

Artículo de investigación

A comparative discourse analysis of the american dream and the China dream

Un análisis comparativo del discurso del sueño americano y el sueño de China

Recibido: 8 de julio del 2019

Aceptado: 17 de agosto del 2019

Written by:

Saeid Sarani⁵⁴**Mohammad Reza Dehshiri**⁵⁵**Abstract**

The American dream and China dream are two examples of such discourses that superpowers and even international powers need to exercise and develop their power and help them legitimise and expand. The main purpose of this article is the study of the system of metaphors that is present in the discourses of the American Dream and the China Dream interacts with the international system. Countries that are at lower levels of power scale need to consolidate their position in these discourses based on the conceivable future. The main question of this article is this: What are the similarities and differences between the American Dream and the China dream from the perspective of discourse? To answer this question, we could say it seems that the Chinese government, due to the increasing Washington-Beijing competition in the economic and political- security arena, has come up with the idea to put forward the china dream to counter the American dream discourse. However, due to its low availability, acceptance, and credibility, the china dream has not gained the expected success. Therefore, the hypothesis of this article is as follows: the discourse of the China dream has been formed to counter the American dream, but due to the weakness of means of the discourse, it has had little influence on the international system. The research method of this thesis is descriptive-analytic (describe and interpret the situations, conditions, and relationships between the variables of this case study). Furthermore, we have used a documentary research method to collect the necessary material in this research.

Keywords: American Dream, China Dream, International System, Discourse Analysis.

Resumen

El sueño americano y el sueño de China son dos ejemplos de tales discursos que las superpotencias e incluso los poderes internacionales necesitan para ejercer y desarrollar su poder y ayudarlos a legitimar y expandirse. El objetivo principal de este artículo es el estudio del sistema de metáforas que está presente en los discursos del sueño americano y el sueño de China interactúa con el sistema internacional. Los países que se encuentran en niveles más bajos de escala de poder necesitan consolidar su posición en estos discursos con base en el futuro concebible. La pregunta principal de este artículo es la siguiente: ¿Cuáles son las similitudes y diferencias entre el sueño americano y el sueño de China desde la perspectiva del discurso? Para responder a esta pregunta, podríamos decir que parece que el gobierno chino, debido a la creciente competencia entre Washington y Beijing en el ámbito de la seguridad económica y política, ha tenido la idea de presentar el sueño de China para contrarrestar el discurso del sueño estadounidense. Sin embargo, debido a su baja disponibilidad, aceptación y credibilidad, el sueño de China no ha obtenido el éxito esperado. Por lo tanto, la hipótesis de este artículo es la siguiente: el discurso del sueño de China se ha formado para contrarrestar el sueño americano, pero debido a la debilidad de los medios del discurso, ha tenido poca influencia en el sistema internacional. El método de investigación de esta tesis es descriptivo-analítico (describe e interpreta las situaciones, condiciones y relaciones entre las variables de este estudio de caso). Además, hemos utilizado un método de investigación documental para recopilar el material necesario en esta investigación.

Palabras clave: Sueño americano, sueño chino, sistema internacional, análisis del discurso.

⁵⁴ PhD student in International Relations Islamic Azad University.

⁵⁵ Associate professor, School of International Relations, Iran.

Introduction

The notion of the American Dream is present in many aspects of the daily life of American citizens. This idea promises that everything is possible, and we can achieve any dream we have, whether good or bad (Al., 2017: 236). In the past, Millions of people, mostly Africans, were unwillingly moved to the U.S. and they have accepted and adopted the idea of American Dream, one way or another, and this trend continues to this day as every day many immigrants arrive at the U.S., and of course they bring with themselves their ideas and interpretation of the American Dream (Churchwell, 2019: 505). It seems that the hegemonic order the United States wants to take root is different from the structure of those of the former superpowers. The hegemonic order of the US, rooted in geography, history, ideology, democracy, institutional structure and modernisation, it has a direct connection to the American dream. The US has very powerful media that incessantly try to internalise this order around the world. The American dream is the most important ideological support for the world order that the United States intends to bring about.

On the other side of the world, the ancient Chinese country has a dream of its own. Since Xi Jinping came to power in 2012, he has brought about a significant shift within Chinese politics known as the China Dream. Even though this idea appears to be easy to understand, it contains minor but important meanings that are not so self-evident, especially for a Western audience. Although from a superficial analysis, it might appear that China is imitating the American Dream, Xi Jinping's version contrasts considerably in terms of origin, scope, and dimension. Xi Jinping introduced the China Dream⁵⁶ into a contemporary political debate, just days after he became General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC. He made a speech during a visit by the seven-member Politburo Standing Committee to an exhibition named "The Road of Rejuvenation". Xi Jinping talked about his dream, of a day when China will once again become a world-class power. China, at the beginning of the 19th century, was a great power that was responsible for a third of world's GDP, and Xi wants to China to reclaim its past glory and become a great nation again (Berkofsky, 2016: 12-18) China with its role in the future world order, promotes the ideology of

China dream. There are major differences between these two entities, and the spread of each of them could play an important role in shaping the future of the international system.

Literature review

Nadkarni et al (2017) in their book, *The New Emerging Powers* tried to perform a comparative study from the standpoint of the current powers (the United States, Europe and Japan) and the emerging powers (China, India, Russia and Brazil) to study the future shifts in power and look at the potential role of these countries in the 21st century. Because there are many scientific debates and discussions on the nature, consequences, and durability of worldwide American dominance, but little is known about the nature of the challenges that potential rivals could bring to the United States and there are few systematic reviews. This paper can help to cover some aspects of this area.

Asgharkhani and Alvand (2014) in a paper, investigate the impact of soft power on China's foreign policy. This article shows that Beijing's emphasis on stability and peace with all countries, promoting a better image of China, reforming external perceptions and repudiating the "China's threat thesis", acquiring energy security for continued economic development in order to further engage with developing countries, creating a network of allies, trying to compete with great powers in soft power in the long run, are important goals which China seeks to achieve by using soft power.

Howard Zinn (2013), in his book *The American Dream*, tries to examine the history of U.S from a Marxist perspective and the eyes of workers, blacks, women, slaves, and Indians of America. In his review, he has looked closely at the American civil war; the separation of the United States from Great Britain; the launch of the Bolshevik revolution; the effects of World War I and II on America; and the role of the Jews and plutocratic families, such as the "Rothschilds", "Rockefellers" on the historical transformations of the west. He also detailed "the Indians conflict with immigrant Europeans, the agonising activities of blacks against slavery, the worker's movement counter to the capitalist system, the women counter to the male-controlled system

⁵⁶ Zhongguo Meng

and the black's American civil movement in the 1960s"

Moshirzadeh and Salavati (2013) in an article "the Islamic world/fundamentalist another and myth of the American Dream in politics" examines US foreign policy after September 11th. This article states that following the 9/11 and subsequent developments, the focus on fundamentalism in American foreign policy has become more apparent and the polarisation of the world into two axes of good and evil has become the basis of the anti-terrorism agenda. In this agenda, the Islamic world is depicted as another fundamentalist entity, and, given the existence of a fundamentalist agent who threatens American interests and identities; their position is against it. The main claim of this article is that the "American Dream" as a mythical symbol in the identity of US foreign policy can, on the one hand, build a national identity and, on the other hand, the representation of identity and differences guide the foreign policies.

Yazdani et al. (2016) in an article "the Belt and Road Initiative: The consolidation of Hartland's Theory" have investigated The Belt and Road Initiative of China concerning the Hartland's concept and the role that it can play in the China dream. The authors believe that said initiative supports Hartland's theory.

Among other notable works in this regard, we can mention an article titled "The China Dream and Chinese Foreign and Security Policies—Rosy Rhetoric versus Harsh Realities" written by Axel Berkofsky (2016). The paper states that Beijing is trying ceaselessly to build public and military facilities on the islands in the South China Sea which is definitely and totally in contrast to peaceful promises made by the deceptive slogans of China Dream on global politics and security.

According to the author, China's dream is intended for Chinese domestic audiences to divert their attention from China's economic, environmental and social problems.

Another book in this regard is "the American Dream in the 21st Century" by Sandra Hanson and John White (2011). The writers of this book have studied the American Dream historically, socially and economically and look at its intersection with politics, religion, race, gender, and generations.

Joan Hoff (2008) in his book "A Faustian Foreign Policy: Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush"

critiqued US foreign policy. It shows how ethical diplomacy is increasingly forgotten. Professor Joan Hoff shows that creating myths are an essential part of every country's identity, and it is a common occurrence in foreign policy. It shows how the fundamental belief in being exceptional is the basis of the past and the present efforts of the United States to rebuild the world in its image. He uses the concept of independent internationalism to represent many of the immoral deals that the United States has entered since 1920 to gain its current global superiority.

Methodology

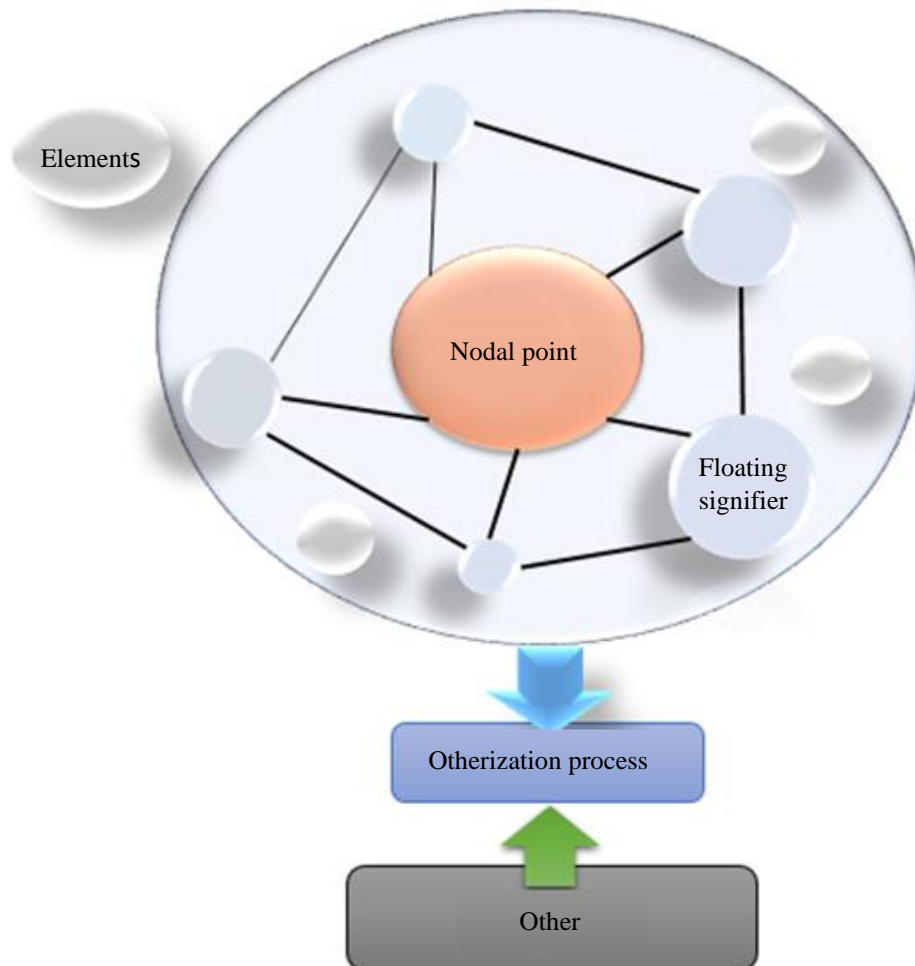
The American dream and China dream are "ideas" in the first place. That is why we needed a methodological framework which recognises the existence of meaning along with material factors in the construction of the world. In other words, in the formation of social affairs, intangible causes can be more powerful than material causes in shaping social structures. Inter-subjective semantic structures construct reality by creating representations of reality. These images serve to capture and subjugate the subject and socialise it. Given this situation, the discourse analysis approach is selected as the theoretical framework of this paper.

"Discourse Analysis" examines the crystallisation and the formation of the meaning and the message of linguistic units about linguistic factors (text context), linguistic units, the immediate language environment as well as the whole language system as well as nonlinguistic factors (social, cultural and situational context). In discourse analysis, we have two key elements: Text context and situation context. The text context means that the linguistic element put in what kind of text framework and what is the impact of previous and later sentences on the formal, functional and semantic crystallisation of that element. The situation context means an element or text must be considered in the context of a particular situation that has been produced including cultural, social, environmental and political contexts (Tajik, 1999: p. 22).

There are different attitudes to discourse approach and discourse analysis; from Michel Foucault to Laclau and Mouffe. Based on each of these attitudes, the aspects of the discourse theory can be evaluated differently. Here, we use the Laclau and Mouffe approach, although we have used some ideas from scientists that follow other approaches.

Based on the explanations provided for each of the American dream and the China dream discourses, we define the nodal point, the floating signifiers, elements, and, finally, the process of

otherization, and then we show the oppositions of these two discourses. The relation of the above concepts with each other is shown in the figure below.



American Dream; the dream of success

The American dream, in an interpretation, is comprised of the principles of success. Most often, success is defined as having a high income, a prestigious job or economic security. Riches and material possessions are just one aspect of success. There are other forms such as participation in different activities, expressing ideas and having an impact on the world (Al, 2017: 236) but the ideology of the American dream remains uncertain as to the meaning of "something more excellent." (Churchwell, 2019: 505).

The question is, what are the principles of this success? Bill Clinton In a speech said: The American dream that we are all raised on is a

simple and powerful one. If people work hard and as they are supposed to, they will have a chance to go as far as their God-given gifts will take them (Clinton, 1993).

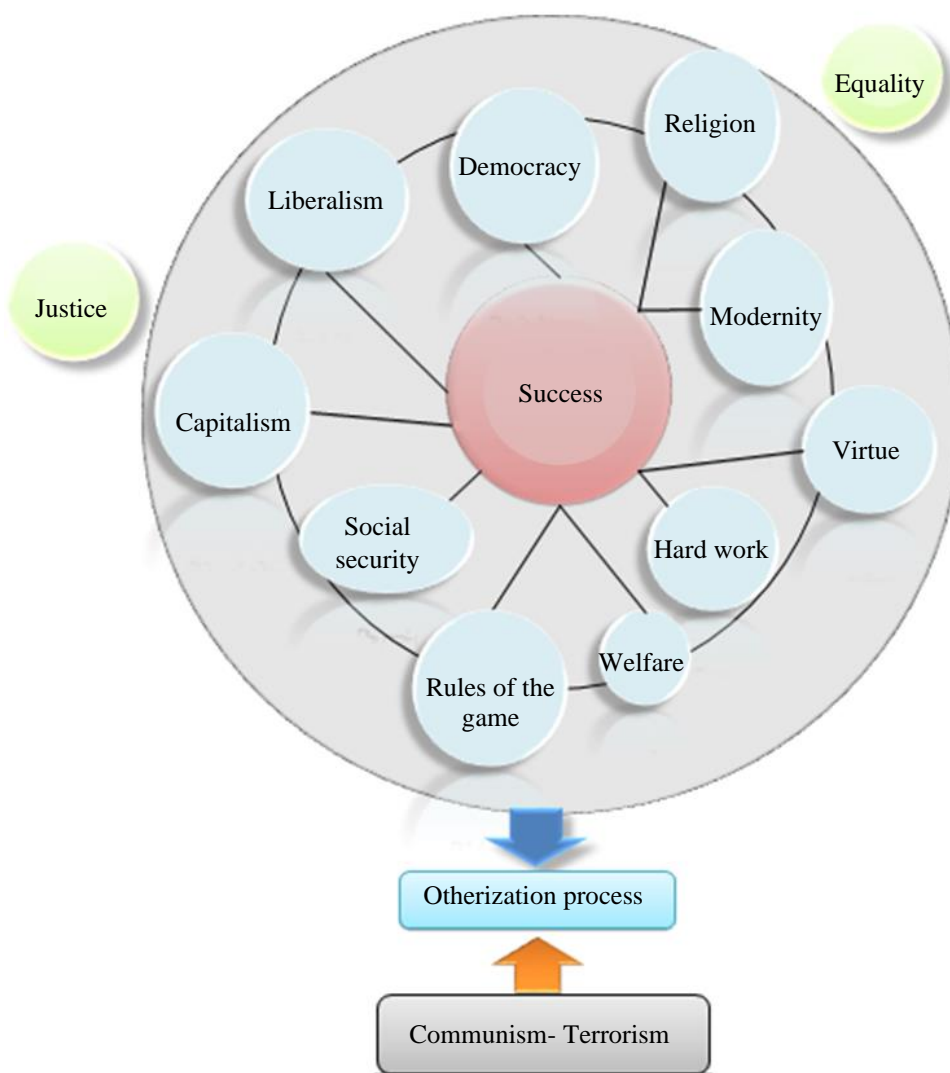
Why is success worth the search? The pursuit of success deserves so much zeal since it is linked to virtue. "Linked to" means at least four propositions: virtue leads to success, success makes a person virtuous, success indicates virtue, or apparent success is not a real success unless one is also virtuous.

According to Benjamin Franklin, this American principle - that success accompanies virtue - is a profound connection: "no qualities were so likely to make a poor man's fortune as virtue & integrity." Americans also focus more on virtue

than do citizens of other nations, at least in their self-descriptions. In an international study, it was found that the American youth tended to put more emphasis on virtue and described their chief goal in life as “sincerity and love between myself and others,” while the Philippines youth seek more “salvation through faith.”

Conversely, only in Sweden did fewer youths seek “money and position,” and only in three other countries did fewer seek “freedom from restrictions.” Americans tend to look for religion to obtain strength more than Europeans, and prayer is a big part of American’s daily life, and they agree that there are universally applicable “clear guidelines about what is good or evil.” (Reeves, 2018: 72-73).

Combining un-orderly fantasy with the precise principles of the American dream creates different implication for success, which is a testimony to the total richness and charm of this ideology. Of course, there have been many criticisms about this ideology. Most Americans adore it and criticism is usually limited to defects in its application. Some believe that hard work and virtue combined with scarce resources create several outstanding winners and several hundred onlooker losers. Nevertheless, the American dream is an impressive ideology. This ideal has attracted people of the world to the United States for centuries. The following is a depiction of the American Dream discourse.



China Dream; an Imperial Dream

The main element of the China dream concept is the idea of rejuvenation⁵⁷. This feature is linked to China's history in the XIX and XX centuries when the Middle Kingdom was no longer the most developed country and was reduced to a nation subjected to foreign will. The historical events between the First Opium War (1839-1842) and the establishment of the PRC is known as the century of humiliation, and it had a critical role in shaping the Chinese narrative afterwards. Thus, the idea of rejuvenation is connected to this long-term historical interpretation. For China and its leaders, the moral duty to regain the role once they played is an important goal. The official narrative of China Dream is not an idea of rising to become a world superpower, but to retake what can be described as a sort of "natural" leadership.

The dawn of the China Dream cannot be counted as Xi Jinping's idea, but it is instead connected to images, narratives, and mottos that have been part of the CCP's tools for decades. As we

mentioned before, the idea of rejuvenation can be found even before the end of the century of humiliation, and after that period, it's reemerged many times (Wang, 2019: 6). Chinese leaders have extensively endorsed "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" from the early 1990s, and this concept is present both within the reports presented at the 16th and 17th Party Congresses – read, respectively, by Jiang and in 2007 by Hu – and in the White Paper on Political Democracy published in 2005⁵⁸.

The concept of the China Dream is the same. Previous mentions of the use of "China Dream" date back to the VIII-VII century B.C. and, according to Ryan Mitchell, it was used both by imperial poets and at the same time within the late 1980s theatres (Mitchell 2015). The most recent uses of the term were by New York Times' Thomas Friedman, who, right before the 18th Party Congress– said that "China needs its dream" (Friedman, 2012). The Chinese media quoted this article, and The Economist suggested it can be counted as one of the main sources of the concept⁵⁹. In the following, the discourse of the China dream is shown.

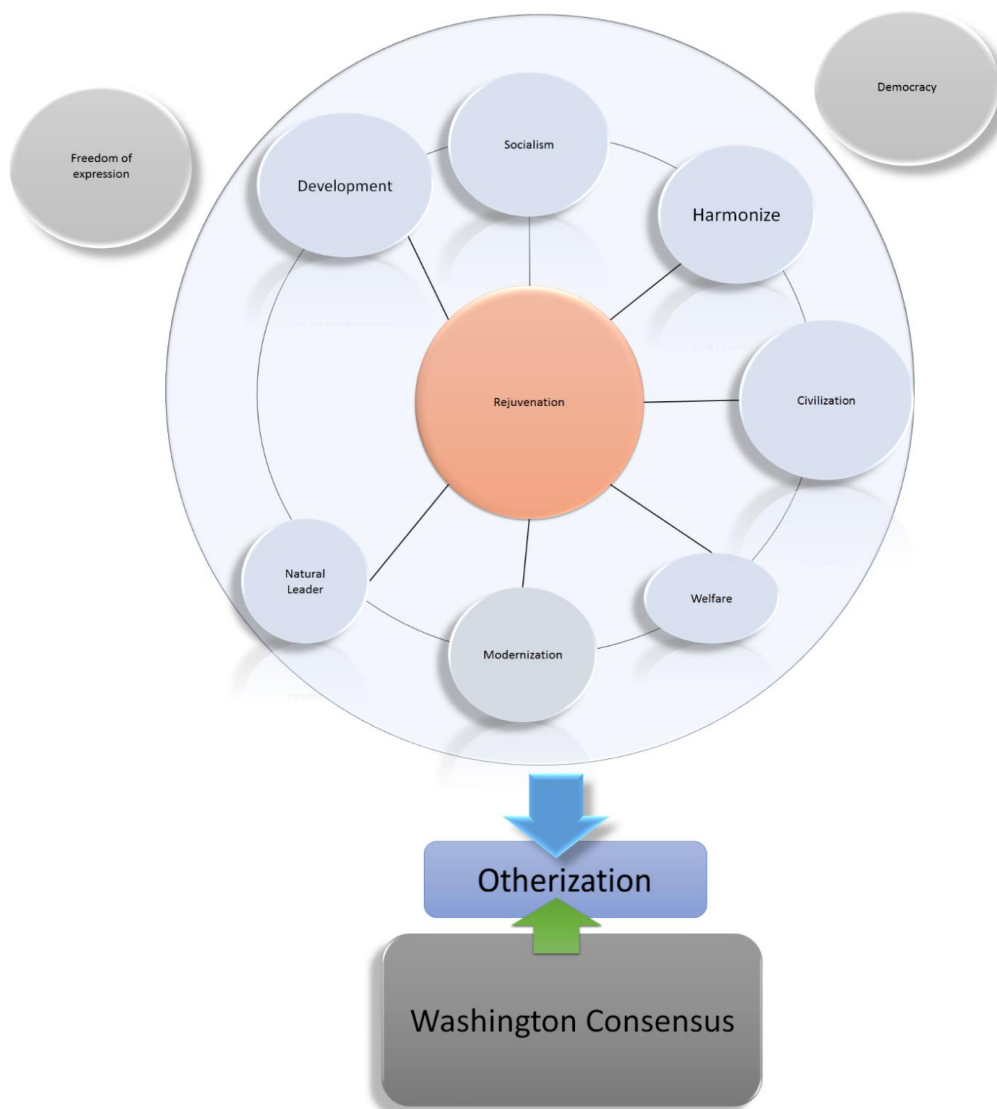
⁵⁷ Fuxing

⁵⁸ See Jiang Zemin, Report at the 16th CCP National Congress, Beijing, 14 November 2002, http://en.people.cn/200211/18/eng20021118_106983.shtml; Hu Jintao, Report at the 17th CCP National Congress, 24 October 2007, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-10/24/content_6938749.htm; and State Council Information

Office, The White Paper on Political Democracy, 19 October 2005,

<http://www.china.org.cn/english/2005/Oct/145718.htm>

⁵⁹ "The Chinese Dream. The Role of Thomas Friedman", The Economist, 6 May 2013, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/analects/2013/05/chinese-dream-0>



Results and discussion

The requirements of the American dream have forced the United States to define its foreign policy to be a force for "good". The United States is not alone in rising and nurturing the notion that it is a force for good, but it is the most successful in this field. Foundational narratives develop at critical times and create new policies in the realm of action. Explanation and reinvention of these national myths, that sometimes called national cultural identity, also occur after countries have reached the pinnacle of their powers and hold sway over other nations. Regardless of the motive for the creation of national myths, with any kind of motivation, national origins stories obscure reality. This obscurity of myths is especially useful when it comes to justifying foreign policy. Walter Hixson has argued that America's national myth ultimately "created a

structure of consent that enabled the hegemony of a belligerent and undemocratic foreign policy in an ostensibly democratic society." Thus, "taming the frontier," advancing 'civilisation,' or being the leader of the 'Free World' all are inextricably linked to foreign policy goals of the United States." Establishment of a national myth was "crucial in fostering consensus or hegemony; it is a mythical discourse that subterfuges as truth to rationalise imperial behaviour as well as the ordering of domestic pecking order." (Hixson, 2008).

From its beginning, religious and political leaders have nurtured and maintained a mythical view of America as an exceptional nation that God always on its side. John Winthrop concluded that the fundamental purpose of the Puritan endeavour into the New World was to establish a "city set on the hill" that served as an example.

In a variety of religious and secularised versions, this Puritan vision of America as “God ‘s favoured” and as “the new Jerusalem” or “the New Israel” became one of the lasting characteristics of U.S. foreign policy up to now. The continuation of this mythical view has been very successful: a Pew Center poll taken in 2003 indicated that 71 per cent of evangelical Christians believed that the United States had “special protection of God”; 40 per cent of mainline Christians did, and 39 per cent of all Catholics did. (Salamon, S. and Mactavish, 2017: 70)

The American dream resulted in the creation of several concepts of foreign policy, such as self-determination. Beginning with Wilson and the First World War, self-determination came to be associated with the ahistorical notion that democracy and capitalism are intricately entangled and can be forced on all parts of the world. However, another questionable aspect of U.S. foreign policy is the belief that the unconstrained pursuit of free trade is a necessity for world peace. Meanwhile, another is the idea that the United States can create a lasting New World Order in which it is the sole, unobstructed hegemonic power.

One of the most important aspects of the American dream in US foreign policy is Wilsonism. U.S politics and economics in Wilsonian diplomacy consisted of the president’s belief in spreading self-determination and free-trade capitalism to the world through joint security arrangements. The Wilsonian legacy was not simply liberal capitalist internationalism but also one of anti-colonialism, ethnic-national sovereignty, and multilateral cooperation.

In 1915, he informed the League to administer peace that “every people has a right to choose the authority under which they shall live,” and Wilson later came to believe that the League of Nations would be able to make diplomatic territorial adjustments “following the principle of self-determination.” At the end of his presidency, Wilson passionately proclaimed that U.S. foreign policy would move only toward the greater good of mankind, and not toward glorification and oppression. (Trench, 2017: 35).

The story of China dream in foreign policy is moving quite differently. The historical narrative within the China Dream helps highlight its central difference from the American Dream. While the latter focuses on the individual goal and achieving happiness and personal success, the former focuses on the collective aspect that

has roots within common development. Therefore, the China Dream is the dream of the whole of China. Although it should also be achieved through personal commitment (since 2012 Chinese streets have been covered by tens of thousands of posters affirming “China Dream, my dream”), individual success will not be whole without China becoming a modern nation.

Meanwhile, the American dream is founded exclusively on the individualistic liberalism. That is why the American dream aimed at independent individuals in the world, while the dream of China addresses the Chinese nation and other nations of the world. This important and profound distinction leads to fairly different results during the hegemony of each of these discourses. The main story of the China dream is the idea that an ultimate national goal is deeply rooted within Chinese politics, and it has been encouraged through history with various names (communist society, modernization or harmonious society, substantive democracy), and commitment to the long-term is consistent with Chinese political philosophy, while the main narrative of the American dream is its modernity and does not attribute it to distant past.

The crucial point of national rejuvenation was mainly embraced by Chinese political players even before the establishment of the Communist Party of China. However, this concept and other concepts linked to the China dream bounced from China to the West and back many times. The fact that the Chinese media mentioned the western media in order to promote the China Dream, despite the fact the concept exists within their culture, might be a sign that Xi Jinping’s version is aimed at reaching a primary role in the international discourse. Even the Chinese media themselves joked about the obscurity of the China Dream versus the American Dream, reinforcing the thought that the Chinese model can characterise an alternative to American soft power (Wai-Chung Ho, 2018: 32-36).

In this view, the China Dream is also intended as a way to reform the global balance of power, introducing a counterbalance to the international liberal order. Promoting the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the New Development Bank (BRICS Bank) are both elements of this strategy. Although the American dream can now be considered a cultural tool of the American Empire, however, we should not forget that the development of this vision, for decades after its creation, addressed American citizens and those who migrated there and not other nations of the world. Xi Jinping’s

innovation is to label them as the core of his political agenda and to give them a global stage. (Du, Yang, & Yu, 2019: 45) Thus, under Xi Jinping, the China Dream is no longer a domestic matter but has achieved global tone; on the one hand, because of the innovative technologies available in 2012 (e.g. social media), and on the other hand to a specific degree to promote a national dream tailor-made to every civilization and tailored to every country. Chinese officials and the media during several meetings with foreign leaders spoke about the African Dream, the Asia-Pacific Dream and the Latin American Dream.⁶⁰

As a consequence, Xi Jinping prepared the context for a Chinese development model that does not approve a universal “Washington consensus”, making it clear that reforming China does not mean democratising the country in the western-liberal sense. According to Wang, the China Dream is a strategic notion that is linked to the general issue of the lawfulness of the Chinese Communist Party⁶¹ (Wang, 2019: 1-13).

Many scholars assert that the party can survive the collapse theories thanks to achieving

economic performance. (Zuo, 2019: 635). In fact, this is the main weak point of China dream. Contrary to the American dream, it prevents it from transforming to dominant hegemonic discourse. China dream is built on strategic planning rather than on being more in line with discursive practices, and this has turned into its weakness.

As mentioned, China dream is a strategic concept which is more closely linked to the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party (Chai & amp; Yunxia, 2019: 141-145). A long-term narrative such as the China Dream helps Chinese leaders delay the time for scrutiny over the attainment of good governance. Stating that China will be a fully modernised country by the middle of the 21st century allows the Chinese Communist Party to rationalise possible economic hindrances in the short term. The long-term perspective is useful in presenting the Chinese government as committed to the people’s wellbeing even without an electoral legitimacy. The following table displays the similarities and differences between these two discourses:

Table 3. Similarities and differences of the american dream and the china dream

Similarities	Differences
Both are rooted in the history and developments of these two countries. .1	The American dream rooted in the modern history of America and the China dream rooted in the history of China .1
Both, despite the use of pre-modern concepts, define themselves in a modern space. .2	The American dream is based on cultural modernism, while China dream prioritises economic modernisation. .2
Both are trying to determine international order. .3	The American dream is trying to stabilise the existing international order while China dream trying to change the international order .3
Both address their people and nations and others .4	The American dream has an individualistic approach while the China dream has a collectivist approach .4

⁶⁰ See for example, on the African Dream “‘Chinese Dream’ and ‘African Dream’ resonate”, People’s Daily, 23 August 2013, <http://en.people.cn/90883/8375185.html>; for the Asia-Pacific Dream After “‘Chinese dream’, Xi Jinping outlines vision for ‘Asia Pacific dream’ at Apec meet, South China Morning Post, 9 November 2014, <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1635715/after-chinese-dream-xi-jinping-offers-chinadriven-asia-pacific-dream>; for the Latin American Dream Yan Huan and Ding Gang, “El ‘Sueño Chino’ contribuye al ‘Sueño Latino Americano’”, Peoples’

Daily, Spanish Edition, 2 December 2013, <http://spanish.peopledaily.com.cn/31619/8472533.html>

⁶¹ A recent example is constituted by David Shambaugh’s scholarship, who warned against the start of the CCP’s collapsing process. See D. Shambaugh, China’s Future, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2016. He developed a similar hypothesis within an op-ed published by the Wall Street Journal, D. Shambaugh, “The Coming Chinese Crackup”, The Wall Street Journal, 6 March 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coming-chinesecrackup-1425659198> t of the CCP’s collapsing process

Both consider a special place for their country in the international order	.5	American dream defines a special place based on virtue. While China dream considers China to be the natural leader	.5
Both use different tools to expand the discourse	.6	American dream relies on tools like Hollywood, while China dream is focused on international conferences and seminars.	.6
Both are trying to introduce their discourse as universal.	.7	The concepts of China dream due to specific definitions that can be understood only within the framework of China's culture has no discursive accessibility for non-Chinese people	.7
Both are trying to become hegemonic	.8	The hegemonic concepts laid bare in the China dream while hidden in the American dream.	.8
Both expanded during the process of otherization	.9	The otherization power of the American dream due to the defined and concrete enemies is far beyond the dream of China, and this has played a large part in its hegemonic expansion.	.9

Conclusion

The United States-led unipolar system is the most important feature of the post-Cold War, and especially post-September 11 world order and the American dream has played a major role in building this world order a hegemony. The expansion of the American lifestyle and the economic boom of the United States and the centrality in establishing world order are one of the most important products of the American dream which has secured its hegemonic position in foreign policy. Hollywood and global financial organisations (World Bank, International Monetary Fund) are America's most important instruments in achieving this position. While the main feature of the Chinese dream is to promote China's economic strength, within the framework of a calm and peaceful takeover of global markets with Chinese products and providing a model for Chinese development as a model for developing countries, Confucian culture and cheap exports are China's most important competitive tools against the United States. Therefore, cultural arenas are considered to be as important as the economic arena in the competition between China and America.

With the recognition of China dream, at first, it seemed that the future of the international system

would largely depend on the outcome of the confrontation between the American dream and the China dream. The formal and informal

descriptions of these two concepts, each, due to belonging to different epistemic areas, represent two completely different world orders. However, gradually, it became clear that the goal of China dream is to pursue cross-border economic and political ends, and in fact, it is the long-term strategy of China to become a superpower. In the face of sudden economic hurdles, with the promise of national prosperity, China dream also makes it possible to persuade the people of China and legitimises the party. Once this goal achieved, it would make China great again, ending a two-century journey that took China from prosperity and honour to a semi-colonial condition and poverty and back. China today experiences the least growth in the last 30 years and faces new obstacles in reaching the middle stage of - the relatively prosperous China- which will pressure Xi Jinping's agenda for years to come.

References

- Al, S. (2017). *The Strip Las Vegas and the architecture of the American dream*. Cambridge, Mass. The MIT Press.
- Asghar Khani, A. M. (2014). *The Characteristics of Soft Power in Chinese Foreign Policy*. *International Politics Quarterly*, 1.
- Berkofsky, Axel (2016) "The Chinese Dream" and Chinese Foreign and Security Policies—Rosy Rhetoric versus Harsh Realities, *Asia-Pacific Review*, 23:2, 109-128, DOI: 10.1080/13439006.2016.1244963

- Chai, Y., & Yunxia, Yue. (2019). *Sino-Latin American economic and trade relations*. Singapore: Springer.
- Chomsky, N., Corren, D., Nyks, K., Hutchison, P., & Scott, J. (2017). *Requiem for the American dream*. Prince Frederick, Md.: Recorded Books.
- Churchwell, S. (2019). *BEHOLD, AMERICA : a history of America first and the American dream*. Place Of Publication Not Identified], Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Clinton, Bill (1993) *CLINTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN: The Speech; Text of the President's Address to a Joint Session of Congress*, available in <https://www.nytimes.com/1993/02/18/us/clinton-s-economic-plan-speech-text-president-s-address-joint-session-congress.html>
- Du, P., Yang, D., & Yu, S. (2019). *The development of e-governance in China : improving cybersecurity and promoting informatization as means for modernizing state governance*. Singapore: Springer ; Beijing, China.
- Friedman, T.L. (2012) "China Needs Its Own Dream", *The New York Times*, 2 October 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/03/opinion/friedman-china-needs-its-owndream.html?_r=0
- Gholamreza Kashi, M. R. (2000). *The Magic of Speech: Cultural Subjectivity and the Semantic System in the Second of KHORDAD (June)Elections*. Tehran: Future Pouyan Cultural Institute.
- Hanson, S., & White, J. (Eds.). (2011). *The American Dream in the 21st Century*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt14bt97n>
- Hoff, J. (2007). *A Faustian Foreign Policy from Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush: Dreams of Perfectibility*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI:10.1017/CBO9780511511592
- Mac Donnelly, D. (2001). *Introduction to Discourse Theories*. Tehran: Discourse Culture.
- Mitchell, R (2015) "Clearing up Some Misconceptions about Xi Jinping's" "China Dream", *The Huffington Post*, 20 August 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ryan-mitchell/clearing-up-some-misconce_b_8012152.html
- Moshirzadeh, H., & Salavati, F. (2013). *The Islamic World, Another Fundamentalist and American Ideal Myth in US Foreign Policy*. , *Foreign Relations Quarterly*, Fifth Year, No. 1.
- Nadkarni, V., & Noonan, N. C. (2013). *Emerging powers in a comparative perspective : the political and economic rise of the BRIC countries*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Reeves, R.V. (2018). *Dream hoarders : how the American upper-middle-class is leaving everyone else in the dust, why that is a problem, and what to do about it*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Salamon, S. and Mactavish, K. (2017). *Singlewide : Chasing the American dream in a rural trailer park*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Tajik, M. (1999). *Discourse and Discourse Analysis*. Tehran: Discourse Culture.
- Tajik, M. (2004).) *Discourse, Antecedents, and Politics of Tehran*. : Institute for Research and Development in Humanities.
- Trench, S. (2017). *Set for life : dominate life, money and the American dream*. Denver, Co: Biggerpockets Publishing.
- Wai-Chung Ho. (2018). *Culture, music education, and the Chinese dream in mainland China*. Singapore Springer.
- Wang, Junxiu (2019). *Development of society on wheels : understanding the rise of automobile-dependency in China*. Singapore: Springer.
- Yazdani, E., & et all. (2016). *Belt-Path Initiative: Consolidation of the Hartland Theory*.), *Journal of Central Asian and Caucasian Studies*, 96.
- Zinn, H., & Arno, A. (2017). *A people's history of the United States*. New York, NY: Harper, An Imprint Of Harpercollinspublishers.
- Zuo, Changsheng (2019). *The evolution of China's poverty alleviation and development policy (2001-2015)*. Singapore Springer.