. McNamara was highly honored to hear that the Chinese President would listen to him for half an hour. So he was eager to hear what the Chinese President had to say within one minute. Then McNamara disclosed what substance that minute contained. The Chinese President had said to him 'it is nice that you have come with a good financial package for our development. I thank you for the same. You know that we want to achieve a GDP of more than 10%. So, we need your help. But remember that this help should be extended to us absolutely on our own Terms and Conditions. If you accept these, then we will take as much as you can offer. If you do not accept, then we will not take a single pence. But remember that in that case there will be no change in the warm hospitality that we are extending to you. Now I am prepared to listen to you for half an hour'. By that time a beautiful Chinese girl appeared and served tea. McNamara said that he had practically nothing to say after what he had heard from the Chinese President. He had to agree to accept the terms and conditions of the Chinese President. The meeting was short, but its effect was prolonged.

I narrated the above story only to emphasise that if many of the statesmen of the developing countries showed the courage and determination shown by the Chinese President, the conditions of their countries could change drastically. Now how could the Chinese President muster the strength that he had. The strength came from the trust and confidence, the huge population of China put on



their Head of State. Elections are held in developing countries and the Heads of States should respect the trust and confidence their people put on them and deliver goods accordingly.

The Chinese transition to the phenomena of gradually 'Opening Up' and the capture of the world market has greatly attracted the attention of both politicians and policy makers. The market economy of China deserves special attention. Today, there is hardly any technology that the Chinese have not cared to master and put in practical applications. Initially, in many areas they followed the principle of adaptive technology and gradually started unveiling the black box of technology with such a pace and dexterity that today almost in every aspect of information and communication technology, many of the appliances are found to be made in China. Even in US and European markets, China-made products and processes have found their way in a very natural way. One praiseworthy feature of Chinese product manufacturing is that the Chinese businessmen and entrepreneurs have made detailed surveys of the needs and life styles of people the world over and have tried to cater to those needs at reasonably lower prices. Even if one goes to Arabian Shops during the Hajj period for shopping one finds that the caps and other products used by Muslims are made in China. The market expansions have been so rapid and extensive that

the balance of payment of China with other countries including USA remains a huge one. This, in turn, has produced quite a concern which has assumed a political shape, for no fault of China.

China has already started responding to the logic of environment and the pressure of worldwide public concern. Needless to say that the Chinese now have a leader who is brave enough to play his country's important roles in all the major national and international issues.

The quality of Chinese educational systems has been commendable. Since good old times, there were strong educational intuitions in China which produced many remarkable scientists and technologists who later were awarded Nobel prizes. Special mention should be made of the Tsinghua University of Beijing where I had the occasion to give a scientific talk. Many Chinese of International repute including Nobel Lauriats had their graduate education there. The collaboration of China in the areas of education in general and science and technology in particular deserves special mention. In Bangladesh, China has already made an MOU with a number of institutions especially in the areas of Textile Technology. The agreements of Wuhan Textile University and Zhejiang Gongshang University with Southeast University have yielded mutual benefits for both China and Bangladesh. The Chi-



nese are trying to overcome their deficiencies in English and Southeast University has responded to the imparting of knowledge of English to Chinese Students in different areas. The Bangladesh Academy of Sciences (BAS) has made an MOU with the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) for exchange of visits and joint research of scientist in selected areas, in line with MOU's made with other countries including India. The list of such collaborations would be a long one.

One special future of the state of art of Science and Technology in China is that the Chinese people have been living with advanced technologies and traditional technologies at the same time. In the field of health and medicine this practice became evident till some time ago with the existence of modern medical practitioners as well as the bare foot doctors. The Chinese practice of using Herbal Medicine as well as Acupuncture has become familiar beyond the borders of China. Incidentally, the Chinese students along with other Asians form a significant part of the R&D work in the scientific arena of USA and other advanced countries.

The international collaboration of China in different fields including science and technology has been commendable. I recall a meeting of TWAS (The World Academy of Science, for the advancement of science in developing countries founded by Nobel Lauriat late Abdus Salam) that was held at Beijing, China some years back. In that meeting the President of Chinese Academy of Science announced the launching of a manned space shuttle. The Chinese Government also generously announced the donation of a million dollar for the research activity of TWAS. Those of us who were present at the meeting as Fellows of TWAS felt extremely excited at this event.

The Chinese policy of extending help and cooperation in the development projects of third world countries has been of considerable importance. As far as Bangladesh is considered, the spirit of cooperation with China has a great historical root starting with the Silk Road trade in the subcontinent. The Chinese involvement in our development projects in construction work including roads and highways, bridges, power stations, metro rail and agricultural tools and techniques etc. can hardly be over emphasized.

The Chinese spirit of development and sharing it with all people of the land can become a lesson for many na-

tions. Incidentally the growth rate of economy of many nations should not necessarily be equated with the development being shared by all their citizens. There are still some countries where inspite of the growth of technology and the increase in the economic growth rate, poverty still reigns. The reason is obvious: the fruits of technology and the growth of resources are concentrated in a few hands.

The Chinese attitude of making people self dependent coincides with the spirit of the Holy Prophet of Islam (PBUH) who is said to have asked a poor man to sell his small belongings and buy an axe to cut wood, sell it in the market and be self sufficient. The axe in this case is the 'technology' that the poor man had to depend on for a dignified living with his own efforts. We need transfers of many kinds of productive technologies from our international friends keeping in mind the proverb which says: 'if you want a fish to be fed to a poor man for only a day, buy him a fish for that day but if you want him to eat fish every day, teach him how to catch fish'. We don't need materials as such but we need at least some parts of the science and art of producing necessary materials in the spirit of the proverb. This would also put our friends to a test of real friendship.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that many countries of the world can learn lessons from the rise of China. The hard and dedicated work of the Chinese in almost every field of human endeavor, the spirit of the Chinese people for sharing resources with all people in their country and the technical co-operation China is providing to many developing countries can become lessons for many nations. On the other hand, China which has appeared as a global power may also learn to be more liberal and increase its concerns and actions for human rights for all people on the earth and for arresting global environmental degradation. Also, China is expected to strengthen its resolve to mediate disputes between countries which are friendly to China but have irritating problems between themselves.

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Geo-economics and Security Implications for Bangladesh

Dr. Salehuddin Ahmed



1. Introduction

The concept of national security was mostly developed in the US after World War II. The initial focus on military might now encompasses a broad range of issues like economic security, energy security, environment security and non-traditional security concerns.

After the end of the cold war, the attitude shifted profoundly and economic security has assumed a central rule.

Economic interdependencies among countries are woven by geo-economics. Driven by the spirit of sovereignty, each country also has security imperatives within a rapidly changing geopolitics. National security deals with survival of the state through the use of political power, economic power, diplomacy, international trade and business. This lecture will deal mainly with geo-economics and economic security with special reference to Bangladesh.

Geo-economics aspects are driven by individual investors and firms seeking benefits from globalization, regional integration and international business. Since the end of the cold war, market economy like Bangladesh is characterized by international trade, multilateral agreements, multinational corporations, the choices of the governments, stakeholders, consumers, for the essence of economic security. It is argued that lacking economic security or a viable market based economy, the USSR, Yugoslavia disintegrated.

2. Security Implications of a Country

As we have already pointed out that the besides military security involving geographical aspects national security implies the following aspects as well:

- a) Public Safety
- b) Energy Security

- c) Food Security
- d) Water Security
- e) Environmental Security
- f) Cultural Security

Besides above, experts also argue that non-traditional security concerns should also be considered for an emerging country like Bangladesh. Though the concept of non-traditional security is not well defined, we can indentify few elements of it like:

- a) Nuclear Security
- b) Terrorism (within country and cross-border)
- c) Cyber Attacks
- d) Mergers, Takeovers, Acquisitions of domestic companies and businesses by multinational corporations (MNCs)

3. Economic Cooperation and National Security

Bangladesh has a unique geopolitical situation in South Asia; its economy is greatly influential by two big economic powers China and India. While a vast amount of trade is with India and China, the global partners in Europe and USA also influence Bangladesh major exports the readymade garments (RMG). Besides these camps, Bangladesh has also connection with Arab and Middle East countries for its manpower export. Bangladesh ranks 9th amongst top ten remittance recipient developing countries (US \$8.9 billion in 2008), India ranks the top (US \$30 billion) and China the second highest recipient (US \$27 billion). However from 2010 Bangladesh is facing reduced overseas employment and reduces remittances inflow. There are reasons to worry.

Global and regional cooperation and economic integration are dependent on the following realities of Bangladesh:

- a) Location, relative situation and boundary,
- b) Size of the country: 144 thousand sq. km



- c) Form and Physical feature
- d) Climate and Environment
- e) Natural and other resources
- f) Population Characteristics
- g) Economic resources (human, infrastructures etc)
- h) Politics, Education, Values and Cultures.

South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) has been formed to foster economic cooperation amongst 08 South Asian countries. However, this network has not emerged as another body like ASEAN emerged as a strong network based institution. Bangladesh-India connectivity has the potential to forge linkage with Myanmar and China. The Economic Corridor (BCIM) consisting of Bangladesh, China, India, and Myanmar is still in the initial stage. China and India are gradually showing interests in BIMSTEC (Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand economic cooperation). The Bay of Bengal has assumed a strategic hub connecting Indian and Pacific oceans, Japan and China. The big challenge for Bangladesh is to maximize leverage of their geo-strategic locations in the Bay of Bengal for exploring off-shore oil and gas reserves, and pursuing maritime interests. The traditional “Silk Route” from China to Mediterranean basically dealt with commodities only, while the new concept of economic corridor and integration combines commodities with energy (oil, electricity, gas) resources, the so called “Energy Route”. China is vigorously pursuing its One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative which has been endorsed by many countries including Bangladesh. The main concern here is economic benefits. Bangladesh may become vulnerable, in such scenario if security concerns are not adequately addressed, especially when the big countries like China, India and USA are showing interests in the maritime areas near Bangladesh and beyond.

4. Some Specific Issues for Bangladesh

The following issues are relevant for Bangladesh to ensure its socio-economic progress and security:

- a) Trade relations (with neighbors & beyond)
- b) Investment (FDI and FPI, Multi-bi credit)
- c) Border security

- d) Transit facilities
- e) Terrorism
- f) Water sharing
- g) Significance of the Bay of Bengal
- h) Rohingya problem.

Conclusion

In concluding remarks let me give some holistic concept of national security. Harvard Professor Charles Maier (1990) defines:

“National security... is best described as a capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its own self determination on autonomy, prosperity and well being”. Some writers view national security in a societal “systems” context. In this approach national security and national strength are viewed as two interrelated issues.

Ronis (1997) states “A part of being strong includes the strength of our nation’s infrastructure; the foundation upon which the continuation the continuous growth of our society depends. This includes its strong societal and moral codes, the rule of law, stable governmental and political institutions, schools and educational programs to ensure a knowledgeable citizenry and life-long learning.”

A serious challenge facing an emerging economy like Bangladesh is the growing concern relating to national resource constraints especially land and water which cannot be easily solved, by technological solutions and cannot be augmented by trade (Kapur & Suri, 2012). What we need is ‘true’ spirit of globalization and international cooperation, not rhetoric. The recent developments involving big countries like USA, China, Russia and India in both globally and especially in South-Asia have posed challenges for our national and foreign policies. The Rohingya problem has pointed out to a new dimension of humanitarian crisis imposed on Bangladesh which must be solved through bi-lateral and international cooperation.

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教育要面向现代化 面向世界 面向未来

普通高等学校招生统一考试华南师范大学附属中学考场

华南师范大学
附属中学

THE AFFILIATED HIGH SCHOOL OF
SOUTH CHINA NORMAL UNIVERSITY

China as a Destination for Higher Education of Bangladeshi Students

Dr. S. M. Mahfuzur Rahman



Most Bangladeshi students looking for opportunities in higher education abroad historically preferred universities of the developed west as their seats for learning and the degrees. If it was the choice in other areas, they mostly preferred Japan or Australia. But China, with over 2,000 uni-

versities and colleges and a degree system, including Bachelors, Masters and Doctoral degrees opened to foreign students, has now become a major destination for international students, including from Bangladesh. As of 2013, China is the most popular country in Asia for international students and ranks third overall among the world (Sheehy, Kelsey, *Explore the World's Top Universities*, U.S. News & World Report, October 8, 2013). China has brought up large scale of advanced talents and experts for the construction of its own economy and these experts are playing an increasingly significant role in economic growth, scientific progress and social development at home, as well as in many developing countries, includ-

ing Bangladesh.

Following 1998, the government of China undertook a program of increasing the allocation for education in the national budget by 1 percent a year for each of the next five years and the target was to raise the quality of at least 10 of its universities to "world-class". China has received education aid from UNESCO and many other international organizations and sources, including the World Bank, which loaned China \$14.7 billion for educational development.

By 2007, China has become the sixth largest country in hosting international students. The top ten countries with students studying in China include South Korea, Japan, USA, Vietnam, Thailand, Russia, India, Indonesia, France and Pakistan. In 2014, 377,054 students from 203 countries or regions have studied in all the 31 provinces in China and the figure was 5.77% over the previous year (2014 Statistics of Foreign Students in China, People's Republic of China Ministry of Education, March 08, 2015). In 2015, the number of international students in China was 397,635 (China's Rapid Rise As An Academic Destination, Student.com, September 12, 2016), of which 60% were from Asia, 18% from Europe, 11% from Africa and the number of stu-



dents coming from the USA in that year was 24,203. Recently, internationally trained scholars have entered the faculty in Chinese institutions of higher education with the goals of improving quality and strengthening ties to other institutions around the world.

Flow of students from Bangladesh to China has started increasing in recent years with a change in the policy stance of the government of China to look for a stronger presence of Bangladeshi students in their best universities to pursue education in career-oriented subjects to smartly compete in the global job market. This goes with the spirit (of China) that “We want to see more students from Bangladesh as we peruse One Belt, One Road (OBOR)” and to “give importance to Bangladeshi students considering the deep relations between Bangladesh and China” as said by the director of the International Cultural Exchange College of the Xinjiang University professor Jiao Jian in a recent interview with UNB. China is also interested to develop partnership with famous public and private universities in Bangladesh. According a report published in the *Daily Prothom Alo* of Bangladesh, the Bangladeshi students now studying in China find education system in China a more career-oriented one and also, as a system having deep engagement with practical work. They find the teachers there very close to students and consider that the instant interactions with them are very helpful.

The available information suggests that China offers plenty of options for study at all levels of higher education,

from Bachelor’s to PhD but most programs and courses are not taught in English, which is a problem for those who are not fluent in Chinese. Many Chinese universities offering higher education for foreigner are now introducing courses to run in English. It seems to be a priority for such universities in the context that the Chi-

nese government has set a target to have 500,000 foreign students by 2020. Also, scholarship for international students is an important issue. However, China’s higher education is relatively inexpensive and although the different universities vary in institution funding, the scholarship facilities are considered good enough to meet the costs of tuition, and living.



Not much information is publicly available on disciplines that are the best for Bangladeshi students to study in China. One option for the prospective students may be to look for information in this regard in the websites of the Chinese universities, which may also be helpful for them to know about the costs, medium of instruction, the faculties and research facilities, food and accommodation, funding support, and among many others, the local culture and weather.

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China-Bangladesh relationship: A way forward development perspective in the light of recent visit in China

Dr. Syed Humayun Akhter and Dr. Anwar Hossain Bhuiyan



Dr. Syed Humayun Akhter

China is a proven friend of Bangladesh. Cooperation between China and Bangladesh is growing rapidly in the recent years. During the historic visit of President Xi Jinping in Bangladesh in October 2016, a 27-point agreement was signed and in the bid of further development, the two countries announced 2017 as the 'Year of Exchange and Friendship'. Although, good relations persist in geo-political, economic and socio-cultural perspective, there is ample opportunity of increasing scientific research and cooperation for a sustainable development in Bangladesh and China. The workshop on "Sedimentological-Tectonic Evolution in the NE Indian Ocean and the Adjacent Uplands in Bangladesh, India and Myanmar" held at Qingdao, China in 30-31 October 2017 is a one-step-forward movement in this regard.

Our recent visit to Qingdao was a remarkable experience. It was a great feeling to arrive in Qingdao – a city with a very deep sense of history and modern architecture. Passing through the mountain chains had brought a feeling of entering a huge open-air museum of pre-historic events. Staying one week in the Experts' Apartment in Qingdao National Laboratory for Marine Science and Technology (QNLMT) campus had never sunk into the darkness of city-crowds. It was a one-week journey by enthusiastic participation of geoscientists, a series of scientific talks, exchange of research ideas and congenial social gathering.

The two-day international workshop organized by QNLMT mainly to (a) share knowledge about "NE Indian Ocean and its adjacent uplands in Bangladesh, India and Myanmar" – a part of the earth whose geologic evolution is still poorly known; (b) formulate mutual scientific goals and set research priorities to explore Bay of Bengal and its adjacent uplands and (c) energize a series of plans for attaining the goals.

Internationally renowned geoscientists from USA, UK, India, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Indonesia and China have participated in this workshop. Research findings presented in this workshop covers mainly (i) geological evolution of Bay of Bengal and its adjacent uplands in relation to uplift of Himalayas and Indo-Burman ranges, (ii) geodynamics of onshore Indo-Burman subduction zone and its earthquake hazards, (iii) natural resource exploration in Bay of Bengal and its adjacent areas. In and after session discussions focus on how existing data can be shared in national and regional research activities and to find new areas of data acquisition.

The organizers arranged visits to several laboratories of Marine Research Institutes including Qingdao National Laboratory for Marine Science and Technology, The First Institute of Oceanography, Qingdao Institute of Marine Geology, Institute of Oceanology, and China University of Petroleum. Most of the laboratories are equipped with high-tech infrastructures and state of the art tools and software. The institutes are also mobilizing advanced marine acquisition and submarine drilling vessels; few of these are ready for operation.

There were open discussions among the experts on research facilities, ongoing research projects and possibility of research collaborations. The outcome was very positive. The organizers and the experts all together frame out few implementable projects, which under approval will be funded by China.

Historically, China had been connected to its neighboring countries as well as to Europe, the Middle East and Africa through Silk Road. China wants to revive its connection through One Belt, One Road (OBOR) project. By developing a vast network of railway, highways, energy pipelines



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and deep-sea ports, President Xi Jinping announced his OBOR plan. Few projects have already been initiated and by taking advantage of those projects the East Asian countries are progressing rapidly towards development. By taking advantage of China's leverage given to Myanmar, Bangladesh should find ways to access the world's most dynamic economic areas, i.e. East Asia.

China has already expanded maritime cooperation with many countries in Southeast Asia and Asia Pacific region. The plan of Maritime Silk Road (MSR) coincides with Bangladesh's demarcation of maritime boundary with two of its neighbors - India and Myanmar. This gives the country immense opportunities to build Blue Economy in the world's largest bay- the Bay of Bengal. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina acknowledged the Bay of Bengal as an economic hub for sustainable development and highlighted her plans for utilizing maritime resources. The Prime Minister also called upon the regional and international communities to come forward with progressive strategies and outlook for the development of Blue Economy.

Bangladesh is committed to taking national, bilateral, regional and international projects to achieve the sustainable development goals (SDG). Due to significant poverty alleviation and life quality improvement over the last two decades, rapid urbanization and small and medium industries have been flourished in Bangladesh. To meet the demand for the growing middle-class and the infrastructure development for rapid urbanization, Bangladesh needs huge investments. China and other development partners have been investing in many infrastructure development projects and consequently, Bangladesh might gradually become dependent on import-oriented trade. Excessive trade deficits in open market system could have adverse impact on sustainable development and there is no alternative but export growth to combat this inequality. However, to survive in the highly competitive global market, a high-tech production system is crucial for Bangladesh in delivering the quality products.

To increase the supply of raw materials in the form of production and directly to the export sector, it is very important to acquire marine resources in the scarcity of land resource. Extensive scientific research and geological/geophysical exploration are essential for extracting internal resources. However, due to highly prioritized political and

commercial issues, the education and research sectors often lag behind in the development of bilateral and regional relations. It should be mentioned here that the Chinese geoscientists have shown great interest in bilateral cooperation for research and exploration in the Bay of Bengal and the surrounding areas. Bangladesh must find and prioritize the area of scientific research and increase bilateral cooperation to set mutually beneficial goals.

In the light of recent visit in China and planned development protocol in the national and regional perspective following research goals have been formulated:

1. Joint research to study the risk of earthquake hazards in Bangladesh and adjacent areas in Northeast India, Myanmar, China and Indonesia.
2. Joint project on environmental/hydrogeological research on Brahmaputra river basin and its water resource management. Study the impacts of water withdrawal from Brahmaputra river on the environment and livelihoods. Research on drinking water crisis in the coastal part of Bangladesh and encroachments of saline water towards the harvesting lands. Geophysical exploration of fresh water aquifers in the Bengal delta and Bengal shelf area.
3. Exploration of hydrocarbon, gas hydrates and mineral resources offshore Bangladesh and in the Bay of Bengal. Infrastructure development for exploration of natural resources.
4. Exchange study and training programs for research students. Conduct joint research and develop laboratories equipped with modern facilities. Regional/bilateral cooperation on scientific research, exchange visits and organize scientific workshop, seminar and symposium.

Bilateral relations between China and Bangladesh are very important in economic context for the poverty alleviation and development in Bangladesh. However, science-based research and exploration are equally important for the exploitation and supply of internal resources to make this development sustainable.

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Skills Training-What Bangladesh can learn from China?

Prof. Selina Mohsin



Although Bangladesh has made huge progress since its wrecked state at independence, including rising economic growth of over 6% and an expanding middle class, it still faces a wide range of enormous challenges – among them the pressing need to improve general education and vocational training (VET).

China already offers much for Bangladesh's development, particularly technical and financial aid for its infrastructure. Yet do we realise how much we can also benefit from studying China's skills development – a key part of its phenomenal transformation in recent decades?

Like Bangladesh, China, under the leadership of the CPC, started its virtual rebirth from the trauma and devastation of war. Despite the disparities of size and population, many of the challenges both have faced have much in common, as have the lessons that Bangladesh should learn from China's success.

Currently the work force in Bangladesh is 60 million and 2 million enter the labour market annually. Unfortunately, poor quality basic education, archaic VET training leading to mismatch between supply and demand has resulted in most young people working in the informal sector of the economy. It is vulnerable and low paid and workers barely subsist. The opportunities for skills training is limited and mainly linked to Bangladesh Technical Education Board while other training is provided by NGOs and the private sector.

The need to learn skills training lessons from China is extremely urgent for Bangladesh. Despite progress already achieved we start from a low base. Nearly 20% of our available work force has had no education and, while over 60% have had some secondary education and over 13% some at tertiary level the general quality is low and often badly suited to evolving employment demand. By contrast, in China 94.3% have secondary education and 43.4% ter-

ary. Good education is the necessary foundation for successful skills training.

China tackled this much earlier. The Vocational Education Law, providing the basic framework was passed in 1996. Bangladesh's Comprehensive National Skills Development Policy dates from only 2011. Its implementation has so far been patchy and inadequate. The Chinese system is complex, advanced and inclusive. It is recognised as a national priority. Government supported further expansion in 2005 and after the 2008 global financial crisis including 6.45 million workers re-trained for employment as the economy re-grew and evolved.

Features which Bangladesh should study include country wide certification networks and the requirement that training instructors must spend a month each year working in industry to keep up with new technology and industry's employment needs. Finance for VET is primarily the responsibility of local governments and provincial administrations. They pay the average expenses of students, companies pay for VET given to their employees and recruits and students pay tuition fees for their main subject. Donations come from public organisations and individuals. Employment agencies and labour unions are important stake holders.

Bangladesh needs to create an equally inclusive and efficient system, fitted to its own resources and needs. The first requirement must be a major rise in all education spending. Currently, at 2.1% of GDP it is low even by South Asian standards. Sharing the cost across government, business, and civil society will help. As skill levels improve so will revenues, both from remittances and from the released expansion and diversification of Bangladesh's industry and agriculture. At present the RMG and other sectors of industry are forced, amidst the waste of general under employment and low productivity to employ high levels of expatriate expertise.

The government of Bangladesh has established the National Skill Development Council (NSDC). It is preparing a road map for skills training and skills providers in at least 20 sectors along with VET Data system to introduce



pilot model institutions in 8 divisional cities. The initiative is good but slow. The main challenges will be quality skills, good education and training related to the employment and emerging market demands.

But China is way ahead. It is now making huge investments in VET. Many of these projects have partnership with institutions in other countries. For instance, Shanghai Institute of Health Science is a model for China in the health sector with innovative approaches and development.

The Tianjin Vocational and Technical College is part of a Tianjin Educational Park that includes several other universities and technical colleges. The programs of the colleges have grown as the local economy altered. Founded in 1980s, it was a joint venture between the German and Chinese governments where the Germans provided funds and technical assistance. This was to assist in developing German style Vocational Education and Training in several cities in China.

Even a brief outline of VET issues must include the challenges and opportunity of democratic change. China, Japan, Russia, USA and the EU are among major economies with now ageing populations. China has absorbed its surplus rural labour and, like others, will increasingly turn to older workers and support a rising proportion of old unable to continue work. Bangladesh, however, has a young population with a falling ratio of child dependency and low old age ratio until mid-century. This can be made a massive competitive advantage, if given effective education and VET expansion. Without them, even with economic growth it could easily become a major problem of radicalisation and political strife, born of rising aspirations combined with frustration at continued failure to find worthwhile jobs- with Madrasa pupils at particular risk.

The mid/long term aim in China is to create and stabilise new sectors, new jobs and to understand future skill needs. In China skills development is seen as essential for productive growth.

There is quite a lot of variation in the design of vocational education and training systems worldwide. Some such as Singapore and China are education based, while others, like in Switzerland are employer based. But in both systems there are certain keys to excellent VET systems. To upgrade VET systems we must:

- ▲ Design flexible programs and curricula to provide students with a broad quality education that would help them to acquire new skills as their career progresses;
- ▲ Provide scope to learn both cognitive and non-cognitive skills in actual industrial settings and on modern equipment;
- ▲ Create opportunities to move from vocational education to an academic university track and vice versa;
- ▲ Provide instructors who have latest industry experience;
- ▲ Workers to inculcate the ability for comprehensive life-long learning;
- ▲ Develop standards and qualifications that are continually adjusted to the cutting edge industries, including the changing global nature of occupations;
- ▲ Design a brand that can make VET an alternative option and a governance system that is market based.

China is aware of the changing global scenario and is adopting the above strategies to make VET world class and pilot projects are being created to suit different regions of the country by developing highly skilled workers in major industries of China.

The demographic advantage in Bangladesh cannot be relied upon to last until 2050. China, like Japan and others are increasingly turning to advanced technologies and robots which need fewer workers and will replace whole categories of manual, clerical and industrial workers, although new forms of service and other employment may at least partially make up for such losses. This phenomenon is already starting to surface in Bangladesh itself whenever new technology can out-compete low wages.

This demographic advantage is therefore an opportunity to be seized rapidly, before it adds yet another challenge to those the country already faces. It requires a major national effort which will be politically difficult. Yet, if explained to the people of Bangladesh and convincing to international partners and global investors it is achievable and would bring new sustainable impetus for Bangladesh to accelerate its rise as a middle income country.

There is no acceptable alternative.

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The Chinese Dream

Dr. Mahbub Ullah



The Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of China has been held with great success in the third week of October 2017. It is very fascinating to note that the centenary of the Soviet Revolution coincided with the holding of this congress. Mao Ze Dong said, “The salvoes of Oc-

tober Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China”. It was due to correct theoretical guidance of Mao Ze Dong and other leaders of CPC, Chinese people achieved victory in their revolution. Surprisingly, at the same time in 1921 the Communist Party of India was founded. Despite many sacrifices of the Indian revolutionaries victory remained a far cry. The problem lay in the absence of correct revolutionary theory. The Indian revolutionaries failed to ‘seek truth from facts’.

The path of revolution is not linear. It traverses a jig-jag course. The revolutionary struggle does not come to a close with seizure of power. The revolutionary struggle becomes more complex after the victory of revolution. Saving and advancing a revolution becomes more difficult and arduous after the victory of revolution. Revolutionary leadership has to continuously create and recreate strategies and tactics in the light of concrete conditions prevailing in the society. Because, society is not a static entity, it is rather dynamic.

Considering the international situation and summing up of the experience of collapsed revolution in Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, China under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping adopted the policy of opening up, reform and four great modernizations. There are different explanations for the collapse of Soviet revolution. Some people would not agree that Soviet Union was a perfect socialist state. That is why they give the nomenclature of “pre-existing socialism” or ‘degenerated Soviet state’ to Soviet Union. Whatever might have been the mistakes, there are many things to learn from the Soviet experience. After all, it was the first proletarian state under the leadership of V.I. Lenin.

In the context of obtaining reality President Xi Jinping formulated the theme of the 19th Congress of CPC as **“Remain true to our original aspiration and keep our mission firmly in mind, hold high the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, secure a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, strive for the great success of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, and work tirelessly to rejuvenate the Chinese dream of national rejuvenation.”**

In this theme there are four important concepts. These are, “socialism with Chinese characteristics”, “building a moderately prosperous society in all respects”, “new era” and “Chinese dream of national rejuvenation”. There are many roads to capitalism, as there are many roads to socialism. Naturally, China will pursue the road to socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is no fallacy. To be realistic and having harmony with the aspirations of the people and also in congruence with the stage of development of society, socialism with Chinese characteristics appears to be the correct line. Choosing the goal of a moderately prosperous society should also not be misconstrued. The struggle for socialism is indeed a struggle for overcoming poverty and misery, enhancing the standard of living for the vast majority of masses and sharing this prosperity consistent with the principle of proportion to national output. Again the call for national rejuvenation should not be confused with narrow nationalism and parochialism. China having suffered hundred years of oppression and exploitation by foreign powers can rightfully desire to be placed with dignity and honor in the comity of nations. We should not forget that it was Deng Xiaoping, who solemnly declared in the floor of the United Nations after China became a member of the United Nations that China shall never be a hegemon and if it ever becomes so it will be the duty of the peoples of the world to fight against it. Therefore, we should repose confidence in China.

Among the lofty goals of the Communist Party of China that touch the peoples of the world is **“Promoting the building of a community with a shared future for mankind”**. China does not selfishly pursue the goal of prosperity to fulfill its own interest alone. In the 19th Con-



Xi Jinping presides over the preparatory meeting for the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, capital of China, Oct. 17, 2017. (Xinhua/Lan Hongguang)

gress of CPC it has been clearly enunciated that the whole mankind should be able to derive benefit equitably from world development. Development and prosperity should not remain as a reserve of some powerful countries, which extracted the fruits of toil of the whole humanity. This had been possible due to unjust and iniquitous world system. Much of the conflicts and restlessness that characterize the current international order have been caused by denial to share humanity's fruits of endeavor. It has not been merely denial, it has been brazen deprivation and exploitation. Peoples of the world want to see an end to this injustice and lopsided development. Xi Jinping has clearly stated in his report to the 19th Congress of CPC "The dream of the Chinese people is closely connected with the dreams of the people of other countries. The Chinese dream can be realized only in a peaceful international environment and under a stable international order. We must keep in mind both our internal and international imperatives, stay on the path of peaceful development and continue to pursue a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up. We will uphold justice while pursuing shared interests, and will foster new thinking on common, comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable security. We

will pursue open, innovative, and inclusive development that benefit everyone, boost cross-cultural exchanges characterized by harmony within diversity, inclusiveness and mutual learning and cultivate ecosystem based on respect for nature and green development. China will continue its efforts to safeguard world peace, contribute to global development, and uphold international order".

So, China Dream is comprehensive, composite, and all embracing. The goal of harmony within diversity will meet the aspirations of identity seekers, yet shall not brook any scope for chauvinism, bigotry and sectarianism. Urge for building an ecology friendly world will soothe the environmentalists and people seeking a pristine swath of soil, water and atmos-

phere. The desire for peace will not only please the pacifists, it will also raise hope among those who seek life full of comfort and prosperity. Keeping the international order free from going astray due to destructive wars, civil conflicts, threat of terror and horrific climate changes will usher in a new global civilization that has hitherto seemed impossible. All these can be realized in a spirit of shared future. This future is not a future for fortunate few whose enjoyment lies in the brazen deprivation of others. Mao Ze Dong has said, "The east wind prevails over the west". Arnold Toynbee has said, "The twenty first century will be the century of Asia". Certain global power has generated many woes for the humanity in the name of a "new century", because it did not have the intent of inclusiveness. Let China through realization of its dream simultaneously raise hope for the whole of humanity. Let us not turn into pessimists by the words of the prophets of doom and critics of despair.

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Silk Road, A Promise for Prosperity

Brigadier AF Jaglul Ahmed, ndc, psc



Peter Frankopan painted in his book 'The Silk Road, A New History of the World' the construct of two millennium year-sold 'Silk Road' that connected civilizations of Asia, Europe and Africa. Trade on the 'Silk Road' was the most significant factor in the development of the civilizations of

China, the Indian subcontinent, Persia, Europe, and Arabia. It opened long-distance political and economic interactions between the civilizations. The prime purpose of the creation of 'Silk Road' was trade, and chief among the trade was silk, which became an international currency as well as a luxury product. Apart from silk, many other goods were traded too. In addition to economic trade, the 'Silk Road' served as a means of carrying out cultural trade

among the civilizations, like religions, syncretic philosophies, etc travelled along its network. From an economic perspective, the development of the 'Silk Road' stretching thousand miles was stimulated by the demand of luxury items affordable by the then Persian Empire, and China mostly providing those. Thanks to the inexplicable skill of the Sogdians, a Chinese tribe to carry these trades for thousand miles on horseback to incept the Globalization as old as two millennium years with noble purposes.

The objective of today's Globalization is also trade; the other purpose are export of universal political and economic values not as noble as the globalization of two millennium ago. It rather advances the trade in disguise of exporting values; notwithstanding its likelihood of inflicting wound on the social economic or cultural values for not only weaker sometimes even stronger countries in the network. For example, stronger economy like USA does also suffer from the ills of globalization due to the manip-



Overland on the Ancient Silk Road.



The ancient city (Date Back to 450 BC) was discovered near Wari and Bateshwar Villages, in Narsindi district, around 75km from Dhaka.

ulative corporate power and economic reorientation of other emerging economies. The good purpose of the trade as business for humanism was subdued to business for profit of a tiny class and of corporate power only. Jaffrey Sachs in his book 'The Price of Civilization' illustrated that America's current economic weaknesses have a lot to do with the poor choices that America has made in responding to globalization. He underscored that the forces of globalization were permitted, rather encouraged to widen the inequalities of wealth and income. Contrarily, globalization created two millennium year ago by the 'Silk Road' connected various empires to reap mutual benefit and advance mutual learning. The Chinese Premier Xi Jinping resonated the same in his visit to Central Asia and South East Asia in 2013 while explaining the 'One Belt One Road' initiative. He mentioned that building the 'Belt and Road' can help promote the economic prosperity of the countries along the 'Belt and Road' including regional cooperation, strengthen exchange and mutual learning between civilizations, and promote world peace and development to benefit people around the world. The current global economy is under severe challenges from the complex international and regional situations, and unequal social and manipulative economic forces.

Linkage to the two millennium years old 'Silk Road' with Bangladesh is as old as the 'Silk Road' itself. Recent research on the archaeological site of Uari Bateshwar attempts to relate to the very little known history of Uari Bateshwar and its likely connection to Gangaridhhi, one of the sixteen ancient human settlement of Indian Sub-

Continent mentioned in Bed, Upanishod, Ramayon, Mahavarat or Monjusree, the Buddhist scripture. The Louhitto settlement, which is mentioned in these epic story and scriptures, is the other name of Brammhaputro River. Uari Bateshwar was located by the side of Brammhaputro River, and many researchers assumed it to be the capital of Gangaridhhi. Discovery of two kinds of coins found in Uari Bateshwar like all other ancient sixteen settlements corroborates to this assumption. Ancient Greek and Latin literatures also narrated that Gangaridhhi was one of the stronger empires that Alexander failed to capture due to strong resistance by its huge elephant force. The discovery of different artefact in Uari Bateshwar further reinforces the assumption that this could be the capital of Gangaridhhi. The settlement Gangaridhhi was located around the ancient port of Gange by the side of Brammhaputra, wherefrom Masleen clothing used to be exported to the west. Beyond further research, it is firmly believed that Bangladesh was connected to the two millennium old 'Silk Road' historically being goods provider.

There may not be Masleen anymore but Bangladeshi RMG is globally as famous and demanding as that of Masleen of that time. The economic backbone of Bangladesh relies much on the RMG, and the internal economy of the country largely centers on this RMG too. While Bangladesh is globally connected to the international trade; a renewed version of the 'Silk Road' in the form of 'One Belt One Road' is definitely a promising opportunity to connect to the Chinese idea of universalism, a spirit of peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit. Let this opportunity bring promise of further prosperity to not only Bangladesh but all peace loving countries of the world and build a cooperative alliance. Let this 'Silk Road' be the hope for a long lasting globalization of not only narrow interest of trade of an elite class or uneven social and economic forces but for the mankind as a whole. Let the new 'Silk Road' initiative assist in the recovery of current weak and underperforming global economy, and destroy the uneven social economic forces.

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Waste Management in Bangladesh – New Opportunities for Cooperation and Collaboration

Dr. Muhammad Ashraf Ali



Bangladesh has achieved commendable success in the sanitation sector over the last decade; the prevalence of open defecation, which was as high as 34% in 1990, has been completely eliminated (Unicef and WHO, 2017). This achievement has been made possible through massive awareness

campaign and widespread use of onsite sanitation facilities such as septic tank system and pour-flush latrines. In fact, except for about 20% area of Dhaka city, the entire country is served by such onsite sanitation facilities.

While the onsite sanitation facilities have played a key role in the eliminated open defecation in Bangladesh, these have been developed without much consideration to the management of “fecal sludge” that is accumulated in these facilities. Increasing use of onsite sanitation facilities has generated a large demand for fecal sludge management (FSM) at local level to keep the toilets operational. But, in the absence of effective FSM services, the huge quanti-

ties of fecal sludge generated in septic tanks and pits (of pit/pour-flush latrines) are inaptly managed. Disposal of fecal sludge in low-lying areas and in lakes and canals within urban areas is common, leading to serious environmental degradation and posing a serious public health risk, particularly in the urban areas.

Fecal Sludge Management (FSM) refers to a systems approach that includes technologies and mechanisms for containment, emptying, collection, transportation, treatment, disposal and end-use of treatment products, as shown in Fig. 1. Without effective wastewater treatment and fecal sludge management (FSM), Bangladesh will not be able to attain the SDG Target 6.2, which calls for access to “safely managed sanitation” by all.

In line with its commitment to achieve SDGs, the Local Government Division (LGD) of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives (MLGRDC) has unveiled the “Institutional and Regulatory Framework (IRF) for FSM in Bangladesh” on November 4, 2017. The IRF has put the responsibility of fecal sludge management onto the Local Government Institutions

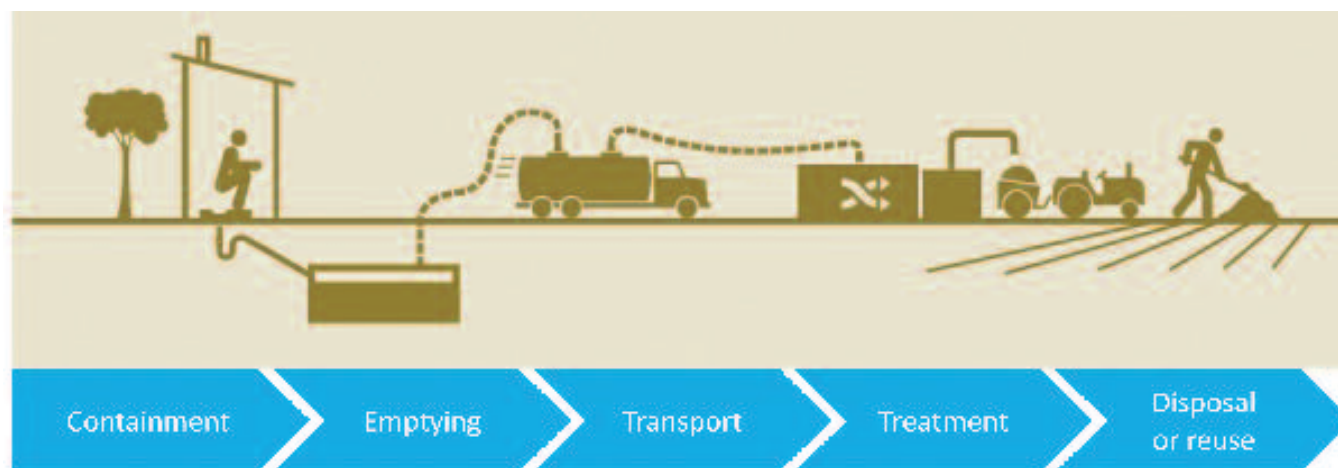


Figure 1: System element of fecal sludge management (FSM)



(LGIs) (i.e., 11 City Corporations and 326 Paurashavas). This institutional framework of the Government has opened up huge potential for development of fecal sludge management (FSM) systems throughout the urban centers in Bangladesh including construction of large number of fecal sludge treatment plants. Up to now, only a few city corporations (e.g., Khulna City Corporation) and Paurashavas (e.g., Faridpur, Laksmipur, and Jhenaidah Paurashavas) have constructed fecal sludge treatment plants and offering limited FSM services. These initiatives are being supported by the Government as well as the Development Partners, and National and International NGOs. Expansion of FSM services throughout the urban centers of Bangladesh would, however, require huge investment and technological collaboration. With huge experience in human waste management, China could be a very effective partner in the expansion of FSM services in Bangladesh.

Along with FSM services, expansion of sewerage system and sewage treatment plant (STP) in high density urban centers is also a prerequisite of effective human waste management. The Water Supply and Sewerage Authorities (WASAs) of major cities (e.g., Dhaka, Chittagong and Khulna) of Bangladesh are drawing up plans for implementation of large-scale sewerage system and municipal sewage treatment plants in their respective cities. For example, Dhaka WASA has developed a master plan that proposes construction of 12 municipal sewage treatment plants in Dhaka. The construction work of one of these plants, the Dasherbandi Sewage Treatment Plant, is currently underway; the Hydro China Corporation of China is constructing the treatment plant under an EPC contract

at a cost of over USD 280 million. Once completed, this plant with a capacity to treat 500,000 m³ of sewage per day would be one of the largest sewage treatment plants (with a capacity of 500 MLD) in Southeast Asia. Implementation of a number of other sewage treatment plants in Dhaka is in the planning; Khulna and Chittagong WASAs are also moving ahead with plans for implementation of sewerage system and sewage treatment plants. There are over 1,000 active sewage treatment plants in China, and these plants employ a wide range of technologies for sewage and sludge treatment. Bangladesh has a lot to gain from the Chinese experiences. Effective collaboration and cooperation between China and Bangladesh is therefore necessary to make swift progress in the wastewater management in Bangladesh.

Apart from human waste management, management of solid waste is also an area that presents ample opportunity for collaboration. The major cities in Bangladesh are struggling to manage their solid wastes. With increasing quantities of solid wastes generated, and with decreasing availability of land for disposal, solid waste management (SWM) is becoming a major challenge for these city authorities. Traditional land filling of solid waste is no longer considered a feasible option due to huge land requirement for this option. Major cities like Dhaka, Chittagong and Khulna are therefore looking for alternative technologies for SWM, including composting and waste-to-energy options, such as “incineration” and “biomethanation (anaerobic digestion)”. With limited exposure to these new technologies, Bangladesh would look for collaboration and assistance in these areas.

China has been a major development partner of Bangladesh. Chinese investment in industry, infrastructure and energy sector of the country is quite significant. The latest focus of Bangladesh Government in waste management opens up new opportunity for continued collaboration and cooperation between these two friendly countries.

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Building Asia's New Digital Silk Road

one Data Centre at a time



Digital Silk Road: Potential for Innovative Growth

Dr. Md. Rakibul Hoque



As the United States is gradually discarding the notions of protectionism and ultra-patriotism, China is superseding the U.S. as the new worldwide pioneer with a more extensive and a different aspect of globalization. China's endeavor to come out as a global pioneer in fulfilling the universal monetary demand for investment,

not only connects the businesses between China and other countries tightly but also results in a win-win situation for every country it is aligned with. A recent study predicts that China will overtake the U.S. as the world's largest economy by 2030. China is building a participatory arrangement for various countries across the continents through establishing the "One Belt and One Road" (OBOR) initiative. OBOR initiative aims at improving China's "connectivity" with the rest of the world by investing in substantial transportation and required physical in-

frastructure in its associate countries.

The OBOR was launched with \$40 billion in 2014 – based on the country's foreign exchange reserves – and thereby, holds plenty of financial muscle. It is a multifaceted economic, diplomatic and geopolitical undertaking with two primary parts: 1) the Silk Road Economic Belt that stretches through the Central Asia to Europe, and 2) the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, which goes through Southeast Asia, Africa, and Europe. OBOR, as anticipated, will let China gain secure as well as constant access to economies along with the establishment of new business relationships with Chinese companies. Following the investment-led development models, OBOR mainly focuses on the worldwide logical association for advancing trade, science, scholarly and innovative advancements, training and global participation as well as joint efforts towards Digital Earth, boosted and driven by the International Society for Digital Earth.

China is currently making its physical Silk Road into a Digital Silk Road – a road in cyberspace – through the involvement of various innovation action plans for e-com-



China proposes 'Digital Silk Road' for Scientific Cooperation.

merce, digital economy, smart cities, and science and technology parks. This Digital Silk Road is part of OBOR initiative that focuses on gathering and sharing of big data among associate countries for human welfare while making the research organization of the geospatial sciences and innovation. The Digital Silk Road will require infrastructure and building partnerships among the countries. Chinese Internet companies are quickly expanding their businesses into Europe and aligning with the advanced digital Silk Road objectives, like more trades and connectivity between the two landmasses — Asia and Europe. Chinese web organizations focus on profiting from 1.1 billion Internet clients in both China and the EU through more extensive and advanced collaboration, building a stage upon which to establish common trust and a win-win vision. China Unicom, China Mobile and China Telecom are planning to invest \$180 billion into world's largest 5G mobile infrastructure over the next few years. China's Huawei has turned into the world's biggest media communication producer and has begun to infiltrate Europe and Canada, with its eyes now on the U.S. Tencent's WeChat has exploded into the interpersonal organization scene. At this moment, everyone's eyes are on the East because new thoughts are being defined and mechanical advancements are being created there. Facebook, Google, Amazon, GE and any organization with an advanced system are likely searching the East for their next immense thought. These days, being innovative, Chinese digital compa-

nies are expanding both its business and operations beyond its regular territory, for example, the advanced economy, man-made brainpower, nanotechnology and quantum registering. The drivers behind their critical improvement include innovation and expense. Two of China's giant online business – Alibaba and JD.com – have authoritatively hoped to associate their overall improvement to Digital Silk Road. The JD.com plans to set up more than 20 abroad offices to store and trade with more than 100 countries

including those related to the Belt and Road project. On the other hand, Alibaba plans to penetrate the markets in Russia, Central Asia, and Southeast Asia. Alibaba Cloud, China's largest distributed computing supplier, reported that it would build up into a mostly scalable server to pursue its neighboring and provincial endeavors with adaptable and savvy cloud capacities. Alibaba Cloud will work worldwide to support the business and transaction of the Chinese companies overseas to facilitate the Belt and Road Initiative.

As the Digital Silk Road Initiative is set to push abroad ventures higher than ever, China ought to build up its hold on its expansion in elsewhere, utilizing its vast capacity supported by OBOR initiative. In this regard, understanding the extensive reach and potential of Digital Silk Road, Bangladesh and China should work for each other's investment advancement. In 2016, Bangladesh officially joined the Chinese OBOR initiative. Recently China has promised for colossal investment and strengthened its relations with Bangladesh under the broader framework of OBOR. With proper policy co-ordination, Bangladesh can cooperate with China in Digital Silk Road initiative that will mainly expedite its progress to achieve the goals of Digital Bangladesh – a vision to digitalize Bangladesh by building an ICT based society.

Dr. Md. Rakibul Hoque, Assistant Professor, Department of Management Information Systems (MIS), University of Dhaka.

China takes Bangladesh in its unstoppable development journey

AKM Moinuddin



Today, China stands tall and firm in the world. Chinese President Xi Jinping has heralded the dawn of a new era of Chinese at the historic 19th CPC National Congress celebrating the end of his first term in office.

China wants to transform itself into a mighty force that could lead the world on political, economic, military and environmental issues taking all on board and ensuring welfare for the people of the world.

The Chinese nation has stood up, grown rich and become strong – and it now embraces the brilliant prospects of rejuvenation. China is looking forward an era that sees China moving closer to centre stage and making greater contributions to mankind.

Just after the conclusion of the National Congress, a 12-member Bangladesh media delegation led by Director (News), Bangladesh Betar Hosne Ara Talukder visited a number of Provinces including capital city Beijing at the invitation of Chinese Embassy in Dhaka. As a member of the media delegation, I had the opportunity to interact with senior government officials, university professors, top executives of various companies and people in the cultural arena on various aspects of relations between Bangladesh and China. They made it clear that China is giving much importance to Bangladesh as part of its One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative.

Dhaka-Beijing ties unstoppable

China wants to maintain good relations with Bangladesh and other South Asian countries, keeping in mind the

greater welfare of the people in the region, says a Chinese vice minister.

“Though we’ve mountains in both countries, these couldn’t put barrier to our growing relations,” said Vice Minister Zhou Xiang.

Mentioning Chinese President Xi Jinping’s One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative, the leader of the Publicity Department of CPC Hunan Provincial Committee said China maintains good relations with South Asian countries following the OBOR that says moving ahead together. Terming both Bangladesh and China densely populated countries, Xiang said both the countries are working for people’s welfare. “Bangladesh can take lessons from China’s development experiences. But we don’t impose anything on any country,” he said sharing how China today becomes the second largest economy in the world from a poor country. Zhou Xiang gave credit to the Communist Party of China (CPC) for the rapid development his country witnessed over the past decades. The vice minister recalled China’s reforms and open policy that is taking China forwards and China will remain open to extend support to its friends like Bangladesh. Terming Dhaka-Beijing relations very strong, he said the friendship is like the two countries are drinking water from the same river. He observed that the cultural ties and people-to-people contacts between the two countries have witnessed tremendous growth in recent times. “I hope our friendship and love for each other will grow further in the days to come,” Xiang said.

Zhou Xiang termed the just concluded 19th CPC National Congress a ‘milestone’ which will help China move ahead with development goals.



Support for high-end manufacturing growth

Guangzhou, known as Canton, is a modern, vigorous metropolis which was our last destination during 10-day visit. It is the third largest city in China. In Guangzhou, I had talked to Deputy Director of China Southern Power Grid Co. Ltd Li Xinhao on power sector cooperation between Bangladesh and China. China sees a good prospect in electricity sharing by Bangladesh and Myanmar in the future through grid interconnection transmitting clean hydropower from China's Yunnan Province, says a senior official of a leading power company of China.

"May be in the future Bangladesh and Myanmar can reach an agreement and we can transmit clean hydropower from Yunnan Province to Myanmar and then to Bangladesh," said Deputy Director of China Southern Power Grid Co. Ltd Li Xinhao. Their company is actively participating in the One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative though grid interconnection is a very complex issue when it involves a third country. "Especially when the third country and your destination country have some border issues," said the official at the International Business Department of the company which is seriously looking for power cooperation with South Asian and the Southeast Asian regions. He said they, as a company, always do what their central government directs them to do. "We can't personally facilitate such collaboration. I believe it's a state-to-state issue."

Xinhao said they are currently considering establishing China-Myanmar inter-grid connection considering the evolving political and economic landscape. "May be in the future, Bangladesh and Myanmar will also reach a similar consensus following the growing electricity demand." Responding to a query, Xinhao said Bangladesh's manufacturing sector is growing fast and Bangladesh, after a certain stage, will go for a high-end manufacturing path. "High-end manufacturing requires high quality electricity and stable grid connection and smooth transmission sector," he said sharing China's experience in this particular transition. He said development of power sector in a coun-

try is a precondition of economic development. "If you don't have stable power and transmission system, it'll affect overall production system." Responding to another question, Xinhao said they are willing to help Bangladesh develop its power sector. "We're willing to share our technology, strength, management and overseas experience with Bangladesh." He said Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar economic corridor is a very important corridor in the Belt and Road initiative. "So, we're very closely monitoring the growing power demand in Bangladesh." Xinhao said Bangladesh and China enjoy very good relations. "We know with your huge population, you've a growing power demand. So, we want to help you address your demand." The official also said China Southern Grid Company, which also invests, constructs and operate power networks in five important provinces in China, said they can build some power plants in Bangladesh to meet the urgent power demand in Bangladesh.

Media Cooperation

China is willing to strengthen bonding with Bangladesh through forging more cooperation in mass media sector and keeping peoples from the two countries informed about development efforts.

"We are willing to cooperate with Bangladesh. We need to learn from each other and keep us informed about our development efforts and rich cultural heritage," said Party Committee member and vice president of Hunan Broadcasting System (HBS) Yang Zhuang at his office. Sharing importance of One Belt, One Road initiative, Zhuang said they are ready to extend support to Bangladesh in the field of mass media and mentioned that China wants to move ahead together with its all friends in the region. Responding to a question, the HBS vice president said they are planning to open branch stations in South and Southeast Asian countries to promote friendship and ensure free flow of information. Party Committee member and deputy director of HBS broadcast media centre Zhao Quan said the relationship between Bangladesh and



China in recent years reached to a new level. “We want to inform the entire world about our friendship. We can even produce joint development programmes,” he said. Executive Editor of HBS Hunan News Li Xin said HBS, previously known as Hunan People’s Broadcasting Station and Hunan Television Station, was established in 1950.

More Students Sought

China looks for the stronger presence of Bangladeshi students in their world-class universities to pursue education in career-oriented subjects to smartly compete in the global job market. Xinjiang University is one of the universities in China that welcomes students from Bangladesh. “We want to see more students from Bangladesh as we peruse One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative to strengthen ties on all fronts,” said Director of the International Cultural Exchange College of the Xinjiang University Prof Jiao Jian at his office.

He said they give priority to students from neighbouring countries, too. “We’ve over 30,000 students at the university and 500 of them are international students.” Jian said they will always give importance to Bangladeshi students considering the deep relations between

Bangladesh and China. “Bangladeshi students can avail themselves of three types of full scholarship here, including Chinese government scholarships and the university’s own scholarship,” the Director explained. Vice Director and Associate Professor of the Department of International Cooperation and Exchanges Wang Kui said they have a plan to establish partnership with Bangladeshi prominent universities to strengthen ties in education sector. “We mainly want partnership with famous public universities in Bangladesh. If there’re very famous private universities, we’ll try to see whether we can go for partnership with them,” she told Dhaka Courier. The Vice Director also said they have students from the USA, the UK, Russia, Japan and its neighbouring countries. “However, we’ve very few students from Bangladesh.” Responding to a query, she said weather is one of the reasons behind the lower number of students from Bangladesh. “We’ve very different weather with very long winter,” she said adding that lack of much knowledge about the quality of Chinese Universities might be another reason. Wang Kui said the Xinjiang University, established in 1924, has a long glorious history.



Addressing pollution problems

China is ready to help Bangladesh solve some of its major environmental problems to keep its sky bright for the future generation. Hunan Yonker Investment Group, an environmental protection group blessed by President Xi Jinping, has expressed willingness to work with Bangladesh to solve the environmental problems that are affecting people. “Surely, we want to work in Bangladesh. Our door is open to all as China is promoting One Belt, One Road initiative,” said Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the group Huang Ying. She said they first want to know Bangladesh’s position. “We’ll take our decision once we find proper organisation to collaborate.”

Huang said cooperation with India on the issue is already going on. She said they will keep deepening research works in the environmental field, providing as well as implementing comprehensive environmental solutions. “Yonker will never stop being united, innovative as well as brave enough to declare war against pollution by technology, diligence and courage,” said the company CEO at her office in Changsha. The company is focusing on a number of areas, including waste energy, water treatment, clean energy and farmland restoration. “The (Chinese) government is giving much importance to our company. We’ll build beautiful China through achieving our environmental dream,” Huang said.

She said Yonker Environmental Protection Co Ltd of the Group is the only listed environmental protection enterprise in the Hunan Province. “Yonker is a leader of the whole environmental protection industry supply chain,” Huang said. In 2025, Yonker will obtain global influence power and be top global environmental protection company with total assets of over 300 billion (Chinese currency), officials said. Responding to a question, Huang said Bangladesh is one of the leading apparels producers and their technology can be useful for Bangladesh RMG sector, too.

Housing Demand

A leading Chinese construction company is looking for

reliable partners in Bangladesh and other potential markets in South Asia and beyond to address growing housing and high-rise building construction demands taking the advantage of modern technology. “There’s very strong market demand. We’re looking for good partners in Bangladesh and other countries as part of our expansion plan,” said Vice President of Broad Homes Industrial International Construction Co Ltd Bo Huang at his office at Yuelu District, Changsha. He said they are looking for such partners who have strong background in this sector. “We have to set up factories, too as we provide one-stop service.” Explaining potential of business expansion plan globally, Huang said there is a growing need for houses and everybody wants a house. “We’re the biggest company in the sector within China and now we’re expanding our business network,” he said, adding that their products are being exported to French, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Nigeria.

The official said the specialty of the company is that all things are done under the same roof – from building design to final construction. “Everything is being made ready in our factory. And then we install those in the construction site.” He said shrinking labour force is one of the reasons to make everything centrally with the use of high technology avoiding manual labour. “We are also constructing American, French and European style villas which are a bit expensive,” Huang said showing some of the completed projects. He said these two or three storied buildings are strong enough against any natural disaster, including earthquake. Responding to a question, Huang said they will keep in mind all risk factors associated with any specific country when they will start projects abroad. We hope broader cooperation between Bangladesh and China will bring about more happiness and prosperity to the people of the two countries.

AKM Moinuddin is Diplomatic Correspondent at United News of Bangladesh (UNB).



Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi called on by the Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina at the Ganobhaban in Dhaka on November 18, 2017.

Myanmar's latest round of pogrom against Rohingyas: Can China help resolve it amicably?

Abu Naser Wahid



Bangladesh is no stranger to disasters befalling upon her. We have been facing them on a regular basis and treading our way forward through them proving our resilience. They are mostly natural phenomena. Even in the early part of this year we had been struck with flash flood which caused a big dent on our food security status. However, Bangladesh has been struck by a different kind of disaster since August 25, 2017 and this is unfortunately a man

made one. Our neighbour : Myanmar has created it by thrusting upon us a burden of over 600,000 plus famished and highly traumatised Rohingya people who got brutally expelled from their hearths and villages of many generations. Bangladesh offered shelter to these people fleeing for their lives. 90% of the 600,000 plus expelled Rohingya people entered Bangladesh within a time span of just six weeks! Many of these traumatised people had seen wanton butchering of their near dear ones: men, women & children. Some of them had even to witness raping of their mothers and sisters by Myanmar Army. Many of the Rohingya villages have been burned to erase any trace that Rohingya s ever lived there. Even now in November, the



atrocities are still continuing as testified by the flow of new arrivals of Rohingya refugees - though the arrival rate has decelerated. The world was understandably shocked by this level of brutality of Myanmar army and flouting the basic human rights of these Rohingya people. The UN has dubbed this forcible expulsion of Rohingya people as a "textbook case of ethnic cleansing". The French President has termed it as genocide. The US Secretary of State has also said that Washington was deeply concerned by the widespread atrocities in Myanmar. Bangladesh is made to suffer for the pogrom conducted by Myanmar army against helpless Rohingya people. Now, of course, the most important thing is to have this grave humanitarian crisis resolved with expediency. And which country or countries can offer effective help in this regard? To my mind, China can help in a big way.

2. We may recall that Myanmar has unfortunately a long history of oppressing and unleashing pogrom against Rohingyas. There had been at least two very large scale perpetration of violence upon Rohingya people in recent past with a view to force them to flee Myanmar and becoming refugees in Bangladesh once in 1978 and again in 1991. Some of these refugees were repatriated through dogged efforts by Bangladesh. But about 300,000 Rohingya people from these two rounds are still living in Bangladesh.. This latest round was orchestrated by the Myanmar Army seizing upon a flimsy alibi that a Rohingya resistance outfit called ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army) had attacked a few police outposts and killed a few security people on 25 August, 2017. (That date however bore a strange coincidence with the well publicised release of the Kofi Annan Commission's Report on the same day. The Kofi Annan Report had favourably and justifiably called upon Myanmar government to take a number of steps to restore the basic human rights of long suffering and persecuted Rohingya people. It is simply mind boggling that any Rohingya would do such a thing attributed to them on such a day to tarnish their image.). The Myanmar army, it was stated, in response to Rohingya attack had done what any army would do to restore the law and order. In the process, a few thousand Rohingya men, women and children got butchered, hundreds of women got raped and at least 20,770 children orphaned (documented by Human Rights Watch - the UN Body of the UN). The Myanmar Army also burnt down at least half of Rohingya settlements to erase the traces of Rohingyas ever lived

there. Myanmar government spokesman had admitted that of the 471 Rohingya villages, 176 i.e 37.4% were now empty and another 34 villages partially abandoned. Another example of insolence was the announcement by Myanmar government that they are now harvesting paddy from 71000 acres of abandoned Rohingya owned lands. This level of cruelty and a highly toxic mental make-up displayed by Myanmar authorities has very few parallel in history. And of course the Myanmar army deny any wrongdoing.

3. All these manifestations of extreme cruelty by Myanmar army is unfortunately rooted to a manifestly erroneous belief instilled in the mindset of Myanmar population at large through a sustained chauvinistic propaganda that this ethnically different people are muslims and do not belong in Myanmar. Myanmar do not even show the grace of calling the Rohingya people by their name and simply brand them as Bengali muslim illegal immigrants who breed at a fast rate and as a result about to overrun the country. The implication being that they are fit to be exterminated or at least expelled from Myanmar.

4. But history very clearly testifies otherwise. Rohingya people had been present in Rakhaine state of Myanmar since at least 8th century. Rakhaine was known at that time as Arakan, and it was an independent kingdom until 1734 when it was conquered by Burmese king. During 1404 -1622, sixteen Muslim kings ruled Arakan and that meant that Rohingyas were the sons of the soil. The Rohingya people did not move into Myanmar but it is the state border of Myanmar that has moved westward in 1734 from Burma proper to incorporate Arakan and rename it Rakhaine. That is how Rohingya people came to to be a part of Myanmar and thus belong to it. Even when Burma was a part of British empire, a population census carried out in 1899 by the British had recorded that the Rohingya people in Rakhaine numbered 134,000. So the Rohingyas by all account and evidences are original people of Rakhaine area. Their problem emanates from their different ethnicity and religion from those of dominant ethnic and religious group of Myanmar.

5. The forcibly evicted Rohingya people now numbering nearly a million (600,000 plus current arrivals and 300,000 of the earlier arrivals who are still in Bangladesh) is too big a burden for a highly densely populated and a developing country like Bangladesh.. But the government and people of Bangladesh under the leadership of the

Prime Minister Shaikh Hasina has opened the border and the hearts to offer them security, food and shelter. The efforts of Bangladesh are also being supplemented in a substantial manner by the international community who have been appalled by the atrocity inflicted upon these hapless people. But the challenge is still very huge and clearly beyond Bangladesh to bear the burden of such a large number of paupers for an indefinite period. It has now been conservatively estimated by Centre for Dialogue (CPD) - a prestigious think tank - that Bangladesh would still need at least \$ 882 million of its own resources alongside international assistance to provide food and shelter of the Rohingya refugee people over the next 10 months.

6. Requirement of resources aside, a foreign soil is never the best place for an uprooted community to stay for an indefinite period. Bangladesh thus wants these evicted Rohingya people to get back to their homes and villages in Rakhaine soonest. And the Rohingya people also want to be able to go back to their own place of origin ie in Rakhaine as soon as possible for starting the work of rebuilding their life once again. For that they need the proper assurance of their safety and preservation of dignity from the Myanmar authorities as also of continuous monitoring of the situation on the ground by the international community. The Myanmar authorities are too tainted to be deemed dependable in this regard. So we need now to pursue the task of ensuring their repatriation to Myanmar at the quickest possible time. That calls for Myanmar to assure security to them and to provide a sustainable means of livelihood. Then the Myanmar authorities would also need to restore these peoples citizenship status which was chipped away unlawfully from them. The Kofi Annan Commission has strongly recommended restoration of citizenship to Rohingya people as a very important step in creating the proper social and legal rights for their peaceful living. We have to remember that the Rohingya people of today are not just refugees, they are stateless refugees and as such need the legal protection embedded in the citizenship status. The international community is also of the opinion that the only right course for solving his crisis for Myanmar to take back these evictees soonest in the manner stated above. There is also the widely held view that those in Myanmar responsible for creating this tragedy must be held accountable and made to face justice. This would help the victims of rapes and killing op-

erations to get their wounds healed. Most importantly, this act will help to restore the norms of civilized code missing so far in the conduct of Myanmar government actions.

7. But the government of Myanmar at first stonewalled the efforts of Bangladesh and the international community by denying any act of atrocities perpetrated upon Rohingya people. Even the Myanmar leader Aung San Suu kyí had stated on 25 September, 2017 ie one month into unfolding of this tragedy that she did not know or even understood why the Rohingyas were leaving as they were said to be doing! However, the chorus of universal condemnations has ultimately forced her government to reverse somewhat from their initial hard stance. The government of Myanmar is now saying that they would be willing to take back the real residents of Rakhaine after proper verification of these peoples' identities and that would have to be done at their own speed and convenience. These formulae of the Myanmar government are the copy book text of 1978 & 1991 stances on the same subject and rightly do not inspire confidence in Bangladesh and in world at large.

8. In addition, the devious actions taken so far or various proposals put forward by Myanmar strongly continue to convey their intention of taking back only a tiny fraction of Rohingyas as a sop to the international community spreading over a long period of time and thus tire out the civilized world's interest the matter. Myanmar leadership have rightly figured out that with time the crisis will disappear from the radar of the international community at large. The resultant lack of focus and inaction by international community will breed a sense of impunity in Myanmar. Bangladesh cannot afford to be fooled another time by walking into this trap. Bangladesh wants quick repatriation of Rohingya refugees in an agreed time bound fashion and monitored by an international agency.

9. After all speed and confidence in the repatriation process is the kingpin of the effort at pragmatically resolving this grave human tragedy and to restore the inalienable human rights of these people. Having to be forced to spend long period in refugee camps in Bangladesh may make the Rohingya people lose their hope of returning to their land of origin. It may breed desperation and is likely to set in motion the process of radicalization of Rohingya youths for exacting vengeance. Many of them may feel



duty-bound to join ARSA types of outfits for fighting guerrilla type of warfare and all of us are aware that Rakhaine terrain is very suitable for this. Bangladesh forbids and will never condone any guerilla type activities against any country to use her soil. But, if the Rohingya problems linger long, it may be very difficult to control it. Allowing the problem to slide towards that stage will irrevocably trigger a long-term instability for Myanmar and in the adjoining region. Bangladesh abhors seeing this happen.

10. The overwhelming section of international community are also aware of this prognosis and thus are at one page with Bangladesh on this. But as noted, Myanmar clearly is not seeing it that way blinded by the baggage of a myopic and irrational mindset that Rohingyas do not belong in Myanmar. The international community has noted that the friendly overtures of Bangladesh and the bilateral negotiation of over two months between her and Myanmar has yielded no meaningful result. As such Bangladesh and the international community felt that to goad the Myanmar authorities into taking proper steps, a forceful message like adoption of an UN Security Council Resolution directing Myanmar to start repatriation process quickly or face imposition of prescribed sanctions should be in order. Some international bodies want to pile up more pressure like taking Myanmar to the International Criminal Court, in The Hague on charges of wanton killing of men, women & children plus the charges of sexual violence. It has been well documented by relevant UN Body that sexual violence was being commanded, orchestrated and perpetrated by Myanmar army. Bangladesh and the international bodies together should pursue that course of action as a deterrent to any future misadventure by a group or people in authority in any country.

11. But there are a few countries like China, Russia etc., who while being aware of and sympathetic to the need for prompt solution of the problem has a different perspective on the issue.. They are of the view that the sensibility of Myanmar in regard to this problem has not, however, been addressed properly in the discussions taken place so far. Their considered opinion is that the solution of the problem of repatriation of evicted Rohingya people would be achieved in a better manner if it is pursued bilaterally between Bangladesh and Myanmar rather than in multilat-

eral fora where the ambience is more adversarial in nature. This stance of China and Russia has certainly emboldened Myanmar to feel that she can ride out the chorus of outrage and condemnation of the world and thus to stuck to a rigid position on accepting only a handful numbers of evictees over a protracted period of time. Bangladesh has to forcefully resist that outcome.

12. It looks like China has since reviewed the situation and undergone a change of perception in regard to the plight of Rohingya people. She had sent an emissary to Dhaka to assure us that China was interested like many others in seeing a peaceful resolution of this crisis. The Chinese ambassador in Bangladesh has stated a few days back that both Bangladesh and Myanmar are brotherly countries of China and that she would help to resolve the problem amicably. Finally, the Hon'ble Foreign Minister of China also paid a visit to Dhaka to underscore the deep interest of China in seeing the problem resolved promptly. Of course bilateral negotiation remains China's preferred way to achieve the goal of all Rohingya evictees going back to their country. China, it seems, is going to be more actively engaged in solving amicably this potentially explosive problem.

13. We feel encouraged by this new stance of China and welcome it. Undoubtedly China has the right stature to make a real difference in solving this problem. China can also bear upon Myanmar her own very rich experience of successfully integrating various nationalities in her country. Private urging by China to see reason may propel Myanmar leadership to take the correct steps needed without being seen to be yielding to the pressure put upon her by Bangladesh and other concerned international bodies. We, in Bangladesh, are primarily interested in achieving a satisfactory outcome and not keen per se on the process followed - bilateral or multilateral negotiation. After all, the great Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping has aptly once said that the colour of a cat - whether it is black or white - does not matter as long it catches mice. We should be prepared to give that dictum a try to see that this tragic Rohingya problem is resolved once and for all through the fruitful engagement of our good friend China.

Abu Naser Wahid is a retired joint secretary, Government of Bangladesh and Adviser, Bangladesh-China People's Friendship Association.

China vehemently enhancing openness of its own economy

Prof. Sarwar Md. Saifullah Khaled



China has on many occasions called for attentions to the diversity and difference in development levels of the economies in the region in a bid to avoid fragmental and exclusive deals amid increasing international challenges, including fragmentation in free trade arrangements. The country has always been vigorously promoting a regional free trade pact in the Asia-Pacific that is open, inclusive and beneficial to all including Bangladesh. It is also vehemently enhancing openness of its own economy and actively providing public goods embodied by the initiative on the construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk

Road (One Belt and One Road Initiative) and regional co-operative financial tools.

Chinese President Xi Jinping urged the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) economies to stay committed to pushing economic globalisation forward, increasing openness of the Asia-Pacific economy, breaking bottlenecks in regional inter-connectivity and blazing new trails in reform and innovation. Xi hailed the smooth completion of the collective strategic study on a Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP), which was launched at the 2014 APEC meeting in Beijing. China sticks to its agenda and take more effective actions to realize the FTAAP at an early date, thus bringing about an Asia-Pacific economy with greater openness. The APEC Executive Director Alan Bollard hailed the China's efforts to advance the broad trade deal across the Asia-Pacific. The FTAAP, an

idea around for some time, has received a big boost with the strategic study during China's hosting year in 2014.

Bollard has observed fallouts such as the United States (US) moving out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), as well as developments including progress in talks on Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) with Chinese contribution. The RCEP is



The seeds of Chinese Spring Festival have taken root across the globe.



a proposed free trade agreement between the 10 member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the six countries with which ASEAN has existing free trade agreement – Australia, China, India, Japan, South Korea and New Zealand. The 16 RCEP participating countries account for almost half of the world's population, and contribute over a quarter of its exports and some 30 percent of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP). China is willing to push ahead talks on the RCEP.

The host of a RCEP ministerial meeting in September 2017, the Philippines, lauded China's efforts in pushing for concrete results in talks toward establishing the RCEP. Philippine Trade Secretary Ramon Lopez said, the Chinese delegation led by the minister and a vice minister of the Chinese Ministry of Commerce "have shown a strong cooperative attitude and strong support to the ongoing (RCEP) process". A leading economist of the Asian Development Bank (ABD), Jayant Menon, noted China has been a major proponent of multilateral free trade. Menon said, the China-proposed Belt and Road Initiative is a key program to increase connectivity within the region, and between the region and the rest of the world. Trade costs are directly related to the level of connectivity, and as these costs come down, integration is certain to rise. The Belt and Road Initiative was proposed by China in 2013 to bring together countries in Asia, Europe and Africa via overland and maritime networks. Since the initiative was launched in 2013, Chinese businesses have helped build 75 economic and trade cooperation zones in 24 countries along the Belt and Road, generating over 209,000 jobs. Bollard said, "We watched China's Belt & Road Initiative with interest". The APEC executive director said "It's about investment, projects and development of infrastructures".

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development showed in a recent report that ASEAN would need infrastructure investment of 60 billion to 146 billion US dollars per annum up until 2025. Senior advisor to the Supreme National Economic Council of Cambodia, Mey Kalyan, said the initiative linked very well with the ASEAN Master Plan on Connectivity that would create vast opportunities for ASEAN and China to cooperate and serve as engines for future development and prosper-

ity. The director of Economic Diplomacy Studies Center of Fudan University in Shanghai, Song Guoyou said, the Belt and Road Initiative would promote regional economic integration and deeper globalization. China's development offers opportunity to the Asia-Pacific, which accounts for 40 percent of the world population, around half of world trade, and 57 percent of the global GDP. As one of the world's biggest industrial powers, the nation has exported industrialisation to other developing countries and developed new technology in cooperation with developed countries – an example of mutual benefit and quality growth.

Since China adopted the policy of reform and opening up in 1978, flows of commodities, capital and people have surged across the nation's border. The development of China's overseas interests has not only been driven by the nation's internal economic and social growth, but also has been a result of increasing international exchanges and accelerated globalisation. China offers a sustainable and inclusive development philosophy or development ideas with universal significance and Chinese characteristics. President Xi while meeting with a Tsinghua University delegation in October 2017 said, while ensuring China's sovereignty, security and development interests, the country will remain committed to reform and opening up and adopt a mutually-beneficial and higher-quality approach to opening up. He added "As a beneficiary of and contributor to economic globalisation, China's development is an opportunity for the world. China's opening up is not zero-sum game but win-win cooperation".

While undoubtedly Bangladesh will benefit from the connectivity the Belt and Road Initiative will offer to it, it should emphasise other aspects of Bangladesh-China economic relationships. As for example, the prevailing trade gap. There is a need to act urgently and robustly on the trade gap between these two countries. These should be a part of the negotiations. Pondering on another question, the most obvious benefit for Bangladesh is the connectivity with various countries in Asia.

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The Rohingya Crisis

Ahmed Husnein Choudhury



Known worldwide as the greatest refugee crisis of 2017, the influx of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Rohingya into neighbouring Bangladesh has caused great instability to occur in the generally calm South-East Asia region.

Three major players are crucial to the future of this crisis: On the North-West and at the receiving end of the crisis is Bangladesh, on the South-East and the evidently responsible side of the crisis is Myanmar and on the Far East is China, the powerful ally to both countries which holds significant weight in its ability to determine the future of

this conflict. It has been forty-one years since the inception of diplomatic relations between Bangladesh and China and this relationship is, at present, stronger than ever. Economic and military co-operation between the two nations have been growing at an exponential rate and sees no obstacles ahead.

Through much confidence we can say that if there was ever a bond worthy of recognition, worthy of being used as an example or a standard for comparison, then the bond Bangladesh and China shares would be a worthy contender for such a lofty title.

Alas, the Rakhine crisis has created an unpleasant atmosphere for both nations including the entire region. According to official figures, more than eight hundred thousand refugees have crossed the border into



Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina visits Kutupalong Rohingya refugee camp in Cox's Bazar's of Ukhia in Chittagong, Bangladesh on Sept 12, 2017. (Photo: IANS)



The Chinese Embassy official Mr. Jong Ziaju handed over relief materials to the Additional Deputy Commissioner of Chittagong Division Mr. Habibur Rahman on September 27, 2017.

Bangladesh and more are pouring in by the thousands every day. The refugee camp in Teknaf, Cox's Bazaar has undergone an expansion of epic proportions to accommodate the homeless and oppressed. Aid groups, both foreign and local, are struggling to supply the refugees with food and shelter. The situation is dire, miserable and it is worsening at an exponential rate. Multiple countries including China, Turkey, Malaysia and India have sent shipments of aid to the oppressed populace. China, particularly, has been very generous with its donations, sending 150 tonnes of aid consisting of 2000 relief tents and 3000 blankets. Despite the generosity, Chinese Embassy did not acknowledge the refugees as "Rohingya". Not labelling the refugees by their ethnicity raises concerns. The Rohingya have been displaced from their homeland through murder, rape and pillage and this fact has been proven by multiple, credible sources and has drawn widespread condemnations from the international community. Pictures of elderly men, women and children, disgruntled and doused in mud, dirt and fatigue have been escaping their ancestral homes and venturing into a nation unknown to them. Satellite images have verified multiple villages razed to the ground by the Myanmar Army and smokes could be seen billowing from villages from miles away. Tirana Hassan, Crisis Response Director at Amnesty International had this to say: "In this orchestrated campaign, Myanmar's security forces have brutally meted out revenge on the entire Rohingya population of northern Rakhine state, in an apparent attempt to permanently drive them out of the country. These atrocities con-

tinue to fuel the worst refugee crisis in decades". Evidently, The Myanmar Army has been suffering from moral bankruptcy, oppressing a long oppressed minority to the brink of ethnic cleansing.

The Rohingya have long been the inhabitants of Rakhine. Their ancestry dates back to the 15th Century and that is just the official statistic. Just by this piece of information, the Myanmar government's claim that the Rohingya are illegal immigrants from Bangladesh gets stumbled on and disproved. Sadly, false claims aren't the only tools the Myanmar authorities use to justify their undoing. Myanmar had created a registry recognising 135 ethnic groups within its borders, the Rohingya wasn't one of them despite having a population of one million. This had effectively resulted in the Rohingya being a stateless people. One can only imagine the misery of not having a national identity, the fear of being evicted despite rightfully owning the land and the fear of discrimination from the privileged. It is disheartening to see the oppression of such helpless people without any shed of mercy or humanity.

Aung San Suu Kyi, an awardee of the coveted Noble Peace Prize and the most iconic person in Myanmar has become the subject of ridicule and condemnation, rightfully so. Her silence and more worryingly, her denial of the army's atrocities have shocked the internationally community, so much so that some circles of influential people have raised the idea of a posthumous Noble Peace Prize. Her indirect support for the crisis comes as a stab in the back to the Rohingya, their hopes crushed as the leader of Myanmar's newly established democracy could not alleviate their suffering. Her actions, or lack thereof, have not come without repercussions as Undergraduates of the Oxford College have voted to remove her name as the title of their junior common room. What action Aung San Suu Kyi will take regarding the crisis remains to be seen.

With no end in sight, the crisis in Rakhine has strained relations between South East Asian neighbours and will continue to do so until a solution is sought out. China has the ability to put a swift end to this crisis as a global leader for the betterment of humanity.

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Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era

Highlights of the Report Delivered by the Chinese President and General Secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) His Excellency Mr. Xi Jinping to the 19th National Congress of CPC at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, China on 18 October, 2017.



On behalf of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I will now deliver a report to the 19th National Congress. The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China is a meeting of great importance taking place during the decisive stage in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and at a critical moment as socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era.

The theme of the Congress is: Remain true to our original aspiration and keep our mission firmly in mind, hold high

the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, secure a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, strive for the great success of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, and work tirelessly to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Never forget why you started, and you can accomplish your mission. The original aspiration and the mission of Chinese Communists is to seek happiness for the Chinese people and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation. This original



aspiration, this mission, is what inspires Chinese Communists to advance. In our Party, each and every one of us must always breathe the same breath as the people, share the same future, and stay truly connected to them. The aspirations of the people to live a better life must always be the focus of our efforts. We must keep on striving with endless energy toward the great goal of national rejuvenation. Both China and the world are in the midst of profound and complex changes. China is still in an important period of strategic opportunity for development; the prospects are bright but the challenges are severe. All comrades must aim high and look far, be alert to dangers even in times of calm, have the courage to pursue reform and break new ground, and never become hardened to change or inactive. We will unite the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and lead them to a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and in the drive to secure the success of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era.

I. The Past Five Years: Our Work and Historic Change

The five years since the 18th National Congress have been a truly remarkable five years in the course of the development of the Party and the country. Outside China, we have been confronted with sluggish global economic recovery, frequent outbreaks of regional conflicts and disturbances, and intensifying global issues. At home, we have encountered profound changes as China has entered a new normal in economic development. We have upheld the underlying principle of pursuing progress while ensuring stability, risen to challenges, pioneered and pushed ahead, and made historic achievements in reform, opening up, and socialist modernization.

To put the guiding principles from our 18th National Congress into action, the Party Central Committee has held seven plenary sessions. There, decisions and plans were made on issues of major importance, from reforming the institutions and transforming the functions of government to deepening reform in all areas, advancing law-based governance, formulating the 13th Five-Year Plan, and seeing governance over the Party is exercised fully and with rigor. In the past five years, we have implemented the five-sphere integrated plan and the four-pronged comprehensive strategy, fulfilled the goals of the 12th Five-Year Plan, and made smooth progress in implementing the

13th Five-Year Plan. On all fronts new advances have been made for the cause of the Party and the country.

We have made major achievements in economic development.

We have remained committed to the new development philosophy, adopted the right approach to development, and endeavored to transform the growth model. The result has been a constant improvement in the quality and effect of development. The economy has maintained a medium-high growth rate, making China a leader among the major economies. With the gross domestic product rising from 54 trillion to 80 trillion yuan, China has maintained its position as the world's second largest economy and contributed more than 30 percent of global economic growth.

We have made major breakthroughs in deepening reform.

We have taken comprehensive steps to deepen reform swiftly but steadily, and worked with resolve to remove institutional barriers in all areas. We have taken moves across the board, achieved breakthroughs in many areas, and made further progress in reform. We have pursued reform in a more systematic, holistic, and coordinated way, increasing its coverage and depth. Thanks to the launch of over 1,500 reform measures, breakthroughs have been made in key areas, and general frameworks for reform have been established in major fields.

We have taken major steps in developing democracy and the rule of law.

We have actively developed socialist democracy and advanced law-based governance. We have stepped up institution building across the board to make integrated advances in Party leadership, the running of the country by the people, and law-based governance; and we have continuously improved the institutions and mechanisms by which the Party exercises leadership. Steady progress has been made in enhancing socialist democracy; intraparty democracy has been expanded, and socialist consultative democracy is flourishing.

We have made significant advances on the theoretical and cultural fronts.

We have strengthened Party leadership over ideological



work and explored new ground in advancing Party related theories. The importance of Marxism as a guiding ideology is better appreciated. Socialism with Chinese characteristics and the Chinese Dream have been embraced by our people. Core socialist values and fine traditional Chinese culture are alive in the people's hearts.

We have steadily improved living standards.

Our vision of making development people-centered has been acted on, a whole raft of initiatives to benefit the people has seen implementation, and the people's sense of fulfillment has grown stronger. Decisive progress has been made in the fight against poverty: more than 60 million people have been lifted out of poverty, and the poverty headcount ratio has dropped from 10.2 percent to less than 4 percent. All-round progress has been made in the development of education, with remarkable advances made in the central and western regions and in rural areas. Employment has registered steady growth, with an average of over 13 million urban jobs created each year.

We have made notable progress in building an ecological civilization.

We have devoted serious energy to ecological conservation. As a result, the entire Party and the whole country have become more purposeful and active in pursuing green development, and there has been a clear shift away from the tendency to neglect ecological and environmental protection. Efforts to develop a system for building an ecological civilization have been accelerated; the system of functional zoning has been steadily improved; and progress has been made in piloting the national park system.

We have initiated a new stage in strengthening and revitalizing the armed forces.

With a view to realizing the Chinese Dream and the dream of building a powerful military, we have developed a strategy for the military under new circumstances, and have made every effort to modernize national defense and the armed forces. We convened the Gutian military political work meeting to revive and pass on the proud traditions and fine conduct of our Party and our armed forces, and have seen a strong improvement in the political ecosystem of the people's forces.

We have made fresh progress in work related to Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan.

We have fully and faithfully implemented the principle of "one country, two systems," and ensured that the central government exercises its overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong and Macao as mandated by China's Constitution and the basic laws of the two special administrative regions. We have thus boosted exchanges and cooperation between the main land and the two regions and maintained prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao. We have upheld the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus, promoted the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, strengthened cross-Straits economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation, and held a historic meeting between the leaders of the two sides. We have responded as appropriate to the political developments in Taiwan, resolutely opposed and deterred separatist elements advocating "Taiwan independence," and vigorously safeguarded peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits.

We have made further progress in China's diplomacy on all fronts.

We have made all-round efforts in the pursuit of major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, thus advancing China's diplomatic agenda in a comprehensive, multilevel, multifaceted way and creating a favorable external environment for China's development. We have jointly pursued the Belt and Road Initiative, initiated the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, set up the Silk Road Fund, and hosted the First Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, the 22nd APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting, the G20 2016 Summit in Hangzhou, the BRICS Summit in Xiamen, and the Fourth Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia.

We have achieved remarkable outcomes in ensuring full and strict governance over the Party.

We have made sweeping efforts to strengthen Party leadership and Party building, and taken strong action to transform lax and weak governance over the Party. We encourage all Party members to hold the Party Constitution in great esteem. We urge them to strengthen their consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and



keep in alignment, and to uphold the authority of the Central Committee and its centralized, unified leadership. We have tightened political discipline and rules to ensure that political responsibility for governance over the Party is fulfilled at each level of the Party organization.

The achievements of the past five years have touched every area and broken new ground; the changes in China over the past five years have been profound and fundamental. For five years, our Party has demonstrated tremendous political courage and a powerful sense of mission as it has developed new ideas, new thinking, and new strategies, adopted a raft of major principles and policies, launched a host of major initiatives, and pushed ahead with many major tasks. Over the past five years, we have acted with courage to confront major risks and tests facing the Party and to address prominent problems within the Party itself. With firm resolve, we have tightened discipline and improved Party conduct, fought corruption and punished wrongdoing, and removed serious potential dangers in the Party and the country. As a result, both the intraparty political atmosphere and the political ecosystem of the Party have improved markedly.

The achievements of the past five years are the result of the strong leadership of the Party Central Committee, and, more importantly, the result of all Party members and all the Chinese people pulling together in their pursuit. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I express our heartfelt thanks to the people of all ethnic groups, to all other political parties, to people's organizations, and patriotic figures from all sectors of society, to our fellow countrymen and women in the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions and in Taiwan, to overseas Chinese, and to all our friends from around the world who have shown understanding and support for China's modernization.

With decades of hard work, socialism with Chinese characteristics has crossed the threshold into a new era. This is a new historic juncture in China's development.

This is what socialism with Chinese characteristics entering a new era means:

The Chinese nation, which since modern times began had endured so much for so long, has achieved a tremendous transformation: it has stood up, grown rich, and is becoming strong; it has come to embrace the brilliant prospects of rejuvenation. It means that scientific socialism is full of vitality in 21st century China, and that the banner of

socialism with Chinese characteristics is now flying high and proud for all to see. It means that the path, the theory, the system, and the culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics have kept developing, blazing a new trail for other developing countries to achieve modernization. This new era will be an era of building on past successes to further advance our cause, and of continuing in a new historical context to strive for the success of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It will be an era of securing a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and of moving on to all-out efforts to build a great modern socialist country.

Chinese socialism's entrance into a new era is, in the history of the development of the People's Republic of China and the history of the development of the Chinese nation, of tremendous importance. In the history of the development of international socialism and the history of the development of human society, it is of tremendous importance. Our entire Party should develop unshakeable confidence, work hard and work well to see socialism with Chinese characteristics display even stronger vitality.

II. The New Era: The Historic Mission of the Communist Party of China

A hundred years ago, the salvoes of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to China. In the scientific truth of Marxism-Leninism, Chinese progressives saw a solution to China's problems. With the advent of modern times, Chinese society became embroiled in intense upheavals; this was a time of fierce struggle as the Chinese people resisted feudal rule and foreign aggression. It was in the midst of this, in 1921, as Marxism-Leninism was integrated with the Chinese workers' movement, that the Communist Party of China was born. From that moment on, the Chinese people have had in the Party a backbone for their pursuit of national independence and liberation, of a stronger and more prosperous country, and of their own happiness; and the mindset of the Chinese people has changed, from passivity to taking the initiative. With a history of more than 5,000 years, our nation created a splendid civilization, made remarkable contributions to mankind, and became one of the world's great nations. But with the Opium War of 1840, China was plunged into the darkness of domestic turmoil and foreign aggression; its people, ravaged by war, saw their homeland torn apart and lived in poverty and despair. With tenacity and



heroism, countless dedicated patriots fought, pressed ahead against the odds, and tried every possible means to seek the nation's salvation. But despite their efforts, they were powerless to change the nature of society in old China and the plight of the Chinese people.

National rejuvenation has been the greatest dream of the Chinese people since modern times began. At its founding, the Communist Party of China made realizing Communism its highest ideal and its ultimate goal, and shouldered the historic mission of national rejuvenation. In pursuing this goal, the Party has united the Chinese people and led them through arduous struggles to epic accomplishments. Our Party was deeply aware that, to achieve national rejuvenation, it was critical to topple the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism that were oppressing the Chinese people, and realize China's independence, the people's liberation, national reunification, and social stability. Over the past 96 years, to accomplish the historic mission of national rejuvenation, whether in times of weakness or strength, whether in times of adversity or smooth sailing, our Party has never forgotten its founding mission, nor wavered in its pursuit. It has united the people and led them in conquering countless challenges, making enormous sacrifices, meeting setbacks squarely, and courageously righting wrongs. Thus we have, time and again, overcome the seemingly insurmountable and created miracle upon miracle. Every one of us in the Party must do more to uphold Party leadership and the Chinese socialist system, and resolutely oppose all statements and actions that undermine, distort, or negate them. Every Party member must fully appreciate the long-term, complex, and onerous nature of this great struggle; we must be ready to fight, build our ability, and keep striving to secure new victories in this great struggle.

Our mission is a call to action; our mission steers the course to the future. We must live up to the trust the people have placed in us and prove ourselves worthy of history's choice. In the great endeavors of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, let us get behind the strong leadership of the Party and engage in a tenacious struggle. Let all of us, the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, come together, keep going, and create a mighty force that enables us to realize the Chinese Dream.

III. The Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the Basic Policy

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

The Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era makes the following things clear:

* It makes clear that the overarching goal of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is to realize socialist modernization and national rejuvenation, and, that on the basis of finishing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects, a two-step approach should be taken to build China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful by the middle of the century.

* It makes clear that the principal contradiction facing Chinese society in the new era is that between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life. We must therefore continue commitment to our people-centered philosophy of development, and work to promote well-rounded human development and common prosperity for everyone.

* It makes clear that the overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the five-sphere integrated plan, and the overall strategy is the four-pronged compre-



hensive strategy. It highlights the importance of fostering stronger confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

* It makes clear that the overall goal of deepening reform in every field is to improve and develop the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernize China's system and capacity for governance.

* It makes clear that the overall goal of comprehensively advancing law-based governance is to establish a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and build a country of socialist rule of law.

* It makes clear that the Party's goal of building a strong military in the new era is to build the people's forces into world-class forces that obey the Party's command, can fight and win, and maintain excellent conduct.

* It makes clear that major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics aims to foster a new type of international relations and build a community with a shared future for mankind.

* It makes clear that the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the Communist Party of China; the greatest strength of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the Communist Party of China; the Party is the highest force for political leadership. It sets forth the general requirements for Party building in the new era and underlines the importance of political work in Party building.

The Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era builds on and further enriches Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development. It represents the latest achievement in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and encapsulates the practical experience and collective wisdom of our Party and the people. It is an important component of the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and a guide to action for all our members and all the Chinese people as we strive to achieve national rejuvenation. This Thought must be adhered to and steadily developed on a long-term basis.

Everyone in the Party should develop a good grasp of the essence and rich implications of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and fully and

faithfully apply it in all our work.

1. Ensuring Party leadership over all work

The Party exercises overall leadership over all areas of endeavor in every part of the country. We must strengthen our consciousness of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment. We must work harder to uphold the authority and centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee, and closely follow the Central Committee in terms of our thinking, political orientation, and actions.

2. Committing to a people-centered approach

The people are the creators of history; they are the fundamental force that determines our Party and country's future. We must ensure the principal status of the people, and adhere to the Party's commitment to serving the public good and exercising power in the interests of the people.

3. Continuing to comprehensively deepen reform

Only with socialism can we save China; only with reform and opening can we develop China, develop socialism, and develop Marxism. We must uphold and improve the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and continue to modernize China's system and capacity for governance.

4. Adopting a new vision for development

Development is the underpinning and the key for solving all our country's problems; our development must be sound development. We must pursue with firmness of purpose the vision of innovative, coordinated, green, and open development that is for everyone. We must uphold and improve China's basic socialist economic system and socialist distribution system.

5. Seeing that the people run the country

Commitment to the organic unity of Party leadership, the running of the country by the people, and law-based governance is a natural element of socialist political advancement. We must keep to the path of socialist political advancement with Chinese characteristics; uphold and improve the system of people's congresses, the system of Party-led multiparty cooperation and political consulta-



tion, the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and the system of community-level self-governance; and consolidate and develop the broadest possible patriotic united front.

6. Ensuring every dimension of governance is law-based

Law-based governance is an essential requirement and important guarantee for socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must exercise Party leadership at every point in the process and over every dimension of law-based governance, and be fully committed to promoting socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics.

7. Upholding core socialist values

Cultural confidence represents a fundamental and profound force that sustains the development of a country and a nation. We must uphold Marxism, firm up and further build the ideal of Communism and a shared ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and nurture and practice core socialist values, while making continued and greater efforts to maintain the initiative and ensure we have our say in the realm of ideology.

8. Ensuring and improving living standards through development

The wellbeing of the people is the fundamental goal of development. We must do more to improve the lives and address the concerns of the people, and use development to strengthen areas of weakness and promote social fairness and justice. We should make steady progress in ensuring people's access to childcare, education, employment, medical services, elderly care, housing, and social assistance.

9. Ensuring harmony between human and nature

Building an ecological civilization is vital to sustain the Chinese nation's development. We must realize that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets and act on this understanding, implement our fundamental national policy of conserving resources and protecting the environment, and cherish the environment as we cherish our own lives. We will adopt a holistic approach to conserving our mountains, rivers, forests, farmlands, lakes, and grasslands, implement the strictest possible systems for environmental protection, and develop eco-friendly growth models and ways of life.

10. Pursuing a holistic approach to national security

We should ensure both development and security and be ever ready to protect against potential dangers in time of peace. This is a major principle underlying the Party's governance. We must put national interests first, take protecting our people's security as our mission and safeguarding political security as a fundamental task, and ensure both internal and external security, homeland and public security, traditional and non-traditional security, and China's own and common security.

11. Upholding absolute Party leadership over the people's armed forces

Building people's forces that obey the Party's command, can fight and win, and maintain excellent conduct is strategically important to achieving the two centenary goals and national rejuvenation. To realize the Party's goal of building a powerful military in the new era, we must fully implement the fundamental principles and systems of Party leadership over the military, and see that Party strategy on strengthening military capabilities for the new era guides work to build national defense and the armed forces.

12. Upholding the principle of "one country, two systems" and promoting national reunification

Maintaining lasting prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao and achieving China's full reunification are essential to realizing national rejuvenation. We must ensure both the central government's overall jurisdiction over the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions and a high degree of autonomy in the two regions. We should ensure that the principle of "one country, two systems" remains unchanged, is unwaveringly upheld, and in practice is not bent or distorted. We must uphold the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus, promote the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, deepen economic cooperation and cultural exchange between the two sides of the Straits, and encourage fellow Chinese on both sides to oppose all separatist activities and work together to realize Chinese national rejuvenation.

13. Promoting the building of a community with a shared future for mankind

The dream of the Chinese people is closely connected



with the dreams of the peoples of other countries; the Chinese Dream can be realized only in a peaceful international environment and under a stable international order. We must keep in mind both our internal and international imperatives, stay on the path of peaceful development, and continue to pursue a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up.

14. Exercising full and rigorous governance over the Party

To have the courage to carry out self-reform and conduct strict self-governance: this is the most distinctive part of our Party's character. We must uphold the Party Constitution as our fundamental rules, give top priority to the political work of the Party, combine efforts on ideological work and institution building, and strengthen Party competence in all respects. We must focus on oversight over the "key few," by which we mean leading officials, and see that the principle of Three Stricts and Three Earnests are observed. The era is the mother of thought; practice is the fount of theory. If we respond to the call of our times and have the courage to uphold truth and correct errors, the Marxism of 21st century China will, without a doubt, emanate more mighty, more compelling power of truth.

IV. Securing a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Embarking on a Journey to Fully Build a Modern Socialist China

After adopting the policy of reform and opening up, our Party laid out three strategic goals for achieving socialist modernization in China. The first two—ensuring that people's basic needs are met and that their lives are generally decent—have been accomplished ahead of time. Building on this, our Party then developed the vision that by the time we celebrate our centenary, we will have developed our society into a moderately prosperous one with a stronger economy, greater democracy, more advanced science and education, thriving culture, greater social harmony, and a better quality of life. After this, with another 30 years of work, and by the time we celebrate the centenary of the People's Republic of China, we will have basically achieved modernization and turned China into a modern socialist country.

The period between now and 2020 will be decisive in finishing the building of a moderately prosperous society in

all respects. We must follow the requirements on building this society set out at our 16th, 17th, and 18th National Congresses, act in response to the evolution of the principal contradiction in Chinese society, and promote coordinated economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological advancement.

Based on a comprehensive analysis of the international and domestic environments and the conditions for China's development, we have drawn up a two-stage development plan for the period from 2020 to the middle of this century.

In the first stage from 2020 to 2035, we will build on the foundation created by the moderately prosperous society with a further 15 years of hard work to see that socialist modernization is basically realized. The vision is that by the end of this stage, the following goals will have been met:

- * China's economic and technological strength has increased significantly. China has become a global leader in innovation.

- * The rights of the people to participate and to develop as equals are adequately protected. The rule of law for the country, the government, and society is basically in place. Institutions in all fields are further improved; the modernization of China's system and capacity for governance is basically achieved.

- * Social etiquette and civility are significantly enhanced. China's cultural soft power has grown much stronger; Chinese culture has greater appeal.

- * People are leading more comfortable lives, and the size of the middle-income group has grown considerably. Disparities in urban-rural development, in development between regions, and in living standards are significantly reduced; equitable access to basic public services is basically ensured; and solid progress has been made toward prosperity for everyone.

- * A modern social governance system has basically taken shape, and society is full of vitality, harmonious, and orderly.

- * There is a fundamental improvement in the environment; the goal of building a Beautiful China is basically attained.

In the second stage from 2035 to the middle of the 21st

century, we will, building on having basically achieved modernization, work hard for a further 15 years and develop China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful. By the end of this stage, the following goals will have been met:

- * New heights are reached in every dimension of material, political, cultural and ethical, social, and ecological advancement.
- * Modernization of China's system and capacity for governance is achieved.
- * China has become a global leader in terms of composite national strength and international influence.
- * Common prosperity for everyone is basically achieved.
- * The Chinese people enjoy happier, safer, and healthier lives.
- * The Chinese nation will become a proud and active member of the community of nations.

This is our strategic vision for developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era: Finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, move on to basically realizing modernization, and then turn to making China a great modern socialist country in every dimension. We must work with resolve and tenacity and strive to write a brilliant chapter on our new journey to socialist modernization.

V. Applying a New Vision of Development and Developing a Modernized Economy

To deliver on the two centenary goals, realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, and steadily improve our people's lives, we must continue to pursue development as the Party's top priority in governance; we must unleash and develop productive forces, continue reforms to develop the socialist market economy, and promote sustained and sound economic growth.

China's economy has been transitioning from a phase of rapid growth to a stage of high-quality development. This is a pivotal stage for transforming our growth model, improving our economic structure, and fostering new drivers of growth. It is imperative that we develop a modernized economy.

1. Furthering supply-side structural reform

In developing a modernized economy, we must focus on the real economy, give priority to improving the quality of the supply system, and enhance our economy's strength in terms of quality. We will work faster to build China into a manufacturer of quality and develop advanced manufacturing, promote further integration of the internet, big data, and artificial intelligence with the real economy, and foster new growth areas and drivers of growth in medium-high end consumption, innovation-driven development, the green and low-carbon economy, the sharing economy, modern supply chains, and human capital services. We will strengthen infrastructure networks for water conservancy, railways, highways, waterways, aviation, pipelines, power grids, information, and logistics. We will continue efforts to cut overcapacity, reduce excess inventory, deleverage, lower costs, and strengthen areas of weakness, and work to achieve a dynamic balance between supply and demand by improving the allocation of available resources and increasing high-quality supply.

2. Making China a country of innovators

Innovation is the primary driving force behind development; it is the strategic underpinning for building a modernized economy. We should aim for the frontiers of science and technology, strengthen basic research, and make major breakthroughs in pioneering basic research and groundbreaking and original innovations. We will foster a culture of innovation, and strengthen the creation, protection, and application of intellectual property. We should cultivate a large number of world-class scientists and technologists in strategically important fields, scientific and technological leaders, and young scientists and engineers, as well as high-performing innovation teams.

3. Pursuing a rural vitalization strategy

Issues relating to agriculture, rural areas, and rural people are fundamental to China as they directly concern our country's stability and our people's wellbeing. Addressing these issues should have a central place on the work agenda of the Party, and we must prioritize the development of agriculture and rural areas. To build rural areas with thriving businesses, pleasant living environments, social etiquette and civility, effective governance, and prosperity, we need to put in place sound systems,



mechanisms, and policies for promoting integrated urban-rural development, and speed up the modernization of agriculture and rural areas.

We must ensure China's food security so that we always have control over our own food supply. We will establish industrial, production, and business operation systems for modern agriculture, and improve the systems for supporting and protecting agriculture. We will promote the integrated development of the primary, secondary, and tertiary industries in rural areas, support and encourage employment and business startups there, and open up more channels to increase rural incomes. We will strengthen basic services in rural communities, and improve the rural governance model which combines self-governance, rule of law, and rule of virtue. We will train professional rural service personnel who have a good knowledge of agriculture, love our rural areas, and care about rural people.

4. Implementing the coordinated regional development strategy

We will devote more energy to speeding up the development of old revolutionary base areas, areas with large ethnic minority populations, border areas, and poor areas. We will strengthen measures to reach a new stage in the large-scale development of the western region; deepen reform to accelerate the revitalization of old industrial bases in the northeast and other parts of the country; help the central region rise by tapping into local strengths; and support the eastern region in taking the lead in pursuing optimal development through innovation. To this end, we need to put in place new, effective mechanisms to ensure coordinated development of different regions.

5. Accelerating efforts to improve the socialist market economy

In our economic reforms, we must concentrate on improving the property rights system and ensuring the market-based allocation of factors of production, so that property rights act as effective incentives. We should ensure free flows of factors, flexible prices, fair and orderly competition, and that business survival is determined by competition.

We will deepen reforms in the business sector, break ad-

ministrative monopolies, preclude the forming of market monopolies, speed up the reform of market-based pricing of factors of production, relax control over market access in the service sector, and improve market oversight mechanisms. We will develop new methods to improve macro-regulation, give full play to the strategic guidance of national development plans, and improve mechanisms for coordinating fiscal, monetary, industrial, regional, and other economic policies. We will expedite the creation of a modern public finance system, and establish a fiscal relationship between the central and local governments built upon clearly defined powers and responsibilities, appropriate financial resource allocation, and greater balance between regions.

6. Making new ground in pursuing opening up on all fronts

Openness brings progress, while self-seclusion leaves one behind. China will not close its door to the world; we will only become more and more open.

We should pursue the Belt and Road Initiative as a priority, give equal emphasis to "bringing in" and "going global," follow the principle of achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration, and increase openness and cooperation in building innovation capacity. With these efforts, we hope to make new ground in opening China further through links running eastward and westward, across land and over sea. Unlocking and developing the productive forces is a fundamental task of socialism. We must inspire creativity and vitality throughout society, and strive to achieve better quality, more efficient, fairer, and more sustainable development.

I. Improving the System of Institutions through Which the People Run the Country and Developing Socialist Democracy

China is a socialist country of people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class based on an alliance of workers and farmers; it is a country where all power of the state belongs to the people. China's socialist democracy is the broadest, most genuine, and most effective democracy to safeguard the fundamental interests of the people. The very purpose of developing socialist democracy is to give full expression to the will of the people, protect their rights and interests, spark their

creativity, and provide systemic and institutional guarantees to ensure the people run the country.

1. Upholding the unity of Party leadership, the running of the country by the people, and law-based governance

Party leadership is the fundamental guarantee for ensuring that the people run the country and governance in China is law-based; that the people run the country is an essential feature of socialist democracy; and law-based governance is the basic way for the Party to lead the people in governing the country. These three elements are integral components of socialist democracy.

2. Strengthening institutional guarantees to ensure the people run the country

We must uphold long term and steadily improve the system of people's congresses, a political system fundamental to the Party's leadership, the running of the country by the people, and law-based governance. We should support and ensure the people's exercise of state power through people's congresses.

3. Giving play to the important role of socialist consultative democracy

The essence of the people's democracy is that the people get to discuss their own affairs. Consultative democracy is an important way of effecting Party leadership and a model and strength unique to China's socialist democracy. We will advance extensive, multilevel, and institutionalized development of consultative democracy, and adopt a coordinated approach to promoting consultations carried out by political parties, people's congresses, government departments, CPPCC committees, people's organizations, communities, and social organizations. We will strengthen the institutions of consultative democracy and develop complete procedures and practices to enable the people's broad, continuous, and intensive participation in day-to-day political activities.

Advancing law-based governance

Advancing law-based governance in all fields is a profound revolution in China's governance. We must promote the

rule of law and work to ensure sound lawmaking, strict law enforcement, impartial administration of justice, and the observance of law by everyone. We will strengthen oversight to ensure compliance with the Constitution, advance constitutionality review, and safeguard the authority of the Constitution. We will carry out lawmaking in a well-conceived and democratic way and in accordance with law, so that good laws are made to promote development and ensure good governance.

Deepening reform of Party and government institutions and the system of government administration

We will adopt a comprehensive approach to the setup of Party and government institutions, and ensure that powers are designated properly and functions and duties are defined clearly both for the institutions themselves and their internal bodies. We will use various types of staffing resources in a coordinated way, develop a sound system of administration, and improve the organic law for state institutions.

Consolidating and developing the patriotic united front

The united front is an important way to ensure the success of the Party's cause, and we must maintain commitment to it long term. We must uphold the banner of patriotism and socialism, strive to achieve great unity and solidarity, balance commonality and diversity, and expand common ground and the convergence of interests. In handling its relationships with other Chinese political parties, the Communist Party of China is guided by the principles of long-term coexistence, mutual oversight, sincerity, and sharing the rough times and the smooth, and it supports these parties in performing their duties in accordance with the requirements of the Chinese socialist system for their participation in governance.

We will fully implement the Party's basic policy on religious affairs, uphold the principle that religions in China must be Chinese in orientation and provide active guidance to religions so that they can adapt themselves to socialist society. We will encourage intellectuals who are not Party members and people belonging to new social groups to play the important roles they have in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.



VII. Building Stronger Cultural Confidence and Helping Socialist Culture to Flourish

Culture is a country and nation's soul. Our country will thrive only if our culture thrives, and our nation will be strong only if our culture is strong. Without full confidence in our culture, without a rich and prosperous culture, the Chinese nation will not be able to rejuvenate itself. We must develop a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics, inspire the cultural creativity of our whole nation, and develop a great socialist culture in China.

Socialist culture with Chinese characteristics is derived from China's fine traditional culture, which was born of the Chinese civilization and nurtured over more than 5,000 years; it has grown out of the revolutionary and advanced socialist culture that developed over the course of the Chinese people's revolution, construction, and reform under the Party's leadership; and it is rooted in the great practice of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

1. Holding firmly the leading position in ideological work

Ideology determines the direction a culture should take and the path it should follow as it develops. We must continue to adapt Marxism to China's conditions, keep it up-to-date, and enhance its popular appeal. We will develop socialist ideology that has the ability to unite and the power to inspire the people to embrace shared ideals, convictions, values, and moral standards.

We will maintain the right tone in public communication, give priority to improving means of communication and to creating new ones, and strengthen the penetration, guidance, influence, and credibility of the media. We will provide more and better online content and put in place a system for integrated internet management to ensure a clean cyberspace.

2. Cultivating and observing core socialist values

Core socialist values represent the contemporary Chinese spirit and are a crystallization of the values shared by all Chinese people.

We will focus on fostering a new generation capable of shouldering the mission of national rejuvenation; we will

offer them better guidance, expose them to practice, and provide institutional guarantees. We will draw on core socialist values to guide education, efforts to raise cultural-ethical standards, and the creation, production, and distribution of cultural and intellectual products, and see that all areas of social development are imbued with these values and that they become part of people's thinking and behavior.

3. Raising intellectual and moral standards

When the people have ideals, their country will have strength, and their nation will have a bright future. We will help our people raise their political awareness and moral standards, foster appreciation of fine culture, and enhance social etiquette and civility.

We will undertake extensive public awareness activities to help the people develop firm ideals and convictions, build their awareness of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the Chinese Dream, foster a Chinese ethos and a readiness to respond to the call of our times, strengthen the guiding role of patriotism, collectivism, and socialism, and see that the people develop an accurate understanding of history, ethnicity, country, and culture.

4. Seeing socialist literature and art thrive

Socialist literature and art are for the people: Writers and artists should take a people-centered approach and draw inspiration from everyday life and the experiences of the people to produce works that do justice to our times. We encourage them to create fine works that are thought provoking and of a high artistic standard, that reflect real life, and that extol our Party, our country, our people, and our heroes.

5. Promoting the development of cultural programs and industries

To meet the people's new aspirations for a better life, we must provide them with rich intellectual nourishment. We need to deepen structural reform of the cultural sector, improve the cultural management system, and accelerate the establishment of systems and mechanisms that put social benefits first while pursuing economic returns. We will improve the public cultural service system, carry

out public-interest cultural programs, and launch more popular cultural activities. We will strengthen protection and utilization of cultural relics, and better preserve and carry forward our cultural heritage. We will strengthen people-to-people and cultural exchanges with other countries, giving prominence to Chinese culture while also drawing on other cultures. We will improve our capacity for engaging in international communication so as to tell China's stories well, present a true, multi-dimensional, and panoramic view of China, and enhance our country's cultural soft power.

VIII. Growing Better at Ensuring and Improving People's Wellbeing and Strengthening and Developing New Approaches to Social Governance

Everyone in the Party must keep firmly in mind that the nature of a political party and of a government is determined by those whom they serve. To lead the people to a better life is our Party's abiding goal. We must put the people's interests above all else, see that the gains of reform and development benefit all our people in a fair way, and strive to achieve shared prosperity for everyone.

1. Giving priority to developing education

Strengthening education is fundamental to our pursuit of national rejuvenation. We must give priority to education, further reform in education, speed up its modernization, and develop education that people are satisfied with. We should fully implement the Party's education policy, foster virtue through education, enhance our students' well-rounded development, promote fairness in education, and nurture a new generation of capable young people who have a good and all-round moral, intellectual, physical, and aesthetic grounding and are well-prepared to join the socialist cause.

We will promote the coordinated development of compulsory education in urban and rural areas, while giving particular attention to rural areas. We will improve pre-school education, special needs education, and online education, make senior secondary education universally available, and strive to see that each and every child has fair access to good education. We will improve continuing education, step up efforts to build a learning society, and

promote the well-rounded development of all our people.

2. Improving the quality of employment and raising incomes

Employment is pivotal to people's wellbeing. We must give high priority to employment and pursue a proactive employment policy, striving to achieve fuller employment and create better quality jobs. We will launch vocational skills training programs on a big scale, give particular attention to tackling structural unemployment, and create more jobs by encouraging business startups. We will encourage people to make their money through hard work and legal means. We will expand the size of the middle-income group, increase income for people on low incomes, adjust excessive incomes, and prohibit illicit income.

3. Strengthening the social security system

We will work to see that everyone has access to social security. We will improve the basic pension schemes for urban employees and for rural and non-working urban residents, and quickly bring pension schemes under national unified management. We will improve the unified systems of basic medical insurance and serious disease insurance for rural and non-working urban residents, and improve unemployment insurance and work-related injury insurance. We will establish a unified national platform for social security public services.

4. Winning the battle against poverty

We should mobilize the energies of our whole Party, our whole country, and our whole society, and continue to implement targeted poverty reduction and alleviation measures. We will operate on the basis of a working mechanism whereby the central government makes overall plans, provincial-level governments take overall responsibility, and city and county governments ensure implementation; and we will strengthen the system for making heads of Party committees and governments at each level assume the overall responsibility for poverty alleviation.

5. Carrying out the Healthy China initiative

A healthy population is a key mark of a prosperous nation and a strong country. We will improve the national health



policy, and ensure the delivery of comprehensive lifecycle health services for our people. We will improve community-level healthcare services, and strengthen the ranks of general practitioners. We will put an end to the practices of hospitals funding their operations with profits from overpriced drugs, and improve the system for medicine supply. We will provide integrated elderly care and medical services, and accelerate the development of old-age programs and industries.

6. Establishing a social governance model based on collaboration, participation, and common interests

We will step up institution building in social governance and improve the law-based social governance model under which Party committees exercise leadership, government assumes responsibility, non-governmental actors provide assistance, and the public get involved. We will strengthen public participation and rule of law in social governance, and make such governance smarter and more specialized.

7. Effectively safeguarding national security

National security is the cornerstone of peace and stability of our country, and safeguarding it is in the fundamental interests of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups. We will improve our national security strategy and policy, guarantee China's political security, and take coordinated steps to ensure security in all areas.

IX. Speeding up Reform of the System for Developing an Ecological Civilization, and Building a Beautiful China

Man and nature form a community of life; we, as human beings, must respect nature, follow its ways, and protect it. Only by observing the laws of nature can mankind avoid costly blunders in its exploitation. Any harm we inflict on nature will eventually return to haunt us. This is a reality we have to face. We should, acting on the principles of prioritizing resource conservation and environmental protection and letting nature restore itself, develop spatial layouts, industrial structures, and ways of work and life that help conserve resources and protect the environment. With this, we can restore the serenity, harmony, and beauty of nature.

1. Promoting green development

We will step up efforts to establish a legal and policy framework that promotes green production and consumption, and promote a sound economic structure that facilitates green, low-carbon, and circular development. We will create a market-based system for green technology innovation, develop green finance, and spur the development of energy-saving and environmental protection industries as well as clean production and clean energy industries

2. Solving prominent environmental problems

We will get everyone involved in improving the environment and address environmental issues at the root. We will continue our campaign to prevent and control air pollution to make our skies blue again. We will speed up prevention and control of water pollution, and take comprehensive measures to improve river basins and offshore areas. We will establish an environmental governance system in which government takes the lead, enterprises assume main responsibility, and social organizations and the public also participate. We will get actively involved in global environmental governance and fulfill our commitments on emissions reduction.

3. Intensifying the protection of ecosystems

We will carry out major projects to protect and restore key ecosystems, improve the system of shields for ecological security, and develop ecological corridors and biodiversity protection networks, so as to strengthen the quality and stability of our ecosystems. We will complete work on drawing redlines for protecting the ecosystems, designating permanent basic cropland, and delineating boundaries for urban development.

4. Reforming the environmental regulation system

We will strengthen overall planning, organization, and leadership for building an ecological civilization. We will establish regulatory agencies to manage state-owned natural resource assets and monitor natural ecosystems, and improve environmental management systems. These agencies will, in a unified way, perform the duties of the owner



of public-owned natural resource assets, the duties of regulating the use of all territorial space and protecting and restoring ecosystems, and the duties of monitoring the discharge of all pollutants in urban and rural areas and conducting administrative law enforcement.

X. Staying Committed to the Chinese Path of Building Strong Armed Forces and Fully Advancing the Modernization of National Defense and the Military

We have reached a new historical starting point in strengthening national defense and the armed forces. Confronted with profound changes in our national security environment and responding to the demands of the day for a strong country with a strong military, we must fully implement the Party's thinking on strengthening the military for the new era and the military strategy for new conditions, build a powerful and modernized army, navy, air force, rocket force, and strategic support force, develop strong and efficient joint operations commanding institutions for theater commands, and create a modern combat system with distinctive Chinese characteristics. Our armed forces must be up to shouldering the missions and tasks of the new era entrusted to them by the Party and the people.

We will adapt to the trend of a new global military revolution and to national security needs; we will upgrade our military capabilities, and see that, by the year 2020, mechanization is basically achieved, IT application has come a long way, and strategic capabilities have seen a big improvement. In step with our country's modernization process, we will modernize our military across the board in terms of theory, organizational structure, service personnel, and weaponry. We will make it our mission to see that by 2035, the modernization of our national defense and our forces is basically completed; and that by the mid-21st century our people's armed forces have been fully transformed into world-class forces.

We will improve our national defense mobilization system, and build a strong, well-structured, and modern border defense, coastal defense, and air defense. We will establish an administration for veterans; we will protect the legitimate rights and interests of military personnel and their families; and we will make military service an occupation that enjoys public respect. We will carry out further re-

forms to build a modernized armed police force.

XI. Upholding “One Country, Two Systems” and Moving toward National Reunification

Since Hong Kong and Macao's return to the motherland, the practice of “one country, two systems” in both regions has been a resounding success. The policy of “one country, two systems” has proved to be the best solution to the questions of Hong Kong and Macao, left by history, and the best institutional guarantee for the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao after their return.

To maintain long-term prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao, it is imperative to fully and faithfully implement the policies of “one country, two systems,” “the people of Hong Kong governing Hong Kong,” “the people of Macao governing Macao,” and a high degree of autonomy for both regions. It is imperative too, to act in strict compliance with China's Constitution and the basic laws of the two special administrative regions, and to improve the systems and mechanisms for enforcing the basic laws.

We will continue to support the governments and chief executives of both regions in pursuing the following endeavors: exercising law-based governance, uniting and leading the people of all sectors in an active and concerted effort to promote development and harmony, ensuring and improving people's wellbeing, taking well-ordered steps to advance democracy, maintaining law and order, and fulfilling the constitutional responsibility of safeguarding China's sovereignty, security, and development interests.

Resolving the Taiwan question to realize China's complete reunification is the shared aspiration of all Chinese people, and is in the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation. We must uphold the principles of “peaceful reunification” and “one country, two systems,” work for the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, and advance the process toward the peaceful reunification of China.

The one-China principle is the political foundation of cross-Straits relations. The 1992 Consensus embodies the one-China principle and defines the fundamental nature



of cross-Straits relations; it thus holds the key to the peaceful development of relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. Recognize the historical fact of the 1992 Consensus and that the two sides both belong to one China, and then our two sides can conduct dialogue to address through discussion the concerns of the people of both sides, and no political party or group in Taiwan will have any difficulty conducting exchanges with the mainland.

Blood is thicker than water. People on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are brothers and sisters; we share the bond of kinship. Guided by the conviction that we are all of the same family, we respect the current social system and way of life in Taiwan and are ready to share the development opportunities on the mainland with our Taiwan compatriots first. We will expand cross-Straits economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation for mutual benefits.

We will ensure that over time, people from Taiwan will enjoy the same treatment as local people when they pursue their studies, start businesses, seek jobs, or live on the mainland, thus improving the wellbeing of Taiwan compatriots. We will encourage people from both sides to work together to promote Chinese culture and forge closer bonds between them.

We stand firm in safeguarding China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and will never allow the historical tragedy of national division to repeat itself. Any separatist activity is certain to meet with the resolute opposition of the Chinese people. We have the resolve, the confidence, and the ability to defeat separatist attempts for "Taiwan independence" in any form. We will never allow anyone, any organization, or any political party, at any time or in any form, to separate any part of Chinese territory from China!

XII. Following a Path of Peaceful Development and Working to Build a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind

The Communist Party of China strives for both the wellbeing of the Chinese people and human progress. To make new and greater contributions for mankind is our Party's abiding mission.

China will continue to hold high the banner of peace, de-

velopment, cooperation, and mutual benefit and uphold its fundamental foreign policy goal of preserving world peace and promoting common development. China remains firm in its commitment to strengthening friendship and cooperation with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and to forging a new form of international relations featuring mutual respect, fairness, justice, and win-win cooperation.

We call on the people of all countries to work together to build a community with a shared future for mankind, to build an open, inclusive, clean, and beautiful world that enjoys lasting peace, universal security, and common prosperity. We should respect each other, discuss issues as equals, resolutely reject the Cold War mentality and power politics, and take a new approach to developing state-to-state relations with communication, not confrontation, and with partnership, not alliance. We should commit to settling disputes through dialogue and resolving differences through discussion, coordinate responses to traditional and non-traditional threats, and oppose terrorism in all its forms. We should be good friends to the environment, cooperate to tackle climate change, and protect our planet for the sake of human survival. China remains firm in pursuing an independent foreign policy of peace. We respect the right of the people of all countries to choose their own development path. China will never pursue development at the expense of others' interests, but nor will China ever give up its legitimate rights and interests. No one should expect us to swallow anything that undermines our interests. China pursues a national defense policy that is in nature defensive. China's development does not pose a threat to any other country. No matter what stage of development it reaches, China will never seek hegemony or engage in expansion.

China will actively promote international cooperation through the Belt and Road Initiative. In doing so, we hope to achieve policy, infrastructure, trade, financial, and people-to-people connectivity and thus build a new platform for international cooperation to create new drivers of shared development. China follows the principle of achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration in engaging in global governance. China stands for democracy in international relations and the equality of all countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor. China supports the United Nations in playing an active

role in international affairs, and supports the efforts of other developing countries to increase their representation and strengthen their voice in international affairs

XIII. Exercising Strict Governance over the Party and Improving the Party's Ability to Govern and Lead

As socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era, our Party must get a new look and make new accomplishments.

We must fully recognize the long-term and complex nature of the tests confronting the Party as they relate to governance, reform and opening up, the market economy, and the external environment. We must also fully recognize the intensity and severity of the dangers of a lack of drive, incompetence, disengagement from the people, inaction, and corruption. So we must focus on solving problems, maintain strategic resolve, and ensure strict Party self-governance.

The general requirements for Party building for the new era are:

- * Uphold and strengthen overall Party leadership and ensure that the Party exercises effective self-supervision and practices strict self-governance in every respect;

- * Take strengthening the Party's long-term governance capacity and its advanced nature and purity as the main thrust; take enhancing the Party's political building as the overarching principle; take holding dear the Party's ideals, convictions, and purpose as the underpinning; and take harnessing the whole Party's enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity as the focus of efforts;

- * Make all-round efforts to see the Party's political building enhanced, its theory strengthened, its organizations consolidated, its conduct improved, and its discipline enforced, with institution building incorporated into every aspect of Party building;

- * Step up efforts to combat corruption and continue to improve the efficacy of Party building;

- * Build the Party into a vibrant Marxist governing party that is always at the forefront of the times, enjoys the wholehearted support of the people, has the courage to reform itself, and is able to withstand all tests.

1. Putting the Party's political building first

The primary task of political Party building is to ensure

that the whole Party obeys the Central Committee and upholds its authority and centralized, unified leadership. All Party members must closely follow the Party's political line, strictly observe its political discipline and rules, and closely align themselves with the Central Committee in terms of political stance, direction, principle, and path. Every member of the Party must hold the Party Constitution in great reverence, act in strict accordance with the code of conduct for intraparty political life under new circumstances, and make intraparty activities more politically oriented, up-to-date, principled, and effective. We must guard against the rules of business dealings eroding intraparty conduct, and foster a healthy political atmosphere of integrity within the Party.

We must foster values like loyalty, honesty, impartiality, adherence to fact, and integrity; guard against and oppose self-centered behavior, decentralism, behavior in disregard of the rules, a silo mentality, unprincipled nice-guyism, and sectarianism, factionalism, and patronage. We must resolutely oppose double-dealing and duplicity.

2. Arming the whole Party with the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era

Theory is fundamental to Party building. Our revolutionary ideals soar beyond the skies. The noble ideal of Communism and the shared ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics are our source of strength and political soul as Chinese Communists; they also form the theoretical foundation of Party solidarity and unity.

3. Training a contingent of competent and professional officials

Party officials are a central pillar of strength for the cause of our Party and country. We must adhere to the principle of the Party supervising officials; select officials on the basis of both integrity and ability, with priority given to integrity, and on the basis of merit regardless of background; and ensure that those who are dedicated, impartial, and upright should be appointed. We must implement in earnest the criteria for evaluating good officials.

In selecting and appointing officials, we must adopt the right approach, with emphasis on political performance.



We will promote and put in important positions those Party officials who do well according to the following criteria: they maintain political integrity, think in terms of the big picture, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership; they have full confidence in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics; they uphold the authority of the Central Committee and faithfully follow the Party's theories, lines, principles, and policies; and they are loyal to the Party, have moral integrity, and demonstrate a keen sense of responsibility. We will strengthen leadership teams at all levels by appointing competent officials. People with talent are a strategic resource for China as it endeavors to achieve national rejuvenation and stay ahead in international competition. We must follow the principle of the Party exercising leadership over personnel, assemble the best minds across the land and draw fully on their expertise, and step up efforts to make China a talent-strong country.

4. Strengthening primary-level Party organizations

Primary-level Party organizations do the groundwork to ensure the Party's lines, principles, policies, decisions, and plans are implemented. We will work to ensure that primary-level Party organizations in enterprises, villages, Party and government departments, schools, research institutes, sub-districts, communities, and social organizations play a key role in communicating the Party's propositions, carrying out the Party's decisions, overseeing community-level social governance, uniting and mobilizing the people, and promoting reform and development.

We will do more to recruit new Party members from among industrial workers, young people working in agriculture, well-educated groups, and people working in non-public economic entities and social organizations. We will give more incentives, solicitude, and assistance to Party members.

5. Working ceaselessly to improve Party conduct and enforce Party discipline

Our Party comes from the people, has its roots among the people, and is dedicated to serving the people. Once the

Party becomes disengaged from the people, it will lose its vitality. In improving Party conduct, we must focus on maintaining the Party's close bond with the people, keep them firmly in mind, develop a closer affinity with them, and keep working to foster stronger public support for the Party's governance. We must earnestly address all issues the people are strongly concerned about, and resolutely correct any behavior that undermines the people's interests.

6. Securing a sweeping victory in the fight against corruption

The people resent corruption most; and corruption is the greatest threat our Party faces. We must have the resolve and tenacity to persevere in the never-ending fight against corruption. Only by intensifying efforts to address both the symptoms and root causes of corruption—by making sure that officials are honest, government is clean, and political affairs are handled with integrity—can we avoid history's cycle of rise and fall and ensure the long-term stability of the Party and the country.

Currently, the fight against corruption remains grave and complex; we must remain as firm as a rock in our resolve to build on the overwhelming momentum and secure a sweeping victory. We will continue to see that there are no no-go zones, no ground is left unturned, and no tolerance is shown for corruption. We will impose tight constraints, maintain a tough stance and a long-term deterrence, punish both those who take bribes and those who offer them, and prevent interest groups from arising within the Party.

7. Improving Party and state oversight systems

To improve the Party's ability to purify itself, it is essential that we strengthen Party self-supervision and subject ourselves to public oversight. We must strengthen checks on and oversight over the exercise of power, and ensure that power is exercised under public oversight, in broad daylight, and in an institutional cage. We will strengthen top-down organizational oversight, improve bottom-up democratic oversight, practice peer oversight, and tighten regular supervision over Party members in positions of



leadership. We will deepen reform of the national supervision system, conduct trials throughout the country, and establish supervisory commissions at the national, provincial, prefectural, and county levels, which work together with the Party's disciplinary inspection commissions as one office while keeping their own identity.

8. Strengthening every dimension of our ability for governance

To lead a large socialist country of more than 1.3 billion people, our Party must be both politically strong and highly competent. We should be good at exercising political leadership. We should adopt a strategic perspective, and develop creative thinking and a dialectical approach to thinking; we should think in terms of the rule of law, and think about worst-case scenarios. We should formulate sound Party lines, principles, and policies and resolutely implement them, ensuring that the Party exercises overall leadership and coordinates work in all areas. We should be good at exercising law-based governance. We will act more quickly to put in place a system of Party rules and regulations that covers all aspects of Party leadership and Party building, and strengthen and improve Party leadership over bodies of state power.

We should be good at engaging with the people. We will develop new systems, mechanisms, ways, and means for this work. We will urge trade unions, Chinese Communist Youth League organizations, women's federations, and other people's organizations to strengthen their political consciousness, become more advanced, and better represent the people; to play their role as bridges linking the Party with the people; and to organize and motivate the people to follow the Party. A great cause calls for leadership of a strong party. As long as our Party keeps itself competent and strong, always remains true to the people's aspiration and works in concert with the people, we can and will navigate the great ship bearing the great dream of the Chinese people to conquer the waves and reach our destination.

The Chinese nation is a great nation; it has been through hardships and adversity but remains indomitable. The Chinese people are a great people; they are industrious and brave; and they never pause in the pursuit of progress.

The Communist Party of China is a great party; it has the courage to fight and the mettle to win.

A nation will prosper only when its young people thrive; a country will be full of hope and have a great tomorrow only when its younger generations have ideals, ability, and a strong sense of responsibility. The Chinese Dream is a dream about history, the present, and the future. It is a dream of our generation, but even more so, a dream of the younger generations. The Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation will be realized ultimately through the endeavors of young people, generation by generation.

All of us in the Party should care about young people and set the stage for them to excel. To all our young people, you should have firm ideals and convictions, aim high, and have your feet firmly on the ground. You should ride the waves of your day; and in the course of realizing the Chinese Dream, fulfill your youthful dreams, and write a vivid chapter in your tireless endeavors to serve the interests of the people.

A just cause should be pursued for the common good. Rooted in a land of more than 9.6 million square kilometers, nourished by a nation's culture of more than 5,000 years, and backed by the invincible force of more than 1.3 billion people, we have an infinitely vast stage of our era, a historical heritage of unmatched depth, and incomparable resolve that enable us to forge ahead on the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

We, the entire Party and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups, should rally closely around the Party Central Committee, and hold high the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We should keep on working with great determination to accomplish the three historic tasks of advancing modernization, realizing China's reunification, and preserving world peace and promoting common development; we should secure a decisive victory in finishing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects, strive for the great success of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, and see that our people realize their aspirations for a better life.

The 19th National Congress of Communist Party of China (CPC) at a Glance



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