中国式现代化推进和拓展的两大主题和战略支点

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摘　要：从长时段和国际视域分析，新中国突破旧中国长久陷入徘徊的历史发展趋势、发展起点低的现实困境、作为工业化后发国家在国际上受弱势窘境困扰而使发展空间被锁定等约束，实现现代化的历史性突破和跨越，创造人类文明新形态，关键缘于中国共产党领导人民围绕两大主题和基于战略支点推进和拓展中国式现代化。中国式现代化不仅有工业革命下促进农业文明向工业文明演进的世界现代化共性的结构转换这一主题，还拓展形成坚持以人民为中心创造人类文明新形态的新主题，这是中国式现代化推进和拓展的两大主题。做好发展战略性先导产业、攻克重大科技、建设重大基础设施等是中国式现代化推进和拓展的战略支点。促进农业文明向工业文明演进、创造人类文明新形态、做好战略支点有机统一和相互促进，这是中国式现代化推进和拓展的显著特征。

关键词：实业基础　结构转换　战略支点　人类文明新形态

JEL 分类号：E60, F00, N15

中国式现代化推进和拓展实现的历史性突破和跨越，是一个国际范筹的问题。20世纪70年代末至90年代末，中国经济实现高速增长引起国际社会的高度关注，当时用“奇迹”一词赞誉中国经济高速增长这一现象。这一国际视域下的判断，关注点聚焦在GDP的高增速。现今，中国又经过20余年的发展，仅仅基于经济高速增长认识中国的发展，不能全面认识中国式现代化推进和拓展的历史性突破和跨越成就。从长时段和国际视域分析，中国式现代化的历史性突破和跨越集中体现在：中国作为工业化后发国家，用几十年时间走完发达国家几百年走过的工业化历程，创造出世所罕见的经济快速发展奇迹和社会长期稳定奇迹，创造了人类文明新形态。中国式现代化的历史性突破和跨越极为艰难，因为在这一过程中首先面对的是旧中国长久陷入徘徊的历史发展趋势、新中国发展起点低的现实困境、作为工业化后发国家在国际上受弱势窘境困扰（郑有贵，2020）而使发展空间被锁定等约束。中国式现代化推进和拓展所取得的历史性突破和跨越，是作为工业化后发国家突破工业化先发国家打压而受弱势窘境困扰实现的，这决定了仅从物质财富增长的结果进行探讨是不充分的。本文既从农业文明向工业文明演进这一世界现代化共性的结构转换，又从中国式现代化对现代化

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内涵的拓展及基于国情和世情对现代化实现路径的新探索，对中国式现代化实现的历史性突破和跨越及其历程进行梳理，以呈现中国式现代化推进和拓展的艰难创新历程，以及所实现的历史性突破和跨越的历史地位，以此深化对中国式现代化的特色和本质要求的认识，进而从中把握中国式现代化进一步推进和拓展的方向。

一、以发展实业为基础推进农业文明向工业文明演进

在以工业革命为基础和先导的产业结构演进基础上，由农业文明转向工业文明是现代化演进的重要内涵，是世界现代化共性的经济社会结构转换，也是中国式现代化推进和拓展的主题之一。中国共产党坚定地打牢现代化进程中的物质技术基础。党的二十大报告指出："发展是党执政兴国的第一要务。没有坚实的物质技术基础，就不可能全面建成社会主义现代化强国。"（习近平，2022）新中国在70余年间，抓住实业发展不放松，夯实农业基础为快速推进国家工业化提供支撑，工农业都实现了快速发展，其中工业增长速度更快。这缘于探索形成了中国式现代化进程中推进和拓展中国式工业化的路径。

一是新中国成立后的70余年间由工业化后发国家向建成门类齐全的现代工业体系跨越。中国建成门类齐全的现代工业体系，是作为工业化后发国家在工业体系残缺的基础上展开的，经历了两个大的发展阶段。

自1953年实施"一五"计划起到20世纪70年代末，是建立独立的比较完整的工业体系和国民经济体系阶段。新中国成立前夕召开的中共七届二中全会明确要把农业国建设成为工业国的国家发展战略目标，在成立初期把国家工业化视为全国人民的最高利益，号召全国人民同心同德为实现国家工业化积极奋斗。1953年中国共产党明确了过渡时期的总路线和总任务，对实现国家工业化的生产力发展和社会主义改造的生产关系变革的蓝图及其实现的时间表予以明确。1956年，建立完整的工业化体系的国家战略目标及其实现的时间表又写进中共八大政治报告（刘少奇，1985）。新中国建立工业体系是在冷战时期面对西方国家对中国进行集团式封锁禁运打压的极为不利的国际环境下展开的。经过全国人民艰苦创业，新中国成功实施了国家工业化战略，到20世纪70年代末，工业这一当时的先导产业取得重大进展，工业增加值由1952年的119.8亿元增加到1978年的1622亿元，按可比价格计算，比1952年增长15.9倍，年均增长率高达11.5%[①]，这比1953~2018年的年均增长率还高0.5个百分点。随着工业化的快速推进，中国的产业结构实现历史性演进，工业增加值在国内生产总值中的占比由1952年的17.6%提高到1978年的44.1%。与之对应的是，一二三产业在国内生产总值中的占比，1978年分别为27.7%、47.7%、24.6%[②]%，这与新中国成立初期的以农业为主的产业结构

[①]《辉煌70年》，第100页。
[②]《辉煌70年》，第365页。

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相比，发生了质的变化。中国在较短时间内就建立起独立的比较完整的工业体系和国民经济体系，中国经济也就在世界上稳稳地站立了起来，这为改革开放以来工业的快速发展，进而发展成为全球制造业第一大国奠定了坚实基础。

改革开放后，中国进入建立门类齐全的现代工业体系新阶段。从20世纪70年代末起，中国在工业化上接续努力，到新中国成立70周年之际，拥有工业的41个大类、207个中类、666个小类[③]，钢铁、有色金属、电力、煤炭、石油加工、化工、机械、建材、轻纺、食品、医药等行业由小到大，航空航天、汽车、电子通信等新兴行业从无到有并迅速发展，进而建成门类齐全的现代工业体系，成为世界唯一拥有联合国产业分类中所列全部工业门类的国家（孙兆，2019）。这是中国工业化成功推进和拓展的标志，也构成中国式工业化的特色。中国成为全球制造业第一大国和唯一拥有联合国产业分类中所列全部工业门类的国家，不仅促进了进口替代，更是做强了国家和民族发展自己力量的基点，增强了发展韧性，增强了应对外来风险挑战的能力，进而把中国发展进步的命运牢牢地掌握在了自己的手中。

中国工业体系的建立，不仅为农业现代化提供了支撑，还促进了经济社会结构的演进。到2012年，第三产业在国内生产总值中的占比第一次超过第二产业，达45.5%，成为国民经济的第一大产业。2021年，各产业在国内生产总值中的占比，第一产业下降至7.3%，第二产业为39.4%，第三产业提升为53.3%[④]。基于产业结构的演进，新中国城镇化快速推进，常住人口城镇化率从1949年的10.6%提高到2021年的64.72%，在由农业社会向工业社会演进上实现了跨越。

二是在改革开放进程中中国成功走出城乡“两条腿”工业化之路（郑有贵，2021）。城乡“两条腿”工业化之路，是在中国城乡发展战略和特定体制机制下形成的。所谓中国城乡发展战略，是指以毛泽东同志为主要代表的中国共产党人，主张在城市发展工业，同时也主张在农村发展工业，将农民就地变成工人和农村工农商学兵结合作为战略发展目标（郑有贵，2022）。不过，自实施“一五”计划起至中共十一届三中全会前，从保障工业发展特别是重工业优先发展战略能够低成本实施出发，将工业布局在城镇和工矿区，仅允许农村在国家计划体系外拾遗补缺地发展小煤矿、小钢铁厂、小化肥厂、小水泥厂、小机械厂等（习惯统称“五小工业”）。所谓特定体制机制，是指基于大力发展农村社区集体经济所形成的农村社区集体统筹和积累的体制机制，为社队企业发展工业提供了第一桶金的支持，孕育了社队企业及相应的农村工业的发展，为改革开放初期乡镇企业（1984年，中共中央、国务院将社队企业更名为乡镇企业）异军突起奠定了基础。中共十一届三中全会后，随着市场取向改革的深化推进，乡镇企业以其灵活的机制异军突起，成功走出农村工业化之路。农村工业的发

[③] 国家统计局：《工业经济跨越发展 制造大国屹立东方——新中国成立70周年经济社会发展成就系列报告之三》，http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2019-07/10/content_5407835.htm。

[④] 国家统计局：《中华人民共和国2021年国民经济和社会发展统计公报》，《人民日报》，2022年3月1日，第10版。

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展从两个方面促进了国家工业化的发展。一方面，促进整个国家工业化的快速发展。农村工业以快于城市工业的速度增长，在整个国家工业中所占份额快速提升，其增加值在全国工业增加值中的占比，由1978年的9.9%增加到1991年的27.5%，2000年达47.5%（何康，2004），占据全国工业的“半壁江山”（布赫，2000）。另一方面，农村工业的发展，促进了偏重重工业而轻工业发展相对滞后的结构性问题的破解。改革开放前，中国在实施国家工业化战略时，偏重发展重工业，轻工业发展相对滞后。这样一个偏斜的结构问题，成为社队企业及之后的乡镇企业发展轻工业的机会。1979年3月，陈云在中共中央政治局会议上分析这一现象时指出：“现在社办工业很多，小城镇工业也很多，办这些工业是有道理、有原因的。原因就是要就业，要提高生活。”（陈云，1995）受没有纳入国家计划体系、技术人才缺乏、技术装备落后和资金不足的限制，乡镇企业在起步之际，主要利用当地资源，在服务农业生产、服务大工业、服务城乡人民生活、服务外贸出口中逐步发展起来。尤其突出的是，在改革开放初期，珠江三角洲利用毗邻港澳的区位优势，以承接来料加工、来样加工、来件装配和补偿贸易（简称“三来一补”）方式，实现了满足民生需求的轻工业的快速发展。简言之，农村工业化的快速发展对破解偏重重工业的工业结构问题的贡献不可磨灭。

三是以新发展理念引领走“四化同步”发展之路。中国作为工业化后发国家，在推进现代化上，先后提出了两个“四化”。第一个“四化”是在20世纪50年代初期提出，经1964年第三届全国人民代表大会第一次会议对四个现代化排列次序调整，形成将农业现代化建设列为首位的四个现代化，即“今后发展国民经济的主要任务，总的说来，就是要在不太长的历史时期内，把我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”（周恩来，1984）。进入新时代，中国积极推进新的“四化”——工业化、信息化、城镇化、农业现代化，并要求“四化同步”发展。中共十八大提出：“坚持走中国特色新型工业化、信息化、城镇化、农业现代化道路，推动信息化和工业化深度融合、工业化和城镇化良性互动、城镇化和农业现代化相互协调，促进工业化、信息化、城镇化、农业现代化同步发展。”（中共中央文献研究室，2014）这是适应新一轮科技革命和产业变革深入发展提出的战略要求，也是新时代必须破解的命题。2013年9月，习近平在中共十八届中央政治局第九次集体学习时指出：“我国现代化同西方发达国家有很大不同。西方发达国家是一个‘串联式’的发展过程，工业化、城镇化、农业现代化、信息化顺序发展，发展到目前水平用了二百多年时间。我们要后来居上，把‘失去的二百年’找回来，决定了我国发展必然是一个‘并联式’的过程，工业化、信息化、城镇化、农业现代化是叠加发展的。”（中共中央文献研究室，2017）在这样一个“并联式”发展过程中，中国针对农业农村与工业城市一条腿短、一条腿长的发展不平衡问题，以亿万农民同步迈向现代化为目标，强化以工补农、以城带乡政策的实施，推进农村一二三产业融合发展和城乡融合发展，加快工农互促、城乡互补、协调发展、共同繁荣的新型工农城乡关系的形成，从拓展农业农村发展空间上促进全面推进乡村振兴和农业强国的加快建设。

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二、坚持以人民为中心促进全面发展与创造人类文明新形态

如果说中国促进农业文明向工业文明演进这一世界现代化共性的结构转换，只是基于国情以特色路径实现的，那么坚持以人民为中心，坚持现代化的本质是人的现代化，把重点突破和全面发展统筹起来，推进经济建设，处理好工业化推进与民生改善的关系，统筹推进经济、政治、文化、社会、生态文明建设，在致力于促进全面发展中补短板和强弱项，促进人的现代化和人的全面发展，创造人类文明新形态，则是中国式现代化推进和拓展的新主题。

中国式现代化推进和拓展中，坚持以经济建设为中心，突破了低起点约束，发达程度实现由低收入国家到接近高收入国家门槛的跨越。1949年，中国国内生产总值以美元计的总量是179.56亿美元，人均仅23美元，这低于200年前1749年英国的水平（王均伟，2022）。中国不懈推进经济建设，即便在改革开放前没有明确提出以经济建设为中心，“文化大革命”期间还由于以阶级斗争为纲严重冲击了经济建设，但都没有放松以工业化为战略目标的经济建设。中共十一届三中全会起，中国吸取经济建设遭受冲击的教训，明确提出并坚持以经济建设为中心，以第一要务的定位推动发展。中国于1993年跨入中等偏下收入国家行列，到2009年又跨入中等偏上收入国家行列，人均国内生产总值折合为美元由2012年的6301美元提高到2021年的12556美元，高于中等收入国家平均水平，与高收入国家门槛只有咫尺之差。

中国式现代化推进和拓展中，统筹推进经济、政治、文化、社会、生态文明建设，促进人的全面发展，创造人类文明新形态。中国以中国式现代化推进中华民族伟大复兴，国家现代化的目标内涵随着建立独立的比较完整的工业体系和国民经济体系的推进与经济社会水平的提升，在20世纪50年代提出建设四个现代化，改革开放起逐步转换、拓展为建设富强民主文明和谐的社会主义现代化国家，进入新时代提升为全面建成富强民主文明和谐美丽的社会主义现代化强国。这一国家现代化目标的提出、转换、拓展、提升，把生产力发展提升和人的现代化有机融合起来（郑有贵，2022）。中国共产党在治国理政中，从实现国家现代化目标出发，逐步形成“五位一体”总体布局和“四个全面”战略布局[⑤]，进而形成以全面发展为显著特征的现代化目标及其实现路径。新中国经过七十多年的奋斗，经济、政治、文化、社会、生态文明建设全面发展，在现代化上实现重大突破和创新，形成了中国式现代化的中国特色（郑有贵，2022）。一是中国创造了人口规模巨大的现代化，与中国式现代化其他四个特色和中国式现代化的本质要求共同作用，将从质和量两个维度改变世界现代化人口版图，即在质的维度改变人的全面发展的世界现代化版图，在量的维度改变世界现代化人口数量版图。二是中国创造了全体人民共同富裕的现代化，这是对两极分化的现代化的突破和超越。在逐步形成和完善的共享发展政策体系下，促进全体人民共同富裕取得明显进展，全国居民收入基尼系数由2012

[⑤] “五位一体”总体布局是中国特色社会主义事业的总体布局，主要是统筹推进“经济建设、政治建设、文化建设、社会建设、生态文明建设”五个方面。“四个全面”战略布局是指：全面建成小康社会、全面深化改革、全面依法治国、全面从严治党。

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年的0.474降低到2021年的0.466(陆娅楠,2022),近1亿农村贫困人口全部脱贫,全国中等收入家庭人口占总人口的比重为30%多。[⑥]三是中国创造了物质文明和精神文明相协调的现代化,物的全面丰富和人的全面发展协调推进的现代化生动展开,促进了物质力量和精神力量全面增强和相互赋能,这是对物质文明和精神文明偏废的现代化的摒弃和超越。四是中国创造了人与自然和谐共生的现代化,这是对人与自然偏废的现代化的摒弃和超越,为全球生态安全和促进绿色发展作出了重要贡献。2012年至2021年,中国以年均3%的能源消费增长支撑着年均6.6%的国民经济增长,能耗强度累计下降26.4%,相当于少用了约14亿吨标准煤,二氧化碳排放减少近30亿吨,是全球能耗强度降低最快的国家之一(《党的二十大报告辅导读本》编写组,2022);构建起清洁低碳、安全高效的能源体系,风电、光伏发电等绿色电力装机容量和新能源汽车产销量都居世界第一,煤炭消费占比由2014年的65.8%降至2021年的56%,清洁能源消费占比由16.9%上升到25.5%。[⑦]五是中国创造了走和平发展道路的现代化,以人类命运共同体理念为引领,这是对基于恃强凌弱、巧取豪夺、零和博弈思维推进的现代化的摒弃和超越。

中国式现代化推进和拓展中,以工业化的推进为民生改善打基础,人民生活实现由受温饱不足困扰到全面小康社会的跨越。中国作为工业化后发国家,在改革开放前实施国家工业化战略而奋起直追的进程中,统筹长远与短期、全局与局部发展,国家通过实行高积累、低工资、低消费政策解决快速推进工业化的资本积累问题,号召艰苦奋斗及与之对应的"先生产,后生活"理念得到全国建设者由衷的响应,同时国家也注重改善民生。在独立的比较完整的工业体系建立起来后,中国共产党明确更高的国家战略发展目标,并采取一系列措施调整经济发展与民生改善的关系,促进两者协调并进。新中国在七十余年间,国家战略目标基于经济社会发展水平不断拓展提升。1979年邓小平提出到20世纪末中国要达到小康目标。世纪之交,中国在进入工业化中期和人民生活总体上达到小康水平之际,针对长期注重经济发展而民生建设相对滞后的问题,把民生改善提升为更加突出的目标,中共十五届五中全会提出从新世纪起全面建设小康社会。进入新时代,基于中国社会主要矛盾已经转化为人民日益增长的美好生活需要和不平衡不充分的发展之间的矛盾,践行以人民为中心的发展思想,推动高质量发展。中共二十大报告强调,高质量发展是全面建设社会主义现代化国家的首要任务,要坚持以推动高质量发展为主题,推动经济实现质的有效提升和量的合理增长(习近平,2022)。在习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想指引下,贯彻新发展理念,坚持把实现人民对美好生活的向往作为现代化建设的出发点和落脚点,在推进和拓展中国式现代化中,开启向高质量发展和经济强国发展的新跨越。新中国成立七十余年间,随着经济社会的发展,人民生活水平大幅跃升。全国居民人均可支配收入由1949年的49.7元提高到2021年的35128元[⑧],全国居民人均消费支出

[⑥]《党的二十大报告辅导读本》,第429页。
[⑦]《坚定不移走高质量发展之路——新时代中国经济建设述评》,新华网,http://www.news.cn/politics/2022-08/22/c_1128937030.htm。
[⑧]《中华人民共和国2021年国民经济和社会发展统计公报》《人民日报》2022年3月1日第10版。

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由1956年的88.2元增加到2021年的24100元。按照2010年标准，1978年全国农村贫困人口为7.7亿人、贫困发生率为97.5%，到2020年全国农村人口全部脱贫。从综合反映居民生活水平的重要指标看，城镇居民和农村居民的恩格尔系数在1978年时较高，分别为57.5%和67.7%，之后逐步下降，到2021年分别降为28.6%和32.7%；全国居民预期寿命，由新中国成立初的35岁提高到2021年的78.2岁；婴儿死亡率，由新中国成立初的200‰下降到2021年的5‰（赵星月、谢文博，2022）；居民健康水平，总体上优于中高收入国家平均水平（《辉煌70年》编写组，2019）。基于全面建成小康社会的实现，党的二十大报告明确了新的奋斗目标，即“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伟大复兴”（习近平，2022）。

三、做好战略支点助推由追赶跟跑向并跑领跑转变的跨越

发展战略性先导产业、攻克重大科技难题、建设重大基础设施等，是中国式现代化推进和拓展的战略支点，是中国式现代化成功推进和拓展的重要因素。中国式现代化的推进除旧中国长久陷入徘徊的历史发展趋势、发展起点低的现实困境等自身约束因素外，更为严峻的挑战是受到在国际上的弱势窘境困扰。一国现代化的推进，还受国际因素的影响，其中一个重要因素是工业化先发国家与工业化后发国家之间存在较大的发展势能差，其表现不仅仅是科技水平、发达程度差异下的发展能力差，更是工业化先发国家凭借强大国力在政治军事上实行霸权，以强大的话语权、规则制定权控制国际政治经济秩序，进而实现对工业化后发国家的掠夺。这就限定着工业化后发国家的发展空间，使第二次世界大战结束至今绝大多数工业化后发国家很难突破在国际上的弱势窘境困扰，因而不能突破跟随的发展态势。新中国成立后的很长时期内，在与工业化先发国家存在较大发展势能差的情况下，面临的弱势窘境困扰显而易见，不仅如此，西方资本主义国家还通过集团式封锁禁运行径对中国发展进行遏制（董志凯，2019）。中国式现代化实现历史性突破和跨越，是突破在国际上受弱势窘境困扰实现的。具体而言，中国作为工业化后发国家，面对工业化先发国家恃强凌弱、巧取豪夺、零和博弈等种种霸权霸道霸凌行径，自信自立，以自己力量为国家和民族发展的基点，以国家现代化战略引导，发挥社会主义国家制度和国家治理体系具有的显著优势，全国一盘棋，调动各方面积极性，集中力量办好发展战略性先导产业、攻克重大科技难题和建设重大基础设施等关系国计民生的大事，把国家发展进步的命运牢牢地掌握在自己手中，实现了在国际上受弱势窘境困扰向优势跨越的转变，综合国力实现快速提升，进而支撑和助推由追赶跟跑向并跑并在一些领域领跑和成为世界经济增长重要引擎转变的跨越。

做好发展战略性先导产业、攻克重大科技、建设重大基础设施等战略支点，支撑和促进综合国力快速提升。新中国基于旧中国因综合国力极弱而造成的现代化推进中的内外交困局面，认识到要

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在综合国力快速提升上优先进行突破。改革开放后，邓小平将是否有利于增强社会主义国家综合国力作为三个根本判断标准之一（邓小平，1993）。中国在提高综合国力上采取重大战略安排，每个发展阶段也都有标志性事件的成就。“两弹一星”的成功研制就是改革开放前各种因素集成下综合国力提升最显著的标志。中国自力更生艰苦奋斗，实现综合国力快速提升，是中国力争与国际改善关系的重要因素，也为中国改革开放的推进和现代化建设奠定了坚实基础。1988年，邓小平对成功研制“两弹一星”的高度评价，表达了快速提升综合国力在中国式现代化推进中的战略意义。邓小平指出：“如果六十年代以来中国没有原子弹、氢弹，没有发射卫星，中国就不能叫有重要影响的大国，就没有现在这样的国际地位。这些东西反映一个民族的能力，也是一个民族、一个国家兴旺发达的标志。”（邓小平，1993）

做好发展战略性先导产业、攻克重大科技、建设重大基础设施等战略支点，支撑和促进由历史上的发展长期停滞向创造世所罕见的经济快速发展奇迹的跨越。工业革命所引发的生产率的快速提高，必然会导致仍徘徊在农业社会阶段的旧中国与工业化先发国家在发达程度上的分化。麦迪森的数据显示，1820~1952年的国内生产总值年均增长率，全世界为1.64%，美国为3.67%，欧洲为1.71%，日本为1.74%，都大幅高于中国的0.22%。同期，人均国内生产总值的反差更明显，全世界为0.93%，美国为1.61%，欧洲为1.05%，日本为0.95%，而中国为-0.10%（安格斯·麦迪森，2008）。面对旧中国在经济增长上与世界的分化，新中国从走出极其严重的积贫积弱境地实现快速发展出发，在现代化进程中促进战略性先导产业发展、重大科技攻关、重大基础设施建设，以此为支点创造出世所罕见的经济快速发展奇迹。1952~2021年，中国国内生产总值由679亿元增加到114.37万亿元。[⑨]其中，1953~1978年中国也实现了较高速度增长。麦迪森的数据显示，1952~1978年中国国内生产总值年均实际增长率为4.39%，比同期世界平均水平4.59%低0.2个百分点，高于美国的3.61%和欧洲的4.37%（安格斯·麦迪森，2008），高于高收入国家的4.3%。[⑩]1979~2018年国内生产总值年均增长率为9.4%，比同期世界经济年均增长2.9%高出6.5个百分点。

做好发展战略性先导产业、攻克重大科技难题、建设重大基础设施等战略支点，支撑和促进由跟跑追赶向并跑并在一些领域领跑的跨越。近代中国逐步认识到要学习西方国家工业之“长”以制夷。新中国在受西方国家集团式封锁禁运等打压的情况下，除了自立自强，别无选择。鉴于此，中国发挥能够集中力量办大事的制度优势，解决“一盘散沙”做不到或至少做得不快的问题，组织重大科技攻关，为战略性先导产业发展和综合国力快速提升提供了支撑。中国在和平发展的世界主题下推进改革开放，与西方国家为解决滞胀问题寻求与中国合作相遇，抓住经济全球化进程中工业化先发国家制造业向工业化后发国家转移的机遇，先是通过“三来一补”，再到全方位引进外资，在引进外

⑨《中华人民共和国2021年国民经济和社会发展统计公报》《人民日报》2022年3月1日第10版。

⑩ 蔡昉：《新中国70年奋斗历程和启示》（十三届全国人大常委会专题讲座第13讲），中国人大网，http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/c30834/201908/e3b15ac9f8f14dfeb2a97b7fd0ae2bed.shtml。

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资时融合引进技术，在学习中创新发展。进入新时代，中国坚持把创新作为发展的第一动力，激发创新创业创造活力，加快创新发展。中国全社会研发经费，2021年是2012年的2.7倍。2012~2021年高技术产业研发投入强度由1.68%提升到2.67%（陆娅楠，2022）。世界知识产权组织全球创新指数报告显示，中国创新能力综合排名由2012年的居第34位上升到2022年的居第11位。中国高速铁路、5G网络等建设在世界领先，第三代核电、载人航天、北斗导航等重器成为国家新名片，数字经济规模位居全球第二，人工智能、区块链、量子通信、智能驾驶等新技术开发应用走在世界前列。中国实现由追赶跟跑向并跑并在一些领域领跑，在这一进程中推动由数量增长转向高质量发展跨越，不仅更好地满足了人民日益增长的美好生活需要，也给世界经济注入新的发展动能。

做好发展战略性先导产业、攻克重大科技、建设重大基础设施等战略支点，支撑和促进现代化建设由遭受西方国家集团式封锁禁运向构建国际合作发展平台转变的跨越，支撑和促进由工业化先发国家辐射带动向世界经济增长重要引擎转变的跨越，成为世界现代化演进的重要推动力量。新中国自成立起的很长时期内，因为属于社会主义阵营，也作为工业化后发国家，在推进现代化建设中，不仅在国际上受弱势窘境困扰，还遭受西方国家集团式封锁禁运，而同期拉美国家、亚洲新兴经济体则没有遭此扼制。20世纪60年代初中苏关系恶化后，中国式现代化的推进又面临来自苏联威胁的干扰。即便在由冷战向和平发展转变后，西方国家对中国仍以诸多无理借口实施多种方式的打压。新中国在推进和拓展中国式现代化进程中，摒弃恃强凌弱、巧取豪夺、零和博弈思维，以做好发展战略性先导产业、攻克重大科技、建设重大基础设施等战略支点自立自强为基础，推动世界走和平发展道路，并通过实施共建“一带一路”倡议等构建起国际合作发展新平台，以共商共建共享原则促进共同发展。自2006年起，中国跃升为世界经济增长的第一引擎，对世界经济增长的贡献率稳居第一位。中国对世界经济增长的贡献，还表现在由于形成了快、活、稳的统一经济发展机制，在发挥“动力源”作用的同时，还助推1997年亚洲金融危机、2008年国际金融危机、新冠病毒疫情等造成的世界经济困难的解决，发挥了世界经济“稳定器”的作用。

综上所述，从长时段和国际视域分析，新中国突破旧中国长久陷入徘徊的历史发展趋势、发展起点低的现实困境、作为工业化后发国家在国际上受弱势窘境困扰而使发展空间被锁定等约束，实现现代化的历史性突破和跨越，实现世所罕见的经济快速发展和社会长期稳定两个奇迹的相互促进，创造人类文明新形态，关键缘于中国共产党领导人民从国情和世情出发，围绕两大主题和基于战略支点推进和拓展中国式现代化。中国式现代化推进和拓展的两大主题包括：一是，新中国在工业发展落后于世界的情况下，以发展实业为基础，促进三次产业全面发展，在中国式现代化进程中答好了世界发展潮流的工业化这一命题，探索走出了中国式工业化之路和拓展了工业发展空间，用几十年时间走完发达国家几百年工业化历程，建成门类齐全的现代工业体系，成为全球制造业第一大国和唯一拥有联合国产业分类中所列全部工业门类的国家，实现由农业文明向工业文明演进的

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结构转换。在这一进程中，形成了中国如何推进和拓展中国式工业化的方案，成功实施了国家工业化战略，在改革开放进程中成功走出城乡“两条腿”工业化之路，进入新时代以新发展理念引领走新型工业化和“四化同步”发展之路。二是，坚持以人民为中心，坚持现代化的本质是人的现代化，把阶段性重点突破和长远的全面发展统筹起来，推进经济建设，处理好工业化推进与民生改善的关系，统筹推进经济、政治、文化、社会、生态文明建设，在致力于促进全面发展中补短板和强弱项，促进人的现代化和人的全面发展，创造人类文明新形态。创造人类文明新形态这一新主题是对世界现代化作出的重大贡献。换言之，中国式现代化的推进和拓展不仅有在工业革命下促进农业文明向工业文明演进这一世界现代化共性的结构转换主题，更是拓展形成了坚持以人民为中心创造人类文明新形态的新主题。新中国把做好发展战略性先导产业、攻克重大科技、建设重大基础设施等作为中国式现代化推进和拓展的战略支点，支撑和促进综合国力快速提升，支撑和促进由历史上的发展长期停滞向创造世所罕见的经济快速发展奇迹的跨越，支撑和促进由工业化先发国家辐射带动向世界经济增长重要引擎转变的跨越，支撑和促进由跟跑追赶向并跑并在一些领域领跑的跨越，支撑和促进现代化建设由遭受西方国家集团式封锁禁运向构建国际合作发展平台的跨越。促进农业文明向工业文明演进、创造人类文明新形态、做好战略支点有机统一和相互促进，是中国式现代化推进和拓展的显著特征。中国共产党带领人民基于两大主题和战略支点推进和拓展中国式现代化，是实现中华民族伟大复兴进入了不可逆转的历史进程的重要因素，是对世界现代化作出的重大贡献，彰显了其光耀的历史地位。中国对现代化主题的拓展及形成独特的实现路径，蕴含了需要研究的重大理论课题。

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Chinese-Style Modernization: Themes and Strategic Fulcrum

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Abstract: *Since its founding in 1949, the People's Republic of China has achieved historic progress and explored a new paradigm for human civilization despite its disadvantageous international position, putting an end to the perennial stagnation and backwardness of Old China. This achievement is attributable to Chinese-style modernization with two themes and one strategy under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC). The Industrial Revolution has ushered in a shift from an agrarian to an industrial civilization across the world. In addition to this common theme, Chinese-style modernization is distinguished as a new paradigm for human civilization in which people come first. It has been built around the strategy of industrial, technological, and infrastructural development. The "two themes, one fulcrum" are the distinctive features of Chinese-style modernization.*

Keywords: *Industrial strengths, structural shift, the "two themes," strategic fulcrum, new paradigm for human civilization*
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The success of Chinese-style modernization offers historic and global implications. From the 1970s to the late 1990s, China's rapid economic growth was hailed by the international community as nothing short of a miracle. Over the past couple of decades, China's progress in modernization goes beyond its impressive GDP growth rates. As a late developing country, China completed industrialization in a matter of decades as opposed to centuries for developed nations. Unprecedented economic expansion has been accompanied by long-term social stability. Because of these exceptional accomplishments, Chinese-style modernization represents a new paradigm for human civilization.

Upon its founding in 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was confronted with the stagnation, backwardness and inhospitable international environment left over from Old China. Despite the roadblocks, China has made historic breakthroughs in its modernization drive. The importance of China's modernization goes beyond the increase of material wealth. It provides a case study of how a late developing country overcame obstacles erected by early industrialized countries to achieve economic preeminence.

From the common trends of global industrial development to China's modernization drive based on its national conditions and international environment, this paper reviews the journey and historic breakthroughs of Chinese-style modernization. By outlining the painstaking efforts and historic importance of this journey, this paper aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of what Chinese-style modernization means and entails and how it steers the course of the country's future development.

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1. Industrial Development Speeds Up the Shift from Agrarian to Industrial Civilization

Across the world, agrarian societies began to evolve into industrial civilizations since the Industrial Revolution. As a key aspect of modernization, this transition represents a socio-economic transformation in the process of modernization and a theme of Chinese-style modernization. The Communist Party of China (CPC) has been committed to creating the material and technological conditions for China's modernization. As stated in the Report to the 20th CPC National Congress, "Development is the top priority for the Party's governance and the country's revitalization. Without solid material and technological strengths, we would not be able to turn China into a strong socialist modern nation in all respects" (Xi, 2022). Over the past seven decades, China has made rapid progress in both agriculture and industry. This achievement is attributable to China's unique path of industrial development through Chinese-style modernization.

China has developed a complete range of modern industrial sectors as a late developing country over the past seven decades. This process of industrial development unfolded in two stages starting from the remnants of an incomplete industrial system.

Between the implementation of the first five-year plan in 1953 and the end of the 1970s, China established relatively complete industrial and economic systems. Convened on the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Second Plenum of the Seventh CPC Central Committee vowed to turn China from an agrarian country to an industrial nation. The Party affirmed that industrial development was in the best interest of the country and called upon all the people to work hard to achieve country's industrialization. In 1953, the CPC adopted the general line and overarching task for the transition period, charting out a blueprint and timetable for the country's industrial productivity development and socialist transformation of the relations of production. In 1956, the national strategic goal and timetable of establishing a complete industrial system were written into the political report to the Eighth CPC National Congress (Liu, 1985).

The People's Republic of China began to establish its industrial system in an extremely adverse international environment during the Cold War, when Western countries joined hands to impose embargoes against the nascent People's Republic. With painstaking efforts, people across the country worked tirelessly to implement the national strategy of industrialization. China made great progress in manufacturing as a leading industry by the late 1970s, with industrial value-added rising from 11.98 billion yuan in 1952 to 162.2 billion yuan in 1978, a 15.9-fold increase; this amounts to an average annual growth rate of 11.5%[1], which outpaced the country's average annual growth rate by 0.5 points between 1953 and 2018.

China's industrial structure has undergone a historic shift as a result of rapid industrial development, as seen by the rise in industrial value added as a share of GDP from 17.6% in 1952 to 44.1% by 1978. The share of the primary, secondary and tertiary industries in China's GDP stood at27.7%, 47.7% and 24.6% in 1978[2], respectively, signaling a shift from the country's predominately agricultural economy. China developed complete industrial and economic systems in a little over two decades, laying the groundwork for its emergence as a manufacturing powerhouse in the decades after reform and opening-up in 1978.

The adoption of the economic reform and opening-up policy marked a new stage of China's development toward a modern industrial system with complete industrial sectors. After the late 1970s, China made relentless efforts to develop its industrial system, which led to the creation of 666 subsectors

[1] *Brilliant Seven Decades (1949-2019)*, p.100.
[2] *Brilliant Seven Decades (1949-2019)*, p.365.

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of 207 industrial sectors in 41 categories[3] on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Steelmaking, non-ferrous metallurgy, electric power generation, coal mining, petroleum processing, chemical engineering, machinery, building materials, textiles, food, and pharmaceutical sectors experienced relentless growth. Emerging sectors, such as aviation, aerospace, and automobile industries, as well as information technology (IT) have thrived. As a result, China has become the only nation that boasts all the industrial sectors listed in the United Nations industry classification (Sun, 2019).The completeness is a hallmark of China's industrial success and a distinctive feature of Chinese-style industrialization. The whole spectrum of industrial sectors not only encourages import substitution but acts as a fulcrum for the nation to become stronger and more resilient. It gives China the ability to firmly take charge of its own destiny to develop and thrive.

China's industrial system underpinned the country's agricultural modernization and social and economic advancement. By 2012, the country's tertiary industry surpassed its secondary sector, accounting for 45.5% of GDP. By 2021, the share of primary industry fell to 7.3% of GDP, eclipsed by the secondary industry (39.4%) and tertiary industry (53.3%).[4] Urbanization in China increased quickly from 10.6% in 1949 to 64.72% in 2021 - a milestone for the country's complete transition from an agrarian to an industrial society.

Since 1978, China has explored a path of industrial development that would benefit both cities and the countryside (Zheng, 2021). This approach took hold through the implementation of China's urban-rural development strategy and related institutional frameworks. Chinese communists under the leadership of Mao Zedong called for industrial development in both cities and the countryside to convert farmers into rural workers, who together with farmers, merchants, students and soldiers, were the members of rural communes (Zheng, 2022).

China's industrial development was concentrated on cities and mining areas from the start of the first five-year plan till the eve of the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978. This allowed for the development of industries, particularly heavy industries, at a low cost, leaving countryside with "five small industries" outside of the national planning system, i.e. small coal mines, small steel mills, small fertilizer plants, small cement plants, and small machinery factories.

Institutional arrangements for rural communes to pool resources and maintain reserves, which were initially intended to develop the rural collective economy, helped finance the establishment of "commune and brigade enterprises" as the predecessors of township enterprises in the early stages of reform and opening-up (commune and brigade enterprises were renamed into township enterprises in 1984 by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council).

With deepening market-based reforms after the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, nimble and vibrant township enterprises mushroomed, blazing a trail of countryside industrial development. Rural industries gained momentum compared with urban industries, accounting for 27.5% of China's industrial value-added by 1991 and 47.5% by 2000, up from 9.9% in 1978 (He, 2004), which means that almost half of China's industrial value added originated in the countryside (Buhe, 2000). Hence, rural industrial growth boosted the share of light industries in China's industrial structure otherwise dominated by heavy industries.

Before reform and opening-up, China's national industrial strategy prioritized heavy industries over light industries. The country's underdeveloped light industries provided an opportunity for commune and brigade enterprises - as well as the succeeding township enterprises - to flourish. "There are many commune industries and small-town industries. There is a reason for those industries to develop, and that

[3] National Bureau of Statistics (NBS): *Rise of Manufacturing Powerhouse in the East: Report Series 3 on New China's Achievements of Economic and Social Development upon the 70th Anniversary of the People's Republic of China*, http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2019-07/10/content_5407835.htm.

[4] National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), "Statistical Communique of the People's Republic of China for National Economic and Social Development in 2021," *People's Daily*, March 1 (2022): 10.

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reason is to create jobs and raise living standards," said Chen Yun at a CPC central politburo meeting in March 1979 (Chen, 1995). In the beginning, township enterprises were understaffed, underequipped, underfunded and outside of the national planning system. They made use of local resources to produce agricultural and industrial supplies, consumer goods, and commodities for export. Owing to its proximity to Hong Kong and Macao, the Pearl River Delta region developed light industries through processing trade and compensation trade in the inception of reform and opening-up. Rapid industrial development in countryside helped the country break away from an industrial structure dominated by heavy industries and produce consumer goods in short supply.

China committed to making synchronized progress in the "four modernizations" under the new development concepts; being a late developing country, it vowed to achieve "four modernizations" in two versions since 1949. The first "four modernizations" was identified in the early 1950s and re-prioritized at the First Session of the Third National People's Congress in 1964 to put agricultural modernization in the first place. "Our main task for developing the national economy is, in short, to build China into a strong socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern defense, and modern science and technology in the not-so-distant future." (Zhou, 1984)

In the new era, China is making simultaneous progress on the new "four modernizations" of industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernization. The 18th CPC National Congress called for "embarking upon a path of industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agriculture modernization with Chinese characteristics, giving play to the synergy between industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agriculture modernization" (Party Literature Research Center, 2014).

This policy statement calls for a new round of technological and industrial revolutions in the new era. At the ninth collective s session of the 18th CPC central politburo in September 2013, Xi Jinping made the following statement: "Our country's modernization is very different from those of developed countries in the West, whose development took place in a series of stages beginning with industrialization, then urbanization, agricultural modernization, and more recently, informatization. It took over 200 years for them to reach where they are today. Since we must catch up and make up for our 'lost two centuries,' our country must make simultaneous progress on various fronts in parallel, including industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernization" (Party Literature Research Center, 2017).

In contrast to urban prosperity and industrial advancement, China's agriculture and countryside fell behind. To address the uneven development, China has made great efforts to implement a policy of getting industry to support agriculture and cities to support countryside, with the goal of delivering modernization for all the people, including hundreds of millions of farmers. Through integrated development of primary, secondary and tertiary industries in countryside, China is promoting synergy between industry and agriculture and between cities and the countryside to create common prosperity, revitalize countryside, and strengthen agriculture.

2. Pursuing a People-Centered Approach for All-Round Development and Creating a New Paradigm for Human Civilization

China's transformation from an agrarian to an industrial society followed a unique path based on its national conditions, although it shared common features with modernization in many other countries. What distinguishes Chinese-style modernization is the new theme of modernization with development of people as well as the creation of a new paradigm for human civilization. Under this new theme, China is committed to a people-centered approach, guiding industrial development for the advancement of people's livelihoods in a coordinated manner.

China is approaching the threshold of a high-income country after decades of economic development

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along the path of Chinese-style modernization. In 1949, China's gross domestic product (GDP) was 17.956 billion US dollars, or a mere 23 US dollars per capita, which was shy of Britain's level over 200 years ago (Wang, 2022). Although economic development was not unequivocally identified as a central task until after reform and opening-up in 1978, China never relented its efforts to develop the economy under the goal of industrialization even during the decade-long Cultural Revolution, when class struggle dominated people's life.

After the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978, the Chinese leadership drew lessons from disruptions to economic development and gave top priority to economic development. In 1993, China became a lower-middle-income country. By 2009, it joined the rank of upper-middle-income countries. China's GDP per capita doubled from 6,301 US dollars in 2012 to 12,556 US dollars by 2021 (Drafting Team, 2022), which is above the average level of middle-income countries (Drafting Team, 2019) and one step away from the threshold of high-income countries.

The Chinese government took concerted actions for economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological development to advance modernization. As a new paradigm for human civilization, Chinese-style modernization puts a premium on people's total development, leading the nation's great rejuvenation. Since its founding, the People's Republic of China has established an independent and complete industrial system and steadily advanced various social and economic endeavors.

In this process, the "four modernizations" goal adopted in the 1950s gave way to the vision for building a prosperous, democratic, advanced, and harmonious modern socialist country in the early stage of the reform and opening-up in 1978. In the new era, China has embraced a new ambition to create a strong modern socialist country that is prosperous, democratic, advanced harmonious and beautiful. Those evolving goals (Zheng, 2022) call for the modernization of people amid productivity development. In its governance of the country, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has adopted the "five-in-one" and "four comprehensives"[5] guidelines underpinning China's modernization goals and pathways.

After seven decades of struggle, China has achieved great progress in economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological development. Owing to its breakthroughs and innovations in the theory and practice of modernization, China has blazed a unique trail with the following characteristics (Zheng, 2022).

First, China's modernization covers a population of 1.4 billion; such a magnitude has important global implications in terms of both a sharp increase in world population wellbeing and a focus on the people's total development.

Second, China's modernization is for the common prosperity of all its people, which stands in sharp contrast to wealth gaps in many other parts of the world. Policy systems for shared development have led to great progress in delivering common prosperity for all the people. As a result, China's Gini coefficient has decreased from 0.474 in 2012 to 0.466 in 2021 (Lu, 2022). The country has lifted nearly 100 million rural residents from poverty and created a middle-income group of over 400 million people[6].

Third, unlike conventional modernization, China's modernization has brought about balanced material and cultural progress. Material abundance should contribute to the development of people and derive strength for moral progress.

Fourth, China's modernization promotes the concept of people and nature living in harmony, contributing to global ecological security and green development.

China maintained an average annual economic growth rate of 6.6% between 2012 and 2021 while increasing its energy consumption by a modest 3% annually. As a result, China's energy intensity decreased by a cumulative 26.4%, which is equivalent to a reduction of 1.4 billion tons

[5] "Five-in-one" refers to integrated economic, political, cultural, social and ecological development; "four comprehensives" refers to comprehensively build a moderately prosperous society, deepen reforms, govern the nation according to law, and strictly govern the Party.

[6] *Tutorial Readings of the Report at the 20th CPC National Congress*, p.429.

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of coal equivalent and a cut of 3 billion tons of CO_2 emissions. This places China among the countries with the fastest reductions in energy intensity (Drafting Team, 2022). China is leading the world in terms of installed wind and photovoltaic capacity as well as new energy vehicle (NEV) manufacturing and sales, and has developed clean, low-carbon, safe, and efficient energy systems. The use of coal as an energy source fell from 65.8% in 2014 to 56% in 2021, while the use of clean energy rose from 16.9% to 25.5%[7].

Fifth, China's modernization rejects the outdated practices of bullying, exploitation, and a zero-sum game mentality and instead pursues a path of peaceful development with the goal of building a community with a shared future for mankind.

During Chinese-style modernization, industrial development paved the way for improving living standards from subsistence to moderate prosperity in all aspects. In its implementation of the industrialization strategy before the economic reform and opening-up policy, the Chinese government struck a balance between short-term and long-term priorities and regional and overall development. High-accumulation, low-wage, and low-consumption policies created conditions for capital accumulation and boosted industrial development. Workers all around the country responded to the call for diligence and frugality with great enthusiasm. The government also attached great importance to improving people's livelihoods.

With the establishment of a complete industrial system, the CPC adopted a more ambitious strategic goal for national development and undertook several policy efforts to raise people's living standards in lockstep with economic development. In the seven decades since the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, strategic national goals have steadily raised levels of social and economic development.

In 1979, Deng Xiaoping called for turning China into a moderately prosperous country by the end of the 20th century. At the turn of the century, the Chinese government began to prioritize the improvement of people's livelihoods. The Fifth Plenum of the 15th CPC Central Committee vowed to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects since the dawn of the new century. In the new era, China's principal social challenge today consists of an unbalanced and inadequate production development confronting people's growing needs for a better life. This social contradiction needs to be addressed by promoting high-quality development with a people-centered approach. The Report to the 20th CPC National Congress identified high-quality development as the principal task for building a modern socialist country and called for high-quality economic growth at a reasonable pace (Xi, 2022).

Under the guidance of Xi Jinping's *Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for the New Era*, China has implemented new development concepts, focused on meeting people's aspirations for a better life, and initiated a new leap toward higher quality of economic development in its modernization drive.

The seven decades since the founding of New China in 1949 have witnessed dramatic improvements in people's living standards amid social and economic development. China's national household per capita disposable income rose from 49.7 yuan in 1949 to 35,128 yuan in 2021[8]. China's per capita household consumption spending increased from 88.2 yuan in 1956 to 24,100 yuan in 2021. By the 2010 standard, China's rural poor population was 770 million in 1978 with a poverty incidence of 97.5%.

By 2020, China eradicated absolute poverty in the countryside. Judging by the key indicators of people's living standards, the Engel's coefficient for China's urban and rural residents peaked in 1978 at 57.5% and 67.7% before decreasing gradually to 28.6% and 32.7% in 2021, respectively. China's

[7] "*Steadfastly Pursuing High-quality Development: Commentary on China's Economic Development in the New Era*," Xinhua news, http://www.news.cn/politics/2022-08/22/c1128937030.htm.

[8] "Statistical Communique of the People's Republic of China for National Economic and Social Development in 2021," *People's Daily*, March 1 (2022): 10.

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national life expectancy increased from 35 years in 1949 to 78.2 years in 2021. Infant mortality dropped from 200‰ in 1949 to 5‰ in 2021 (Zhao, 2022). The health level of China's residents is generally superior to the average level of medium- and high-income countries (Drafting Team, 2019).

After the completion of the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in 2020, the Report to the 20th CPC National Congress stated that "From now on, the central task of the Communist Party of China is to unite people of all ethnic groups across the nation to accomplish the second centenary goal and advance the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation through Chinese-style modernization" (Xi, 2022).

3. Catching Up with Advanced Nations and Leading the World in Certain Sectors to Spearhead World Economic Growth

The strategy of Chinese-style modernization is to develop strategic leading industries, key technologies, and major infrastructure projects. China's modernization began from a very low level due to chronic stagnation in Old China. More importantly, it was slowed down by the country's vulnerable international position. Late developing countries carry a burden not just in terms of their levels of science and technology and economic development, but in the fact that they face exploitation from already industrialized nations that set international political and economic rules owing to their geopolitical influence and military might. This has limited the development space of late developing countries, the vast majority of which remain underdeveloped.

China was an underdeveloped country in the first decades after the creation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Its situation was made worse by embargoes imposed by Western capitalist nations (Dong, 2019. Without an improvement in the nation's precarious international standing, the historic accomplishments of Chinese-style modernization would not have been feasible.

As a late developing country, China used the advantages of its socialist system to concentrate resources across the country to develop strategic leading industries, key technologies, and major infrastructure projects to improve its national strength and people's livelihoods in line with its national modernization strategy. This was done in response to bullying, exploitation, and zero-sum competition from industrialized nations. China has improved its standing on the global stage by assuming control over the course of its own national development. With the swift ascent of comprehensive national strengths, the country is transitioning from a follower to a leader in some industries and acting as a major driver of global economic growth.

China has dramatically increased its overall national strengths by developing strategic leading industries, key technologies and major infrastructure projects. At the time of the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, it was well understood how important it was to transform the country from a weak and beleaguered nation into a powerful modern state. Since the economic reform and opening-up policy was adopted in 1978, Deng Xiaoping stressed that all policymaking should be judged by whether it contributes to China's overall national strengths as a socialist nation (Deng, 1993). China took strategic steps to strengthen its national leverage with major achievements in each stage.

The first major achievement was when the country successfully tested its first atomic and hydrogen bombs in 1964 and 1967, respectively, and launched its first man-made satellite in 1970; which became known as the "Two Bombs, One Satellite" project. China's growing national strengths are attributable to the country's self-reliance and hard work, which opened the door for closer ties with other nations, deeper reforms and broader openness, and progress in its modernization drive. In 1988, Deng Xiaoping spoke highly of China's "Two Bombs, One Satellite" achievement, reaffirming its strategic significance to China's growing strengths. As Deng Xiaoping said "If China had not developed the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb and launched its first man-made satellite it would not have been called an influential country or able to enjoy the international status that it does nowadays. These achievements signify a nation's capability and symbolize the prosperity and sophistication of a nation and its people" (Deng, 1993).

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By developing strategic industries, key technologies, and major infrastructure projects, China has reversed a century of stagnation and created an economic growth miracle rarely seen in world history. Left out from the Industrial Revolution, Old China was stuck in an agrarian society and increasingly fell behind industrialized countries. According to Angus Maddison, between 1820 and 1952, global GDP growth averaged 1.64%, and the US, European, and Japanese economies grew by 3.67%, 1.71% and 1.74%, respectively, all of which overshadowed China's 0.22%. This disparity was even greater on a per capita basis. China's average per capita GDP growth rate over the same period was -0.10%, compared to a global average of 0.93%, a US average of 1.61%, 1.5% for Europe, and 0.95% for Japan (Maddison, 2008).

The growing disparities between Old China and the rest of the world began to close since New China was established in 1949. Between 1952 and 2021, China's GDP increased from 67.9 billion to 114.37 trillion yuan[9], and it expanded steadily even in the pre-reform years from 1953 to 1978. According to Angus Maddison, China's GDP increased annually, on average, 4.39% between 1952 and 1978, outpacing the US (3.61%), Europe (4.37%) (Maddison, 2008), and high-income nations (4.3%) (Cai, 2019). This is 0.2 percentage points lower than the global average of 4.59% over the same time period. China's annual average GDP growth rate reached 9.4% between 1979 and 2018, exceeding the 2.9% global average by 6.5 percentage points.

By focusing on developing strategic leading industries, key technologies, and major infrastructure projects, China is advancing toward the frontiers of global technological development. In its modern history, China recognized the importance to emulate the industrial prowess of Western countries in order to resist their aggression. In the face of Western embargoes, New China was left with no other choice except to rely on itself for development. China's institutional strength allows it to concentrate resources to accomplish major ventures, including technological research programs, which paved the way for the country to develop strategic leading industries and improve its comprehensive national strengths.

China's economic reform and opening-up policy, adopted when peace and development were the world's dominant themes, was welcomed by Western countries, which sought to cooperate with China to address their domestic stagflation. Amid industrial relocation from early industrialized nations to late developing countries, China took the opportunity to develop processing and compensation trade, bring in foreign capital and technology, and promote innovation.

Between 2012 and 2021, China's total R&D spending increased 2.7 times, and R&D intensity for high-tech industries increased from 1.68% to 2.67%. The Chinese mainland climbed from the 34th in 2012 to the 11th place in 2022 on the *Global Innovation Index* (GII) released by the World Intellectual Property Rights Organization (WIPO). China leads the world in terms of high-speed railway and 5G communication and is known for technological advancements in third-generation nuclear power, manned spaceflight, and the BeiDou Navigation Satellite System. The country boasts the world's second-largest digital economy and is at the forefront of artificial intelligence (AI), block chain, quantum communication, and smart driving. China's transformation from a follower to a leader in some sectors has propelled the country's high-quality development, improved people's livelihoods, and breathed dynamism into the global economy.

Over the past decades, China has stood firmly against embargoes imposed by Western countries and embraced platforms for international cooperation and development. After relying on industrialized nations in its early-stage industrial development, China has transformed into a key engine of world economic growth and a pivotal force of modernization globally. For a long time since its founding in 1949, the People's Republic of China as a late developing country in the socialist block became a target of embargoes imposed by Western countries.

China's worsening relations with the USSR in the 1960s posed a threat to its modernization drive.

[9] "Statistical Communique of the People's Republic of China for National Economic and Social Development in 2021," *People's Daily*, March 1 (2022): 10.

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Even after the end of the Cold War, Western countries continued to suppress China under various pretexts. In advancing Chinese-style modernization, China has pursued a peaceful development path, focusing on strategic leading industries, key technologies, and major infrastructure projects. Through the implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and other programs, it has created new platforms for international cooperation for common development based on the principles of mutual consultation, joint development, and shared benefits. Since 2006, China has contributed the most to world economic growth with its rapid, flexible, and stable economic growth mechanisms. In addition, it has also served as a stabilizer of the global economy by easing global economic woes during the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, the global financial crisis of 2008, and the COVID-19 pandemic.

Since its founding in 1949, the People's Republic of China has made historic breakthroughs in its modernization drive, putting an end to the backwardness and century-long stagnation of Old China. With its rapid economic growth and social stability over the past decades, China has started to explore a new paradigm for human civilization along the path of Chinese-style modernization under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC).

Chinese-style modernization has been characterized by the following two themes. First, New China rode the wave of global industrial development to bring about industrial prosperity on all fronts, including primary, secondary, and tertiary industries, exploring a Chinese-style industrialization path. In just a few decades, China has transitioned from an agrarian to an industrial civilization - an accomplishment that took industrialized nations a few centuries to accomplish. It has established a modern industrial system with complete sectors, making it the only nation having every industry listed in the United Nations industrial classification. In the post-reform period since 1978, China has blazed a trail of industrial development for both the cities and the countryside. In the new era, China is pursuing new-type industrialization and the new "four modernizations" under the new development concepts.

Second, Chinese-style modernization advocates a people-centered approach and promotes the modernization and all-round development of people, putting economic and industrial development at the service of improving livelihoods. Balancing short-term priorities with long-term goals, the country has made coordinated efforts for economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress and bolstered weak areas. Transition from an agrarian to an industrial civilization is a common theme of modernization worldwide. Yet what distinguishes Chinese-style modernization is the exploration of a new paradigm for human civilization in which people are above everything else.

New China identified the development of strategic leading industries, key technologies, and major infrastructure projects as the strategic focal points for Chinese-style modernization, which has supported China's rapid transition from long-term stagnation to unprecedented economic growth, from a follower of early industrialized nations to a key engine of world economic growth, from a laggard to a leader of technological advancement in some sectors, and from a country subject to embargoes imposed by Western countries to an advocate for international cooperation and development.

In a nutshell, Chinese-style modernization is characterized by the transition from a backward agrarian to an advanced industrial society focused on industrial and technological development with a people-centered approach. By leading the people to advance Chinese-style modernization under the "two themes, one fulcrum," the Communist Party of China has played a key role in driving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and made great contributions to world modernization. The unique themes and pathway of Chinese-style modernization are of great significance for theoretical research.

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