中国式现代化战略目标的演进及中国工业的新使命

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摘　要：本文主要概述了中国共产党对中国式现代化的领导与发展战略目标不断提升的过程，总结了中国式现代化在理论和实践上取得的创新性突破，分析了在实现第二个百年奋斗目标征程中工业对推动中国式现代化的新使命，以及坚持以五大发展理念为行动指南的必要性。本文指出，中国式现代化的提出是在现代化一般性规律基础上，以马克思主义的立场、观点和方法，对中国式现代化特征进行的全面概括，它超越一般性现代化的学术研究，使中国式现代化的理论逻辑、历史逻辑、实践逻辑更加融洽。这三个逻辑之间相互印证、相互支撑，赋予中国式现代化非常深刻的内涵。只有以人民为中心的政党才能领导一个以人为核心的现代化，在推进现代化建设过程中，中国共产党创新地提出区别于传统工业化道路的新型工业化道路，自党的十八大以来，再一次创新了中国工业化的发展道路。在第二个百年奋斗目标征程中，中国工业要抓住互联网、大数据等新一代信息技术革命的机遇，适应数据要素、数据技术对工业技术范围的改变，加快建设制造强国。

关键词：中国式现代化　工业发展　理论创新　技术范式

JEL 分类号：P11, L52, O14

党的二十大报告指出，中国式现代化是中国共产党领导的社会主义现代化，既有各国现代化的共同特征，更有基于自己国情的中国特色。工业是现代化的重要推进部门，也是体现现代化一般特征和典型特征的重要行业，总结中国式现代化进程的战略目标演进与中国工业的作用，对于理解和推进中国式现代化具有重要意义。

一、中国共产党对中国式现代化的领导及发展战略的演进

纵观世界历史，许多国家都经历了现代化的历程，但自15世纪以来，成功地走在世界前列、陆续崛起的国家只有葡萄牙、西班牙、荷兰、英国、法国、德国、日本、俄罗斯、美国。根据《世界经济千年统计》的数据，在唐宋时期，中国GDP占全球的1/4左右，是当时的先进国家。之后，随着西欧国家兴起，中国GDP在全球的份额逐步下降，1840年鸦片战争之后，中国的国力迅速衰落，以清王朝中央统治的衰败为开端，中华民族承受了前所未有的劫难。史学家们认为，中国的现代化起源于鸦片战争之

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后。为了拯救中华民族，中国人民奋起反抗，仁人志士奔走呐喊，先后启动了多轮不同类型的现代化运动，但洋务运动、戊戌变法、辛亥革命等都没有解决中国问题。外部帝国主义侵略渗透的加剧和内部地方军阀势力的上升所带来的社会混乱、战争频发、国家分裂，使中国沦为积贫积弱的落后国家。直到马克思主义传入和中国共产党的成立，中国才走向光明，开启正确的现代化道路。

（一）坚持社会主义现代化建设

中国共产党领导中国人民经过28年的浴血奋战，建立新中国，实现民族独立、人民解放，实现了中国从几千年封建专制向人民民主的伟大飞跃，中国发展开启了新纪元。史学家把不同国家现代化的模式分为模仿型、追赶型、跟随型、回应型等。事实证明，中国人民和中华民族之所以能够扭转近百年以来的历史命运，取得经济建设和社会发展的伟大成就，最根本的是有中国共产党的坚强领导。中国共产党为中华民族选择了一条正确的道路，带领全国各族人民创造了人类发展史上前所未有的经济奇迹，从根本上改变了中国人民的前途命运。在中国共产党的领导下，中国人民正行进在中华民族伟大复兴的现代化道路上。

自1949年新中国成立以来，中国工业化和现代化进程逐步推进，尽管中国在改革开放前后经历了多次冲击和挑战，但中国坚持建设社会主义现代化国家，并且进入不可逆转的发展阶段。1953年，中国共产党提出由新民主主义向社会主义过渡时期的总路线，即在一个相当长的时期内，逐步实现国家的社会主义工业化。1956年，党的八大确立了中国工业化的战略目标，即用三个“五年计划”共计15年的时间，初步建立起一个比较完整的独立工业体系。1964年，第三届全国人民代表大会进一步提出把中国逐步建成一个具有现代农业、现代工业、现代国防和现代科学技术的社会主义强国，并形成了正确处理中国社会主义建设的十大关系、走出一条适合中国国情的工业现代化道路等独创性的理论成果。但“十年动乱”影响了战略目标的实施，然而，党领导人民为实现四个现代化目标而奋斗的决心始终没有动摇（当代中国研究所，2021）。1975年，第四届全国人民代表大会第一次会议重申了三届全国人大的国民经济发展“两步走”设想，并明确了具体任务和时间表到20世纪末国民经济分两步走的战略目标。1978年，党的十一届三中全会作出把党的中心工作转移到经济建设上来的决定，拨乱反正后明确党的主要任务是继续探索中国建设社会主义的正确道路，解放和发展社会生产力，使人民摆脱贫困，尽快富裕起来，为实现中华民族伟大复兴提供新的、充满活力的体制保证和快速发展的物质条件。党的十一届三中全会制定了到21世纪中叶分三步走、基本实现社会主义现代化的发展战略，开创了中国特色社会主义现代化建设的新篇章。党的十二大到十七大，坚持以经济建设为中心，坚持发展是硬道理，提出科学技术是第一生产力，实施科教兴国、可持续发展、人才强国等重大战略，实施区域发展战略，促进城乡、区域协调发展，推进国企改革、支持非公有制经济发展，加强生态环境保护，这一系列战略的实施使得综合国力大幅度提升。党的十八大以来，中国特色社会主义进入新时代。党的主要任务是实现第一个百年奋斗目标，开启实现第二个百年奋斗目

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标的新征程，朝着实现中华民族伟大复兴的宏伟目标继续前进。党的十九大提出中国社会的主要矛盾转变为人民日益增长的美好生活的需要与不平衡不充分的发展之间的矛盾，中国经济由高速发展转向高质量发展。2020年如期实现了第一个百年奋斗目标。2022年，党的二十大上，习近平同志进一步阐述了中国式现代化的内涵和特征。从现在起，中国共产党的中心任务就是团结带领全国各族人民全面建成社会主义现代化强国，实现第二个百年奋斗目标，以中国式现代化全面推进中华民族的伟大复兴。中国式现代化是人口规模巨大的现代化，是全体人民共同富裕的现代化，是物质文明和精神文明相协调的现代化，是人与自然和谐共生的现代化，是走和平发展道路的现代化。

（二）由部门现代化到以人为核心的现代化

新中国成立伊始，党和国家领导人就把工业化、现代化建设问题提到日程上来（见图1）。但由于工业建设的重要地位，现代化建设基本等于工业化建设，1956年，第一个“五年计划”中提出了工业现代化的目标，开启156项重大工业工程项目的建设，为中国的现代化建设奠定了工业基础。1964年，第三届全国人民代表大会第一次会议上，周恩来根据毛泽东建议，在政府工作报告中首次提出“四个现代化”，即在20世纪内把中国建设成为一个具有现代农业、现代工业、现代国防和现代科学技术的社会主义强国，并进一步提出了实现“四个现代化”目标的“两步走”设想。现代化的内容由工业扩展到农业、科技、国防四个部门。改革开放前，中国虽然经受了美国的经济封锁、苏联中断经济合作、三年自然灾害、十年动乱等内外冲击和影响，但建设社会主义现代化的目标始终没有动摇，并初步建成了工业生产体系。1987年，党的十三大会议上，邓小平同志作出社会主义初级阶段经济发展分三步走的战略部署，首次把人民生活即温饱和小康水平列入现代化目标之中，其中第一步解决温饱问题和第二步达到小康水平分别按期实现。在奔向第三步目标的过程中，1997年，江泽民同志在党的十五大上进一步提出新三步走目标，即21世纪第一个十年实现国民生产总值比2000年翻一番，使人民的小康生活更加宽裕，形成比较完善的社会主义市场经济体制；再经过十年的努力，到建党一百年时，使国民经济更加发展，各项制度更加完善；到21世纪中叶建国100年时，基本实现现代化，建成富强民主文明的社会主义国家。2017年，习近平同志在党的十九大会议上提出新的发展目标，即从2020年到2035年，在全面建成小康社会的基础上，再奋斗十五年，基本实现社会主义现代化；从2035年到本世纪中叶，在基本实现现代化的基础上，再奋斗十五年，把我国建成富强民主文明和谐美丽的社会主义现代化强国。

中国式现代化内涵与目标的演进，反映出中国共产党对社会主义现代化建设的内涵和规律的认识逐步深化，也使得中国的现代化建设不再是工业单部门推进，也不再是只注意发展规模、速度，而是系统全面地发展。中国用几十年的时间走完工业发达国家几百年的工业化道路，成为发展中国家实现工业化的典范，走出发展中国家追赶发达国家的新路径。在推进现代化建设过程中，中国共产党对工业化的内涵认识更加深入，创新地提出区别于传统工业化道路的新型工业化道路。

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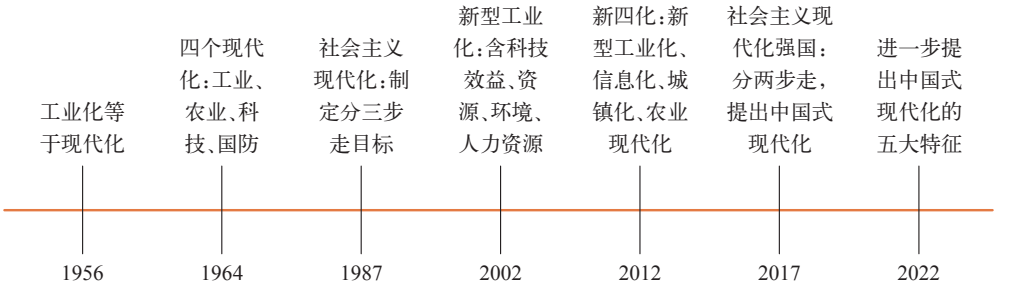

图1：中国式现代化内涵与战略目标的演进

二、中国式现代化的理论创新与初步成效

历史学家针对不同类型的现代化进程开展了比较多的研究。钱乘旦(2003)提出了现代化发展的“三种模式”，认为英、法等国采用的是“自由主义”经济发展模式，德、日等采用的是“统制式”经济模式，苏联等采用的是计划经济的发展模式。还有一些文献结合不同国家分析推进现代化进程中政治与社会经济发展的关系，以英国为原型的西方早期现代化是以现代私有制为基础，以自由市场为杠杆，虽然新生的资本主义经济因素很少受到政府的干预，但国家在推动资本原始积累、开拓海外殖民地等许多方面都起过重要作用。东亚的经济奇迹举世瞩目，其成功的经验之一是国家宏观调控性的引导与竞争性的市场机制相结合；非经济因素的作用大于经济因素的作用，其中最突出的是国家即中央政权在推动经济增长与社会变革中作用重大。关于现代化研究的文献，大多数是一般性规律的研究，即对现代化的共性进行归纳总结。习近平同志关于中国式现代化的论述，既体现中国国情，又胸怀世界；既包括全体人民，也涉及人与人之间、人与自然之间的关系；既包括物质生产和经济发展，也包括文化发展和精神文明建设。这是对中国共产党领导下的现代化最全面准确的表述，充分体现了以人民为中心的发展思想与中国式现代化内在统一的政治逻辑：一是中国式现代化贯穿着中国共产党的宗旨，体现中国共产党为人民谋幸福，及其对中国现代化的美好的构想和系统规划；二是中国式现代化具备中国特色社会主义制度的独特优势，及其所能实现的社会发展；三是中国式现代化延续了中华优秀传统文化系统观；四是中国式现代化构建了实现人的全面发展的社会形态；五是和平发展实现现代化具有重大的世界意义。中国式现代化充分体现了马克思关于人的发展规律，以人为主线把五个特征联系起来：一是中国全体人民的现代化与共同富裕之间的联系，共同富裕就是在按劳分配的基础上由全体人民共享发展的成果，但社会主义分配制度是以按劳分配为主体，共享的前提是共同参与；二是共同富裕不仅要包括物质财富的富裕，也包括精神文化层面的丰富；三是人类同享一个地球，人与自然共享美好的生活环境，构建人类命运共同体是人类文明的最高形态。

中国式现代化的提出，是在现代化一般性规律基础上，以马克思主义的立场、观点和方法，对中国式现代化特征进行的全面概括，它超越了一般性学术研究，具有深刻的理论逻辑、历史逻辑、实践

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逻辑，这三个逻辑之间相互印证、相互支撑，赋予中国式现代化非常深刻的内涵。把一切依靠人民作为创造历史伟业的根本动力，这源于以马克思主义为指导，把握人类社会发展进程的思想自觉，源于矢志不渝地对马克思主义的信仰，对社会主义、共产主义的信念。以人民为中心，体现在对方向道路的一以贯之，坚定不移地把中国特色社会主义伟大事业推向前进。从新民主主义革命到社会主义“四个现代化”建设，再到“两个一百年”奋斗目标，中国共产党一步步使中国人民站起来、富起来、强起来。以人民为中心，体现在洞察中华民族的历史命运及其背后的历史规律，主动担当中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦，布置中华民族伟大复兴战略全局。以人民为中心，是社会主义经济学与资本主义经济学的最本质区别。

党的十八大以来，中国式现代化在理论和实践上取得了创新性突破：一是对中国式现代化的特征、本质、道路进行更为全面阐述，使中国式现代化的理论逻辑、历史逻辑、实践逻辑更加融洽；二是由局部现代化扩展到全面现代化，对道路自信、理论自信、制度自信和文化自信更加坚定，体现自信自立精神，由农业、工业、国防、科技的现代化扩展为政治、法制、文化、生态环境和公共服务、国家安全等多个方面的现代化；三是从系统发展观念和促进人的全面发展出发，明确物质与精神、人与自然的关系，体现了社会主义现代化的本质特征；四是明确现代化是全体人民参与和共享的现代化，充分体现了人民至上的发展理念；五是立足国情、胸怀天下，丰富了人类现代化的路径和方案。中国式现代化不仅是建设富强、民主、文明、和谐、美丽的社会主义强国的实践指南，也是对人类文明的智慧贡献。中国式现代化是以人为核心的现代化，从不同侧面反映总体、个体、发展内容及分享的现代化，强调人与自然、中国与世界发展的关系。中国式现代化具有丰富的实践并取得巨大成效，只有以人民为中心的政党才能领导一个以人为核心的现代化。

以人为核心的现代化建设取得初步成效。2013~2020年，全国农村贫困人口累计减少9899万人，年均减贫1237万人，贫困发生率年均下降1.3个百分点。贫困人口收入水平显著提高，“两不愁三保障”全面实现。中国减贫速度明显快于全球，贫困发生率已大大低于全球平均水平，对全球减贫贡献率超过七成。地区收入差距明显缩小（见图2）。恩格尔系数被形象地誉为“社会幸福度”晴雨表，改革开放以来，中国人民生活水平大幅度提升，恩格尔系数不断下降。2021年，全国居民恩格尔系数为29.8%，比2020年下降0.4个百分点。生态环境不断改善，空气质量不断提升，水环境质量持续向好，土壤污染加重趋势得到初步遏制。物质文明与精神文明相结合的现代化，意味着除了要大力发展物质生产外，还要大力增加能够满足广大人民群众精神需要的供给，以全面满足人民日益增长的对美好生活的需要。如果没有精神文化生活的充实，就不可能有真正幸福的人生和美好的生活。文化产业也被称为精神文化产业，是指以满足人由生存到发展的多元幸福诉求为导向，以健康、绿色、时尚、智慧为特征，以旅游、文化、体育、健康、养老等为内容的新兴产业。到2020年底，全国规模以上文化及相关产业企业有6万家，实现营业收入98514亿元，比2019年增长2.2%。纵观发达国家经济发展

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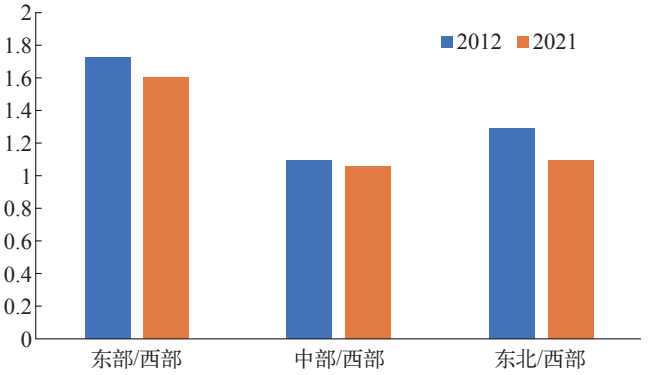

图2: 中国不同地区之间的收入差距

之路，大多伴随着对外殖民、侵略和战争。中国提出和平崛起，走和平发展之路，是对人类发展的重要贡献。习近平同志提出构建人类命运共同体理念、全球发展倡议、“一带一路”倡议，这是当代中国对世界的重要思想和理论贡献，已经成为中国引领时代潮流和人类文明进步方向的鲜明旗帜，被多次写入联合国文件，并产生了广泛而深远的影响。

三、第二个百年目标征程中工业的作用与指导思想

新中国成立70多年以来，中国由一个落后的农业国跃居为世界第一工业大国，形成完整的工业体系。按传统工业化标准衡量，中国工业化水平已进入工业化后期阶段，部分产品产量和部分领域生产技术水平已居于全球前列，中国工业的发展也带动和支撑了农业、交通的发展，使得国防装备水平大幅度跃升，工业规模的扩张为社会创造了众多就业岗位，工业资源利用效率的提高幅度居全球第一，环境污染治理明显改善。

（一）第二个百年目标与中国工业的新使命

党的十八大以来，中国工业化道路创新再一次进入高潮，概括起来主要有：一是吸取一些国家过早去工业化的教训，根据中国经济发展不平衡不充分的现状，坚定发展制造业，提出产业体系现代化的发展目标与路径，提出必须把发展经济的着力点放在实体经济上，稳定制造业占比，发展壮大实体经济根基。二是统筹发展与安全，提出加快构建实体经济、科技创新、现代金融、人力资源协同发展的产业体系，形成国内国际”双循环”新发展格局，加快推动互联网、大数据、人工智能和实体经济的深度融合，推动产业基础高级化、数字产业化、产业数字化，提升产业链现代化水平，促进中国产业迈向全球价值链中高端。三是提出生态文明建设，明确在2030年前实现碳达峰、2060年前实现碳中和的“双碳”目标和“1+N”发展纲领。推动经济发展质量变革、效率变革、动力变革。

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在迈向第二个百年目标的奋斗征程中，党的二十大站在新的历史起点上，进一步提出以中国式现代化推进中华民族的伟大复兴。其中，对工业发展提出的新要求、新任务主要有以下几个方面：一是在建设强大中国、统筹发展与安全以及和平崛起中发挥不可替代作用；二是在建设富裕中国、联接国内国际市场、缩小区域差距中发挥重要作用；三是在建设美丽中国、落实“双碳”目标、提升绿色竞争力方面发挥关键作用。

（1）工业是统筹发展与安全不可或缺的重要部门。2020年，中国消除绝对贫困，全面建成小康社会，为14亿人的现代化奠定了坚实的基础。发达国家早在200年前就开始了工业化进程，按照世界银行2015年的标准，目前已经进入高收入国家行列的80个国家的人口总量约为12.49亿，占全球人口的比重为16.59%，比中国还少近2亿人。中国要实现14亿人的现代化首先需要较为丰裕的物质基础，要实现这一基础，中国既不能走一些国家通过战争、殖民、掠夺等方式发展的道路，也不能依靠从国外进口，只能由中国自己生产，这就决定了建设以工业为基础的现代产业体系在现代化建设中具有不可或缺的地位。在国际经济竞争日益激烈、政治对抗不断增加的复杂环境下，走和平发展之路，要有维护世界和平的能力和强大的国防。保障14亿人的衣食住行，保障中国经济安全、国防安全是中国工业发展的长期任务。在创造人类历史上史无前例、彪炳史册的14亿人实现现代化这一历史伟绩的背后是中国工业的发展和强大。在未来发展道路上，中国工业要着力提升产业链、供应链韧性和安全水平，推动制造业高端化、智能化、绿色化发展，提升战略性资源保障能力，推动战略性新兴产业融合集群发展。在深度参与全球产业分工和合作的同时，实现科技自立自强，着重突破卡脖子技术，着力提升全要素生产率。

（2）工业发展不仅能够做大蛋糕，而且能够在缩小城乡差距、地区差距方面发挥重要作用，是实现共同富裕的第一途径。一般来讲，经济发展速度与工业化发展阶段具有倒U型的关系，为了缩小地区差距，必须加快中西部落后地区的经济发展、工业发展。本文的初步研究发现，国内循环的资源配置效率和国外循环的技术进步效率对中西部地区的产业发展的作用都是非常明显的。在现代化建设过程中，中国工业发展要从过去强调外循环转向“双循环”，要依托国内潜力巨大的市场，加快发展、提供就业、创造价值。中国工业要在国家区域战略指引下，优化产业布局，加强对中西部地区投资，构建全国统一的产品市场、生产要素市场、碳交易市场，构建数字化产业集群，增强国内大循环内生动力和可靠性，提升国际循环质量和水平。

（3）工业是实现人与自然和谐共生的关键部门。人与自然和谐共生的现代化要求工业发展必须走绿色低碳之路。通常来说，人类开启工业化发展阶段后，在创造前所未有的大量物质财富的同时，也消耗了大量的自然资源，产生了大量污染物和温室气体。若实现人与自然和谐共生的现代化，必然要改变经济发展方式。目前来看，温室气体排放是对人类生存环境影响最大的问题，在减少温室气体排放的同时推动经济发展，就是要改变传统工业化赖以存在的能源基础，就是由高碳能源转向

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低碳能源，由高碳工业化转向低碳工业化。低碳工业化包括以低碳能源作为生产要素、以高效率资源利用技术推动绿色生产、为社会提供可重复利用的工业产品三个方面。其中，能源低碳转型是低碳工业化的关键，也是履行全球气候变化公约的关键。目前，中国在能源转型的增量方面交出了一份非常出色的答卷，中国的风电、光电的能效提升都居世界前列，但是，中国能源在存量方面的转型压力还比较大，能源消耗规模基数大，化石能源占比高，推动低碳发展任务十分艰巨。实现“双碳”目标和建设社会主义现代化强国，要加快发展方式绿色转型，加快推动产业结构、能源结构、交通运输结构等的优化调整，大力发展绿色低碳产业，构建废弃物循环利用体系，加快节能降碳先进技术研发和推广应用，倡导绿色消费，以绿色消费促进绿色产业发展。

（二）新征程中工业发展要坚持五大发展理念

发展理念是发展行动的先导，是发展思路、发展方向、发展着力点的集中体现。党的十八大以来，以习近平同志为核心的党中央提出创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的新发展理念，把党关于发展的理论提升到新境界。新发展理念是在深刻总结国内外发展经验教训、深刻分析国内外发展大势的基础上形成的，是针对中国发展中的突出矛盾和问题提出来的，集中体现了习近平同志解决中国经济社会发展进入新时代后所呈现出来的重大问题的指导思想和基本原则，是新时代党的经济理论的主要内容。五大发展理念系统地解决了发展动力问题、发展不平衡问题、人与自然和谐问题、内外联动问题、社会公平正义问题，进一步科学回答了新时代实现什么样的发展、怎样实现发展的问题，是新时代推动高质量发展的战略指引和根本遵循。高质量发展就是使创新成为第一动力、协调成为内生特点、绿色成为普遍形态、开放成为必由之路、共享成为根本目的的发展。新发展理念深化了中国共产党对中国特色社会主义经济发展规律的认识，有力指导了中国新的发展实践。

发展是解决中国一切问题的基础和关键。以习近平同志为核心的党中央从党和国家事业全局出发，着眼于实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标，顺应中国特色社会主义进入新时代的新要求，作出建设现代经济体系的战略布署。建设现代化经济体系，是中国发展的战略目标，是中国特色社会主义经济发展规律的必然要求，事关中国能否引领世界科技革命和产业变革潮流，事关中国能否赢得国际竞争的主动权。

当前，中国正处于跨越“中等收入陷阱”并向高收入国家迈进的历史阶段，经济、政治、文化、社会、生态以及军事等各方面风险交织叠加，面临的矛盾和问题尖锐复杂。习近平同志指出：“推动创新发展、协调发展、绿色发展、开放发展、共享发展，前提都是国家安全、社会稳定。没有安全和稳定，一切都无从谈起。”“安全是发展的前提，发展是安全的保障”。统筹发展与安全，增强忧患意识，树立底线思维，是习近平经济思想的重要组成部分，与新发展理念共同开拓了中国特色政治经济学新境界，也是在建设中国式现代化国家进程中工业发展的行动指南。

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（三）抓住新技术革命机遇建设制造强国

现代化的一般性规律主要是由技术创新和技术进步所决定的。以大数据、互联网为代表的新一轮信息技术革命，催生了不同于以往的新的经济形态——数字经济，数字成为新的生产要素，改变了工业发展的技术范式。从总体上看，数字经济的发展虽然处于发展的初级阶段，但已充分显示出改变传统经济发展规律、模式、组织形式的力量，不仅影响各国的经济发展走势，而且有可能重塑各国的竞争优势，加速全球产业发展变局。

工业发展进入数字技术驱动的新阶段。数字经济条件下产业发展趋势呈现新的结构特征，数字产业成为拉动经济增长的新兴产业，产业数字化代表产业升级的新方向；制造业数字化转型提升了制造环节的附加值，制造业服务化成为工业新的增长点。数字化转型则是工业技术创新和范式变迁正在发生并将持续深化最重要的趋势之一。大力促进工业数字化转型，发展新一代信息技术支撑的自动化、机器人、人工智能等新兴技术的应用是未来产业政策的重点之一。要围绕新基建、新产业、新制造着力稳定和扩大工业有效投资。适度超前建设智慧能源、智能交通、新一代算力、新一代移动通信网络、工业互联网等新型基础设施，一方面带动IT硬件制造等工业相关产业市场的需求扩张和投资增长，另一方面夯实工业数字化转型、高质量发展的基础设施条件。围绕产业链短板和“卡脖子”关键领域，发挥政府产业基金的引导作用，带动社会资本投资产业基础高级化和产业链现代化重点项目，着力解决产业发展短板。

数字经济是在工业经济的基础上发展起来的，工业生产制造能力直接影响数字技术和新型基础设施的发展。目前影响和制约中国数字产业（包括软件和硬件）的主要因素大都与中国工业基础能力有关。要着力提升工业技术的自主创新能力，促进创新链产业链互动融合，推动科研院所体制改革，发挥大学、科研机构基础研发对工业企业应用创新的支撑作用。增强企业创新主体地位，鼓励企业联合组建研发中心、工程实验室和实施产业化应用工程项目，培育工业企业技术创新内生动力，着力缩小工业技术短板领域与世界领先国家的差距，加快实现关键“卡脖子”领域自主可控。制定出台基础研究十年规划，争取用10~20年时间彻底改变中国缺乏工业原始技术创新成果的局面。加强前沿科技和未来产业的前瞻布局，推动与世界各国在前沿科技创新、科技成果转化领域的合作，建设世界级技术交易市场，拓宽高技术产业融资渠道，通过竞技比赛、示范应用、政府采购、新型基础设施建设等方式加强对前沿科技转化成果的市场支持，加快推动技术成熟和商业化生产。

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Evolving Strategic Goals of Chinese-Style Modernization and New Missions of China's Industry

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Abstract: *Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC), China has made ground-breaking progress in its modernization theory and practice with evolving strategic goals. As China sets off on its new journey toward the second centenary goal, the manufacturing industry has been given a new mandate for Chinese-style modernization under the "five major development concepts". Based on the universal principles of modernization and the distinctive views and methodologies of Marxism, this paper offers an outline on Chinese-style modernization. This study goes beyond existing academic research on modernization by providing more cogent explanations of the theoretical, historical, and practical implications of Chinese-style modernization. Only a political party that centers on the interests of the people will pave the way for modernization in which the people come first. While leading a drive for the country's modernization, the CPC advocates a new path of industrialization, refreshing the country's industrial strategy since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012. As it moves toward the second centenary goal, China should work to transform into a manufacturing powerhouse by applying next-generation information technologies such as the internet and big data in its industrial sectors.*

Keywords: *Chinese-style modernization, industrial development, theoretical innovation, technological paradigm*
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As President Xi Jinping stated at the 20th CPC National Congress, Chinese-style modernization shares common attributes with modernization in other nations but shines with Chinese characteristics rooted in its national conditions. As the locomotive of modernization, industry exhibits both universal and specific traits. Over the past decades, China's modernization has followed evolving strategic goals. Discussions of changing priorities and the role of the manufacturing industry will help comprehend and advance Chinese-style modernization.

1. The CPC's Leadership over Chinese-Style Modernization and Evolving Development Strategies

Throughout world history, numerous countries have undergone a modernization process. However, only Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, and the United States have emerged as superpowers since the 15th century. According to *The World Economy: Historical Statistics*, China used to be an advanced nation throughout the Tang and Song

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dynasties (618-1279 A.D.), accounting for around one-fourth of world GDP. China's global market share started to decline as Western Europe gained strength. After the Opium War of 1840, China's national strength drastically decreased. Untold sufferings have befallen the Chinese people since the late Qing Dynasty. According to historians, China's modernization began after the Opium War. The Chinese people heroically led several rounds of modernization movements - including the Westernization Movement, the 100 Days' Reform of 1898, and the 1911 Revolution - to save their country, but to little avail. As a result of foreign invasion and internal fighting between warlords, Chinese society descended into social turmoil, bloodshed, and political fragmentation. It was not until the advent of Marxism and the establishment of the Communist Party of China (CPC) that China began to embrace a bright future and set out on the proper road of modernization.

1.1 Adherence to the Socialist Modernization Drive

Under the CPC's leadership, the Chinese people established New China in 1949 after 28 years of brave struggles and sacrifices for national independence and people's liberation. This marks a milestone for China to end the millennia-long feudal dictatorship and embrace people's democracy and a new era of development. The modernization routes of many nations have been categorized into imitative, catch-up, follower, and responsive types by historians. The CPC's steadfast leadership has been essential for the Chinese people and country to change their fates and achieve greater social and economic growth, as evidenced by facts. The CPC has shown the way forward for the Chinese people and guided members of all ethnic groups in achieving economic achievements unheard of in the history of human development. Under the CPC's leadership, the Chinese people are modernizing their country for national rejuvenation.

Since the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, China has consistently advanced industrial modernization and development efforts. Despite numerous shocks and setbacks, China has resolutely adopted the policy of reform and opening up, and has made persistent efforts to establish a socialist modern nation, by initiating a new stage of irreversible development.

The CPC adopted the strategy for the transition from new democracy to socialism in 1953 to achieve socialist industrialization in various stages over a considerable period. The strategic objective of China's industrialization was set at the Eighth CPC National Congress in 1956, which called for the establishment of an independent and complete industrial system in 15 years through the implementation of three five-year plans (The Institute of Contemporary China Studies, 2021).

In 1964, the Third National People's Congress (NPC) pledged to develop China into a strong socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology, i.e. the "four modernizations". The Party created new theories on the "ten relations" of China's socialist development and decided to start along a path of industrial modernization based on China's national conditions.

In 1974, the Fourth National People's Congress (NPC) adopted a two-step strategy for economic development by the end of the 20th century, but implementation fell short due to the decade-long domestic turmoil. Despite this setback, the Party was unwavering in its resolve to lead the people toward the goal of the "four modernizations".

In 1978, the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee decided to shift the Party's priority to put economy back in order. The Party identified as its priorities to explore a socialist path for China, to affirm national independence, to develop productive forces, and to help the Chinese people escape poverty and achieve prosperity. The intention was to provide strong institutional support and necessary conditions for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. A new chapter in China's socialist modernization was opened at the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which established a three-step strategy to essentially complete socialist modernization by the middle of the twenty-first century.

Between the 12th and 17th CPC National Congresses, the CPC committed itself to economic

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development as the central task under the philosophy that development is the driving principle and science and technology are the primary productive forces. It adopted national strategies to advance science and education, sustainable development, and talent cultivation. Great attention was given to balancing regional and urban-rural development, advancing state-owned enterprise (SOE) reform, supporting the non-public sector of the economy, and stepping up environmental protection. China's national strengths have increased as a result of the implementation of those strategies.

The 18th CPC National Congress in 2012 started a new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The Party vowed to achieve the first centenary goal and start a new journey toward the second centenary goal for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The 19th CPC National Congress identified a shift in China's principal social contradiction to one between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life; it put emphasis on quality over the pace of development.

In 2020, China completed its first centenary goal on schedule. At the 20th CPC National Congress in 2022, President Xi Jinping expanded on the meanings and traits of Chinese-style modernization. Since then, the CPC's mandate has been to bring together people of all ethnic groups to build a socialist modern nation in all respects and realize the second centenary goal for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Chinese-style modernization means modernization for a populous country, for all people's prosperity, for balanced material and spiritual progress, for people and nature living in harmony, and for peaceful development.

1.2 From Sectoral Modernization to People-Centered Modernization

Upon the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Party and state leaders placed a high priority on industrial development and modernization (see Figure 1). Back then, modernization was equated with industrial development. The first five-year plan adopted in 1956 identified the goal of industrial modernization. It also marked the beginning of 156 large industrial projects, which prepared the ground for China's modernization drive. On the advice of Chairman Mao Zedong, Premier Zhou Enlai first announced "four modernizations" in his government work report at the first session of the Third National People's Congress in 1964. The goal of this policy was to transform China into a powerful socialist nation with modern agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology; this policy was to be carried out in two stages, broadening the scope of modernization from industry to include agriculture, science and technology, and national defense.

Before the reform and opening up policy was adopted in 1978, China's development was marred by US-led economic blockades, the Soviet Union's termination of economic cooperation, three years of natural disasters, and a decade of domestic unrest. At the 13th CPC National Congress in 1987, Comrade Deng Xiaoping outlined a three-step strategy for economic development in the primary stage of socialism, which for the first time pledged to meet people's necessities and create a moderately prosperous society. Those two steps toward modernization have been accomplished.

At the 15th CPC National Congress in 2002, Comrade Jiang Zemin set a new three-step goal: To double China's GDP in the first decade of the 21st century from the level of 2000 and significantly raise people's living standards, and by the centenary of the founding of the People's Republic of China in the middle of this century, to achieve modernization and turn China into a strong, democratic and advanced socialist country.

In 2017, President Xi Jinping put forth a new development target at the 19th CPC National Congress: To accomplish socialist modernization 15 years ahead of schedule after completing the construction of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. He also vowed to complete the strategic goal of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation through Chinese-style modernization, i.e. to turn China into a strong socialist modern country by 2050.

Our Party's vision for socialist modernization is reflected in the changing implications and goals

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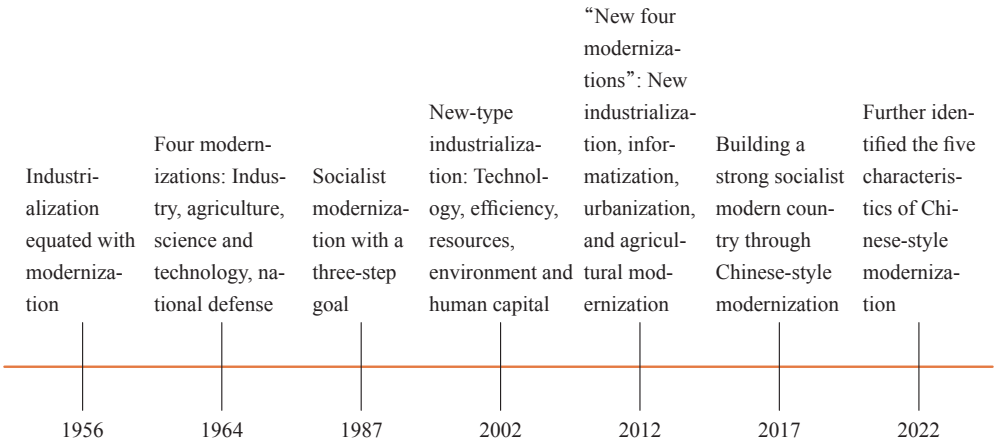

Figure 1: Implications and Evolving Strategic Goals of Chinese-Style Modernization and Evolving Strategic Goals

of Chinese-style modernization. China's modernization should be accomplished through methodical and comprehensive development, rather than concentrating on specific industrial sectors and the speed and magnitude of growth. In a few decades, China completed an industrialization process that took industrialized nations centuries to accomplish. With its rapid industrial growth, China serves as a model for developing countries to catch up with advanced economies. Our Party has developed a deeper awareness of the implications of industrialization and created a new path for industrial development.

2. Chinese-Style Modernization: Theoretical Innovations and Initial Results

Research on various modernization processes has been extensively conducted by historians. Qian (2003) outlined three different approaches to modernization: The laissez-faire strategy of the United Kingdom and France, the command economies of Germany and Japan, and the Soviet-style planned economy. Some studies have investigated the connection between politics and social and economic growth in the modernization process of various nations. Free market and private property were the cornerstones of the early Western modernization spearheaded by the United Kingdom. Although government intervention was rare in the fledgling capitalist economy, the State played a critical role in many other activities, including colonial exploration and the initial accumulation of wealth. State macroeconomic control and market forces work together to explain the economic "miracle" of East Asia. Economic considerations were overshadowed by non-economic ones. Most significantly, the State was crucial in promoting social change and economic prosperity.

The majority of modernization studies concentrate on the fundamental principles and common traits of modernization. President Xi Jinping's view on Chinese-style modernization can be summarized as follows. First, Chinese-style modernization reflects the tenets of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and its vision and plan to modernize China for the welfare of the people. Second, Chinese-style modernization is blessed with special institutional strengths of the socialist system for social development. Third, Chinese-style modernization reflects the holistic approach of traditional Chinese culture. Fourth, Chinese-style modernization supports a culture that encourages the all-round development of people. Fifth, modernization via peaceful development has global relevance.

The above view reflects China's national conditions and the broader picture of the world. It defines the relationship between individuals as well as between people and nature. It lays forth the guidelines for both economic development and cultural and moral progress. As the CPC's most comprehensive

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and concise statement on modernization, it represents the political intention to integrate people-centered development with Chinese-style modernization.

Chinese-style modernization links its five characteristics under the theme of human development and encapsulates the Marxist laws of human development. First, China's modernization is for the common prosperity of its people, which requires the dividends of development to be distributed among all the people through labor-based distribution. The socialist distribution system should be dominated by labor-based distribution, but the premise for shared benefits is joint participation. Second, common prosperity should encompass an abundance of material wealth as well as a vibrant cultural life. Third, all humans live on the same planet and ought to seek peace with nature. A community with a shared future that we aspire for is the highest form of human civilization.

Chinese-style modernization is founded on both the universal laws of modernization and the Marxist perspective and methodology with profound theoretical, historical and practical implications. It is with the guidance of Marxism that the Party relies on the people to advance a great historical cause. It is with unswerving faith in Marxism, socialism, and communism that the Party develops its ideological consciousness of human society's development. Putting the needs of the people first shows the Party's dedication to its path and resolve to forward the noble cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The CPC has taken steps to enable the Chinese people to stand up, develop, and become a powerful nation, starting with the new democratic revolution, and continuing with the four socialist modernizations and the two centenary goals. The people-centered approach is rooted in the insight into the historical destiny of the Chinese nation and the underlying laws of history. The Party commits to revitalizing the Chinese country as well as the Chinese dream through the implementation of its strategic plans. The people-centered approach is the key distinction between socialist and capitalist economies.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the Party has made groundbreaking innovations to Chinese-style modernization both in theory and practice. First, it has elaborated the traits, nature, and course of Chinese-style modernization, improving the coherence of its theoretical, historical, and practical implications. Second, it has broadened regional modernization into all-round modernization while reasserting its path confidence, theoretical confidence, and cultural confidence. Third, the Party has elucidated the relationships between material and moral progress as well as between people and nature, reflecting the inherent attributes of socialist modernization. Fourth, the Party has made it clear that everyone should take part in modernization and share the benefits, which echoes its people-first philosophy. Fifth, the Party has advanced the strategy of human modernization. In addition to serving as guidance for creating a prosperous, democratic, harmonious, and beautiful socialist country, Chinese-style modernization also adds wisdom to human civilization. Modernization in the Chinese way is based on extensive experience and has had great results. Modernization will serve people's needs only when it is led by a political party that centers on the needs of the people.

People-centered modernization has achieved some early strides. Between 2013 and 2020, China lifted 98.99 million rural residents out of poverty, or 12.37 million people on an annual average basis. This has led to an annual reduction in China's poverty incidence by 1.3 percentage points. There has been a significant increase in the income levels of the poor, resulting in the achievement of the "two no worries and three guarantees" goal. Over 70% of the reduction in world poverty has come from China. The incidence of poverty in China has been slashed considerably below the global average. Regional income differences have narrowed as a result of rapid poverty eradication (see Figure 2). With improving living standards in China, Engel's coefficient - recognized as the gauge of societal happiness - has been falling steadily. Engel's coefficient for China in 2021 was 29.8%, a decrease of 0.4 percentage points from the previous year.

When it comes to the environment, China has steadily improved the air and water quality while preventing soil pollution. With people's rising expectations for a better life, modernization should

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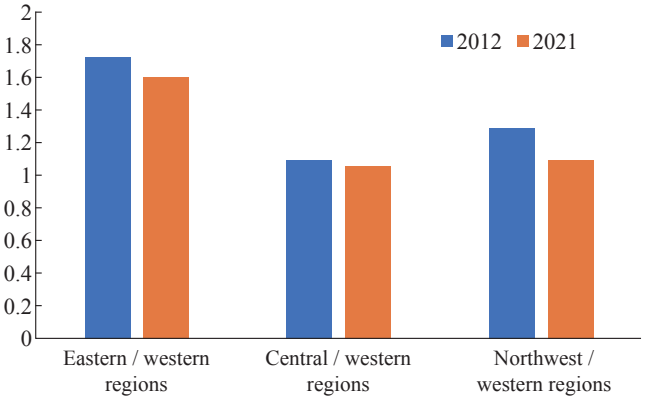

Figure 2: China's Regional Economic Gaps

consider their cultural demands in addition to the creation of physical goods. Without the diversity of cultural life, happiness cannot materialize. As an emerging sector of the economy that includes tourism, culture, sports, health care, and elderly care, the culture industry caters to people's various needs for a happy life, from survival to personal development.

In China, the number of businesses in the cultural and creative sectors increased between 2017 and 2020. By the end of 2020, they included 60,000 big businesses, which generated 9,851.14 billion yuan in sales, a 2.2% increase from the previous year. In the case of industrialized nations, their path to economic hegemony was beset with colonization, invasion, and conflict. In contrast, China's pursuit of peaceful development is an important contribution to the advancement of humanity. President Xi Jinping advocates for the creation of a community with a shared future for mankind. The Global Development Initiative (GDI) and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) symbolize China's leadership in progressive global trends which have been incorporated into UN documents with a broad influence.

3. Role and Guiding Philosophy of Industry for the Second Centenary Goal

Over the past seven decades since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China has transformed from a poor agrarian nation into the world's largest industrial powerhouse. According to the conventional definitions of industrialization, China has reached the late stage of industrialization and boasts the highest global output of particular items and technological sophistication in some fields. China's industrial development has supported breakthroughs in defense, transportation, and agricultural technologies, creating numerous jobs. China has drastically reduced pollution while increasing natural resources efficiency more than any other country in the world.

3.1 Second Centenary Goal and New Mission of China's Industry

The 18th CPC National Congress has been followed by a fresh wave of innovations in China's industrial development strategy. The first is the understanding that deindustrialization in some nations is premature and ought to be avoided in China. Given its uneven and inadequate economic development, China should persistently develop manufacturing, steer the course of industrial modernization, and concentrate on building a solid economy.

Second, it has been recognized that development should be balanced with security. Human capital and financial services should be leveraged to promote innovation in the real economy. A new paradigm of opening up should take shape in which domestic and international "dual circulations" reinforce each other. The real economy should promote industrial sophistication, digital industrialization, and industrial digitalization using the internet, big data, and artificial intelligence (AI) applications. Industrial

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modernization will help China move up global value chains (GVCs).

The third innovation is ecological sustainability to attain the carbon peak by 2030 and carbon neutrality by 2060 under the "1+N" policy framework.

The 20th CPC National Congress called for advancing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation through Chinese-style modernization as part of the journey toward the second centenary goal. Industrial development is crucial for creating a strong economy, achieving peaceful development, and striking a balance between development and security. It takes industrial prowess for the country to become prosperous, bridge domestic and international markets, and close regional gaps. The manufacturing industry also helps create a beautiful China, reach carbon neutrality, and boost green competitiveness. The key mission of China's further industrial development is explained in the following paragraphs.

(i) Industry is essential for striking a balance between development and security. By the year 2020, China had eliminated absolute poverty and created a moderately prosperous society, providing 1.4 billion people with a strong foundation for development. Developed countries began to industrialize over 200 years ago. According to World Bank standards of 2015, there were only 80 high-income countries with 1.249 billion people in total, which is 16.59% of the world's population and nearly 200 million less than China's. Material abundance for a population of 1.4 billion cannot be reached through war, colonialism, or exploitation, as some countries did, neither can such abundance be imported from other nations. China must instead rely on its manufacturing capacity. In other words, China cannot modernize without a modern industrial structure built around the manufacturing sector.

We are living in a world of international economic competition and political confrontation. In this regard, the pursuit of peaceful development depends on the ability to maintain world peace and strengthen national defense. National defense has long been a priority of China's industrial growth for the livelihoods and economic security of its people. Modernization for such a large country is unprecedented in human history and could not have materialized without industrial strength. In the future, China should support critical emerging sectors - especially smart and green manufacturing - and bolster supply chain resilience and security. It should work toward technological self-reliance, acquire choke-point technologies, and increase total factor productivity (TFP) while participating in the global industrial division of labor.

(ii) Industrial growth, as the main path to common prosperity, is crucial for closing the urban-rural and regional divides as well as for boosting the economy as a whole. The rate of economic growth is correlated with the stage of industrial development in an inverted U pattern. The vast geographical disparities in China emphasize the necessity of accelerating industrial and economic growth in the less developed central and western areas. Our preliminary findings suggest that domestic circulation (which increases the effectiveness of resource allocation) and international circulation (which promotes technological advancement) are both necessary for industrial development to occur in China's central and western areas.

China should consequently shift its emphasis from international circulation to "dual circulations" to fully realize the enormous potential of its home market and boost employment and value-added. Regional development priorities should include investment increase in central and western regions, the establishment of a national product market, factor market, and capital market, as well as the formation of digital industry clusters. Efforts should be made to improve the quality and level of international circulation while also enhancing the dynamism and reliability of domestic circulation.

(iii) For people and nature to coexist in harmony, our attitude to economic development needs to shift. Industrial development must take a low-carbon path if modernization is to result in a world where people and nature coexist in harmony. Industrial growth has created enormous material wealth at the expense of resource depletion and climate warming. Greenhouse gas emissions continue to threaten human habitats. Energy transition development encompasses low-carbon energy, green manufacturing, and industrial recycling. The low-carbon transition is key to sustainable industrial development and lies

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at the heart of global climate pacts.

In this respect, China has made laudable progress in energy transition, notably in the wind and solar power generation and in increasing energy efficiency, but the country's energy mix remains dominated by fossil fuels. China should promote the recycling and reuse of wastes, develop and adopt energy efficient and low-carbon technologies, and promote green consumption to meet its carbon peak and carbon neutrality goals.

3.2 "Five Major Development Concepts" for China's Industrial Development in the New Journey

Development must be guided by a proper approach. The CPC Central Committee, with General Secretary Xi Jinping at its core, has advanced new ideas of innovative, balanced, green, open, and shared development since the 18th CPC National Congress, elevating our Party's development theories to a new level. To manage China's development issues and contradictions, the "five major development concepts" - of innovation, coordination, greening, opening up and inclusiveness - were created based on local and global situations. They are a reflection of the tenets and principles of President Xi Jinping's leadership for addressing major issues and comprise the backbone of the Party's economic theory in the new era of socioeconomic development.

By addressing the issues of development dynamism, imbalances, people and nature living in harmony, domestic and international coordination, and social fairness and justice, the "five major development concepts" have gone further in providing answers to the questions of what kind of development should be pursued in the new era and how. Innovation, coordination, greenness, openness, and shared benefits are strategic guidelines for high-quality development in the new era. They effectively direct the practice of our country's development and reflect a deepening of our Party's grasp of the laws of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

All of China's problems can be finally solved through development. The CPC Central Committee, with General Secretary Xi Jinping at its core, has promised to accomplish the "two centenary goals" with a variety of strategic priorities for developing a modern economic system in light of the aspirations in the new era of Chinese socialism. China must develop a modern economic system if it is to reach the forefront of technological and industrial revolutions and stay competitive globally.

In its transition toward a high-income country, China must avoid the middle-income trap and confront intertwined economic, political, cultural, social, environmental, and defense risks. Undaunted by those complex problems and contradictions, President Xi Jinping noted that "National security and social stability are the premises for innovative, balanced, green, open and shared development. Without security and stability, nothing can be achieved." "Security is the prerequisite for development, and development offers assurance for security". Xi Jinping's economic philosophy underscores the importance to balance development with security, stay vigilant to potential risks, and establish a bottom-line mindset. This economic philosophy, alongside the new development concepts, opens up a new horizon for political economics with Chinese characteristics and offers guidance for China's industrial development and modernization.

3.3 Developing a Manufacturing Powerhouse amid the New Technology Revolution

Technological innovation and advancement dictate the fundamental rules of modernization. As a new economic paradigm not seen since the Industrial Revolution, the digital economy results from the latest phase of IT revolution driven by big data and the internet. Data as a brand-new factor of production has transformed the technological framework of industrial growth. The digital economy - though still in its nascency - has unlocked great potential for changing the traditional patterns, processes, and organizational structures of economic development. The digital economy is poised to reshape the competitive strengths of countries and spur global industrial growth.

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Digital technology has pushed industrial development into a new phase with new structural characteristics. With digital industries emerging as new drivers of economic growth, digitalization represents a new direction of industrial development. The digital transition has increased manufacturing value addition, and service-based manufacturing is emerging as a new driver of industrial growth. The digital transition has become a key trend for industrial innovation and paradigm shift. Future industrial policymaking should promote the industrial digital transition supported by a new generation of information technologies such as automation, robotics, and artificial intelligence (AI). One priority is to develop new infrastructure for smart energy and mobility, new-generation computing power and mobile communication, and industrial internet. This will lead to an expansion in the demand for IT hardware manufacturing and related industries and create infrastructure conditions to speed up the industrial digital transition and high-quality development. Government industrial funds should give priority to weak areas and to acquire choke-point technologies.

The digital economy has thrived on the industrial economy. In this sense, manufacturing capabilities will influence progress in digital technology and new-type infrastructure. The majority of software and hardware limitations facing China's digital industry are caused primarily by a lack of fundamental industrial capabilities. These limitations cannot be overcome without ingenuity. In this regard it is important to encourage universities and research organizations to support industry innovation. As the backbone of innovation, enterprises should be encouraged to establish joint R&D centers and engineering laboratories and commercialize R&D results. Industrial enterprises should foster innovation and close their technology disparities with more developed nations and speed the acquisition of choke-point technologies.

The government should enact ten-year plans for fundamental research to put an end to China's lack of original industrial innovations in one to two decades. It is suggested to make forward-looking arrangements for frontier technologies and future industries. There should be more cooperation with countries for frontier innovation and commercialization of R&D results. A world-class technology market should be established to broaden access to finance for high-tech industries and support the commercialization of R&D results through competition, demonstration, public procurement, and new infrastructure construction.

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