

The New Era of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Frank N. Pieke and Bert Hofman, editors



CPC Futures

CPC Futures

The New Era of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Edited by Frank N. Pieke and Bert Hofman



© 2022 Frank N. Pieke and Bert Hofman, and the contributors



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.

Distributed for the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, by NUS Press.

Published by:
East Asian Institute
National University of Singapore
469A Bukit Timah Rd, #06-01 Tower Block
Singapore 259770

Fax: (65) 67793409

E-mail: eaisec@nus.edu.sg

Website: https://research.nus.edu.sg/eai/

Print ISBN: 978-981-185-162-9 (paper) ePDF ISBN: 978-981-185-206-0 ePub ISBN: 978-981-185-163-6

DOI: https://doi.org/10.56159/eai.52060

Cover image: iPhone template designed by rawpixel.com / Freepik

Typeset by: Ogma Solutions Pvt Ltd

Contents

List	List of Contributors		
	oduction uk N. Pieke and Bert Hofman	1	
Sect	ion 1 Chinese Politics with Xi Jinping at the Core		
1.	The CPC under Xi: Ten More Years? <i>Jude Blanchette</i>	9	
2.	CPC Elite Politics and the 20th Party Congress Chen Gang	16	
3.	Age, Factions and Specialisation in the Path to the New Leadership at the 20th Party Congress <i>Victor Shih</i>	26	
4.	A Data-driven Assessment of the CPC Leadership Lee Jonghyuk	33	
Sect	ion 2 Ideology and Legitimacy		
5.	Canonising Xi Jinping Thought – Ideological Engineering and Its Real-world Relevance <i>Heike Holbig</i>	41	
6.	Behind Xi Jinping's Resurrection of Ideological Orthodoxy Lance Gore	47	
7.	Sinification of Marxism—The CPC's Most Urgent Ideological Challenge <i>Yang Yao</i>	54	
8.	Democracy with Chinese Adjectives: Whole-process Democracy and China's Political Development Wang Zhongyuan	60	
Sect	ion 3 Building the Party-state's Governing Capacity		
9.	The Central Commission for Deepening Reform as Policy Accelerator Nis Grünberg and Vincent Brussee	71	

vi Contents

10.	Rating Citizens with China's Social Credit System Diana Fu and Rui Hou			
11.	The CPC's Global Power Frank N. Pieke	86		
12.	The People's Liberation Army as a Party Army Li Nan	95		
Section	on 4 Development, Security and the CPC			
13.	Grand Steerage as the New Paradigm for State-Economy Relations Barry Naughton	105		
14.	Common Prosperity Bert Hofman	113		
15.	Dual Circulation and Its Impact on China and the World Sarah Y. Tong	121		
16.	Reforming Public Finance for the New Era Christine Wong	128		
17.	China's Enduring Pursuit of State-Owned Enterprise Reform Wendy Leutert	137		
Section	on 5 Comprehensive National Security			
18.	Securitisation and Governance in the Xi Jinping Era Joel Wuthnow	149		
19.	The CPC and Sovereignty in a Digitally Connected World <i>John Lee</i>	157		
20.	The Rise of the Chinese Techno-Security State Tai Ming Cheung	165		
Section	on 6 The CPC, China's Rise and Geopolitical Shifts			
21.	The CPC as a Global Force: A Long-Term View Richard McGregor	175		
22.	National Security and Chinese Foreign Policy Xiaoyu Pu	181		
23.	To Change, to Compete, or to Coexist? The United States' Perceptions of the Communist Party of China from Mao to Now Paul Happle and Nathaniel Sher	188		

List of Contributors

Jude Blanchette, Freeman Chair in China Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC.

Vincent Brussee, Analyst Politics and Society, Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS), Berlin.

Chen Gang, Assistant Director and Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute (EAI), National University of Singapore.

Tai Ming Cheung, Professor, School of Global Policy and Strategy; Director, UC Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California, San Diego.

Diana Fu, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto.

Lance Gore, Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

Nis Grünberg, Lead Analyst, Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS), Berlin.

Paul Haenle, Maurice R. Greenberg Director's Chair, Carnegie China; Visiting Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

Bert Hofman, Director East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore; Professor in Practice Lee Kuan Yew School, National University of Singapore.

Heike Holbig, Professor of Political Science with a Focus on Chinese/East Asian Area Studies, Goethe University, Frankfurt/Main; Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Asian Studies, German Institute for Global and Area Studies, Hamburg.

Rui Hou, Postdoctoral Fellow in the Asian Institute at the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, University of Toronto.

John Lee, Director, East West Futures Consulting; Researcher, Leiden Asia Centre.

Lee Jonghyuk, Assistant Professor, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Wendy Leutert, Assistant Professor and GLP-Ming Z. Mei Chair of Chinese Economics and Trade, Indiana University.

Li Nan, Visiting Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

Richard McGregor, Senior Fellow, East Asia, Lowy Institute, Sydney.

Barry Naughton, So Kwan Lok Professor, School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California, San Diego.

Frank N. Pieke, Professor of Modern China Studies, Leiden University; Visiting Professor, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

Xiaoyu Pu, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Nevada, Reno.

Nathaniel Sher, Research Analyst, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Victor Shih, Associate Professor, Ho Miu Lam Chair in China and Pacific Relations, University of California, San Diego.

Sarah Y. Tong, Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.

Zhongyuan Wang, Associate Professor of Political Science, Fudan Institute for Advanced Study in Social Sciences; Deputy Director of Contemporary China Research Center at Fudan University, Shanghai.

Christine Wong, Visiting Research Professor, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore; and Bank of America Merrill Lynch Visiting Chair Professor in International Finance, Schwarzman Scholars Program, Tsinghua University, Beijing, during 2020–22.

Joel Wuthnow, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Strategic Studies, U.S. National Defense University, Washington, DC; adjunct professor, Georgetown University.

Yao Yang, Liberal Arts Chair Professor, China Center for Economic Research, National School of Development, and the Institute of South-South Cooperation and Development, Peking University.