

ROBERT LAWRENCE KUHN

The five major development concepts

China's economy is in historic transition. Opportunities and challenges abound. China's problems are daunting: slower growth, social imbalances, industrial overcapacity, excessive debt, massive pollution — the list goes on. How to address such diverse, complex issues? China has an overarching, guiding strategy. According to President Xi Jinping, China's development model, going forward, will be driven by "innovation, coordination, green, openness and sharing". It's called the "Five Major Development Concepts".

Why these five concepts? How does each work? Why are they amalgamated? Why this order? Moreover, since each of the five concepts is already well known and commonly prescribed, why now this guiding, integrated strategy?

I address these questions in a series of six essays — this overview, and one on each of the five concepts. They are based on six episodes of my TV show, *Closer to China with R.L.Kuhn*, on CCTV News, which tells the true story of

China via China's thought leaders. (Watch "The Five Major Development Concepts" on "Closer to China with R.L.Kuhn" — CCTV News, Sundays 9:30 am and 9:30 pm China time, beginning September 25.) These episodes are in turn based on a new book, *Pioneering China*. In the book, the Five Major Development Concepts are explained in theory and illustrated in practice through real-world case studies.

Guided by the book, I traveled across China with our CCTV crew to see how these five concepts are being implemented. It was an adventure.

I was pleased to find "Innovative Development" in the top spot, the first of the five development concepts. It signals that China's leaders appreciate the primary role of reform in the country's economic and social transformation. Reform requires change, change requires doing things differently, and doing things differently requires innovation. I looked for two kinds of innovation: obviously in science and technology, but also in management and processes.

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In order to optimize economic development, the efficient allocation of resources is essential. That's why "Coordinated Development" is the second development concept. While China now recognizes that the market must play a "decisive" role, still there are issues, such as when provinces and cities compete with each other by developing similar industries. Other issues requiring coordination include how to integrate diverse regions and rebalance urban and rural areas.

Pollution has become a scourge in China, the debilitating consequences of rapid industrial development. Chinese people are exceedingly displeased to see their air, water and soil so polluted, and the government has responded by

elevating "Green Development", the third development concept, to highest national importance. One of the pioneers has been East China's Zhejiang province, where in 2005 Xi Jinping, then Zhejiang Party secretary, famously said: "Clear waters and green mountains are mountains of gold and silver." Putting the theory into practice, Zhejiang has pioneered an "eco-compensation" system, which enables regions to both preserve the environment and develop eco-friendly industries.

I've been visiting China since the late 1980s and I bear witness to China's historic development. "Open Development", the fourth development concept, is exemplified by China's free trade zones, the Belt and Road Initiative, and Chinese companies going abroad (building infrastructure, selling high-speed rail, even buying foreign companies).

China cannot become a "moderately prosperous society" until its economic and social imbalances — particularly between rural and urban areas — are reduced and poverty is eliminated. That's why "Shared Development", the

fifth development concept, is vital. Shared development comes last, not because it is least important, but because it requires the success of the first four development concepts.

As China's economy settles into its "new normal", with slower growth and multiple challenges, Xi calls for market and government, working together, to optimize and balance efficiency and fairness. The government, in Xi's philosophy, is "smart", while the market is "decisive". That's why his Five Major Development Concepts now inform the thinking and guide the behavior of officials at all levels of government.

For China to fulfill its first comprehensive goal of becoming a "moderately prosperous society" by 2020, its economy must transition and its society must rebalance — and to bring about such major transformations, the Five Major Development Concepts are crucial.

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Snowden deserves not only pardon, but also the Nobel Peace Prize



CHEN WEIHUA

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In the weeks before Chinese President Xi Jinping and US President Barack Obama met at the Sunnylands resort in California in June 2013, the US administration had spared little effort in portraying China as a villain in cyberspace.

The revelation made by former US National Security Agency contractor Edward Snowden just days before the Sunnylands meeting, however, exposed the real villain to the world. It showed that whatever other countries had done in cyber surveillance was nothing compared with the gigantic scale of operations launched by the NSA, often labeled "No Such Agency".

For the rest of the world, Snowden is a whistleblower and a hero because he revealed the US government's secret surveillance programs across the world, whose targets included leaders of countries that are US allies. Such spying, which violates people's privacy and civil rights, often involves willing and unwilling collaboration with several major US tech companies.

In the US, the debate on whether Snowden is a hero, patriot or traitor is still a divisive issue even though his revelation compelled the US administration and Congress to correct so many mistakes. For example, the panel appointed by Obama to review NSA surveillance programs made dozens of reform recommendations. A federal appeals court ruled NSA's call-tracking program exposed by Snowden illegal. And the USA Freedom Act passed by the US Congress ended the bulk collection of phone data by the government.

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In the past week, Snowden has again been in the spotlight. Oliver Stone's movie *Snowden* hit US theaters on Sept 16. And Snowden has sought Obama's pardon, arguing that his leak of NSA surveillance programs was "not only morally right" but also "left citizens better off".

On Sept 14, the American Civil Liberties Union launched the Pardon Snowden campaign to urge Obama to pardon Snowden. The campaign was joined by Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and more than 100 legal scholars, former national security officials, business leaders, human rights activists and artists.

Most of the people who believe that Snowden is a traitor and should spend the rest of his life in prison argue that he broke an oath and put the US national security in danger. It is true that Snowden breached the trust placed in him, but he did so after finding out the US administration was involved in serious wrongdoings, which is a much more serious crime than people realize. Even former US attorney general Eric Holder admitted that "we can certainly argue about the way in which Snowden did what he did, but I think that he actually performed a public service by raising the debate that we engaged in and by the changes that we made".

However, the US House Intelligence Committee unanimously signed a letter to Obama on Sept 15 not to pardon Snowden.

Obama once said the debate triggered by Snowden "will make us stronger", yet it does not look like he will have the good sense to pardon Snowden before leaving the White House in January.

Both Republican and Democratic presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton are against granting Snowden a pardon. The only 2016 presidential candidate who supported Snowden is no longer in the race. Democrat Bernie Sanders said, "the information disclosed by Snowden has allowed Congress and the American people to understand the degree to which the NSA has abused its authority and violated our constitutional rights".

For the third year in a row, Snowden has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Whoever wins the prize on Oct 7, it is clear that Snowden has done the world a great service, so much more than Obama had when he was awarded the prize in 2009.

CHEN LIANG

A cuddly flagship species of conservation

I'm not a fan of giant pandas, though they are cute and cuddly, and their unusual upright-sitting pose, bamboo diet, black-and-white fur and big eyes — thanks their eye patches — give them a comic appearance. And I know they are shy, and rare in the wild.

In particular, I don't like the fact that people's obsession with pandas has helped them steal the thunder of all the other animals in China. Many such animals are much more endangered in the wild — for example, different species of gibbons in China and the spoon-billed sandpiper, a sparrow-sized bird, just about 500 of which survive.

In fact, the panda is no longer endangered, as the International Union for Conservation of Nature recently downgraded its status from "endangered" to "vulnerable" on its red list of threatened species, because its numbers in the wild have been rising.

But monkeys and birds can't compete with pandas when it comes to attracting eyeballs in this age of social media. Video clips of pandas are omnipresent on the internet, many of which have been viewed by millions of netizens.

One such hit video shows a giant panda, named Meng Lan, "talking" to her caretaker who speaks the Sichuan dialect at the Chengdu Research Base of Giant Panda Breeding in Chengdu, capital of Southwest China's Sichuan province.

In the video clip streamed to popular Chinese micro blog Sina



LI MIN / CHINA DAILY

Weibo, the keeper is seen carrying the giant panda, which weighs 30 kilograms, in his arms. While walking, the keeper is seen talking with the animal in the Sichuan dialect. "Fatty, you're so heavy." "Are you fat?" "Who is this fatty weighing more than 30 kg?" In response to each of the keeper's questions, the panda essays a girlish "en", which sounds like "yes" to a Sichuan

native like me.

Based on the video, some media reports on pandas' "language" ability have emerged. One report claimed many giant pandas can understand the Sichuan dialect, and some can even understand Japanese, English or the Cantonese dialect.

The first part of the reports is understandable as most of pandas in captivity live in the breeding centers in Sichuan and the forests in Sichuan were home to most of their ancestors. The second part is reasonable given that very few countries have the privilege and capability to keep giant pandas in their zoos. The typical cost of loaning a pair of pandas for a decade from China is \$1 mil-

lion a year. Plus, the countries need to have close political or economic ties with China.

Now, about 50 "panda ambassadors" are living outside the Chinese mainland — in about 20 countries and regions, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Mexico, Spain, France, Japan, Germany, Australia, and Hong Kong and Macao.

This makes me think some pandas should also be able to understand French, Spanish or German. It's a classical case of conditioned reflex, a biologist friend told me. Considering a panda's natural response to its keeper's questions which we identify as the ability to understand a language, he said, how many languages pet dogs and cats have learned across the world given that they have been trained and taught in captivity for centuries?

Still, the panda video is interesting and has added to the charm of the animal as a symbol of conservation and China. More than a fascinating animal, the panda is a flagship species of a unique ecosystem found only in a few mountain ranges of Sichuan, Shaanxi and Gansu provinces in Northwest China. And living in that ecosystem are also hundreds of other endemic animals, birds and plants.

A flagship species is one that has "the ability to capture the imagination of the public and induce people to support conservation". The panda suits the bill. So let it be in the limelight.

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SHEN DINGLI

US misreads terrorism even 15 years after 9/11

The United States has not suffered any major terrorist attacks in the 15 years following the Sept 11, 2001, attacks. But that does not mean it has been free of terrorist attacks or threats; on the contrary, they are on the rise given the emergence of "lone wolf" attackers.

The past few years have seen terrorists' attempt to target Times Square in New York City, two explosions rocking Boston on the day of the city's annual marathon and, more recently, New York and New Jersey caught in the grip of panic after three bombings or bombing attempts.

The US is awkward with the fact that apart from those radical Muslims who have launched attacks in America, some of the attackers were radicalized after becoming naturalized US citizens. This shows former president George W. Bush's anti-terrorism narrative has not worked well. The US' unjustified invasion of Iraq might have

turned more Muslims into radicals, and its equally baffling, hurried withdrawal of combat troops from the fractured country has created an even fertile soil that breeds terrorists.

Nevertheless, the US has been relatively safe from terrorists because of its security strategy reform, which includes the streamlining of various security agencies and creation of some new agencies to deal with emerging threats. In particular, the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security in 2003 has made the US more secure. It has also implemented new security laws, appointed a director of national intelligence to coordinate with other agencies, and significantly increased its budget to combat terrorism.

But the results of Washington's "war on terror" have been unbalanced. While the US has become more secure, the rest of the world is suffering the consequences of rising terrorism. Europe has expe-

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rienced a number of terrorist attacks in the past years, with Paris and Brussels bearing the brunt.

The US invasion of Iraq in response to 9/11 was a complete mistake. By toppling the Saddam Hussein government in Iraq, causing the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives and unnecessarily

(and covertly) meddling in Syria's affairs, the US paved the way for the emergence of the Islamic State group that has unleashed a reign of terror in Iraq and Syria. The US invasion of Iraq, the incessant sectarian violence that followed and the Syrian civil war have turned millions of people into refugees. And the refugee crisis has made the fight against terrorism more complicated and difficult.

Although these developments should prompt the US to review its policies to combat terrorism, this is unlikely to happen because going by the presidential campaign neither candidate seems interested in doing so. Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's promise to build a new "Great Wall" may prevent illegal immigrants, including radical Muslims, from entering the US, but it cannot stop Americans within the confines of the so-called wall from becoming radicalized.

That the US should learn to distinguish terrorists from innocent

people, rather than condemning all Muslims as terrorists goes without saying. More important, the US has the responsibility to create conditions that not only prevent people from becoming terrorists, but also compel terrorists to see reason and transform themselves. Though the task is very difficult, it is not impossible. As a first step, Washington should apologize for killing so many innocent Iraqis and others in the name of "war on terror", pay adequate compensation to the bereaved and devastated families, and hold all those responsible for creating such a humanitarian disaster accountable.

Since killing innocent people will create more terrorists, the US has to find the real reasons behind the challenges posed by terrorism to secure a workable solution.

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