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TRADITIONAL CHINESE DISCOURSE
IN HU JINTAO'S REPORT
TO THE 17TH NATIONAL CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA

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INTRODUCTION

The theme of the dissertation is “Traditional Chinese Discourse in Hu Jintao’s Report to the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China”. The dissertation investigates the dominant political discourse of the contemporary People’s Republic of China (PRC) to identify traditional Chinese discourse elements within it and to make conclusions about CPC strategies and features of socialism with Chinese characteristics. There is a global demand for a deeper understanding of the Chinese socialism and, subsequently, a demand for an explanation of the ideological dimension of the current politics of the Communist Party of China (CPC). The dissertation is a preliminary attempt to answer this demand. Chosen theme is motivated by three research statements: 1) it is important to promote understanding of Chinese socialism; 2) to date, no systematic investigation has been undertaken as to the Chinese traditional arguments in CPC discourse; 3) traditional elements of discourse with particular clarity reflect the characteristic features of the Chinese socialism. In addition it should be noted that setting the boundaries to the CPC discourse in terms of traditions we define the scope and place some constraints on the project.

Methodology statement. Contemporary PRC political discourse contains references, quotations and messages rooted in traditional Chinese political thought or literal language. Without the proper analysis of these elements it is impossible to gain a full understanding of the PRC politics. An understanding of this sort can be obtained from the perspective of political discourse analysis.

The dissertation by its type is defined as a *qualitative research* with some aspects of quantitative research (e.g., using data set, making generalisations from the samples). The *theoretical framework* of the dissertation is Critical discourse analysis (CDA) and related Political discourse analysis

(PDA). PDA states that any political communication in form of a speech act or a printed text is about conveying meanings important for the functioning of a political system. The *ontological argument* of the research is based on the observation that the world is socially and discursively constructed. The *epistemological position* can be defined as relativist or interpretative. The basic *empirical source* has been intentionally limited to one document in order to ensure systemic selection and evaluation of the material under scrutiny.

The dissertation is based upon *methods* applied by CDA and PDA authors; as well as such scientific methods as analysis and synthesis, including linguistic analysis; historical analysis and synthesis (source analysis, summarization of historical facts); sinological methods in analysis of classical Chinese texts; descriptive method; comparative method in both synchronic (in comparing traditional versus socialist discourse) and diachronic aspect (in comparing the shifting meanings of an element), language comparison (in comparing Chinese original text with its translations into English and Russian).

Political and linguistic components of the research. Discourse analysis of politics is an transdisciplinary endeavor that addresses both political science and linguistics. There are arguments within this field that ensure the political applicability of linguistic data. A fundamental principle is that politics is being constructed and conducted by the means of text embedded in political context (Teun A. van Dijk). Hu Jintao was a General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC and the President of the PRC, his social position and the political party he represented all belonged to the political domain. The discourse the speaker was shaping and reflecting is explicitly political. Thus, in this case it is not necessary to go through the typical CDA process of determining the hidden political component and answering questions like: who is representing the power, what is the ideology behind the text, how is domination being exercised, etc. It is obvious that Hu Jintao represented the power since he was China's top official for a decade, the ideology behind the

Report in question is socialism in the form of Marxism, and the dominance of the Communist party is secured by the legislation of the PRC. Also, it is obvious that the CPC members and the citizens of China – direct addressees of the Report – are in an uneven position in comparison with the addresser, because the latter is exercising his power to speak by influencing society in the chosen direction. In other words, in this dissertation politics is a fact, not a hidden layer. The discourse expressed in the Hu Jintao’s speech can be defined as institutional political discourse, because the text in question is connected to the name of a political leader within the framework of his professional political activities and has been presented at a congress of a political party. Thus, although this research offers linguistic connected insights, it belongs to the political science discipline.

Understanding of the *traditional* within the research. Out of all of the semantic layers of the words *tradition* and *traditional*, this research tends to perceive tradition as concepts and values that have been inherited from previous generations. Tradition is associated with the past, with the “old days”, and is opposed to innovation. As an attempt to evade the ambiguity of this definition, it should be stressed that in our case *traditional Chinese discourse* adheres to a time frame, namely, the period of the first written texts (15th century BC.) and up to the proclamation of the Republic in 1912. It is comprised of expressions, thoughts, notions that have deep historic roots and are widely adopted in (but not limited to) governance. The development of the political thought has been reflected in governance theories of imperial China and elaborated in ancient classics. A unique system of governance with its own terminology and reasoning was developed as a result of this process.

Throughout the westernization of China (the role of Japan in this process should also be noted, as it began reorientation towards the West earlier than China), the new political language was created heavily relying upon Western social terminology. In 1912, after the emperor had been overthrown

and the republic had been proclaimed, the Chinese cultural heritage was largely associated with backwardness and subjugation. This led to the gradual rejection of the traditions. This process has resulted in borrowing the Western political discourse arguments and bringing them into the 20th century China, so contemporary political discourse of PRC is compatible with the Western political discourse in many cases. However – as demonstrated in this dissertation – traditional Chinese political discourse still holds a spot and even more – is regaining its role in PRC today. Looking into the discursive space of Hu’s Report, an important observation can be made: some elements within the political discourse of the PRC tend to be nominated as traditional. These elements are definable as traditional not just because they adhere to certain objective criteria, but also because they have been declared to be such by the participants of the discourse themselves. The traditional elements analyzed in this thesis sometimes can be the result of a convention, which is aimed towards strengthening and widening the role of traditional vocabulary within contemporary Chinese political discourse.

Subject of the dissertation is the contemporary socialist discourse of the PRC.

Topic of the research: representations of traditional political discourse within the Hu Jintao’s Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC.

Aim of the dissertation is to analyze Hu Jintao’s Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC from the perspective of containing traditional Chinese political discourse.

The hypothesis offered in the dissertation states: contemporary Chinese socialist discourse possesses such an interdiscursivity that manifests itself through connecting socialist discourse with elements of traditional political discourse, thus creating the ideological base for socialism with Chinese characteristics. It was hypothesized that particular type of

interdiscursivity where the Chinese traditional discourse elements play an important role in altogether socialist discourse reflects discursive and political strategies aimed at preserving and at the same time modifying the ideological content of the socialism with Chinese characteristics policy. *Socialism* is understood as “a politico-economic system where the state controls, either through planning or more directly, and may legally own, the basic means of production” (David Robertson). *Interdiscursivity* can be defined as presence of different discourses within a given discursive object: Hu Jintao’s Report. *Socialist discourse* is regarded in two meanings: as a whole and as a fragment of the whole. Hu Jintao’s Report is socialist by definition. But, as we hypothesized, it contains interdiscursivity, thus, at this level of analysis we consider the socialist arguments to be only one part of the CPC discourse. For the convenience of the study, we constructed specific objects of research through theorizing lexical units of the Hu’s Report which we named *elements*. Although the focus of the dissertation has been the traditional elements, we also traced and analyzed elements that correlated with other discourses.

The following **objectives** have been formulated to achieve the aim:

- 1) Specify the theoretical and methodological principles of CDA and PDA applicable to this dissertation.
- 2) Analyze the structure and content of the Hu Jintao’s Report.
- 3) Reveal the existence of different discourses in the text.
- 4) Identify Chinese traditional lexical units, or elements in the text using such criteria as lexemes, graphemes, syntax, semantics (data generation task).
- 5) Perform a formal classification of traditional lexical units identified, grouping them according to the number of words/characters.
- 6) Describe these traditional elements in terms of culture, history, language, and contemporary politics.

7) Identify socialist discourse properties (linguistic characteristics, arguments, values, addressee of the political discourse etc.).

9) Disclose other discourses, if there are such.

10) Uncover discursive strategies aimed at inclusion of the traditional Chinese political discourse into CPC discursive properties.

12) Investigate the political strategies behind the discursive strategies.

13) Each objective addresses the question of the hypothesis, whether there is an interdiscursivity as a combination of socialist discourse with traditional Chinese political discourse.

14) Develop and test the idea that the interdiscursivity with the inclusion of traditional elements into socialist discourse is the ideological base for socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The **structure of the dissertation** meets the aim and objectives. The study is comprised of an introduction, 3 chapters, conclusion, bibliography, approbation of the dissertation research results and appendices. 1st chapter offers insights into the theoretical arguments of CDA and PDA and the ways of their application to our tasks. 2nd chapter includes a formal description of the text (Hu Jintao's Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC) in terms of its structure and content. In this chapter, arbitrarily selected parts of the Report in Chinese have been supplemented with word by word translation into Latvian made by the autor of the dissertation (we deliberately did not use the official version of the translation, because the preservation of elements of traditional Chinese discourse is beyond the scope of official translators). 3rd chapter contains historic and semantic analysis of the traditional Chinese political discourse elements in the Hu Jintao's Report with the projection on the socialist discourse, and other discourses, if there are such. Results of data analysis are discussed almost in every section of the Chapter.

The topicality and significance of the study.

Novelty of the dissertation is constituted by the topic itself, the aim of the research, the objectives, as well as by the empirical material and the methods of data analysis. The dissertation develops an original insight into political science field, offering the traditional Chinese discursive elements as an object of analysis. Theoretical novelty of the dissertation lies in the fact that it expands the CDA and PDA research methods by introducing the sinological approach, namely, methods of working with classical Chinese texts. The analysis of the specific discourse elements draws heavily on sinological research tradition. The theoretical framework applied within the thesis has been also widened and developed in the direction of non-typical empirical material. The theory has been widened to explain what political language PRC politicians are speaking in reality and how they manage to use it for their political goals.

The topic of the thesis is *politically significant*, because the phenomenon described actually reflects and shapes the political process in contemporary PRC, as well as the understanding of its policies outside China. In Latvia it is determined by the need to promote qualitative political communication with the PRC, both on the level of the bilateral dialogue and EU-China relations. This study of traditional Chinese political discourse use by the CPC advances our understanding of the internal policies and processes in China. It provides a significant material for diagnosing the situation within the CPC, as well as in the country as a whole. It is clear that the expansion of knowledge of the political processes in China is important for understanding the foreign policy of the country.

Western political discourse rules dominate in international communication, therefore it is often taken that all of the countries involved in it also function within the same discursive field. However, to research contemporary Chinese political discourse in all of its complexity means to acknowledge that it contains notions which do not have an equivalent in

Western discourse, and the implicit meanings they convey reflect Chinese traditional political thought, that in turn influences the political scene in China. Ignoring the diversity of the political discourses of the Western countries and the PRC can cause misunderstandings and misconceptions in the dialog with China.

Practical Applicability. The topic has been chosen with the ambition to serve as an informative and analytical material for the agenda-setting institutions in Latvia-China relations. The study can also serve as a reference in designing study plans for such University courses as political science, international relations, international communication and China studies.

Chronologic boundaries of the dissertation. The dissertation focuses upon the year 2007 – the time of the 17th National Congress of the CPC. Taking into account that the main discursive material of the research is the Report of Hu Jintao, it can be taken that it illustrates the policies of the CPC and PRC that are connected with his name. That is why in a broader sense the study relates to the decade long timeframe of Hu’s rule in China – starting from him taking up the posts of CPC General Secretary in 2002 and Chairman of the PRC in 2003, and up to him handing over these posts on the 18th National Congress of the CPC in 2012 and the 12th National People’s Congress in 2013 respectively. Thus, it is possible to say that the dissertation offers an insight into the process of incorporation of traditional elements into the socialist discourse during the decade of Hu’s rule, focusing on 2007. However, in order to ensure an understanding of the traditional political discourse, the author had to significantly expand the chronological framework of the dissertation, including narratives of imperial and even pre-imperial China.

The dissertation within the context of the contemporary political science: literature review. The inclusion of traditional political discourse in the argumentation by the politicians of the PRC is a specific phenomenon, that has in terms of discourse analysis approach has mostly been left out of the

focus of the political science scholars. The authors who analyzed the political practice of the PRC within the context of Chinese culture and values (*R. Solomon, L. Pye*), offered a different approach: analyzing the behavior of the politicians, they compared them to examples taken from Chinese traditional culture, and concluded that the political scene is largely influenced by culture. Harvard University professor Tu Weiming in turn is himself actively participating in the PRC political discourse, stressing the importance of Chinese traditions. Somehow his purpose to use the Chinese traditions is to show that the universal political values, such as democracy, human rights, freedom of speech, could draw upon Confucianism when adapted to China. There is a significant amount of scholars working in the field of discourse analysis in the PRC, such as the Peking University's professor Chen Zhongzhu (陈中竺), the Nanjing Normal University's professor Xin Bin (辛斌). Unfortunately, their research does not address political questions, and linguistic analysis is mostly conducted within the field of English language. The analysis of institutional discourse is actively carried out by the Zhejiang University's scholar Shi Xu (施旭). His main idea is that the Chinese language, being different from the Indo-European languages, needs other forms of discourse analysis. Unfortunately, he does not go beyond declarations. However, there are other examples as well, when researchers drawing upon Chinese language material are successful at applying patterns of political discourse analysis taken directly from Indo-European languages: Sai-hua Kuo has published several articles uncovering the nuances of the Taiwan political life through conventional discourse analysis. The fundamental work "Discourse and Socio-political Transformations in Contemporary China" (Edited by Paul Chilton, Hailong Tian and Ruth Wodak) – a joint project of Lancaster University and Tianjin University, should be mentioned as one of the latest examples of PRC politics' research in terms of CDA. It cannot be denied that the publishing of this book

is a great step in applying discourse analysis to Chinese political objects. It is unfortunate, however, that the socialist discourse, its diversity and dynamic was left outside the interest scope of the authors.

Sources used in the dissertation. The Chinese original and author's translation of the Hu Jintao's Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC into Latvia serves as the base source for this research. However, the analysis of this source had not been possible without including secondary sources, that differ greatly both in contents and time of creation. These sources can be divided as follows: 1) speeches and articles by the CPC and PRC leaders (Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao, Xi Jinping); 2) state documents of the PRC (Constitution); 3) the works by the revolutionaries of the beginning of the 20th Century and, after 1912 – Kuomintang party members (Sun Yatsen, Cai Yuanpei); 4) texts of ancient China's philosophers ("Book of Changes", "Lun Yu" by Confucius, "Dao De Jing" by Laozi, "Mengzi", "Shan Jun Shu" by Gongsun Yang, Classical dictionary "Shuowen Jiezi" etc.); 5) classical works on the history of China ("Shi Ji", "Han Shu"); 6) the works by intellectuals of the turn of the 19th century (Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao); 7) the works by the first Chinese communists (Qiu Qiubai); 8) articles of the official PRC press and social networks, that contain wide explanations of the CPC ideas ("People's Daily", "Xinhua News Agency"); 9) books and articles by contemporary PRC's social and political scientists, members of PRC political discourse themselves, that are dedicated to explaining and developing Hu's statements (Zhang Yingkui, Zhang Tiejun, Zhao Longfei).

Outline of research procedure. The second and third chapters are dedicated to empirical data receiving and data processing. In the second part of the dissertation the discourse analysis procedure consists of six steps. 1st step: formal acquaintance with the 12 chapters of Hu Jintao's Report. 2nd step: selection of samples for discourse analysis. 3rd step: word by word translation of the chapters titles and excerpts of the Report into Latvian. 4th step:

sequential analysis of 12 chapters with the chosen excerpts to detect the elements belonging to Chinese traditional discourse. 5th step: sequential analysis of 12 chapters to define socialist discourse and other discourses, if there are such, in the given excerpts. 6th step: a correlation of all identified discourses and conclusions regarding the presence or absence of interdiscursivity. In the third part of the dissertation our primary focus is the analysis of traditional discourse established in the second part. Their classification is carried out according to the formal criteria - the number of words-characters: one word-character (three units), two word-characters (twenty three units), four and more word-characters (seventeen units). Each lexical unit is subjected to semantic, lexical, grammatical etc. analysis to identify the interdiscursivity within it and to show the discursive and political strategies of Hu Jintao.

Although the text of Hu's Report is being analyzed in full, the thesis contains only one or two fragments of each section. The selection is done in accordance with CDA and PDA rules of research.

Part 1. Theoretical approaches in discourse analysis and their applicability to the study of the PRC political discourse

1.1. Discourse as a research object and discourse analysis as a research instrument

Discourse became an object of research during the second half of the 20th century, and its importance in the political science is steadily increasing. Discourse analysis draws on social constructivism; it has been derived from structural and poststructuralist linguistic theories. It originates in linguistic philosophy's argument according to which an individual always perceives reality through language. It researches meanings, beliefs and how they are mirrored in discourses, so it can be considered an interpretative approach. The discourse analysis' set of principles can be defined as: 1) language, being a part of the social life, illuminates social processes and shapes them, serving in this capacity as an objective source of information about society; 2) knowledge and judgments expressed through language are founded in social processes, and historically and culturally conditioned (antifundamentalist approach); 3) there is a link between the social world immersed in language and social behavior.

Discourse analysis comprises several schools. CDA is often defined as a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research enterprise that provides a body of approaches with various theoretical models, research methods and purposes, that are all united by a shared interest in semiotic dimensions of power, injustice and political, economic or cultural changes in society. It should be noted that the philosophical roots of CDA are still a question of interpretation. Ethnographer M. Hammersley stresses the critical component of the theory, saying that it doesn't allow to link CDA with the positivist dispassionate approach to facts, and drawing a line between CDA and Marxism, especially that of A.Gramsci. A similar point of view is, among others, also expressed in

“Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis”, edited by Ruth Wodak. The most prominent and influential CDA authors include Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, Lillie Chouliaraki and Ruth Wodak. In recent years, the creators of the theory of CDA are engaged in its re-interpretation in the direction of PDA, which is manifested in a decrease of critical focus while maintaining the basic methodological principles of CDA. Therefore, in our dissertation both terms are used as similar. According to the CDA theory, research of discourses can help determine social strategies and practices behind them. In the case of this dissertation, interdiscursivity of Chinese political discourse also can be regarded as a manifestation of strategies and actions of the creators of this discourse, namely, the political elite. However, in this research the process is being regarded as neutral, unlike the classic CDA approach, proving a suspected unfairness of strategies revealed through such a discourse towards its receivers is not the purpose. As it was pointed out, CDA in the form of PDA has developed in the direction of giving up the judgmental position, especially in cases that involve non-typical empirical material. CDA theoretic R.Wodak links discourse to representations, stating that discourses represent social/political world and its agents. This argument is important for our dissertation, as it allows for interpreting traditional Chinese discourse elements as representatives of real politics.

N. Fairclough has identified three areas of discourse (discursive events) for the CDA researcher: 1) text (determining what is represented in the given text by applying descriptive linguistic analysis, in order to determine the social positions of subjects and objects, usually with the aim of unveiling power relations that are manifested through language); 2) discursive practice (what factors determine interpretations of social actors in a given case and how these interpretations influence text creation, circulation, transformation and consumption, analysis includes factors as social relations between institutions/individuals, material world, practices, rites, beliefs, values etc.); 3)

social practice (what ideological effects and hegemonic processes represent themselves through discourse, how texts as meaning-makers influence people's opinions, attitudes and values). The most important area for our study is the first one – discursive event as “text”, for the empirical part of the thesis is based almost exclusively on text analysis. Fairclough draws heavily on M. Bakhtin here, as the latter has stressed text to be the *sine qua non* precondition for analysis. Therefore, according to the postulates of the CDA, textual analysis is the key moment for understanding social practices. However, the area of discursive practice is also a valuable theoretical precondition within this dissertation. The social practice area, however, due to the specific research tasks occupies a relatively small position within this dissertation, for example, by supplementing the analysis of some elements with information on their distribution and influence within the social practice.

CDA (as well as PDA) is known for its ability to uncover both inner and outer connections in texts. Outer connections, according to Fairclough, are the link with other texts that are intertextually incorporated into the material under scrutiny. Again, Bakhtin's influence is evident, more specifically, his understanding of any text as an ongoing dialogue, since no author is entirely free from a wider discussion, collective knowledge and presumed norms. This methodological instrument has great importance for this dissertation, because it allows us to investigate Hu Jintao's Report as a discursive entity, built upon previous texts and giving ground to new ones. Inner connections are being uncovered via the first area of the mentioned three areas, whereas the outer ones are coming to surface when discourse elements found in the Report are compared against other, earlier texts. CDA authors stress that any form of CDA-influenced research should include both *in praesentia* and *in absentia* analysis, for *in absentia* analysis can effectively uncover the intentions of the addresser that he/she has been evading to make explicit. It is the task of any political text analysis not to merely dissect what is being said, but also to reveal

the meanings that have been left out of the direct address, but that both the addresser and the addressee are fully aware of. For instance, Hu Jintao tends to leave some predecessors' names out of his narrative whereas others are being emphatically mentioned.

Teun A. van Dijk, stemming from CDA, has significantly enriched the framework of discourse analysis in the direction of PDA. He states that discourse can be named "political" when it has a direct functional role as a form of political action in the political process. He asks whether there is any such structure of text or conversation that is exclusively or prototypically political, and concludes that formally political discourse is, apart from some political jargon, by no means different from any other discourse genre. This conclusion is of high importance in justifying the use of linguistic analysis methods within political studies. What does determine the attribution of a text to politics then? First of all, its actors – professional politicians and institutions/players involved in political life. Secondly, discourse is characterized as a two-way street, so the attribution of the addressees is also important: it should be determined that the speaker addresses a political subject, e.g. citizens, people, voters, oppressed groups. Thirdly, the communicative context is highly important: it is evident at this point already that official political speeches constitute political discourse and their analysis belongs to the field of political science. Also, the purpose of including political discourse has to be taken into account, for it is usually to make or influence political decisions. Van Dijk has named the typical structures and strategies, or, in other words, levels and aspects of political discourse to be regarded within a PDA research: 1) topics; 2) superstructures or textual 'schemata'; 3) local semantics; 4) lexicon; 5) syntax; 6) rhetoric; 7) expression structures; 8) speech acts and interaction.

1.2. Discourse analysis applied to non-typical political science empirical material

The theoretical framework of the CDA has been developed on the grounds of Indo-European languages, thus, materials in languages that have little common with this primary experience can be deemed as “non-typical”. Some of the CDA “golden standard” methods are not fully applicable in case of non-typical empirical material. The analytical tools developed by Fairclough based on English language material suggests that discourses can be revealed by uncovering semantic relations, grammatical relations, lexical relations, phonological relations. Some of these tools are not suitable or fit only partially to the Chinese political language. For instance, although both English and Chinese meanings are influenced by the position of words within a sentence, syntax is to a much lesser extent subject to politician’s intentions in Chinese than it is in English, because official Chinese style leaves much less room for manipulation with word order.

Also, it is problematic to talk about morphological relations in the Chinese context. Any attempt of formalizing Chinese morphology has to face complete or partial lack of declinations, conjugations, singular/plural forms, genders, indicators of time etc., therefore the ways of application of CDA morphological analysis in Chinese material to determine political meanings have still to be developed. Sadly, Fairclough does not touch upon the importance of graphic analysis in languages using ideographic script. However, having pointed out that his methods are not universal and that they should be modified according to the case in question, Fairclough has left the door open for non-typical material. Van Dijk also advocates a researcher’s right to choose his/her own methods by stating that discourse analysis is not a method within itself, but a theory, that comprises various methods depending on the research objectives.

Thus, both scholars recognize the right of a researcher to choose and develop the most suitable method for political text analysis that can help determine the presence of a particular discourse in it.

Analysis of texts in Chinese within CDA and PDA can be challenging in other aspects, too. First of all, similarly to cases with typical empirical material, semantic analysis is being conducted as interdiscursive words and phrases are determined within the text. But in Chinese a morpheme cannot be viewed separately from a word, because a morpheme, in its phonetic display as a syllable, in most cases forms a full word. Second of all, the graphic display of the morpheme/word – character – possesses a separate informative field in the researcher's eyes. Third of all, the cultural aspect has influenced every step of Chinese official language creation, and it is so different from the languages that have served as a basis for CDA development that it has to be taken into account. Therefore, a unique instrument of analysis, namely, retrospective semantic analysis of the elements connected to traditional Chinese political discourse, in this case has proven to be effective. Retrospective in the sense that the origin and use of an element both in traditional and modern China is being traced, putting an emphasis on its role and interpretation in contemporary political discourse of the PRC.

It can be stated that CDA and PDA as its branching approach are undergoing an everactive process of formation, and methodological and theoretical gaps still exist. That is why including Chinese traditional political discourse as empiric material in the studies of the PRC politics not only serves as an affirmation of the approach, but also as a challenge. We presume that discourse analysis in political science is an open theoretical system; although this system is founded upon a number of certain arguments, the most important among which is the possibility to draw conclusions about extralinguistic situations relying upon research of texts and speech acts, it still allows for changes and additions to be made to it. This can be explained by the fact that

discourse is related to social practices, and language types as well as types of social practices manifested through languages tend to vary, subsequently, every researcher has to adjust the theoretical framework and methods to his/her needs.

Part 2. Hu Jintao's Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC as a research object containing traditional discourse elements

2.1. The 17th Congress of the CPC in historical and political contexts

The 1st Congress of the CPC was held in 1921. The formation of the party took place in close cooperation with the Communist Internationale and the Russian Communist party. It can be said that from the beginning the practice of the CPC was somehow different from "classic" socialism. This was the result of the underdeveloped capitalism and cultural characteristics. In order not to turn into a sectarian party, at the very beginning the CPC was forced to seek a compromise with the bourgeois Kuomintang (KMT). Close ties with Soviet Russia were manifested in different ways, for example, the 6th Congress of the CPC in 1928 was held in Zvenigorod near Moscow.

In 1949, under the leadership of the CPC, a new state – PRC – was proclaimed. The previous government, led by the KMT, fled to Taiwan. From the 1930 until his death in 1976, Mao Zedong concentrated the real power over the CPC in his hands, although his formal positions in the party, army and government changed many times. During Mao's time Congresses of the CPC were sparse and irregular. The 7th Congress took place in 1945, in 1956 – the 8th Congress, in 1969 – the 9th Congress, in 1973 – the 10th Congress.

From the brief but very intense period of struggle for power that followed the death of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping came out the winner, in December 1978 he had ensured that the Plenum of the CPC Central Committee approved his plans for a radical turn towards private ownership, and, therefore,

a partial rejection of the egalitarian ideals of socialism. Guarantor of the success of this policy was the USA that provided the PRC with investment, technology and access to its market. In 1981, Deng Xiaoping coined the term *socialism with Chinese characteristics*. In 1997, at the 15th Congress of the CPC, the term was introduced in the party's constitution. From this moment on, the ideological basis of the party was proclaimed to be Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory.

In the context of intra-party relations, Deng Xiaoping was able to establish an order of smooth transition of power. Tenure as General Secretary was limited to 10 years. The practice of calling party congresses every five years was introduced. The 11th Congress was held in 1977, the 12th – in 1982, the 13th – in 1987, the 14th – in 1992, the 15th – in 1997, 16th – in 2002.

Despite the obvious achievements, in 1989, China experienced a crisis that escalated to the suppression of protests. The crisis has had all-round policy implications for China. We shall mention only two of them. First, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee Zhang Ziyang was urgently replaced by Jiang Zemin, and secondly - as can be judged from indirect evidence, the search began for instruments that could dilute the socialist rhetoric of the CPC without turning to the rhetoric of capitalism. So in the 1990, the CPC began a gradual turn toward the Chinese intellectual legacy. The years of Jiang Zemin's rule passed in the atmosphere of increased interest toward the Chinese tradition. Hu Jintao inherited this ideological course when coming to power in 2002. The 17th CPC Congress, held in 2007, extended the mandate of Hu Jintao for another five years. During Hu's rule the total number of the CPC members reached 77,995,000 people by 2011.

2.2. Rationale for the choice of the Hu Jintao's Report as the primary source

There are several reasons behind choosing the October 15, 2007 Hu Jintao's Report at the 17th National Congress of the CPC opening ceremony in Beijing for the analysis of contemporary Chinese political discourse from the perspective of traditional language involvement strategies.

First of all, the CPC Congress is the most important event on China's inner political stage. Secondly, the Report of the General Secretary holds the central place within the congress and its documents. Third of all, the General Secretary of the CPC is also the Chairman of the PRC, which makes him the strongest political figure in PRC. Forth of all, from the perspective of CDA, the material, which is actively reproduced in other popular texts is regarded as the most representative. Involvement of the text in question into other texts that can be done either through quotes or indirect references, e.g., by retelling, commenting upon, or providing an interpretation of the original, is indicative of its importance, influence and wide number of participants involved in the discourse. Finally, the 17th Congress is particularly interesting for any researcher, because during this time the discursive strategies of Hu Jintao were the most evident. If one compares Hu's public speeches of the ten years of rule, one can conclude that his rethoric at the 16th Congress was not independent enough, it reminded greatly of his predecessor. During the 18th Congress, on the other hand, Hu was already handing his mandate over to Xi Jinping, and his Report sounded almost like a testament. Therefore, the most important speech of the CPC leader is considered to be the most representative source for Chinese political discourse analysis, and, furthermore, as a source of analysis of his personal discursive strategies.

2.3. General description of the structure of the Hu Jintao's Report

The Report is comprised from a short introductory address and 12 chapters. The chapters have been formulated according to the political agenda of the previous five years and the plans for the future. The overall volume is apr.30 000 Chinese characters, which equals 26 pages in standard font. Within the dissertation the Report is analysed following the original order of chapters and subchapters.

A word-by-word consecutive translation of all of the titles of the Report's chapters is provided below. Identified elements of Chinese traditional discourse have been marked red.

Introduction. / 1. The Work of Past Three Years. / 2. The Great Historic Process of Reforms and Opening Up. / 3. To In-depth Impliment the Scientific Development Outlook. / 4. To Realize New Requirments of the Objectives of Struggle for Building of Comprehensive *Xiao Kang* 小康 (*Little Health*) Society. / 5. To Promote both Good and Swift Development of National Economy. / 6. *Jian ding bu yi* 坚定不移 (*Firmly and Unchangeably*) Develop the Socialist Democracy Policy. / 7. To Promote the Grand Development and Grand Prosperity of Socialist Culture. / 8. To Accelerate the Progress of Society-Building with the Focus on Improving *Min Sheng* 民生 (*People's Living*). / 9. To Open a New Stage of National Defense and the Army Modernization Building. / 10. To Promote the Practice of "*Yi Guo Liang Zhi* 一国两制 (*One Country, Two Systems*)" and the Great Cause of *He Ping* 和平 (*Peaceful*) Unification of the Land of the Ancestors. / 11. From Start to End Without Change to Follow the *Dao Lu* 道路 (*Road*) of *He Ping* 和平 (*Peaceful*) Development. / 12. To Comprehensively Carry Forward the Great New Projects in Building the Party in an Innovative Spirit of Reform.

2.4. Analysis of the text of the Report in sequential order and identification of the Chinese traditional discourse elements

The central task of this subchapter of the dissertation is identification of traditional Chinese political discourse elements in a form of lexical units. However, when writing about a communist party and a socialist country, one cannot avoid socialist discourse involvement in the analysis, and its interaction with the traditional discourse. Therefore socialist discourse is also a central issue of this part. Besides, other discourses will also be disclosed. The author adheres to the CDA's axiom that the intersection of discourses leads to interdiscursivity.

The analytical procedure has been conducted by deviding subchapters of the dissertation into smaller segments (2.4.1. to 2.4.13.) according to the sequence of the text of the Report. Further, the following steps have been taken: 1. a written fixation of a small arbitrarily selected piece of a particular chapter of the Report in Chinese, 2. a written fixation of a word by word translation of the same piece into Latvian, 3. listing of the identified Chinese traditional discourse elements, 4. descriptive account of socialist discourse properties, 5. disclosure of other discourses, 6. general comments.

If the text under scrutiny is in a different language than the analysis itself, as it is in the case of this dissertation, CDA allows for a selective sampling of texts according to the research objectives, without providing a full transcript of a text. Although full text of Hu's Report is being analyzed within this dissertation, the translation and dissection is illustratively provided only for a fragment of each chapter. An example of an above mentioned analytical procedure is given below (it should be taken into account that the Latvian language of the dissertation is replaced with English and identified elements of traditional discourse have been marked red).

2.4.7. Analysis of a Fragment of the Report Chapter no. 6

“六， **坚定不移**发展社会主义民主政治”

“（三）全面落实**依法治国**基本方略，加快建设社会主义**法治**国家。

依法治国是社会主义民主政治的基本要求。要坚持科学立法、民主立法，完善中国特色社会主义法律体系。加强宪法和法律实施，坚持公民在法律面前一律平等，维护社会**公平正义**，维护社会主义法制的统一、尊严、权威。”

„Chapter Six: *Jian ding bu yi* 坚定不移 (*firmly and unchangeably*) develop the socialist democracy policy”

„3) Fully implement *yi fa zhi guo* 依法治国 (*rule country, following law*) basic strategy, accelerate the building of socialist, *fa zhi 法治* (*by law ruled*) country.

Yi fa zhi guo 依法治国 (*rule country, following law*) is the basic requirement of socialist democracy policy. [We] must persist in scientific legislation and democratic legislation, improve the legal system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Strengthen the implementation of the constitution and laws, persist in [ensuring] equality of the citizens before the law, safeguard social *gong ping* 公平 (*fairness, or fairness with equality*) [and] *zheng yi* 正义 (*idea of straightness*), safeguard the socialist legal system that unifies, [is] respected and [has] authority.”

The findings from the fragments of the Chapter 6 of the Report:

1. It contains the following identified elements of traditional Chinese political discourse: *jian ding bu yi* 坚定不移 (*firmly and unchangeably*); *yi fa zhi guo* 依法治国 (*rule country, following law*); *fa zhi* 法治 (*by law rule*); *gong*

ping 公平 (*fairness, or fairness with equality*); *zheng yi* 正义 (*idea of straightness*). The identified traditional elements will be discussed in detail in the 3rd Chapter of our dissertation.

2. Lexical units containing references to the ideas of socialism or the word “socialism” are: *building of socialist country, ruled by law; socialist democracy policy; legal system of socialism with Chinese characteristic; socialist legal system.*

3. There are also some lexical units connected with liberal political discourse: *socialist democracy policy; democratic legislation.*

4. The legal discourse is represented by lexical units: *rule country, following law is the basic requirement; persist in scientific legislation and democratic legislation; improve the legal system; strengthen the implementation of the constitution and laws, equality of the citizens before the law; the socialist legal system.*

It can be concluded that the text under review meets the understanding of interdiscursivity, combining different discourses: socialist, traditional, liberal political and legal.

We suggest that the effect of Chinese traditional discourse on the Hu Jintao’s Report is felt not only in the fact that the Report includes the discursive elements directly borrowed from the Chinese past, but also in the fact that all of the determined discourses are semantically related to the Chinese tradition. It is noteworthy that the words “develop socialist democracy policy” are used together with the word “firmly”. Such words as “democracy” or “socialist democracy” are mentioned in the context of strict laws. The fundamental difference from the Western liberal discourse lies in the fact that Hu Jintao did not appeal to the rights of an individual and personal freedom. His arguments about *democratic legislation* emphasize the principle of community, which is respected by its members and relies upon an authority: *the socialist legal*

system that unifies, [is] respected and [has] authority. The discourse in question does not semantically fully belong to liberal democratic discourse, neither does it belong to the Western type socialist discourse. There is a certain connection to the traditional political discourse that in this case largely stems from the Legalist thought.

Part 3. Historic and semantic analysis of the traditional Chinese political discourse elements used in Hu Jintao's Report to the 17th National congress of the CPC

To be able to uncover the connection with the traditional Chinese political discourse of the previously identified elements, retrospective semantic analysis is being conducted. It implies analyzing the origin of the element, its first documented use in classical texts, the history of its usage before the 20th Century and after 1949, as well as the meaning of the element in contemporary context. This analytical scheme can be modified, if necessary, depending from empirical data. In this chapter all of the 43 lexical units identified in the previous chapter of the dissertation as *traditional* are being analyzed. The discursive data is grouped depending on the number of words: 1) one character/word; 2) two characters/words; 3) multiple characters/words.

To illustrate the process of discourse element analysis, the subchapter no. 3.2.9. describing *fa zhi (by law rule)* is presented below. All the discursive findings made in Chapter 2 here have been reduced to only one example.

[...]

3.2.9. A case of *fa zhi* 法治

In the 6th part of the Report, discussing the necessity to improve the legal system of society, Hu Jintao mentions the importance of *fa zhi* (*by law rule*). In the official translation of the documents of the 17th Congress into English, this element has been replaced by the Western liberal discourse element *the rule of law*. Thus, the connection of this lexical unit with the traditional Chinese political discourse remains not available for the non-Chinese reader.

The term *fa zhi* can be traced back to the 7th Century BC philosopher Guan Zi, it appears in the book carrying his name. The rather eclectic work, that has for the most part been compiled in the 4th Century BC, contains some chapters on the Legalist school, for which *fa zhi* is one of the core ideas. The adepts of this school believed that all of the ruler's subjects should be equal before the law, but insisted that the law has to be pitiless, because man is evil by nature.

Legalists considered Confucius to be harmful, since he defended goodness of human nature and insisted that balanced relationships between people were more important than adherence to the law. This controversy escalated in the 3rd Century BC, when the Legalists dominated the policy of the Qin state and successfully lobbied for mass reprisals against Confucians.

As it is known, Mao Zedong was a strong advocate of Legalist principles and methods of rule. In his late years he openly declared them to be his ideological allies, and even accused his political opponents of following the ideas of Confucius. However, in the case of Hu Jintao's report, there are major differences between his arguments and the rhetoric of Mao Zedong, to wit, contemporary Chinese political elite borrows lexemes from the Legalist repository while making a great effort to dissociate itself from the Legalists.

This process evokes a wide amount of explanatory publications that are dedicated to explaining the differences between the classical Legalist approach and the ideas of the contemporary CPC, endlessly stressing that in the case of Legalists the notion of *fa zhi* was understood as repressive state policy. The authors of these publications tend to acknowledge that the much avoided associations with the Legalists still tend to appear: as an article reads, “by creating the contemporary phrase *fa zhi*, we become dependent on the old burden”. The author of the article substantiates his claim, citing a conversation he had with a city mayor, who had stated that the law has to serve as the handle to a sword. This interpretation of the concept uncovers that the mayor was convinced that the the law should be applied for punishment instead of crime prevention and rehabilitation. Besides, it proves the official English translation of the Report to be faulty, since there is a distance of great size between *rule of law* and *fa zhi*. The latter stems solely and exclusively from the Chinese traditional political heritage.

The abovementioned case can serve as an example to the confusion that can be caused by introducing traditional elements into the contemporary political discourse. In order to bring the Chinese political rhetoric closer to the Western idea of the *rule of law*, the leader of the CPC is bound to apply the Legalist line of thought and the notion *fa zhi* for the reason that in the Chinese tradition it was the Legalists who had been writing on the role of law. However, just one phrase out of their collection triggers a chain of associations and provides local political elites with an ideological loophole.

We can conclude that the discourse element *fa zhi* is an example of interdiscursivity between socialist and traditional discourses. Also, it shows that the impact of traditional elements on the discourse of the CPC is more complex than we had previously hypothesized, because modern liberal legal discourse can also be traced in the particular element.

[...]

3.4. Conclusions to the Part 3

After conducting historic and semantic analysis of the traditional Chinese political discourse elements used in Hu Jintao's Report we may conclude that:

1. Interdiscursivity is characteristic not only for the Hu Jintao Report as a whole, but also for the elements that it comprises.

2. Contemporary CPC political discourse actively draws upon classical Chinese lexical units.

3. The classical Chinese lexical units and concepts included into the Report represent entirely different and in some cases even contradictory schools of Chinese classical thought.

4. Some elements of the CPC discourse are in the process of conscious restoration of traditional content that was lost during the 20th century, e.g. in the case of *jing ji* 经济 (*to govern the world and help people*) or *economy*.

5. Elements of the traditional discourse found in the report usually contain two semantic layers - conditionally modern (Western) and Chinese Traditional. Thus, the *Dao De* 道德 at the same time is an untranslatable term belonging to the Chinese world order and the Western concept of *morality*.

6. In-depth traditional discourse elements studies offer insights into politicians' strategies and individual priorities.

The traditional component is evident within the Chinese inner discursive field, but remains practically unseen outside China.

CONCLUSION

The findings provided support for the key argument. Data generation and analysis in the framework of CDA and PDA showed the presence of elements of the traditional discourse in the contemporary CPC discourse. The hypothesis of the dissertation has been confirmed, namely, contemporary Chinese socialist discourse possesses such an interdiscursivity that manifests itself through connecting socialist discourse with elements of traditional political discourse. Exploring traditional discourse elements, it was established that Hu Jintao has been deriving his argumentation not only from Confucius, whose name is usually associated with Chinese tradition, but also from Mengzi, Laozi, Xunzi and other thinkers whose ideological systems are very unlike.

Contrary to our expectations, the interdiscursivity of the Hu Jintao's Report can not be reduced to merely two discourses – socialist and traditional. During the course of the study, we were able to identify additional discourses, such as legal, educational, liberal economic, liberal political, governance, military. It turned out that every discourse is a complex phenomenon, so the division of the text into discourses is largely conditional. Particularly ambiguous picture can be revealed in the case of the traditional Chinese discourse that has undergone very different interpretations by the various schools of thought throughout the century.

The findings offer insights into Hu Jintao's discursive strategies aimed at inclusion of the traditional Chinese political discourse into the CPC discursive properties:

1) Lexical strategies:

– Ancient lexicon containing strong historical and cultural connotations is being introduced into the CPC discourse (*cheng* 诚, *de* 德, *dao* 道).

– The lexemes that had been left out of ctive use before are updated and included into the Report (*yu de* 育德).

– Using of lexical forms characteristic for the traditional official written language *wenyan*. E.g., the word *ben* 本 (*root*) that mostly appears as a part of two-character words in modern Chinese can be found in an isolated position within the Hu’s Report.

2) Syntactic strategy:

– Using of syntactic constructions of classical language *wenyan*. Among them, the phrase *yi ren wei ben* 以人为本 (*consider a person to be the root*), has been formed according to the *wenyan* syntactical construction (*yi... wei...*). Also, the phrase *xue you suo jiao, lao you suo de, bing you suo yi, lao you suo yan, zhu you suo ju* 学有所教、劳有所得、病有所医、老有所养、住有所居 (*student has his teacher, worker has his gain, ill has his doctor, old has his care, inhabitant has his residence*) is constituted according to the requirements of *wenyan*. This is indicated by the presence of the particle *suo*, four words in each part and syntactic parallelism.

3) Stylistic strategy:

– Traditional language formulars included into the Report demonstrate laconism of expression, this trait can be attributed to *wenyan* legacy and it differs from the practice of contemporary wording that can be observed in socialist discourse elements throughout the text of the Report. In the attempt to reach perfect brevity of expression, the number of linkword use in classical Chinese had been decreased to minimum. The phrase *fu guo qiang jun* 富国强军 (*rich state strong army*) is deprived of any linkwords and therefore is ambiguous in terms of word class. The wording does not require any explanation while it’s in Chinese, but once the phrase is to be translated, a choice has to be made between: 1) *rich country [and] strong army*;

2) *enriching the country [leads to] strong army*; 3) *to enrich the country, to strengthen the army*; 4) *rich country [requires] strong army* etc.

4) Semantic strategy:

– The semantic level is also applied as an instrument in strengthening the role of tradition. An evident example is the lexical unit *he xie* 和谐 (*harmony*). Although it cannot be lexically attributed to classical texts, the notion is still grounded in the Chinese traditional worldview. The same conclusion can be made about the element *zun lao ai you* 尊老爱幼 (*respect the old, love the young*), that is semantically based on the ideas of Confucius and Laozi.

5) The strategies of expression structures:

– Phonetic and graphic expression structures have also been used within the Report. Some elements used by Hu Jintao possess a certain regularity and rhythm of phonetic pronunciation and graphic representations, borrowed from the tradition. Phonetic and graphic parallelism can be observed on an example of such phrases as: *zun lao ai you* 尊老爱幼 (*respect the old, love the young*); *ge jin qi neng, ge de qi suo* 各尽其能、各得其所 (*each according to his abilities, each receives his share*) etc.

6) Extratextual strategy:

– Attention should be drawn to a discursive strategy not yet been developed in the CDA and PDA theories, i.e. such strategy that is applying extratextual resources. The text of Hu Jintao's Report cannot be viewed separately from the wide field of commentary that encircles it. The culture of commentary and explanation is rooted in the ancient history of China. More than two millennia ago, during the Han dynasty, it had already been noted that every word from the classics had 2000 words of commentary written on it. In contemporary PRC the political elite relies on commentators to make their ideas known and understood among the widest possible range of people. Of

course, this process has greatly gained from the technology of the Internet era. The culture of commentary is important within the framework of this thesis because certain discursive elements that appear in the Report seem to have long since lost their connection with the past meanings, however, the official and unofficial commentators are successfully offering the discourse addressees the new-found perception of their deep-rooted Chinese tradition. This observation is valid in the case of *dao de* 道德, among others, that has been reconceptualized as *morality* throughout the 20th Century, but at the beginning of the 21st Century had its Taoist roots actualized. Also, the element *ge jin qi neng, ge de qi suo* 各尽其能、各得其所 (*each according to his abilities and each receives his share*) used to be unequivocally interpreted as the Chinese translation of the famous Louis Blanc socialist principle “From each according to his ability, to each according to his need”; now, however, the commentators stress the Chinese origin of the phrase that has been comprised of separate quotes from Chinese classics: “Book of the Later Han”, “Book of Changes” and “Historical Records” and are moving away from the socialist interpretation. Within this dissertation, the commentaries have served as proof of tradition in the fragments of Hu Jintao’s text that seem socialist at a first glance. The extratextual strategy is also connected with our prior observation that some traditional discourse elements, which have already lost touch with the past, are nominated to be traditional.

Behind Hu Jintao’s discursive strategies a number of political strategies can be traced:

- 1) Gradual replacement of the socialist discourse by the Chinese value-based narrative.
- 2) Cautious reduction of the socialist discourse’s lexical units.
- 3) Creation of an adapter in the gradual move away from socialist discourse.

In addition to the discursive and political strategies in using traditional elements, the analysis of the Report revealed that there is a certain Hu Jintao's personal motivation at play. Chinese historical figures who were given the highest priority in the formation of the elements of the traditional discourse were determined by Hu Jintao. Besides, Hu Jintao also addressed a more personal aim – to lessen the influence of his predecessor Jiang Zemin's ideological legacy. As stated above, Jiang Zemin had started the targeted appeal to Chinese traditions. Using traditional elements introduced in socialist discourse by the predecessor, Hu Jintao does not give references to him.

This study advances the understanding of the socialism with Chinese characteristics. It shows that interdiscursivity provides the ideological support for it. Interdiscursivity ensures the possibility to move away from the classical understanding of socialism, and provides the ability to power maneuverability and stability. However, on the other hand, interdiscursivity brings dissonance into the socialist discourse of the PRC and deprives it of the ideological integrity.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the culturally determined Chinese language with its characters not only serves as a natural protection from political borrowings, but also as an inexhaustible reservoir for Chinese inner political experiments.

APPROBATION OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

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APPENDICES

12 appendices are the final section of the dissertation. They are called to express two ideas: 1) domestic political Chinese language texts only partly reach the contemporary international audience; 2) the traditional discourse elements, used by Hu Jintao, do not belong to the Congress materials only, but are an integral part of modern political and social processes of China. Appendice no. 1 has been prepared by the author of the dissertation. Appendices no. 2-12 were downloaded from a public internet resource: <http://tupian.baike.com>.

List of appendices:

1) A fragment of Hu Jintao's Report transcript in Chinese, its official English translation, official Russian translation and literal Latvian translation, with the accentuated Chinese traditional discourse elements in comparative perspective.

2) Picture from a conference named after the tradition-connected discourse element mentioned by Hu Jintao *yu ren wei ben, de you wei xian* 育人为本、德育为先 (*bringing up a person, consider him to be the root; bringing up in accordance with the de, consider it to be the first*).

3) The announcement of the competition for the nomination of a *dao de* 道德 (*dao de, moral*) person.

4) Portrait of a man who embodies the ideal of the traditional discourse element *cheng xin* 诚信.

5) “*Shi shi qiu shi* 实事求是” inscription carved in a stone at the the People's University entrance, Beijing. (The same phrase was included into the Hu Jintao's Report).

6) A caricature on the traditional discourse element *min sheng* 民生 (*people's living*) from the Hu Jintao's Report.

7) Book cover with the title containing the traditional discourse element *yi fa zhi guo* 依法治国 (*rule country, following law*) from the Hu Jintao's Report.

8) A caricature of the traditional discourse element *yi ren wei ben* 以人为本 (*consider a person to be the root*) from the Hu Jintao's Report.

9) The traditional discourse element *pin de* 品德 mentioned the Hu Jintao's Report serves as a part of the educational process in PRC.

10) A caricature of the traditional discourse element *yi de* 医德 (*medical de*) mentioned by Hu Jintao.

11) A poster "The scale and forms of service by staff of the medical sphere in terms of *yi de* 医德 (*medical de*)".

12) A park in the city of Dalian, which carries the same name as the Legalist discourse element *fu guo* 富国 (*rich country*); Hu Jintao mentioned it in the phrase *fu guo qiang jun* 富国强军 (*rich country and strong army*).