

Title: The CIIE and the role of China in global development. What can China give to the world?



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Introduction:

The city of Shanghai will hold next November 5th-10th the 1st edition of the CIIE, the China International Import Expo. This event, that will gather politicians, businessmen, and experts from all around the world, is a chance for China to position itself as the leading country in global trade.

In a context where protectionism is the main trend in the Western world, China is making a huge effort in order to, as Xi Jinping said in the last Shanghai Cooperation Organization meeting in Qingdao, "*Maintain the rules of the World Trade Organization, support the multilateral trade system and build an open global economy*".

It is interesting how, as China "goes out" into the rest of the world, at the same time it invites other countries to "come in". The CIIE could be the "golden ticket" for many of them. Let's see what China has done so far.

40 years after the opening-up

Things have changed, a lot, and for good. Those words resume China's progress in the last decades. Let's take a look at some data:

- China's share of the world economy went from 1.8% in 1978 to 18.2 in 2017¹. Numbers that relate to previous history, where in 15th, 16th centuries, Chinese economy accounted for the 30% of the world economy.
- In terms of GDP, China is nowadays the 2nd largest economy in the world, only behind the United States of America. From 1979 to 2010, the GDP has grown in an average of 9.91%², a unique situation.
- China GDP per capita went from U\$S 100 in the 1970s to nearly U\$S 6900 in 2016³. No other country in the world but South Korea (that has a population far lower than Chinese) has seen such growth in that indicator.
- China is the 2nd largest importer in the world, being also one of the most important trading partner (if not the most important) in the majority of the nations in the world. It is also the 2nd largest consumer, which means it is an attractive destination to sell finished goods.
- China has got the biggest reserves in the world, more than U\$S 3 trillion.

Beyond economic indicators, China's qualitative position in the world also changed. Millions of people worldwide are studying mandarin; China's efforts to spread Chinese language and culture around the world have been fruitful.

The Confucius Institute (Kongzi Xueyuan 孔子学院), has set foot in the five continents. Working along with universities, it has more than 20 branches in the United Kingdom, 11 branches in Australia, and a stunning number of 93 branches in the United States⁴ (which has raised the eyebrow of many critics, the liberal academic Joseph Nye among them, who see the "Confucius" as a tool for China's sharp power⁵).

However strong China has become, many American scholars, especially John Ikenberry⁶, one of the fiercest defenders of the liberal order, believe that the "Middle Kingdom" is not a revisionist power. Far beyond that, this academic assures that "China is acting more like a great established power than a revisionist one, are using global rules and institutions to advance its own interests. They wish to enhance their positions within the system, but they are not trying to replace it". Evan Feigenbaum⁷, in the same line as Ikenberry, thinks that "China is a reluctant stakeholder, inside the tent, but dissatisfied, and that because of its rise, it has earned the leverage to demand a greater say in international affairs".

No doubt China is inside the tent. Since it's opening up, it has joined every institution that was been created post-1945 liberal order, such as the IMF, the World Bank, United Nations, and

¹ China's Reform and Opening: 40 years and counting, The Diplomat. Source: <https://thediplomat.com/2018/06/chinas-reform-and-opening-40-years-and-counting/>

² Historical GDP of China – Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historical_GDP_of_China

³ Source: Trading Economics. <https://tradingeconomics.com/china/gdp-per-capita>

⁴ Source: Dig Mandarin. <https://www.digmandarin.com/confucius-institutes-around-the-world.html>

⁵ Joseph Nye: "How sharp power threatens soft power", Foreign Affairs 24th January 2018.

⁶ G. John Ikenberry: "The future of geopolitics – The enduring power of the liberal order", Foreign Affairs May/June 2014 Issue.

⁷ Evan A. Feigenbaum: "China and the world", Foreign Affairs January/February 2016 Issue.

WTO, among others. Chinese scholar Xie Zhihai points that it was in 2010 when the country fully realized the importance of international organizations. In an article published by People's Daily, the government declared that a more comprehensive engagement with these institutions was necessary. However, it also created its own institutions. American scholar Steven Keithley⁸ points out that the Chinese did this with a fervor that hasn't been seen since the decade of 1940, when the Allies who won the World War II reshaped world order.

The Belt and Road Initiative (known by its acronym BRI, and also OBOR "One Belt, One Road"), the Export-Import Bank (EXIMBANK), the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, are among the most relevant institutions created since the opening-up of the Chinese economy. Institutions, and countries joining them, keep on growing every year. For example, last year in June it was confirmed that Argentina, Madagascar, and Tonga were approved to integrate the AIIB⁹, which now gathers more than 80 countries.

Not only Chinese new international institutions are of course younger than Bretton Woods' ones, they are also more appropriate to solve 21st century challenges. Mr. Matthew Goodman from the CSIS indicated that the creation of these institutions was the way China crystalized its relevance as a key player in the financial market.

The country is today one of the biggest global goods provider, and the CIIE is meant to confirm China as the leader of global trade.

The CIIE

The Chinese International Import Exposition that will be held in Shanghai during the 5th and 10th of November this year is a huge step in order to support trade liberalization and economic globalization, in this case, opening the Chinese market to the world. The country is eager to import goods for a value of U\$S 10 trillion for the next five years¹⁰.

Among the Exposition objectives are providing countries and regions a new channel to do business, strengthen cooperation, and promote common prosperity of the world economy and trade. It is expected that firms from more than 100 countries will take part, as long as more than 150.000 local and foreign purchasers.

Having seen the importance of international institutions for China's future, let's analyze the reasons behind these initiatives.

⁸ Steven Keithley: "China's new global institutions", The Diplomat, July 25th 2014.

⁹ Source: El CronistaComercial (Argentinian newspaper). AIIB approved Argentina's submit to join in. Link: <https://www.cronista.com/economiapolitica/El-Banco-Asiatico-de-Inversion-aprobo-el-ingreso-de-la-Argentina-20170616-0064.html>

¹⁰ CIIE official website. Source: <https://www.shanghaixpo.org.cn/zbh/Introduction/>

China's goals for the next years

What are China's goals? Xi Jinping indicated his next term goal in the title of his last CPC National Congress Report, delivered last October 18th2017: "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"¹¹.

Prosperous Society refers to the Chinese. The CPC owes to people, and nowadays people's needs have changed. Xi would say that "the principal contradiction facing Chinese society has evolved". The craving for a better-life is an ever-growing need, and the CPC can't blame its people for asking for more and better things, but to understand that "it's the way things happen" and start working harder, in order to achieve better results.

Along with a review of his first period as China's leader, Xi also proposed a new framework, whose main principles will inspire these new term's initiatives. Among these are two that I consider crucial for the days coming: The first, committed to a people-centered approach. Xi understands that the driving force that will let the people accomplish the ultimate goal of economic rejuvenation is themselves. The second principle which is pretty similar has to do with the "upgrading" of Chinese democracy. Both principles put people at the center of the stage, not only as the receivers of the benefits of ruling Party's effort, but also behind the wheel, actively taking part in the decision process.

Former Australia's Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, theorized about China's view of its own situation¹², represented by seven "core priorities" which are connected to each other, and each represents a challenge for the Chinese government. The first one is the good health of the CPC; second is to assure Chinese people's unity; third is maintain the economy growing; fourth are securing the borders; fifth is to assure peace at the South China Sea; sixth is to keep on working on cooperation, especially with border countries; and last, but not least, is to take the lead on global order. However sequential this process might seem, some goals must be maintained once reached. A good economic health is a constant challenge, and Xi is aware of this situation.

The CIIE therefore is a chance to bring to the Chinese people the opportunities to get better goods and services. As the Xi government stated, people have ever-growing needs. We can't change that, so the best alternative is to accept it and work in consequence, the challenge is to maintain people satisfied, as a proof that Chinese socialism is the best system for all.

Accepting reality is also realizing that China is not anymore the "World's factory", and far from being a setback, it is good news for the Chinese government, and at the same time, a new challenge that must be taken in order to achieve the 2049 goal. We are still 30 years away from the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the PRC, but that doesn't mean there are no checkpoints before. Of course there are, the first is 2025, and is called "Made in China".

¹¹Full text of Xi Jinping's report at 19th CPC National Congress:

http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/19thcpcnationalcongress/2017-11/04/content_34115212.htm

¹²Kevin Rudd: "KEVIN RUDD SPEAKS TO THE US MILITARY ACADEMY WEST POINT: UNDERSTANDING CHINA'S RISE UNDER XI JINPING". Source: <http://kevinrudd.com/blog/2018/03/05/kevin-rudd-speaks-to-the-us-military-academy-west-point-understanding-chinas-rise-under-xi-jinping/>

"Made in China" and "World's factory" don't look like contradictory terms, however they are. Those days when there were Chinese "imitations" of everything will soon be gone.

Made in China 2025 is the name of the strategy that means China is to become a high end industry beacon¹³. Then, we can conclude China's eagerness to import every type of goods is directly related to its goal to export high end products to the whole world. In order to modernize the industry sector, the government needs to bring to the Chinese production system intelligent production and core technology.

We will soon see if the plan is going well. By 2020 Chinese finished goods must have at least a 70% of Chinese-made components. Industrial restructuring is not the only indicator; Chinese officials expect the country's growth rate to slow down¹⁴. However, that situation can be tolerated by the Chinese as long as there is little unemployment and a greener and cleaner environment too.

I mentioned that these goals must be reached before 2049, by the time the PRC celebrates its 100th anniversary. According to Made in China 2025, it should also be a date where the Chinese could celebrate being among the three main high-tech industries.

Can this be done in the context of a trade war? Mr. Pepe Escobar from Asia Times thinks that it is still possible, as American firms have not only heavily invested in China, but also transferred lots of technology, which is needed to improve the industry capacities.

Supposing the Americans withdraw, China has already got a Plan B. And it's called Germany. Specialists from Geopolitical Futures affirm that up to 2018 China is the 3rd largest export destination for German goods, and the European country is the 6th largest export destination for Chinese goods¹⁵. In this context of trade war between US and China, stakes of a tighter cooperation between the 2nd and 4th largest economies in the world, are high.

China has in Germany an interesting mirror, in terms of a country that has built a powerful high-end industry sector, one of the most powerful in the world, and that therefore has become the key economy in Europe. It could happen the same with China in Asia? Which are the similarities, and which are the differences?

It is not casual then that Chinese investors are heavily dropping their money on German firms. According to data provided by the Bertelsmann Foundation, a German think-tank, Chinese investment in Germany is made in sectors which are mentioned by the Made in China 2025 strategy, like biomedicine. However these are not good news for the Germans, who see Chinese investment as a "Trojan horse". The future is competitive, and China knows perfectly how to play the game.

There is one more interesting point about Sino-German relationship, and is the fact that the European country is actually a hub for Chinese goods in the continent. There is a rail that

¹³Pepe Escobar: Why even a trade war won't derail Made in China 2025. Source: Asia Times -

<http://www.atimes.com/article/even-trade-war-wont-derail-made-china-2025/?cn-reloaded=1>

¹⁴Global Times: "China's high-quality development requires further reform, opening up: senior official". Source: <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1102929.shtml>

¹⁵Geopolitical Futures: "The future of German-Chinese trade: Prospects and pitfalls". Source: <https://geopoliticalfutures.com/future-german-chinese-trade-prospects-pitfalls/>

connects the German city of Duisburg with the Chinese city of Chongqing, which leads us to the next topic, maybe the first big step that puts Xi's China under the spotlight: The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI, also known as OBOR – One Belt, One Road).

BRI, a road to China's development

The Belt and Road Initiative is by far the most ambitious plan in China's history¹⁶. It seeks to build and reform the infrastructure in different parts of the world. The Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Silk Maritime Road are both initiatives meant to transform China and participating countries into a big network that will spread prosperity and development along its lines.

The Chinese government, represented these years in Xi Jinping's thought, is evoking glorious years through this proposal, as it summons the "Silk Road Spirit". Xi is convinced that BRI is the key for peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit, just like the original Silk Road did in the past.

This plan is also a conclusion of China's vision of global context. Peace, cooperation, development, and mutual benefit are factors that are today present in this world order. However, it failed at delivering the expected outcomes. Recovery after the 2008 crash didn't happen as fast as needed, access to financial markets is not a privilege for most countries, and therefore, asymmetries in development are the new trend.

The BRI is the key to solve that situation, and transform global economy through cooperation, putting lesser countries in the road to development again, and in consequence strengthening world regions. It's such an interesting remark to mention the importance of regions. Lest we forget, China's path through global governance requires a strong regional position.

Also, China recognizes in this initiative that its economy is tightly linked to the rest of the countries' economies. If the world goes well, then China goes well too. BRI is then a huge boost in confidence. China is looking for its own development, and at same time looking for its partners' economies to develop too.

Reaching that goal would mean also that the world will have effectively shifted towards the East. Things will never be the same then. China wants to be the leader of the trade, the question now is, is there any resistance outside? Of course there are. Let's see next what traditional powers are doing to counter China's assertiveness.

How to know if the path that China took is the correct one? Easy, show what its neighbors and rivals are doing.

Some analysts believe that China's plan is not attractive to its neighbors, and so their chances to emerge as a regional hegemon declines. Sounds true, however, Chinese cooperation initiatives among Asian countries multiplied in the last years.

What academics see as "hostile reactions" has to do with a natural manner of nations that recognize a neighbor as an emerging power among the rest. So what these people see as a

¹⁶Source: Belt and Road Forum. <http://www.beltandroadforum.org/english/n100/2017/0410/c22-45.html>

contingence for China's interests, and the best indicator that things are going well according to Xi Jinping's idea.

What about rival powers? Europe's most important countries have joined many Chinese-created global institutions. For example, the UK, Germany, and France are part of the BRI forum¹⁷. As said before, this mega-initiative to build transnational infrastructure in the five continents have raised many eyebrows, as it is such a good opportunity for development. Asked about the reasons that brought them to join, representatives from the countries mentioned affirm that is better to influence institutions from the inside than criticizing from the outside. Pretty similar to Chinese approach to Bretton Woods' institutions, it's also such a wise decision.

At the same time, Trump's policy in the United States is keeping out of this discussion, and resolving unilaterally to impose tariffs on different export goods. Though it was thought to be a direct attack on China, several countries are affected by these decisions too. In fact, many analysts suggest that increase in the aggressiveness of the United States last measures is directly related to last Chinese official announcements on its ambitious project to transform its industrial sector¹⁸.

Trade war is no coincidence. It happens at a time when the Chinese economy is broadly opening, and when its national firms, under the "Made in China 2025" wing, are starting to compete with ease in global markets.

According to specialized media, 3 of the 5 most successful smartphone brands in 2018 are Chinese. Huawei is the 3rd largest seller, Xiaomi (which sells doubled since last year) is 4th, and Oppo is 5th. Its phones are not only the most sold, but some of their models, like Huawei P20, are among the media's favorites, praising their superior quality and performance. Huawei also escalated nine positions in the Forbes Most Valuable Brands 2018, holding the 79th position with a value of US\$ 8900 billion.

As we can see, the Chinese brands are getting stronger every year. Therefore, traditional countries are starting to make their moves. Donald Trump last announcement on tariffs and investment is keen on reducing Chinese firms' chances to invest in American businesses.

However, the tension created by this conflict shouldn't last long. Beijing University of International Business scholar Zhuang Rui believes that stable economic growth from the two countries plays a vital role in promoting trade in the global market¹⁹. China and the United States must keep on talking in order to safeguard the entire global market system. But maybe, as Feigelbaum (mentioned before in the article) thinks, what the United States is doing is changing tactics, and mounting a stronger offense instead of keeping on playing perpetual defense in order to adapt to China's new position in the world.

¹⁷Eswar Prasad: "How China Aims to Limit the West's Global Influence" Source: New York Times - <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/01/opinion/china-west-democracy.html>

¹⁸ Martina, Yao, Chen: "Exclusive: Facing U.S. blowback, Beijing softens 'Made in China 2025' message" Source: Reuters - <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trade-china-madeinchina2025-exclu/exclusive-facing-us-blowback-beijing-softens-made-in-china-2025-message-idUSKBN1JL12U>

¹⁹ Huang Ge: "China to safeguard global trade system". Source: Global Times - <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1102395.shtml>

The chinese consumer

Demanding customers are everywhere, not only in China; many analysts here in Latin America tend to repeat that it is a global trend. Potential customers from every country in the world today can choose from a myriad of options thanks to trade liberalization and internet, that allows them to navigate and compare goods, so they ask for the best product or service.

What is different in China is the increasing number of new consumers that join the market every year. That is a huge opportunity the CIIE offers to the world, the possibility to enter into one of the most attractive markets in the world. However competitive it could be, marketers say "a new consumer is a new opportunity". Brands from every country in the world should try to hit first this time, as it will count for two.

Xi is well aware of consumers. As he mentioned at the 19th CPC National Congress Report, needs to be met for the people to live better lives are increasingly broad. As a society evolves, needs not only multiply, they also become more complex. What worked in the past, could not work today or in the future. Government is working in consequence, as the only way to generate better outcomes for its people, is to constantly reform in order to avoid losing sight. Not knowing what citizens want or feel is the path to the fall of democracy.

Worldwide, the consumer today not only asks for a fair price, it also chooses products from companies that take care of the environment, for example. As Argentinian economist Bernardo Kilksberg thinks, to do business "responsibly" is the way to do business in the 21st century.

The CIIE is a wonderful chance not only for foreign firms, but also for local businesses, that will find in Shanghai the biggest brands in the world doing business, being such an opportunity to imitate such good practices. If leading global trade is the goal, then doing business responsibly will be one of the tactics.

What else can China give to the world?

Thinking that China's aim is to be the global trade leader, is not wise. China is looking for its own development, and in chase of its main goal, is helping others also to develop. We've seen in Xi's speech in the 19th CPC National Congress. Website "China's Daily" points that the word "development"²⁰ was by far the most mentioned by the Chinese leader. Also in previous occasions he has talked about it. For example, during the UN Sustainable Development Summit 2015 in New York, he remarked that "the world must focus on the key issue – development (...) development can eliminate the root causes of conflicts, and protect the basic rights of people".

In this phase, seeking for development means that some of the features seen in China will no longer be seen in the future. Resources are scarce, and those countries, which want to lead, must use them wisely.

This situation opens up a huge opportunity for lesser nations, a sort of a win-win situation. The CIIE is another step towards China's main goal, but also for these other states. China is celebrating this year the 40th anniversary of its opening up, inviting others to come in.

²⁰ China's Daily: Xi's views on development. Source: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2017-03/15/content_28563977.htm

As said before, Henry Kissinger, Amitav Acharya and John Ikenberry, among other scholars, truly believe that China is not trying to overthrow the current order but to renegotiate some of its terms, which are undoubtedly out of date.

China is nowadays playing a different game, according to its position as the greatest emerging power in the world, and the 2nd largest economy (that will soon reach the 1st position); a game that fashions a different way of doing multilateralism. Eswar Prasad, from the New York Times, points out that entering the WTO heavily helped the country to locate Chinese goods around the world. However, the situation wasn't the same for producers who wanted to compete in the Chinese market, and so it refers to previous years' policies as "unilateral (in line to what Acharya and Kissinger think)".

In order to jump into the next level, reciprocity will be needed, therefore China has to open its doors to those who some decades ago opened the door and let the Middle Kingdom come in. Creating global goods like the CIIE is then a strategic step into a deeper cooperation that will mend previous externalities.

Also, Premier Li Keqiang anticipated last May that more foreign investor-friendly measures will be rolled out to further boost opening-up and economic upgrading²¹. Government officials are well aware of the importance of foreign direct investment (FDI) in this process of transforming China into a high-end mecca. Thanks to FDI, innovation and corporative culture is spreading across the country.

On the other hand, some theorists like Andrew Hurrell were very critic of Chinese and other emerging powers conducts "on global order". When the BRICS took shape, the expectation was higher than maybe, these countries' real intentions. Both he and Acharya remarked that their proposals weren't attractive.

However, these academics should remember that to see Western institutions reach full scope it took many years of tough work, too. The world was very different before 1991. Some of the liberal order main institutions saw the light even after that year. WTO foundation took place in 1995.

Also, the institutions created after 1945 aren't a bed of roses. IMF's hands are tied with US veto power (liberal theorists would say that international institutions are meant to protect the hegemon's interests, so this fact shouldn't be of any surprise). At the AIIB, although China holds a staggering 28% of its share, it does not have veto power, allowing lesser associates to participate in the decision process in such a more effective way.

Emerging powers then shouldn't be scared of taking their first steps toward global governance for two reasons: First, taking at least a step is better than none. Second, institutionalization is not easy, but it is today a must if your goal is to lead.

We all should praise Chinese courage to create the CIIE. The exposition is not only one of the biggest steps towards a deeper cooperation among China and the rest of the world, it is also the consolidation of China's position as a global goods provider. Next November those who

²¹China will open wider to attract foreign investment – Source: China Economic Net
http://en.ce.cn/main/latest/201805/31/t20180531_29297728.shtml

visit Shanghai will see Chinese worldview in action. We should give the Chinese enough **time** to see its trees bear its fruits before criticizing it.

Before finishing, a call for prudence

Among the most remarkable theorists of international relations, prudence is always mentioned as one of the most important (if not the most) virtue among great powers. Wanting more power shouldn't put in danger what it's already got. Protecting its interests then is a double-edged sword, if it's not done correctly.

After analyzing China's strengths, weaknesses, and the opportunities and threats that lie outside its border, it's easy to see a positive perspective for its intentions. The road chosen is the correct one, soon more development and prosperity will be available for Chinese people.

However, China must not lose focus. Traditional powers are already redesigning their strategies in order to retaliate. That match hasn't finished yet. SWOT analysis suggests relying only on what we can surely do, or can surely know; our strengths and weaknesses are factors we can handle; the other 50% (opportunities and threats) is what Chinese strategist Sun Tzu would say about conditions for victory. Knowing ourselves is the first 50%, as necessary to win as the other 50%. Cooperating with other countries is crucial.

Finally, enjoying the road should be as fulfilling as reaching the goal. China's path to glory is of course filled with obstacles, but so it has been in the past. As an Argentinian writer named Santiago Kovadloff said few years ago, life is answering questions, a never-ending story. Today is Xi's time to expand China's knowledge in order to assure development. And as Spanish writer Ortega y Gasset would say, we should always see the past with gratitude, as it was thanks to it that we are here.

Conclusions

Finally, I would like to share with you some thoughts about what the West has been thinking of China the last few years.

It's been more than 40 years (it was actually some years before the opening to the world of China, which we commemorate these days) since former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger visited China for the first time. I recall his dialog with Premier Zhou Enlai. He said to his Chinese counterpart that China was for him, and for the American delegation that joined him in his visit, a "land of mystery", and Zhou responded that "you will find it not mysterious, when you have become familiar with it, it will not seem so mysterious as before". The Premier was right; almost a billion of Chinese men and women in that time didn't find it mysterious at all.

It's high time westerners (including myself) start to see China (and the whole world) with a "Chinese perspective". Acharya²² wondered few years ago why there weren't any non-western international relations theories. Among the reasons mentioned, he says non-Western countries are still catching up (the West, says the scholar, got a big head start). I wonder how long we shall keep on thinking that this situation is still happening. Many countries have done enough to get into world stage, especially China.

²² Acharya, Buzan: "Non-Western International Relations theory?", Routledge, 2010.

It's also time westerners start to abandon the idea that China is applying sharp power. Last WTO conference in my homeland, Argentina, showed in which side the great powers were. And the Chinese were those who praised for free trade, and encouraged fellow nations to keep on working in that direction. And it didn't need any sharp manner to make us aware that free trade is what this world needs.

Some might say that China is a country that looks for its own interests. Every country in the world does, so I find no reason not to cooperate with the Chinese. The CIIE will undoubtedly be a tipping point that will trigger closer ties with the world. Initiatives of this kind are part of what Xi calls "actively participating in the evolution and construction of the global governance system²³".

As a guest in the next Young Sinologists Program, I truly celebrate that we can work together is this agenda, bringing our positions and worldviews closer. It's time for the West to meet with Chinese wisdom, analyze Chinese solutions, and experience Chinese strength. Long time ago these people stood up. Today they are going forward and showing the way, it's up to us now to keep up with them.

²³ Speech delivered by President Xi at the NPC closing meeting. Source: China's Daily.
http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hkedition/2018-03/22/content_35894512.htm