Una Aleksandra Berzina

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

Summary of Doctoral Thesis
Study Programme – Political Science
Speciality – Political Science

Riga, 2014

RĪGAS STRADIŅA
UNIVERSITĀTE

RĪGA STRADIŅŠ UNIVERSITY

Una Aleksandra Berzina

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

Summary of Doctoral Thesis
Study Programme – Political Science

Speciality – Political Science

Riga, 2014

The dissertation has been developed at: Rīga Stradiņš University

Scientific supervisor:

Dr. sc. oec. Professor **Merja Karppinen**,
Haaga-Helia University, Finland

Official reviewers:

Dr. art., Associate Professor **Deniss Hanovs**,
Rīga Stradiņš University

Dr. sc. pol., Assistant Professor **Ivars Ijabs**,
University of Latvia

Dr. phil., **Einars Semanis**,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia

The defense of the dissertation will take place on February 14, 2014, 9.00
at Rīga Stradiņš University, during an open session of the Promotion Council in
Riga, 16 Dzirciema str., Senate Hall.

Dissertation is available at the RSU library and RSU homepage: www.rsu.lv

The dissertation has been carried out within the framework of the project “Support for
Doctoral Students Obtaining an Academic Degree at Rīga Stradiņš University”,
co-financed by the European Social Fund. Agreement
No.: 2009/0147/1DP/1.1.2.1.2/09/IPIA/VIAA/009.

ieguldījums tavā nākotnē!

Secretary of Promotion Council:

Dr. soc., Associate Professor **Ritma Rungule**

GENERAL CONTENT

Introduction	4
Part 1. Theoretical approaches in discourse analysis and their applicability to the study of the PRC political discourse	15
1.1. Discourse as a research object and discourse analysis as a research instrument	15
1.2. Discourse analysis applied to non-typical political science empirical material	19
Part 2. Hu Jintao's Report to the 17 th National Congress of the CPC as a research object containing traditional discourse elements	21
2.1. The 17 th Congress of the CPC in historical and political contexts	21
2.2. Rationale for the choice of the Hu Jintao's Report as the primary source	23
2.3. General description of the structure of the Hu Jintao's Report	24
2.4. Analysis of the text of the Report in sequential order and identification of the Chinese traditional discourse elements ..	25
[...] 2.4.7. Analysis of a Fragment of the Report Chapter no. 6	26
[...]	
Part 3. Historic and semantic analysis of the traditional Chinese political discourse elements used in Hu Jintao's Report to the 17 th National Congress of the CPC	28
[...] 3.2.9. A case of <i>fa zhi</i> 法治	29
[...]	
3.4. Conclusions to the Part 3	31
Conclusion	32
Approbation of the research results	37
Bibliography	39
Appendices	57

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 quantative 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 brining 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 author 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", "Shanjun 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, bilt 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 introductive 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 requirment; 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 lexems 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 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

Publications

Scientific Articles Abroad

1. Staburova, J., Berzina, U.A. "A Glimpse of the EU-China relationships after 2008". – Baltic Journal of European Studies Tallinn University of Technology, Vol. 3, No. 1 (13), Tallin, 2013, 44.–57. pp. Available at: <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/bjes.2013.3.issue-1/bjes-2013-0004/bjes-2013-0004.xml>
2. Берзина У.-А. Фраза "Ши ши цю ши 实事求是" в политическом дискурсе Китая. – Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Scientific Conference "Society and State in China". Collection of Scientific Papers. 3. Moscow: «Восточная литература», 2012, pp. 324.-333. Available at: http://www.synologia.ru/a/ОГК_Том_XLII_Часть_3
3. Берзина У.-А. Дискурс неопределенности в докладе Ху Цзиньтао на 17 съезде КПК и его культурная составляющая. – Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Scientific Conference "Society and State in China". Collection of Scientific Papers. Moscow: «Восточная литература», 2012, pp.180.-184. Available at: http://www.synologia.ru/a/Дискурс_неопределенности
4. Berzina, U.A. Interpretive Policy Analysis in China's Context. – Nordic Association for China Studies International Scientific Conference „China Transactions and Transformations” Collection of Proceedings. Oslo, 2011.
5. Берзина У.-А. Выступление Вэнь Цзябао в августе 2010 года: проблема несовпадения границ внутреннего и внешнего дискурсивных полей КНР. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Scientific Conference "Society and State in China". Collection of Scientific Papers. Moscow: «Восточная литература», 2011, pp. 212.-215. Available at: http://www.synologia.ru/a/Выступление_Вэнь_Цзябао_в_августе_2010_года
6. Берзина У.-А. Традиционный политический язык в современной КНР – Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Scientific Conference "Society and State in China". Collection of Scientific Papers. Moscow: «Восточная литература», 2010, pp. 271.-274. Available at: http://www.synologia.ru/a/Традиционный_политический_язык_в_современной_КНР
7. Берзина У.-А. Новый подход в изучении политики Китая: критический дискурс анализ и понятие «гармонии». – The 18th International Conference on China, Chinese Civilization and the World: History, Modernity and Future Prospects. Collection of Scientific Papers. Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Far East Studies, 2009, pp. 47.-49.
8. Берзина У.-А. Традиционный китайский дискурс в современном политическом дискурсе КНР (к постановке проблемы) – Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Scientific Conference "Society and State in China". Collection of Scientific Papers. Moscow: «Восточная литература», 2009, pp. 296.-300.

Scientific Articles in Latvia

9. Bērziņa, U. Kritiskās diskursa analīzes teorijas attīstība un pielietojuma iespējas ĶTR politiskā diskursa pētījumos. – Zinātniskie raksti: 2011.gada sociālo zinātņu nozares pētnieciskā darba publikācijas. Riga: Rīga Stradiņš University, 2012, pp. 80.-86. Available at: http://www.rsu.lv/images/stories/dokumenti/publikācijas/zinatniskie_raksti_2011/socialie/12-140-ZR_soc_LV_2011.pdf

10. Bērziņa, U.A. Ķīniešu vārds „krīze” starptautiskajā politiskajā diskursā un tā interpretācijas problēma. – Zinātniskie raksti: 2010.gada sociālo zinātņu nozares pētnieciskā darba publikācijas. Rīga: Rīga Stradins University, 2011, pp. 349.-355. Available at:

http://www.rsu.lv/images/stories/dokumenti/publikācijas/zinatniskie_raksti_2011/socialie/10-249-ZR_soc_LV_2011.pdf

11. Bērziņa, U.A. Ķīnas tradicionālā politiskā diskursa atdzimšana mūsdienu ĶTR politiskajā diskursā. – Zinātniskie raksti: 2009.gada sociālo zinātņu nozares pētnieciskā darba publikācijas. 2.sējums. Rīga: Rīga Stradins University, 2010, pp. 93.-95. Available at:

http://www.rsu.lv/images/stories/dokumenti/publikācijas/zinatniskie_raksti_2009/socialas_zinatnes/vol_1/057-10_ZRS_93-96.pdf

Presentations in Conferences and Seminars

Presentations in Conferences and Seminars Abroad:

- 2012 Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Scientific Conference "Society and State in China" XXXXII; Report: Дискурс неопределенности в докладе Ху Цзиньтао на 17 съезде КПК и его культурная составляющая” Moscow, RAS
- 2011 Nordic Association for China Studies International Scientific Conference „China Transactions and Transformations”; Report: „Interpretive Policy Analysis in China’s Context” Oslo, NACS
- 2011 Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Scientific Conference "Society and State in China" XXXXI; Report: „Выступление Вэнь Цзябао в августе 2010 года: проблема несовпадения границ внутреннего и внешнего дискурсивных полей” Moscow, RAS
- 2009 Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Scientific Conference "Society and State in China" XXXIX; Report: „Традиционный китайский дискурс в современном политическом дискурсе КНР (к постановке проблемы)” Moscow, RAS

Presentations in Conferences and Seminars in Latvia:

- 2013 Rīga Stradins University 12th Scientific Conference; Report: “Hu Dzjiņtao valdīšanas desmitgades politiskās nostādnēs” Rīga, RSU
- 2012 Rīga Stradins University 11th Scientific Conference; Report: „Ķīniešu tradicionālā diskursa elementa nozīmes transformācija – šī šī čju šī gadījums.” Rīga, RSU
- 2011 Rīga Stradins University 10th Scientific Conference; Report: „Kritiskās diskursa analīzes teorijas transformācija jauna empīriskā materiāla ietekmē.” Rīga, RSU
- 2010 International Scientific Conference „Civilization of China: the past and the present”; Report: „Miņšen principa pārinterpretēšana mūsdienu Ķīnas Tautas Republikas politiskajā diskursā” Rīga, RSU
- 2008 RSU Scientific Seminar „China’s Challenge: 30 years of the Reform and Opening up Policy”; Report: „Ķīnas politika un ķīniešu valoda” Rīga, RSU

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources:

I 1. Works of the CPC Leaders and PRC Official Documents

1. Hu Jintao. Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive for New Victories in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects. No : Documents of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2007. 1-73.lpp.
2. 邓小平 [Deng Xiaoping] [Dens Sjaopins]。高举毛泽东思想旗帜，坚持实事求是原则 [Gao Ju Mao Zedong Sixiang Qizhi, Jianchi Shi Shi Qiu Shi Yuanze] [Augsti turot Mao Dzeduna domas karogu, pieturēties pie šī šī cju šī principa]。邓小平文选 [Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan] [Dena Sjaopina darbu izlase]。第 2 卷 [Di Er Juan] [Otrās sējums]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]：人民出版社 [Renmin Chubanshe]，1983.
3. 邓小平 [Deng Xiaoping] [Dens Sjaopins]。高举毛泽东思想旗帜，坚持实事求是原则 [Gao Ju Mao Zedong Sixiang Qizhi, Jianchi Shi Shi Qiu Shi Yuanze] [Augsti turot Mao Dzeduna domas karogu, pieturēties pie šī šī cju šī principa]。邓小平文选 [Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan] [Dena Sjaopina darbu izlase]。第 3 卷 [Di San Juan] [Trešais sējums]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]：人民出版社 [Renmin Chubanshe]，1983.
4. 邓小平 [Deng Xiaoping] [Dens Sjaopins]：厚道人的一篇务实报告(3)。[Houdao Ren de Yipian Wushi Baogao 3] [Labeistīgā dao cilvēka pragmatiskais ziņojums 3] No : 中国网站 [Zhongguo Wangzhan] [Kīniešu portāls]。Pieejams: <http://book.sina.com.cn/nzt/his/bianju/74.shtml> [02.05.2008.]
5. 高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜 [Gaoju Zhongguo Tese Shehui Zhuyi Weida Qizhi] [Augstu nest dižo sociālisma karogu]。No : 人民日报 [Renmin Ribao] : 16.10.2007. Pieejams: http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2007-10/16/content_6887158.htm [07.03.2010.]
6. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Dzijntao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķīnas pārstāvju kongresā]。高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜 为夺取全面建设小康社会新胜利而奋斗 [Gaoju Zhongguo Tese Shehui Zhuyi Weida Qizhi wei Duoqu Quanmian Jianshe Xiaokang Shehui Xin Shengli er Fendou] [Augstu nesot dižo sociālisma karogu, izcīnīt jaunas uzvaras pilnīgas Mazās veselības sabiedrības veidošanā]。[Ievads]。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/1024/6429094.html> [07.03.2010.]
7. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Dzijntao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķīnas pārstāvju kongresā]。一[Yi] [Pirmā daļa]。过去五年的工作 [Guoqu Wunian de Gongzuo] [Pagājušo piecu gadu darbs]。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/1024/6429094.html> [07.03.2010.]
8. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Dzijntao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķīnas pārstāvju kongresā]。二 [Er] [Otrā daļa]。改革开放的伟大历史进程 [Gaibian Kaifang de Weida Lishi Jincheng] [Reformu un atvērības politikas dizāis vēsturiskais process]。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429188.html> [07.03.2010.]
9. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Dzijntao

- ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķinas pārstāvju kongresā] 。三 [San] [Trešā daļa] 。深入贯彻落实科学发展观 [Shenru Guanche Luoshi Kexue Fazhanguan] [Padziļināti īstenot zinātnisko attīstības koncepciju] 。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429189.html> [08.03.2010.]
10. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Džiņtao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķinas pārstāvju kongresā] 。四 [Si] [Ceturtdaļa] 。实现全面建设小康社会奋斗目标的新要求 [Shixian Quanmian Jianshe Xiaokang Shehui Fendou Mubiao de Xin Yaoqiu] [Īstenot jaunus uzdevumus cīņā par pilnīgu mazās veselības sabiedrības celtniecību] 。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429190.html> [07.03.2010.]
 11. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Džiņtao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķinas pārstāvju kongresā] 。五 [Wu] [Piektā daļa] 。促进国民经济又好又快发展 [Cujin Guomin Jingji You Hao You Kuai Fazhan] [Veicināt nacionālās ekonomikas gan labu, gan ātru attīstību] 。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429191.html> [07.03.2010.]
 12. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Džiņtao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķinas pārstāvju kongresā] 。六 [Liu] [Sestā daļa] 。坚定不移发展社会主义民主政治 [Jianding Buyi Fazhan Shehui Zhuyi Minzhu Zhengzhi] [Stingri un nemainīgi attīstīt sociālistiskās demokrātijas politiku] 。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429193.html> [07.03.2010.]
 13. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Džiņtao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķinas pārstāvju kongresā] 。七 [Qi] [Septītā daļa] 。推动社会主义文化大发展大繁荣 [Tuidong Shehui Zhuyi Wenhua Fazhan Da Fanrong] [Virzīt sociālistiskās kultūras dižo attīstību un dižo uzplaukumu] 。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429194.html> [07.03.2010.]
 14. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Džiņtao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķinas pārstāvju kongresā] 。八 [Ba] [Astotā daļa] 。加快推进以改善民生为重点的社会建设 [Jiakuai Tuijin yi Gaishang Minsheng wei Zhongdian de Shehui Jianshe] [Paātrināti virzīt sabiedrības celtniecību, par svarīgāko uzskatot tautas dzīves uzlabošanu] 。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429195.html> [07.03.2010.]
 15. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Džiņtao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķinas pārstāvju kongresā] 。九 [Jiu] [Devītā daļa] 。开创国防和军队现代化建设新局面 [Kaichuang Guofang he Jundui Xiandaihua Jianshe Xin Jumian] [Atvērt jaunu fāzi nacionālās aizsardzības un bruņoto spēku modernizācijas ceļā] 。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429196.html> [07.03.2010.]
 16. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Džiņtao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķinas pārstāvju kongresā] 。十 [Shi] [Desmitā daļa] 。推进“一国两制”实践和祖国和平统一大业 [Tuijin „Yiguo Liangzhi” Shijian he Zuguo Heping Tongyi Daye] [Virzīt “vienas valsts – divas sistēmas” īstenošanu un dzimtenes mierīgas apvienošanas lietu] 。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429197.html> [07.03.2010.]
 17. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Džiņtao

ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķīnas pārstāvju kongresā]。十一 [Shiyi] [Vienpadsmitā daļa]。始终不渝走和平发展道路 [Shizhong Buyu Zou Heping Fazhan Daolu] [No sākuma līdz galam nenovirzoties iet pa mierīgas attīstības ceļu]。Pieejams:

<http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429198.html> [07.03.2010.]

18. 胡锦涛在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告 [Hu Jintao zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiqi ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Hu Dzijntao ziņojums ĶKP 17. Visķīnas pārstāvju kongresā]。十二。[Shier] [Divpadsmitā daļa]。以改革创新精神全面推进党的建设新的伟大工程 [Yi Gaige Chuangxin Jingshen Quanmian Tuijin Dang de Jianshe Xin de Weida Gongcheng] [Vadoties pēc reformu inovatīvā gara, vispusēji virzīt partijas celtniecības jaunos dižos projektus]。Pieejams: <http://politics.people.com.cn/GB/8198/6429199.html> [07.03.2010.]
19. 江泽民在中国共产党第十五次全国代表大会上的报告 [Jiang Zemin zai Zhongguo Gongchandang Di Shiwu ci Quanguo Daibiao Dahui shang de Baogao] [Dzjana Dzemiņa ziņojums ĶKP 15. Visķīnas pārstāvju kongresā]。二。[Er] [Otrā daļa]。高举邓小平理论伟大旗帜，把建设有中国特色社会主义事业全面推向二十一世纪 [Gao ju Deng Xiaoping Lilun Weida Qizhi, ba Jianshe you Zhongguo Tese Shehui Zhuyi Shiye Quanmian Tuixiang Ershiyi Shiji] [Augstu ceļot Dēna Šjaopina teorijas dižo karogu, sociālisma ar ķīniešu nokrāsu būvniecību ievirzīt 21.gadsimtā]。Pieejams: http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2003-01/20/content_697207.htm
20. 毛泽东 [Mao Zedong] [Mao Dzeduns]。改造我们的学习 [Gaizao Womende Xuexi] [Pārkārtot mūsu mācības]。毛泽东选集 [Mao Zedong Xuanji] [Mao Dzeduna darbu izlase]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]：人民出版社 [Renmin Chubanshe]，1953。
21. 毛泽东 [Mao Zedong] [Mao Dzeduns]。论新阶段抗日民族战争与抗日民族统一战线发展的新阶段 [Lun Xin Jieduan Kanri Minzu Tongyi Zhangxian Fazhande Xin Jieduan] [Par jauno posmu – Tautas karš pret Japānu un tautas kopējās antijapāņu frontes attīstības jaunais posms]。Pieejams: http://www.ce.cn/xwzx/gnsz/szyw/200705/22/t20070522_11449970_2.shtml [14.12.2011.]
22. 毛泽东 [Mao Zedong] [Mao Dzeduns]。〔新民主主义论〕 [Xin Minzhu Zhuyi Lun] [Par Jauno demokrātiju]。Pieejams: <http://www.marxists.org/chinese/maozedong/marxist.org-chinese-mao-194001.htm> [28.06.2013.]
23. 毛泽东选集第三卷 [Mao Zedong Xuanji Disan Juan] [Mao Dzeduna izlase, trešais sējums]。在陕甘宁边区参议会的演说 [Zai Shangangning Bianqu Can Yihui de Yanshuo] [Runa Šeņsji-Gaņsu-Ninsja pierobežas rajona [Tautas politiskās] Padomes sēdē]。Pieejams: http://unit.xjtu.edu.cn/xjtujcjdww/content.php?msg_id=302 [24.04.2013.]
24. 中华人民共和国宪法 [Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Xianfa] [Ķīnas Tautas Republikas konstitūcija]。第一章 [Di yi Zhang] [Pirmā nodaļa]，总纲 [Zong Gang] [Pamatprincipi]。No：中华人民共和国中央人民政府 [Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Yang Renmin Zhengfu] [ĶTR Centrālā Tautas valdība]。Pieejams: http://www.gov.cn/test/2005-06/14/content_6310_3.htm [09.05.2010.]
25. XVII съезд КПК. Официальные документы: Политический доклад ЦК и Устав партии. Москва: Институт Дальнего Востока РАН, 2007.

I 2. Works of Contemporary Representatives of the Chinese society/Discourse Participants

26. Liu, Binjie. China's Philosophy on Foreign Affairs in the 21st Century. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2006.
27. 辩论：企业用人以德为先/以才为先: 2012-04-20 [Bianlun: Qiye Yongren Yi De Wei Xian/ Yi Cai Wei Xian] [Diskusija: Cilvēku izmantošana uzņēmumos notiek pēc principa de

- primārais vai pēc principa talants – primārais: 20.04.2012.] 。 Pieejams: <http://wenwen.soso.com/z/q369535446.htm?w=%B5%C2%B2%C5%BC%E6%B1%B8+%D2%D4%B5%C2%CE%AA%CF%C8&spi=1&sr=2&w8=%E5%BE%B7%E6%89%8D%E5%85%BC%E5%A4%87+%E4%BB%A5%E5%BE%B7%E4%B8%BA%E5%85%88&qf=20&rn=314&q=4&sid=0a8804ae00021397521bfdb1bcc6a74c&uid=527837635467671242&ch=w.search.2> [12.05.2013.]
28. 毕宝魁 [Bi Baokui] [Bi Baokuejs] 。《论语》“忠”“恕”本义考 [“Lun Yu” “Zhong”, “Ru” Benyi Kao] [“Apkopotu runu” “Džun”, “Žu” pamatnozīmju izpēte] 。 No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls] 。 Pieejams: <http://www.guoxue.com/?p=13837> [06.06.2013.]
 29. 毕沧耕 [Bi Cangeng] [Bi Cangens] 。从严治军、依法治军是军队的铁律 [Cong Yan Zhi Jun, Yi Fa Zhi Jun shi Jundui de Tielv] [Pārvaldīt armiju ar stingrību, pārvaldīt armiju, sekojot likumam, ir armijas dzelzs likums] 。 Pieejams: <http://www.pladaily.com.cn/item/3db/content/66.htm> [20.09.2012.]
 30. 诚 [Cheng] [Čen] 。 No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija] 。 Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/755459.htm> [03.02.2013.]
 31. 道 [Dao] 。 No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija] 。 Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/21607.htm#sub5142602> [04.12.2013.]
 32. 道德 [Dao de] 。 No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija] 。 Pieejams: <http://www.baike.com/wiki/%E9%81%93%E5%BE%B7> [22.07.13.]
 33. 道路 [Dao lu] 。 No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija] 。 Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/125492.htm> [14.01.2013.]
 34. 德 [De] 。 No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija] 。 Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/188023.htm> [28.01.2013.]
 35. 德育 [De yu] [De jui] 。 No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija] 。 Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/405928.htm> [18.08.2013.]
 36. 道德观通论 [Dao De Guan Tonglun] [Viedokļu apskats par dao un de] 。 北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 高等教育出版社 [Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe], 2002.
 37. 法家韩非“法治”思想对我国现代社会的启示 [Fajia Hanfei “Fa Zhi” Sixiang Dui Woguo Xiandai Shehuide Qishi] [Likumnieka Hanfeja pārvaldīt ar likumu ideja kā mūsu valsts tagadējās sabiedrības iedvesmas avots] 。 Pieejams: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/299354175f0e7cd184253687.html> [30.06.2012.]
 38. 富国强兵 [Fu Guo Qiang Bing] [Bagāta valsts un stipra armija] 。 No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija] 。 Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/547174.htm> [04.02.2013.]
 39. 高海深 [Gao Haishen] [Gao Haišens] , 魏重斌 [Wei Zhongbin] [Vejs Džunbiņš] 。 墨子兼爱思想对建立和谐社会人际关系的启示。文史似横.[Mozi Jian'ai Sixiang dui Jianli Hexie Shenhui Renji Guanxi de Qishi. Wenshi Siheng.] [Modzi savstarpējas mīlestības ideja ka iedvesmas avots cilvēces attiecībām, ceļot saskaņas sabiedrību. No: Veņši sihen], 2006.06. Pieejams: <http://www.docin.com/p-239270816.html> [05.03.2012.]
 40. 公民道德建设实施纲要全文 [Gongmin Daode Jianshe Shishi Gangyao] [Darba programma pilsoņu dao de / morāles celtniecībai] 。 No: 人民网 [Renmin Wang] [Žeņmiņ žibao mājaslapa], 24.10.2001. Pieejams: <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/16/20011024/589496.html> [28.08.2013.]
 41. 构建社会主义和谐社会学系问答 [Goujian Shehui Zhuyi Hexie Shehui Xuexi Wenda] [Jautājumi un atbildes par sociālisma harmonisko sabiedrību] 。 北京[Beijing] [Pekina] : 人民日报出版社[Renmin Ribao Chubanshe] , 2005 .
 42. 国家教委办公厅印发《关于在幼儿园加强爱家乡、爱祖国教育的意见》的通知 [Guojia Jiaowei Bangongting Yinfa “Guanyu Zai Youeryuan Jiaqiang Aiguo xian, Aizuguo Jiaoyu de Yijian” de Tongzhi] [Valsts izglītības komitejas informatīvais ziņojums “Uzskats par

- izglītības stiprināšanu bērnuudārzos par mīlestību pret savu dzimto vietu un dzimteni”]。No: 人民日报[Renmin Ribao], 05.05.1992. Pieejams: <http://www.people.com.cn/item/flfgk/gwyfg/1992/206008199202.html> [04.12.2012.]
43. 古人论“德才兼备” [Gu Ren Lun “De Cai Dzjaņ Bei”] [Senlaiku cilvēki par “De, talants – vienādi pārstāvēti”]。No : 山西大学商务学院 [Shanxi Daxue Shangwu Xueyuan] [Šansji universitātes Biznesa koledža]。Pieejams: <http://www.sdsy.sxu.edu.cn/sdsy/dcjb/3654.htm> [26.08.2013.]
 44. “焦点访谈”：执政兴国——建设法治国家 [“Jiaodian Fangtan” Zhizheng Xingguo – Jianshe Fazhi Guojia] [“Intervija par aktuālu tēmu”]: Pārvaldīt, lai valsts plauktu – celt valsti, kur pārvalda ar likumu]。No : China Central Television, 02.11.2002. Pieejams: http://www.cctv.com/news/china/20021102/100315_1.shtml [30.08.2013.]
 45. 见义勇为 [Jian Yi Yong Wei] [Redzi ideju – drosmīgi rīkojies]。No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/138303.htm> [25.08.2013.]
 46. 姜广辉 [Jiang Guanghui] [Dzjans Guanhuejs]。九伦——中国伦理思想的现代诠释 [Jiu Lun – Zhongguo Lunli Xixiang de Xiandai Quanshi] [Deviņas attiecības – Ķīnas attiecību principu ideju aktuāls izskaidrojums]。No: 光明日报 [Guangming Ribao], 27.08.2007. Pieejams: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/d6d73d09bb68a98271fefa2a.html> [28.08.2013.]
 47. 一国两制 [Yi Guo Liang Zhi] [Viena valsts, divas sistēmas]。No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/20523.htm> [28.04.2012.]
 48. 讲学习，讲政治，讲正气 (1995 年 11 月 8 日) [Jiang Xuexi, Jiang Zhengzhi, Jiang Zhengqi (1995 nian 11 yue 8 ri)] [Runāt par mācīšanos, runāt par politiku, runāt par džen cji (1995.gada 8.novembris)]。Pieejams: <http://gaige.rednet.cn/c/2008/07/03/1542426.htm> [17.08.2013.]
 49. 经世济民 [Jingshi Jimin] [Pārvaldīt pasauli palīdzēt tautai]。No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/2204546.htm> [16.05.2011.]
 50. 科学发展 [Kexue Fazhan] [Zinātniskā attīstība]。No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/2897619.htm> [04.05.2013.]
 51. 李源潮 [Li Yuanchao] [Li Juančao]。坚持德才兼备以德为先的用人标准 [Jianchi De Cai Jian Bei Yi De Wei Xian de Yongren Biaozhi] [Pieturēties pie de kā pirmā “de, talants – vienādi pārstāvēti” cilvēku izmantošanas standarta ietvaros]。No: 求是 [Qiu Shi], 2008, Nr. 20. Pieejams: http://www.qstheory.cn/zxdk/2008/200820/200906/t20090609_1519.htm [27.08.2013.]
 52. 理治 [Li Zhi] [Li pārvaldīšana]。No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/7041203.htm> [29.08.2013.]
 53. 刘俊祥 [Liu Junxiang] [Liu Dzjuņsjaņs]。人本政治论：人的政治主体性的马克思主义研究 [Ren Ben Zhengzhi Lun: Rende Zhengzhi Zhutixingde Makesizhuyi Yanjiu] [Par cilvēks – sakne politiku: pētījums par marksisma politikas objektīvo raksturu attiecībā uz cilvēku]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]: 中国社会科学出版社 [Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe], 2006.
 54. 刘余莉 [Liu Yuli] [Liu Juli]。从历史中探寻治国理政之道 “群书治要” [Cong Lishi Wenhua Zhong Tanxun Zhiguo Lizhi Zhi Dao “Qun Shu Zhi Yao”] [“Daudzas grāmatas vajadzīgas pārvaldīšanai”: pētīt “pārvaldīt valsti un īstenot li principa politiku” frāzi dao vēstures kultūras kontekstā]。No: 学习时报 [Xuexi Shibao], 19.09.2011. Pieejams: <http://www.mzb.com.cn/html/report/254743-1.htm> [27.08.2013.]
 55. 龙佳解, 罗泽荣, 转贴自 [Long Jiajie, Luo Zerong, Zhuan Tiezi]。胡锦涛民生思想初探 [Hu Jintao Min Sheng Sixiang Chutan] [Hu Dzjiaņtao tautas dzīves idejas sākotnējs izvērtējums]。No : 湖南社会学网 [Hunan Shehuixue Wang], 2010. Pieejams: http://www.hnshx.com/Article_Show.asp?ArticleID=6421 [30.10.2010.]

56. 楼主 [Lou Zhu] [Lou Džu]。诚者，物之终始，不诚无物！请大家谈谈诚信…… [Cheng zhe, Wu Zhi Shi Zhong, Bu Cheng Wu Wu! Qing Dajia Tantan Chengxin]。[Čen ir lietu sākums un gals, bez čen nav lietu! Aicinu visus apspriest čen šjīn ...]。08.12.2007. Pieejams: <http://club.1688.com/threadview/23631106.html> [18.07.2013]
57. 路易 [Lu Yi] [Lu Ji]。中国走向富强，人民幸福安康 [Zhongguo Zouxiang Fuqiang, Renmin Xingfu Ankang] [Kīna iet pretī bagātībai un stiprumam, tautai būs laime-bagātība-miers-veselība]。Pieejams: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/4cd8a125482fb4daa58d4b8d.html> [31.08.2013.]
58. 论邓小平的小康社会思想 [Lun Deng Xiaoping de Xiaokang Shehui Sixiang] [Apspriežot Dena Sjaopina Mazās veselības sabiedrības koncepciju]。No: 南京政治学院学报 [Nanjing Zhengzhi Xueyuan Bao]。Pieejams: <http://scholar.ilb.cn/A-njzzxyxb200404003.html> [12.05.2010.]
59. 吕振杰 [Lü Zhenjie] [Lūjs Džendže]。社会主义和谐社会必定是民主法制社会 [Shehui Zhuyi Hexie Shehui Biding shi Minzhu Fazhi Shehui] [Sociālistiskajai saskaņas sabiedrībai jābūt demokrātiskai un likumiskai sabiedrībai]。No: 正义网 [Zhengyiwang] [Taisnīguma portāls]。Pieejams: <http://www.jcrb.com/zywfiles/ca554486.htm> [06.03.2010.]
60. 旅游文化笔记 [Lüyou Wenhua Biji] [Piezīmes par ceļošanas kultūru]。Pieejams: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/bee20818650e52ea551898ac.html> [19.08.2013.]
61. 美德 [Mei de] [Skaistais de]。百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/54052.htm> [24.08.2013.]
62. 浅议先秦儒家治国思想与当代政府建设 [Qianyi Xian Qin Rujia Zhiguo Sixiang Yu Dangdai Zengfu Jianshe] [Diskusija par pirmscjiņu dinastijas konfūciešu domu par valsts pārvaldīšanu un mūsdienu valdības celtniecību]。No: 才智 [Cai Zhi] [Gudrība], 2009, Nr. 10. Pieejams: <http://xuewen.cnki.net/Login.aspx?p=%2fDownloadArticle.aspx%3ffilename%3dCAIZ200910151%26dbtype%3dCJFD> [20.08.2012.]
63. 人文关怀 [Ren Wen Guan Huai] [Cilvēciskās rūpes]。No: 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/24377.htm> [07.05.2011.]
64. 荣辱观 [Rong Ru Guan] [Uzplaukuma un negoda koncepcija]。No: 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/45891.htm> [26.08.2013.]
65. 儒家伦理之于当代社会公德建设的意义及其问题 [Rujia Lunli zhiyu Dangdai Shehui Gong De Jianshe de Yiyi ji qi Wenti] [Konfūciešu teorija un mūsdienu sabiedrības kopīgā de celtniecības nozīme un problēmjautājumi]。Pieejams: <http://www.docin.com/p-392969563.html> [19.08.2013.]
66. 如何理解和实现社会的安定有序 [Ruhe Lijie he Shixian Shehuide Anding Youxu] [Kā izprast un īstenot sabiedrībā stabilitāti, [kur] ir kārtība]。2011.06.23. Pieejams: <http://bbs.cnr.cn/thread-2011406-1-1.html> [23.08.2013]
67. 邵建 [Shao Jian] [Šao Dzjaņs]。法家的脑袋戴上法治的帽 [Fajiade Naodai Daibushang Fazhide Mao] [Likumnieku skolas galvai neder „Pārvaldīt ar likumu” cepure]。中国新闻网 [Zhongguo Xinwenwang]。Pieejams: <http://news.163.com/09/0213/17/5223CSKI000120GU.html> [06.07.2012.]
68. 社会公德现状与反思 [Shehui Gong De Xianzhuang yu Fansi] [Sociālais kopīgais de mūsdienu izpausmēs un pārdomas par to]。Pieejams: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/405e1287d4d8d15abe234e61.html>, 1.-4. lpp. [19.08.2013.]
69. 申圣超 [Shen Shengchao] [Šeņa Šenčao]。孔子谈“义”，“利”及其现代意义 [Kongzi Tan “Yi”, “Li” ji Qita Xiandai Yiyi] [Konfūcija apspriestā “Yi”, “Li” un citas mūsdienu idejas]。No: 商业经济 [Shangye jingji] [Biznesa ekonomika]。哈尔滨 [Haerbin]

- [Harbina]: 黑龙江省商务厅 [Heilongjiang Sheng Shangwu Ting] [Heilundzjanas provinces Tirdzniecības kamera]. 2013.g. 1.ceturksnis (414), 91.lpp. Pieejams: <http://www.cqvip.com/Read/Read.aspx?id=44535930> [15.08.2013.]
70. 什么是医德? [Shenme shi Yide?] [Kas ir ārstniecības de?]. No: 百度知道 [Baidu Zhidao] [Baidu zināšanas]. Pieejams: <http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/52343284.html> [22.08.2013.]
 71. 实事求是: 中文解释, 英文翻译 [Shi shi qiu shi: Zhongwen jieshi, Yingwen fanyi] [Ši šī cju šī: ķīniešu valodas skaidrojums – tulkojums uz angļu valodu]. No: 百度词典 [Baidu Cidian] [Baidu vārdnīca]. Pieejams: <http://dict.baidu.com/s?wd=%CA%B5%CA%C2%C7%F3%CA%C7> [04.02.2012.]
 72. 孙秦川 [Sun Qingchuan] [Suņs Cjinčuans]. 科学发展观与中国古代民本思想, 儒家文化 [Kexue Fazhanguan yu Zhongguo Gudai Min Ben Sixiang, Rujia Wenhua] [Zinātniskās attīstības koncepcija un Ķīnas senā cilvēks sakne ideja, konfūciskā kultūra]. No: 文化杂谈 [Venhua Zatan] [Sarunas par kultūru], 30.04.2009. Pieejams: <http://club.topsage.com/thread-787459-1-1.html> [28.08.2013.]
 73. 唐庆中 [Tang Qingzhong] [Tans Cjindžuns]. “商君书”的富国强兵之道 [“Shangjun Shu” de Fu Guo Qiang Bing zhi Dao] [Bagātas valsts un stipras armijas dao pēc “Šana valdnieka grāmatas”]. No: 大连律师网 [Dalian Lushi Wang] [Daliaņas pilsētas juristu mājas lapa]. Pieejams: <http://www.114ls.cn/ShowArticle.shtml?ID=20130723061900.htm> [06.06.2013.]
 74. 田嘉力 [Tian Jiali] [Tiaņs Dzjali]. 世间万物人是最宝贵的因素 [Shijian Wanwu Ren Shi Zui Baoguide Yinsu] [Visi pasaules cilvēki ir visdārgākais faktors]. No: 人民网 [Renmin Ribao], 17.06.2005. Pieejams: <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/32306/33232/3485300.html> [12.09.2013.]
 75. 薛锦霞 [Xue Jinxia] [Sjue Dzjīnsja]. “以德为先”的管理智慧及其现代价值 [“Yi de wei xian” de Guanli Zhihui ji qi Xiandai Jiazhi] [Pārvaldīšanas gudrība saskaņā ar ideju de kā sākums un tā mūsdienu vērtība]. [Sudžou universitātē aizstāvētais maģistra darbs.]. 1.-74.lpp. 苏州 [Suzhou] [Sudžou]: 苏州大学 [Suzhou Daxue], 2003. Pieejams: <http://cdmd.cnki.com.cn/Article/CDMD-10285-2004031649.htm> [02.03.2013.]
 76. 王国彪 [Wang Guobiao] [Vans Guobiao]. 儒家诚信观念: 不可摆脱的民族精神基因 [Zhejia Chengxin Gainian: Buke Baituode Minzu Jingshen Ji Yin] [Konfūcisma čen šjīņ koncepcija: mūsu tautas garīgais gēns, ko no mums nevar atdalīt]. No: 光明日报 [Guangming Ribao], 16.08.2011. Pieejams: http://www.chinakongzi.org/rjwh/lzxd/201108/t20110816_6543115.htm [19.08.2013.]
 77. 王伟 [Wang Wei] [Vans Vejs]. 和谐文化: “以人为本”的文化发展战略 [Hexie Shehui: „Yi ren wei ben” de Wenhua Fazhan Zhanlue] [Saskaņas kultūra: „Turēt cilvēku par sakni” kultūras attīstības stratēģija]. No: 新华网 [Xinhuanwang]. Pieejams: http://news.xinhuanet.com/theory/2006-07/26/content_4881267.htm [12.10.2010.]
 79. 五伦 [Wu lun] [Vu luņ]. No: 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]. Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/115689.htm> [23.08.2013.]
 80. 吴子 [Wu Zi] [Vudzi]. No: 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]. Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/2792.htm> [25.08.2013.]
 81. 心理疏导 [Xinli Shudao] [Psihologiskais atbalsts]. No: 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]. Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/1623119.htm> [07.05.2011.]
 82. 杨德山 [Yang Deshan] [Jans Dešaņs]. “依法治国”、“以德治国” [„Yi Fa Zhi Guo”, „Yi De Zhi Guo”]. [„Pārvaldīt valsti ar likumu”, „Pārvaldīt valsti ar de”.]. No: 中国共产党新闻 [Zhongguo Gongchandang Xinwen] [ĶKP ziņas]. Pieejams: <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64162/64171/4527669.html> [12.10.2010.]

83. 杨普罗 [Yang Puluo] [Jans Puluo]。孔子仁论新诠 [Kongzi Renlun Xinquan] [Jauns skaidrojums Konfūcija cilvēciskuma teorijai]。No : 世界图书馆 [Shijie Tushuguan] [Pasaules bibliotēka]。Pieejams: http://www.redlib.cn/html/HeBeiXueKan_824/KongZiRenLun4116405.htm [19.04.2008.]
84. 勇气 [Yong Qi] [Drosme jeb drosmes cji]。No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/53936.htm> [23.08.2013.]
85. 与时俱进 [Yu shi ju jin] [Jui ši dzjui dzjin]。No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/127182.htm> [21.08.2013.]
86. “与时俱进”典出姚鼐 [„Yu shi ju jin“ dianchu Yao Nai] [Frāzi “jui ši dzjui dzjin” noformulējis Jao Najs]。Pieejams: <http://bbs.itongcheng.com/thread-2074476-1-1.html> [22.08.2013.]
87. 赵龙飞 [Zhao Longfei] [Džao Lunfejs]。深入学习贯彻“三个代表”重要思想巩固和发展新世界党的统一战线 [Shenru Xuexi Guanche „Sange Daibiao” Zhongyao Sixiang Gonggu he Fazhan Xin Shijie Dang de Tongyi Zhanxian] [Padziļināti mācīties īstenot „Triju pārstāvniecību” koncepcijas svarīgo domu un attīstīt jaunās pasaules partijas vienoto stratēģiju]。No : 在中国特色社会主义政治发展道路上 [Zai Zhongguo Tese Shehui Zhuyi Zhengzhi Fazhan Daolu shang] [Uz sociālisma ar ķīniešu nokrāsu politikas attīstības ceļa]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 中央编译出版社 [Zhongyang Bianyi Chubanshe] , 2007。
88. 张柔桑 [Zhang Rousang] [Džana Žousana]。从严治军严在法 [Cong Yan Zhi Jun Yan Zai Fa] [No principa pārvaldīt armiju ar stingrību uz stingrību likumos]。No: 解放军报 [Jiefang Junbao] [Atbrīvošanas armijas avīze], 23.11.2003. Pieejams: <http://www.sina.com.cn> [20.08.2013.]
89. 张传亚 [Zhang Zhuanya] [Džans Džuanja]。朝气 锐气 正气 [Zhao Qi Rui Qi Zheng Qi] [Džao cji Žui cji Džen cji]。No : 光明日报 [Guangming Ribao], 13.11.2002. Pieejams: <http://www.gmw.cn/01gmrb/2002-11/13/01-EB640ABE06096DF048256C6F0080174A.htm> [17.08.2013.]
90. 曾泓华 [Zeng Honghua] [Dzens Hunhua], 姜婕 [Jiang Jie] [Dzjana Dze]。 “四德并举”是加强社会主义道德建设的必然要求 [“Si De Bingju” shi Jiaqiang Shehui Zhuyi Daode Jianshe de Biran Yaoqiu] [Četru de vienlaicīga attīstība ir sociālisma morāles celtniecības pamatprasība]。《新西部 (下半月)》 [“Xin Xi Bu (Xia Bannian)”] [“Jaunie Rietumu reģioni (Otrais pusgads)”] / 2008.01. Pieejams: http://www.cnki.com*.cn/Article/CJFDTotal-XXBL200801015.htm [17.02.2013.]
91. 郑必坚 [Zheng Bijian] [Džens Bidzjans]。中国和平崛起进程中面临着三大挑战 [Zhongguo Heping Juqi Jincheng zhong Mianlin Kan San Da Tiaozhan] [Trīs lielle izaicinājumi Ķīnas miermīlīgās pacelšanās doktrīnai]。No : 新华网 [Xinhuanet]。Pieejams: http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2006-04/10/content_4403533.htm [07.03.2010.]
92. 正义 [Zheng yi] [Džen ji]。No : 百度百科 [Baidu Baike] [Baidu enciklopēdija]。Pieejams: <http://baike.baidu.com/view/9243.htm> [17.03.2013.]
93. 钟之成 [Zhong Zhicheng] [Džuns Džičens]。为了世界更美好: 江泽民出访纪实 [Weile Shijie Geng Meihao: Jiang Zemin Chufang Jishi] [Lai pasaule ir vēl skaistāka: Dzjana Dzemiņa ārvalstu vizīšu dokumentēšana]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]: 世界知识出版社 [Shijie Chubanshe]。
94. 中国传统道德摘要 [Zhongguo Chuantong Daode Juyao] [Ķīnas tradicionālo dao un de apkopojums]。哈尔滨 [Haerbin] [Harbina] : 黑龙江教育出版社 [Heilongjiang Jiaoyu Chubanshe] , 1996。
95. 尊老爱幼是中华民族的美德 [Zun Lao Ai You shi Zhonghua Mingzu de Meide] [Cienīt vecos un mīlēt jaunos ir ķīniešu tautas tikums]。No : 知道百度 [Zhidao Baidu] [Zināšanu meklētājs]。Pieejams: <http://zhidao.baidu.com/question/370825.html> [15.04.2008.]

I 3. Classical Works Containing Traditional Discourse

96. Konfūcijs. Apkopotas runas. Luņjui. Rīga: Neputns, 2006.
97. Lao Dži. Dao un De kanons. Rīga: Neputns, 2009.
98. 老子 [Laozi] [Laodzi] 。 / Angļu tulkojuma autors Arthur Waley; mūsdienu ķīniešu valodas tulkotājs 陈鼓应 [Chen Guying] [Čeņs Gujins]. The Chinese-English Bilingual Series of Chinese Classics. 湖南[Hunan] : 湖南出版社 [Hunan chubanshe] , 1994 。
99. 抱朴子外篇. 审举卷第十五 [Baopuzi waibian. Shen Ju Juan Di Shiwu] [“Baopudzi” ārejās nodaļas. 15.nodaļa “Eksaminēšana un atlasīšana”] 。 Pieejams : <http://www.guoxue123.com/zhibu/0101/03bpzwp/015.htm> [16.09.2012.]
100. 春秋公羊传 [Chunqiu Gongyang Zhuan] [Pavasaru un rudeņu hronika ar Guna Jana komentāriem] 。 No : 中国古籍 [Zhongguo Guji] [Ķīniešu senie raksti] 。 Pieejams: <http://guji.artx.cn/Article/761.html> [07.03.2010.]
101. 春秋左传·宣公元年~十二年 [Chunqiu Zuo Zhuan] [Pavasaru un rudeņu hronika ar Dzuo Cjuma komentāriem] 。 No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls] 。
102. Pieejams: http://www.guoxue.com/jinbu/13jing/cqzz/cqzz_007.htm [24.08.2013.]
103. 范晔 [Fan Ye] [Faņs Je] 。 后汉书 [Hou Hanshu] [Vēlīno Haņu grāmata] 。 卷三十五, 张曹郑列传第二十五 [Juan sanshiwu, Zhang Cao Zheng Liezhuan Di ershiwu] [35. dzjuans, 25. nodaļa: Džana [Čuņa], Cao [Bao], Džena [Sjuņa] biogrāfijas] 。 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls] 。 Pieejams: http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/hhansu/hhsu_039.htm [23.07.2011.]
104. [公孙鞅] [Gongsun Yang] [Gunsuņs Jans] 。 商君书评注 [Shangjun Shu Pingzhu] [Šana apgabala valdnieka grāmata ar komentāriem.] 。 北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]: 中华书局出版 [Zhonghua Shuju Chubanshe], 1976.
105. 《管子》 [Guanzi] [Guaņdzi] 。 Pieejams: <http://www.douban.com/group/topic/19054396/> [16.02.2012.]
106. 管子[Guanzi] [Guaņzi] 。 明法[Ming fa] [Miņ fa] 。 Pieejams: <http://guji.artx.cn/article/8292.html> [12.04.2012.]
107. 汉书 [Han shu] [Haņu dinastijas grāmata] 。 卷五十三 [Juan wushisan] [53. tīstoklis] 。 景十三王传第二十三 [Jing shisan Wang Zhuan Di ershisian] [13. nodaļa ar Vana komentāriem 21.] 。 No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls] 。 Pieejams: http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/hansu/hsu_064.htm [07.03.2010.]
108. 汉书 [Han shu] [Haņu dinastijas grāmata] 。 卷六十六, 第三十六 [Juan liushiliu, di shisanliu] [6. tīstoklis, 36. apakšnodaļa] 。 公孙刘田王杨蔡陈郑传 [Gongsun Liu Tian Wang Yang Cai Chen Zheng Zhuan] [Gunsuņa, Liu, Tiaņa, Vana, Jana, Čaja, Čeņa, Džena biogrāfijas] 。 No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls] 。 Pieejams: http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/hansu/hsu_079.htm [10.09.2012.]
109. 汉书 [Han shu] [Haņu dinastijas grāmata] 。 卷八十二 [Juan bashi'er] [82. tīstoklis] 。 王商史丹傅喜传第五十二 [Wangshang Shidan Fuxi Zhuan Di Wushi'er] [Vana Šana vēsture, 52. nodaļa ar Fujsi komentāriem 21.] 。 No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls] 。 Pieejams: http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/hansu/hsu_095.htm [09.05.2012.]
110. 韩愈 [Han Yu] [Haņs Jujs] 。 原道 [Yuan Dao] [Iesākuma dao] 。 漢英對照中國哲學明珠宣讀 : Selected Readings from Famous Chinese Philosophers With Annotations and English Translation. Volume 1/ 石峻主編 General Editor Shi Jun. Beijing: People's University of China Press, 1997.
111. 晋书。卷三十三, 列传第三 [Jin shu. Juan Sanshisian, Liezhuan Di San] [Dzjiņ šu. Trīsdesmit trešais tīstoklis, trešā biogrāfija] 。 No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls] 。 Pieejams:

http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/jinshu/jinshu_033.htm

112. 礼记 [Li Ji] [Rituālu pieraksti]。昏义第四十四 [Hun Ji Di Sishisi] [44. nodaļa, Aptumsotā ideja]。No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls]。Pieejams: <http://www.guoxue.com/jinbu/13jing/liji/liji044.htm> [29.08.2013.]
113. 礼记 [Li Ji] [Rituālu pieraksti]。礼运第九 [Li Yun Di Jiu] [9.nodaļa, Li Yun]。No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls]。Pieejams: <http://www.guoxue.com/jinbu/13jing/liji/liji009.htm> [02.04.2013.]
114. 孟子 [Mengzi] [Mendzi]。No : 四書新解 [Sishu Xinjie] [Četru grāmatu jaunais izdevums]。主编：王天恨 [Zhu bian: Wang Tianhen] [Galvenais redaktors: Vans Tianheņs]。台南 [Tainan] [Tainaņa]：大夏出版社 [Daxia Chubanshe]，1992。
115. 孟子。[Mengzi] [Mendzi]。離婁章句上 [Li Lou Zhangju shang] [Nodaļa „Li Lou”, pirmā daļa]。No : 四书 [Si shu] [Četras grāmatas] : The Four Books。英译：理雅各 [Ying yi: Liyage] [Tulkotājs uz angļu val.: Legge]; 今译：杨伯峻 [Jin yi: Yang Bojun] [Tulkotājs uz mūsdienu ķīn.val.: Jans Bodzjuņs]; [英文校注]: 刘重德, 罗志野 [Yingwen jiaozhu: Liu Zhongde, Luo Zhiye] [Angļu teksta redaktori: Liu Džunde, Luo Džije]。长沙 [Changsha] [Čanša] : 湖南出版社 [Henan Chubanshe]，1995。388-409.lpp.
116. 孟子。[Mengzi] [Mendzi]。尽心章句上 [Jin Xin Zhangju shang] [Nodaļa „Iet sirds dziļumos”, pirmā daļa]。No : 四书 [Si shu] [Četras grāmatas] : The Four Books。英译：理雅各 [Ying yi: Liyage] [Tulkotājs uz angļu val.: Legge]; 今译：杨伯峻 [Jin yi: Yang Bojun] [Tulkotājs uz mūsdienu ķīn.val.: Jans Bodzjuņs]; [英文校注]: 刘重德, 罗志野 [Yingwen jiaozhu: Liu Zhongde, Luo Zhiye] [Angļu teksta redaktori: Liu Džunde, Luo Džije]。长沙 [Changsha] [Čanša] : 湖南出版社 [Henan Chubanshe]，1995。512-535.lpp.
117. 说文解字 [Shuowen Jiezi] [Pascītais un uzrakstītais ar hieroglifu skaidrojumiem] / 许慎撰 [Xu Shen zhuan] [Sast. Xu Shen]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]: 中华书局 [Zhonghua shuju], 1978.
118. 司马光 [Sima Guang] [Sima Guans]。资治通鉴 [Zi Zhi Tong Jian] [Spogulis, caur kuru var palīdzēt pārvaldīšanai], 卷 1 [Juan] [1.dzjuans]。上海 [Shanghai] [Šanhaja] : 中华书局出版 [Zhonghua shuju chubanshe]，1976。
119. 司馬遷 [Sima Qian] [Sima Cjans]。史記 [Shi Ji] [Šidzji]。第七冊, 卷七十九: 范睢蔡澤列傳第十九 [Di Qi Ce, Juan Qishijiu: Fan Sui Cai Ze Liebo Di Shijiu] [7. sēj., 79. dzjuans, 19. nodaļa: Faņa Suja, Caja Dze biogrāfijas]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 中華書局 [Zhonghua Shuju] [Džunhua šudzjui], 1972。
120. 司馬遷 [Sima Qian] [Sima Cjans]。史記 [Shi Ji] [Šidzji]。第八冊, 卷八十一: 廉頗藺相如列傳第二十一 [Di Ba Ce, Dzujaņ Bashiyi: Lian Po, Lin Xiangru Liezhuan Di Ershiyi] [8. sēj., 81. dzjuans, 21. nodaļa: Liaņa Po, Liņa Sjanžu biogrāfijas]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 中華書局 [Zhonghua Shuju] [Džunhua šudzjui], 1972。
121. 司馬遷 [Sima Qian] [Sima Cjans]。史記 [Shi Ji] [Šidzji]。第十冊, 卷一百二十四: 遊俠列傳第六十四 [Di Shi Ce, Juan Yibai Ershisi: Youxia Liezhuan Di Liushisi] [10. sēj., 124. dzjuans, 64. nodaļa: Klistošo cīņas meistarų biogrāfijas]。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 中華書局 [Zhonghua Shuju] [Džunhua šudzjui], 1972。
122. 四書新解 [Sishu Xinjie] [Četras grāmatas ar jaunajiem skaidrojumiem]。台南 [Tainan] [Tainaņa]：大夏出版社 [Daxia Chubanshe]，1992。
123. 宋书 [Song Shu] [Sunšu]。卷七十九 列传第三十九 文五王 [Juan Qishi jiu, Liezhuan di Sanshijiu Wen Wu Wang] [79. dzjuans, 39. biogrāfiju sadaļa]。No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls]。Pieejams: http://www.guoxue.com/shibu/24shi/songsu/sons_079.htm [18.08.2013.]

124. 荀子 [Xunzi] [Sjuņdzi]. 君道第十二 [Jun Dao Di Shi'er] [Valdnieka dao, 12. nodaļa]. No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls]. Pieejams: <http://www.guoxue.com/book/xunzi/0012.htm> [01.11.2012.]
125. 荀子 [Xunzi] [Sjuņdzi]. 尧问第三十二 [Yao Wen Di Sanshi'er] [32. nodaļa Jao veņ (Jao jautā)]. No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls]. Pieejams: <http://www.guoxue.com/book/xunzi/0032.htm> [22.07.2013]
126. 荀子 [Xunzi] [Sjuņdzi]. 劝学第一 [Quanxue Di Yi] [1. nodaļa Padomi mācībā]. No : 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls]. Pieejams: <http://www.guoxue.com/book/xunzi/0001.htm> [22.07.2013]
127. 荀子 [Xunzi] [Sjuņdzi]. 荣辱第四 [Rong Ru Di Si] [4.nodaļa Uzplaukums un negods]. No: 国学网站 [Guoxue Wangzhan] [Sinoloģijas portāls]. Pieejams: <http://www.guoxue.com/book/xunzi/0004.htm> [22.07.2013.]
128. 中庸 [Zhong yong] [Vidus un pastāvīgums]. No : 四书 [Si shu] [Četras grāmatas] : The Four Books. 英译 : 理雅各 [Ying yi: Liyage] [Tulkotājs uz angļu val.: Legge]; 今译: 杨伯峻 [Jin yi: Yang Bojun] [Tulkotājs uz mūsdienu kin.val.: Jans Bodzjuņs]; [英文校注]: 刘重德, 罗志野 [Yingwen jiaozhu: Liu Zhongde, Luo Zhiye] [Angļu teksta redaktori: Liu Džunde, Luo Džije]. 长沙 [Changsha] [Čanša] : 湖南出版社 [Henan Chubanshe], 1995.
129. 周易 [Zhou Yi] [Džou ji]. 易经 [Yijing] [Jidzjin]. 责任编辑 [Zeren bianji] [Atbildīgais redaktors] : 尹飞舟 [Yin Feizhou] [Jiņs Feidžou]. 长沙 [Changsha] [Čanša] : 湖南出版社 [Hunan chubanshe], 1995.
130. 周易 [Zhou Yi] [Džouji] [Džou laikmeta pārmaiņas - Pārmaiņu grāmata] : Book of Changes /英译 : 理雅各 [Ying yi: Liyage] [Tulkotājs uz angļu val.: Legge]; 今译: 秦颖 [Jin yi: Qin Ying] [Tulkotājs uz mūsdienu kin.val.: Cjiņs Jins]. 长沙 [Changsha] [Čanša] : 湖南出版社 [Hunan chubanshe], 1993.

I 4. Works of the Political Discourse Participants, turn of the 19th Century

131. 蔡元培 [Cai Yuanpei]. 中國倫理學史 [Zhongguo Lilunxue Shi]. No: 蔡元培全集 [Cai Yuanpei Quanji]. 北京 [Beijing] : 中华书局 [Zhonghua Shuju], 1984.
132. 梁启超 [Liang Qichao]. 梁启超集 [Liang Qichao Ji]. 主编 [Zhu bian] : 黄夏年 [Huang Xianian]. 北京 [Beijing] : 中国社会科学出版社 [Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe], 1995.
133. 鲁迅 [Lu Xun]. 沉 淖 的 泛 起 1 [Chen zi de Fan qi 1]. Available at: <http://www.millionbook.net/mj/l/luxun/exj/011.htm> [21.03.2013.]
134. 譚嗣同 [Tan Sitong]. 仁学 [Ren Xue]. From : 譚嗣同全集 [Tan Sitong Quanji]. 北京 [Beijing] : 1981.
135. 瞿秋白 [Qu Qiubai]. 东方文化与世界革命 [Dongfang Wenhua yu Shijie Geming]. From : [瞿秋白选集] [Qu Qiubai Xuanji]. 北京 : 人民出版社 [Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe], 1985.
136. Сунь Ят-сен. Три народных принципа и будущее Китая. No: Сунь Ят-сен. Избранные произведения. Москва: Издательство «Наука», 1964.

II Research:

137. Ai, Jiawei. The Refunctioning of Confucianism: the Mainland Chinese Intellectual Response to Confucianism since the 1980s. No : Issues&Studies, 44, No. 2, June 2008. 29-78.
138. Alitto, G. Metahistorical Speculation in Light of Recent Events: Reevaluating Liang Shuming's Predictions of the Confucianization of Human Culture. No : Proceedings of Centennial Symposium on Sun Yat-sen's Founding of the Kuomintang for Revolution. Vol. II: Expedition and Unification (1926-1937). Taipei: [Jindai Zhongguo chubanshe], 1995.
139. Alvesson, M., Deetz, S. Doing Critical Management Research. London: Sage Publications, 2000.
140. Atkins, A. Critical Discourse Analysis: A Letter to Expatriates from the Rt. Hon. Sir Norman Fowler MP. [1999.]
141. Bevir, M., Rhodes, R. Defending Interpretation. No : European Political Science, Vol. 5, p. 69-83. Palgrave Journals, 2006.
142. Brown, K. Hu Jintao: China's Silent Leader. World Scientific: New Jersey, London, Singapore, Beijing, Shanghai, Hongkong, Taipei, Sennai, 2012.
143. Chan, Wing-Tsit. Source Book in Chinese Philosophy. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973.
144. Comparative Ethics in a Global Age. Ed.: M. T. Stepanyants. Washington, D.C.: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2006.
145. Cumming, S., Ono, T., Laury, R. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction. Ed.: T.A. van Dijk. Sage Publications, Edition 2, 2011.
146. Discourse and Socio-political Transformations in Contemporary China. Ed.: Paul Chilton, Hailong Tian and Ruth Wodak. Lancaster University – Tianjin University of Commerce: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012.
147. Džozefs, Dž. E. Valoda un politika. Rīga: Zinātne, 2008.
148. Fairclough, I., Fairclough, N. Political Discourse Analysis. London, New York: Routledge, 2012.
149. Fairclough, N. Critical Discourse Analysis. London: Longman, 1995.
150. Fairclough, N. Analysing Discourse. Textual analysis for social research. London, New York: Routledge, 2003.
151. Fairclough, N. Discourse and Social Change. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.
152. Fairclough, N., Chouliaraki, L. Discourse in Late Modernity. Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
153. Fairclough, N. Language and Power. London: Longman, 1989.
154. Fairclough, N., Mulderrig, J., Wodak, R. Critical Discourse Analysis. No : Discourse Studies. A multidisciplinary Introduction. Ed.: T.A. van Dijk, T. A., 357.-378.lpp., 2010. Pieejams: http://www.academia.edu/358173/Critical_Discourse_Analysis [30.04.2013.]
155. Fung, Yu-Lan. The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & CO., LTD., 1947.
156. Graham A.C. Two Chinese Philosophers. Ch'êng Ming-tao and Ch'êng Yi-ch'uan. London: Lewis Reprints Ltd, 1978.
157. Guo, Yingjie. Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary China. London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003.
158. Haig, E. Some Observations on the Critique of Critical Discourse Analysis. No: 名古屋大学言語文化論集, 第 XXV 卷, 第 2 号 [Valoda un kultūra: Nagojas universitātes rakstu krājums. XXV sējums, nr.2.]. Pieejams: <http://www.lang.nagoya-u.ac.jp/proj/genbunronshu/25-2/haig.pdf> [16.07.2010.]
159. Hammersley, M. On the foundations of critical discourse analysis. No: Critical discourse analysis: critical concepts in linguistics, Vol. 3: 240-252, London: Routledge, 2002.
160. Hasnain, S.I. A Note on Critical Discourse Analysis. No: Language in India, Vol. 4, March 2004. Pieejams: <http://www.languageinindia.com/march2004/criticaldiscourse2.html> [07.01.2011.]

161. Kendal, G. What Is Critical Discourse Analysis? Ruth Wodak in *Conversation With Gavin Kendal*. No : Forum: Qualitative Social Research. Volume 8, No. 2, Art. 29 – May 2007. Pieejams: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/255/562>
162. Kuo, Sai-hua. 'Is there only one China?': Analyzing the rhetoric of Chinese nationalism in a newspaper article. No : *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*. 11(2), 2001, 283-299.
163. Kuo, Sai-hua. Language as ideology: Analyzing quotations in Taiwanese news discourse. No : *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 17:2 , 2007: 281-330.
164. Kuo, Sai-hua. Social change and discursive change: analyzing conversationalization of media discourse in Taiwan. No : *Discourse Studies*. Number 9, Dec 01, 2007, 743-765.
165. Laclau, E., Mouffe, C. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso, 1985.
166. *Language and Politics*. Ed.: O'Barr, W. M., O'Barr, J. F. The Hague: Mouton, 1976.
167. Li, Junru. *What Do You Know About the Communist Party of China?* Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2011.
168. Marsh, D., Furlong, E. *Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science*. In: Marsh, David and Stoker, Gerry (eds.). *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. 2nd edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002.
169. Martin, J.R. *Grace: the Logogenesis of Freedom*. No: *Critical discourse analysis: critical concepts in linguistics*, Vol. 3: 170-201, London, Routledge, 2002.
170. Mills, Sara. *Discourse*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
171. Pennycook, A. *Critical Applied Linguistics: a Critical Introduction*. New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum, 2001.
172. Pereverzev, E., Kozhemyakin, Y. *Political Discourse: Unitary Multy-parametric Model*. No: *Современный дискурс-анализ*. Выпуск 2, том 1, 2010, p. 49. Pieejams: http://www.discourseanalysis.org/ada2_1.pdf [01.09.2011.]
173. Pi, Xirui. Chapter Four. *The Golden Age of Classical Scholarship*. Pp. 632-764. [With SVA comments]. Pieejams: <https://digital.lib.washington.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/1773/2092/JXLS-4Wdiss..pdf?jsessionid=64A30DC505406A2AE3F3835F329E127E?sequence=15> [24.07.2011.]
174. Powers, P. *The Philosophical Foundations of Foucaultian Discourse Analysis*. No : *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines Journal*, Vol. 1 (2), 18.-34.lpp., 2007. Pieejams: <http://cadaad.net/files/journal/Powers%20-%20Philosophical%20foundations%20of%20Foucaultian%20Discourse.pdf> [24.03.2013.]
175. Pye, L. *The Dynamics of Chinese Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, 1981.
176. Pye, L. *The Mandarin and the Cadre. China's Political Cultures*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1988.
177. Ramo, J. C. *The Beijing Consensus*. London: Foreign Policy Centre, 2004.
178. [Robertson, D.] *Socialism*. No : Robertson, D. *Dictionary of Politics*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group : London, New York, 2004.
179. Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D., Hamilton, H. E. *What is Discourse Analysis? The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Malden-Oxford-Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
180. Shi-xu. *Understanding Contemporary Chinese Political Communication: A historico-intercultural analysis and assessment of its discourse of human rights*. No: *Journal of Language and Politics*. 11 (1), 2012.
181. Solomon, R. H. *Mao's Revolution and the Chinese Political Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
182. Staburova, J. *Skaidrojumi tekstā sastopamiem personvārdiem, nosaukumiem un jēdzieniem*. No : *Konfūcijs. Apokopotas runas*. Luņjui. Rīga: Neputns, 2006.
183. *Texts and Practices. Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Ed. Caldas-Coulthard, C. R. London: Routledge, 1996.

184. Threadgold, T. Cultural Studies, Critical Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis: Histories, Remembering and Futures. No: Linguistik online Linguistic Research library. Pieejams: http://www.linguistik-online.de/14_03/threadgold.pdf [27.12.2010.]
185. Tu Weiming. Implications of the Rise of "Confucian" East Asia. In: "Daedalus". Winter, 2000, "Multiple Modernities". Issued as Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Science. Vol. 129, Number 1, pp. 195-218.
186. Van Dijk, T. Editor's Introduction: The Study of Discourse: An Introduction. The Emergence of a New Cross-Discipline. Pieejams: <http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/The%20study%20of%20discourse.pdf> [03.04.2013.]
187. Van Dijk, T. Critical Discourse Analysis. Ed.: Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton. In: The Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Malden-Oxford-Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
188. Van Dijk, T. Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach. London: Sage, 2008.
189. Van Dijk, T. Teach Yourself CDS. Un-learn misconceptions. No : Research in Critical Discourse Studies - Website Teun A. van Dijk. Pieejams: <http://www.discourses.org/resources/teachyourself/Unlearn%20misconceptions.html> [04.07.10.]
190. Van Dijk, T. What is Political Discourse Analysis? No : Website Teun A. van Dijk. Pieejams: <http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/What%20is%20Political%20Discourse%20Analysis.pdf> [22.03.2013.]
191. Veatch, R. M. A Theory of Medical Ethics. New York: Basic Books, 1988.
192. Vincent, T. Critical Discourse Analysis: Some Constructive Criticism. No: SLW and CALL perspectives. March 2008, Vol.12. Pieejams: http://www.tesol.org/s_tesol/article.asp?vid=172&DID=10641&sid=1&cid=740&iid=10631&nid=3124 [08.01.2011.]
193. Waller, L. Introducing Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Methodology for Analyzing Caribbean Social Problems: Going Beyond Social Practices. No : Journal of Diplomatic Language, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2006. Pieejams: <http://www.jdlonline.org/IIIWaller.html> [16.10.2009.]
194. Wodak, R. The Discourse of Politics in Action: Politics as Usual. London: Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2009.
195. Yang, Disheng. Mourning professor Feng Youlan: "method of abstract inheriting" should not be denied. No : Journal of Chinese Philosophy. Vol. 21 Issue 3-4. Blackwell publishing, 1994.
196. 邓小平的小康社会思想研究 [Deng Xiaoping de Xiaokang Shehui Sixiang Yanjiu] [Dena Sjaopina Mazās veselības sabiedrības idejas pētījums] 。中学语文教学资源网 [Zhongxue Wenjiao Xuezi Yuanwang] [Vidusskolu literatūras materiālu portāls] 。 Pieejams: <http://www.tingko.com/Lunwen/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=64258> [17.02.2008.]
197. 方克立, 李锦全 [Fang Keli, Li Mianquan] [Fans Keli, Li Mianquan] 。丛书主编的话。[Congshu Zhubian de Hua] [Sērijas redaktoru uzruna] 。 No : 吕希晨, 陈莹 [Lü Xichen, Chen Ying] [Lujs Sjičeņs, Čēņa Jina] 。张君勱思想研究 [Zhang Junmai Sixiang Yanjiu] [Džana Džuņmajā domu pētījumi] 。天津 [Tianjin] [Tianǰzjina] : 天津人民出版社 [Tianjin Renmin Chubanshe] , 1996 。
198. 李经康 [Li Jingkang] [Li Dzjinkans] 。 儿子兵法 [Erzi Bingfa] [Dēla kara likumi] 。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 中华工商联合出版社 [Zhonghua Gongshang Lianhe Chubanshe], 1998.
199. 李洪峰 [Li Hongfeng] [Li Hunfens] 。 实事求是的伟大胜利 [Shi Shi Qiu Shide Weida Shengli] [Ši šī cju šī dižā uzvara] 。 Pieejams: theory.people.com.cn/GB/49150/49152/8593395.html [04.07.2012.]

200. 李培林, 失庆芳 [Li Peilin, Shi Qingfang] [Li Peilins, Ši Cjinfans] 。 中国小康社会 [Zhongguo Xiaokang Shehui] [Ķīnas Mazās veselības sabiedrība] 。 北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 社会科学文献出版社 [Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe] , 2003 。
201. 吕红平, 李振纲 [Lü Hongping, Li Zhengang] [Lju Hunpins, Li Džengans] 。 孔子孝道观与家庭养老方式 [Kongzi Xiaodaogan yu Jiating Yanglao Fangshi] [Konfūcija uzskati par cieņas pret vecākiem Dao, un veco cilvēku aprūpes veidi ģimenē] 。 No: 人口研究[Renkou yanjiu] : Population Research. Vol. 32, Nr. 2. March 2008. Pp. 81-86. Pieejams: <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/2700f78ecc22bcd126ff0cee.html> [24.07.2011.]
202. 施旭 [Shi Xu] [Ši Sju] 。 文化话语研究: 探索中国的理论、方法与问题 [Wenhua Huayu Yanjiu: Sousuo Zhongguo de Lilun, Fangfa yu Wenti] [Kultūras diskursa pētniecība: meklējot ķīniešu teoriju, metodes un problēmas] 。 北京[Beijing] [Pekina] : 北京大学出版社 [Beijing Daxue Chubanshe], 2010 。
203. 孙中山倡导 “天下为公” [Sun Zhongshan Changdao „Tian xia wei gong”] [Suņa Jatsena aizstāvētais princips “Padebesis ir kopīgas”] 。 No : 复旦大学网 [Fudan Daxue wang] [Fudaņas universitātes portāls] 。 Pieejams: <http://www.rwfd.fudan.edu.cn/spirit/zhaohua/changdao.html> [02.04.2008.]
204. 涂文涛[Tu Wentao] [Tu Veņtao] 。 落实科学发展观树立正确的办学指导思想推进学校事业良性发展 [Luoshi Kexue Fazhangan Shuli Zhengque de Banxue Zhidao Sixiang] [Zinātniskās attīstības koncepcijas pielietošana izglītības vadības vadošo ideju veidošanas jomā, lai veicinātu skolas darbības veselīgu attīstību] 。 No : 经世济民 孜孜以求—西南财经大学办学理念文选 [Jingshi Jimin Zizi Yiqiu – Xinan Caijing Daxue Banxue Linian Wenxuan] [Pārvaldīt pasauli palīdzēt tautai, cīņīgi strādāt, lai to sasniegtu – Dienvidrietumu Finanšu un ekonomikas universitātes rakstu krājums par Izglītības vadības idejām] 。 成都 [Chengdu] [Čendu] : 2004 。
205. 吴宗杰 [Wu Zongjie] [Vu Dzungdze] 。 跨文化视角下的 “中国学研究” [Kuawenhua Shijiao xia de “Zhongguoxue Yanjiu”] [“Sinoloģiskie pētījumi” starpkulturālā perspektīvā] 。 1-15 lpp. Pieejams: http://www.sisins.zju.edu.cn/culture/staff/wuz/files/%E5%BD%93%E4%BB%A3%E6%B5%99%E5%AD%A6%E8%AE%BA%E5%9D%9B_%E5%90%B4%E5%AE%97%E6%9D%B0.pdf [16.01.2013.]
206. 夏立平, 江西元 [Xia Liping, Jiang Xiyuan] [Sja Lipins, Džjans Sjijuaņs] 。 中国和平崛起 [Zhongguo Hepin Jueqi] [Ķīnas miermīlīgā pacelšanās] 。 北京[Beijing] [Pekina] : 中国社会科学出版社 [Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe] , 2004 。
207. 阎春祥 [Yan Chunxiang] [Jaņs Čuņsjaņs] 。 实事求是——“重温革命历史, 感悟革命精髓” 优秀红文 (四) [Shi shi qu shi – “Chongwen geming lishi, ganwu geming jingsui” Youxiu Hongwen (Si)] [Ši ši cju ši. Izcilie raksti par tēmu “Atjaunojot atmiņā revolūcijas vēsturi, izprast revolūcijas būtību” , Nr. 4.) , 16.11.2011. Pieejams: <http://www.ssdwyfz.sjedu.cn/dwgk/llyj/11/302299.shtml> [02.03.2012.]
208. 以德之治国 [Yi De Zhi Guo lun] [Par principu „Pārvaldīt valsti ar de”] 。 主编: 罗国杰, 夏伟东 [Zhu bian: Luo Guojie, Xia Weidong] [Galvenie redaktori: Luo Guodze, Sja Veiduns] 。 北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 中国人民大学出版社 [Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe] , 2004 。
209. 张英魁 [Zhang Yingkui] [Džans Jinkuejs] 。 中国传统政治文化及其现代价值 [Zhongguo Chuantong Zhengzhi Wenhua jiqi Xiandai Jiazhi] [Ķīnas tradicionālā politiskā kultūra un tās mūsdienu vērtība] 。 北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 中央编译出版社 [Zhongyang Bianyi Chubanshe] , 2009 。
210. 张铁军[Zhang Tiejun] [Džans Tiedzjuņs] 。 邓小平关于 “小康社会” 概念内涵浅谈 [Deng Xiaoping Guanyu „Xiaokang Shehui” Gainian Neihan Qiantan] [Dena Sjaopina

- konceptijas „Mazās veselības sabiedrība” ideja un skaidrojumi]. 第 5 期 [Di wu Qi] [Piektais izdevums]. 社科纵横 [Sheke Zongheng], 2000。
211. 中华传统美德格言 [Zhonghua Chuantong Meide Geyan] [Ķīnas tradicionālā skaistuma de maksima]. 下 [Xia] [Pēdējais sējums]. 主编：吕达 [Zhu bian: Lǚ Da] [Galvenais redaktors: Ļujs Da]. 北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]：人民教育出版社 [Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe], 2003。
 212. 中西政治思想与政治文化 [Zhongxi Zhengzhi Sixiang yu Zhengzhi Wenhua] [Ķīnas un Rietumu politiskā doma un politiskā kultūra]. 主编：丛日运，庞金友 [Zhu bian: Cong Riyun, Pang Jinyou] [Galvenie redaktori: Cuns Žijuns, Pans Dzjinjou]. 北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]：社会科学文献出版社 [Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe], 2009。
 213. Аллаберт, А. В. Роль конфуцианства в модернизации Китая (Конец XX – начало XXI в.) Автореферат. Санкт-Петербург, 2003.
 214. Арутюнова, Н.Д. Дискурс. No: Лингвистический энциклопедический словарь. Москва, 1990. Pieejams: <http://lingvisticheskiy-slovar.ru/description/diskurs/168> [18.12.11.]
 215. Бахтин, М. Автор и герой: к философским основаниям гуманитарных наук. Санкт-Петербург: «Азбука», 2000.
 216. Борох, Л. Н. Конфуцианская этика в эпоху модернизации: концепция «Гун дэ». No : От магической силы к моральному императиву: категория дэ в китайской культуре. Москва: «Восточная литература», 1998.
 217. Борох, Л. Н. Общественная мысль Китая и социализм. Москва: «Наука» ГРВЛ, 1984.
 218. Борох, Л. Н. Предисловие. No : От магической силы к моральному императиву: категория дэ в китайской культуре. Москва: «Восточная литература», 1998.
 219. Ван Дэйк, Тойн А. Дискурс и доминирование (Van Dijk, T.A. Introduction: Discourse and Domination, in T.A.van Dijk, Discourse and Power. N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. PP. 1-26.). С. 16. No : "Современный дискурс-анализ", выпуск 3, 2011. http://www.discourseanalysis.org/ada1_1.pdf
 220. Васильева, М. А. Официально-деловой стиль китайского языка. Санкт-Петербург: КАРО, 2008.
 221. Виноградов, А. В. Китайская модель модернизации: социально-политические и социокультурные аспекты. Москва, 2006.
 222. Филлипс, Л. Йоргенсен, М. В. Дискурс анализ: теория и метод. Харьков: Гуманитарный центр, 2004.
 223. Калюжная, Н. М. Конфуцианская этика в эпоху модернизации: концепция «Гун дэ». No : От магической силы к моральному императиву: категория дэ в китайской культуре. Москва: «Восточная литература», 1998.
 224. Китай: угрозы, риски, вызовы развитию. Ред. Михеев, В. Москва: Центр Карнеги, 2005.
 225. Кобзев, А. И. Дао. No : Духовная культура Китая. Энциклопедия. Философия. Ред. Титаренко, М. Л., Кобзев, А. И., Лукьянов, А. Е. Москва: «Восточная литература», 2006.
 226. Кобзев, А. И. Жэнь [2]. No : Духовная культура Китая. Энциклопедия. Философия. Ред. Титаренко, М. Л., Кобзев, А. И., Лукьянов, А. Е. Москва: «Восточная литература», 2006, 262. lpp.
 227. Кобзев, А. И. Кан Ю-вэй. No : Духовная культура Китая. Энциклопедия. Философия. Ред. Титаренко, М. Л., Кобзев, А. И., Лукьянов, А. Е. Москва: «Восточная литература», 2006.
 228. Кобзев, А. И. Предисловие. No : От магической силы к моральному императиву: категория дэ в китайской культуре. Москва: «Восточная литература», 1998.
 229. Кожемякин, Е. Дискурсный подход к изучению культуры. No : Современный дискурс-анализ. Выпуск 1, том 1. 75.-96. 2009. Pieejams: http://www.discourseanalysis.org/ada1_1.pdf [04.01.2011.]
 230. Крюков, М. В., Хуан, Шу-ин. Древнекитайский язык. Москва: «Наука» ГРВЛ 1978.

231. Лапина, З. Г. Учение об управлении государством в средневековом Китае. Москва: «Наука» ГРВЛ, 1985.
232. Ломанов, А. В. Идея «Мирного возвышения Китая» и традиционная культура. No : X – XI Всероссийские конференции «Философии Восточно-азиатского региона и современная цивилизация». Часть 1. 46-54. Москва: Институт Дальнего Востока, 2006.
233. Ломанов, А. В. Современная концепция «Гармоничного общества» и китайская традиция. No : X – XI Всероссийские конференции «Философии Восточно-азиатского региона и современная цивилизация». Часть 1. 54-63. Москва: Институт Дальнего Востока, 2006.
234. Переломов, Л. С. Конфуцианство в современном мире. No : V научная сессия по историографии и источниковедению истории Китая. Санкт-Петербург: С.-Петербургский государственный университет, 2003, 55.-59.lpp.
235. Переломов, Л.С. Конфуцианство и легизм в политической истории Китая. Москва: «Наука», Главная редакция восточной литературы, 1981.
236. Переломов, Л. С. Слово Конфуция. Москва: ТПО «Фабула», 1992.
237. Руденко, Д.В. Вновь курс «Пусть соперничают 100 школ»? No : V научная сессия по историографии и источниковедению истории Китая. Санкт-Петербург: С.-Петербургский государственный университет, 2003, 64.-68.lpp.
238. Синельникова, Л. Дискурс неопределённости в местоименном представлении. No : Современный Дискурс-Анализ, Выпуск 3 (48), 2011. Pieejams: <http://www.discourseanalysis.org/ada3.pdf> [28.08.2011.]
239. Смирнов, Д. А. Основные аспекты модернизации КНР. No : Всероссийская конференция «Философии Восточно-азиатского региона и современная цивилизация». Москва: Институт Дальнего Востока РАН, 2006.
240. Стабурова, Е. Ю. Политические партии в Китае в период Синьхайской революции. Москва: «Наука» ГРВЛ, 1992.
241. Сыма Цянь. Исторические записки / Пер. с кит. Р.В. Вяткина. – Москва: Издательская фирма «Восточная литература» РАН, 1996. – Т. 7.
242. Тихвинский, С. Л. Движение за реформы в Китае в конце XIX века. Москва: «Наука» ГРВЛ, 1980.
243. Тичер, С., Мейер, М., Водак, Р., Веттер, Е. Методы анализа текста и дискурса. Харьков: Гуманитарный центр, 2009.
244. Титаренко, М. Л., Лукьянов, А. Е. Духовная культура Китая. No : Духовная культура Китая. Энциклопедия. Философия. Ред. Титаренко, М. Л., Кобзев, А. И., Лукьянов, А. Е. Москва: «Восточная литература», 2006.
245. Ушков, А. М. Утопическая мысль в странах Востока: традиции и современность. Москва: 1982.
246. Хмельцов А.И. Когда „они“ говорят о „нас“: политический дискурс-анализ и семиотика внешней политики в междисциплинарной перспективе // Сборник научных трудов "Актуальные проблемы теории коммуникации". СПб. - Изд-во СПбГПУ, 2004. – 59-71.lpp. Pieejams: http://www.russcomm.ru/rca_biblio/h/hmeltsov.shtml [12.05.2012.]

III Reference Materials:

247. Calhoun, C. Dictionary of the Social Science. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
248. Li, Kwok-sing. A glossary of political terms of the People's Republic of China. Hong-Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1995.
249. Pensee Et Philosophie Chinoise. Les Entretiens de Confucius. No: France 5: La Chine. Pieejams: <http://www.france5.fr/chine/W00364/7/109553.cfm> [01.04.2008.]
250. Pildegovičs, P. Lielā ķīniešu-latviešu vārdnīca. Pekina: The Commercial Press, 2010.
251. Staburova, J. Ķīniešu valodas īpašvārdi un to atveide latviešu valodā. Teorētiskie un praktiskie aspekti. Rīga: „Jāņa Rozes apgāds”, 2006.

252. Cnki 中国工具书网络出版总库：双语词典 [Cnki Zhongguo Gongjushu Wangluo Chubanshe Zongku : Shuangyu Cidian] [Cnki ķīniešu rokasgrāmatu izdevniecības pilns krājums: divu valodu vārdnīca] 。Pieejams:
<http://gongjushu.cnki.net/refbook/BasicSearch.aspx> [11.01.2013.]
253. 汉语大词典 [Hanyu Da Cidian] [Lielā ķīniešu valodas vārdnīca] 。上海 [Shanghai], 1989 。
254. 语料库 [Yu Liao Ku] [Valodas korpuss] 。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 北京大学中国语言学研究中心 CCL (Center for Chinese Linguistics) [Beijing daxue zhongguo yuyanxue yanjiu zhongxin], 2009. http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/index.jsp?dir=gudai [12.04.2012.]
255. 孔学知识词典 [Konxue Zhishi Cidian] [Konfūcija mācības zināšanu vārdnīca] 。董乃强主编 [Dong Naiqian zhubian] [Redaktors Duns Naicjians] 。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina]: 中国国际广播出版社 [Zhongguo Guojiguangbo Chubanshe], 1990 。
256. 新编新华字典 [Xinbian Xinhua Zidian] [Ķīniešu hieroglifu vārdnīca jaunajā redakcijā] 。A New Chinese Dictionary. 主编：王同亿 [Zhuban: Wang Tongyi] [Galvenais redaktors: Vans Tunji] 。海南 [Hainan] [Hainaņa] : 海南出版社 [Hainan Chubanshe] , 1995 。
257. 政治经济学词典 [Zhengzhi Jingjixue Cidian] [Politiskās ekonomikas vārdnīca] 。许涤新主编 [Xu Tiaoxin zhubian] [Galvenais redaktors: Sju Tiaosjiņs] 。北京 [Beijing] [Pekina] : 人民出版社 [Renmin Chubanshe] , 1984 。
258. 中国古代名句词典 [Zhongguo Gudai Mingju Cidian] [Ķīniešu senlaiku slaveno izteicienu vārdnīca] 。陈光磊等编著 [Chen Guanglei deng bianzhe] [Redaktori: Čeņs Guanlejs un citi] 。上海 [Shanghai] [Šanhaja] : 上海辞书出版社 [Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe], 1987 。
259. Большой китайско-русский словарь. Москва: Издательство «Наука» Главная редакция Восточной литературы, 1984. Т. 4.
260. Кибрик А.А. Дискурсивный анализ. No : Фонд знаний «Ломоносов». Pieejams:
<http://www.lomonosovfund.ru/enc/ru/encyclopedia:0127182> [22.06.2012.]

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.baik.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*).