

BUILD OUR MILITARY INTO A WORLD-CLASS FORCE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-06-09

BUILD OUR MILITARY INTO A WORLD-CLASS FORCE*

August 1, 2017

To achieve the Two Centenary Goals and realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, after the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012 we set the goal for building a strong military in the new era: to develop a people's military that obeys the Party's command, can fight and win, and maintains exemplary conduct. We have also innovated our military strategic guidance and formulated military strategic guidelines in the new era. In 2014, we convened the Gutian Conference on Military Political Work, emphasizing that we must reinforce commitment to the Party in the armed forces and engage in a campaign to improve Party conduct, uphold integrity, and combat corruption. We have further reformed national defense and the military, setting up a new structure with the Central Military Commission exercising overall leadership, the theater commands responsible for military operations, and the services focusing on developing their capabilities. This represents an overall restructuring of the organization of the people's military, and a historic step towards a military with Chinese characteristics. Our military now has a completely new system, organization, structure and image. We have run the military in accordance with the law and enforced strict discipline to bring about a fundamental transformation in the way our military is run. Following the principle that combat effectiveness is all that matters, we have strengthened military training and combat readiness to defend our territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests. In applying the new development philosophy in depth and developing higher quality and efficiency in our military, we have put more emphasis on innovation, intensity, efficiency, institutional progress, military training under combat conditions, and civil-military integration.

Through hard work over the past five years, we have reshaped the political atmosphere, organizational structure, services, conduct and image of the people's armed forces. The forces have prepared themselves for a new start on the road towards a stronger military with Chinese characteristics.

History moves on. In the world today, the international situation is undergoing constant and dramatic changes. In China today, socialism with Chinese characteristics is advancing in all respects. We have a solid foundation and a golden opportunity and are full of confidence in our ability to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. At the same time, we must be fully aware that there will be obstacles on our way forward. Serious challenges, risks, difficulties and problems will continue to arise. These presage a great struggle with many new features.

At this new starting point, we must not forget that it was the heroic people's military that lifted the Chinese nation out of misery and liberated the Chinese people. We feel more strongly than ever that in order to achieve national rejuvenation and better lives for the people, we must move faster to build the people's military into a world-class force. We should stay true to our mission, keep moving forward, and make steady progress in building a strong military.

— To build a strong military, we must uphold the Party's absolute leadership over the military and make sure that the people's military will always follow the Party. The Party's leadership is a fundamental guarantee for the strong cohesion, creativity and combat capability of the military. The Party's absolute leadership over the military is a defining feature of Chinese socialism, and a major source of political strength to the Party and the state. It is fundamental to building and strengthening the military. However the situation might change with the times, our military will always be the military of the Party and of the people. The military should maintain political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and act in accordance with its requirements. It should safeguard the authority of the CPC Central Committee, uphold the fundamental principle of the Party's absolute leadership over the military, and follow the command of the Central Committee and the Central Military Commission. On this matter of overall importance, we should remain especially clear-headed and unequivocal. There can be no wavering, no hesitation, and no ambiguity.

— To build a strong military, we must uphold and develop the Party's military theory, and constantly open up new horizons for the military theory of Marxism and for military practice in contemporary China. The key to the continuous growth of the people's military is the guidance of advanced military theory. Since its 18th National Congress, our Party has presented a series of new visions, new ideas, new perspectives, and new requirements for national defense and the military, and the Party's philosophy on strengthening the military for the new era has taken shape. The military should fully implement the Party's theory, educate the troops in the Party's philosophy, and continue to make progress. There is no end to seeking truth, innovation in theory, and practical experience. Building a strong military is a pioneering endeavor. We must always adapt to new situations, respond to new challenges and solve new problems, make breakthroughs in theory, and courageously explore new ways in practice, to enrich and develop the Party's philosophy on strengthening the military, so that the truth of Marxist military theory applied in practice will shine brighter in China.

— To build a strong military, we must always focus on combat readiness, and build an elite military that is ready and able to fight and prevail at all times and under all circumstances when the call comes. In security, we must not forget danger; in peace, we must not forget turbulence. We have a wide range of measures and options to safeguard peace, maintain security and deter war, but the military option will always be the ultimate guarantee. The military is forever a fighting force, its vitality lying in its combat effectiveness. The military should be ready to respond to adversity and crisis, and adopt a worst-case scenario mentality. All should focus their attention on training and preparation for war, so as to ensure that whenever they are needed by the Party and the people,

they can respond promptly and readily to any scenario at any time and under any circumstances, and always emerge victorious. The military should implement the Party's military strategy in the new era. All men and women in uniform should study military affairs, warfare and strategy, in order to understand the laws of modern war and the laws of command and control, and thus reinforce combat readiness. We must reinforce combat readiness through rigorous training in real combat scenarios. What fighting skill is most needed for soldiers in a battle? Get them to practice it. What is their most prominent problem in training? Solve it. The military must strengthen its ability to fulfill diverse military tasks. The Chinese people cherish peace. We will not engage in aggression or expansion. But we are confident that we will defeat any aggressor. We will never allow any person, any organization, or any political party to split any part of the Chinese territory away from the country at any time, in any form. No one should expect us to accept anything that damages our sovereignty, security, or development interests. The military must resolutely safeguard the Party's leadership and our socialist system, our sovereignty, our security and development interests, and regional and world peace.

— To build a strong military, we must strengthen its commitment to the Party, and count on reform, science and technology, and the rule of law to upgrade our national defense and modernize our military in all respects. We must put into practice the guiding principles adopted at the Gutian Conference on Military Political Work. Political work is the lifeline of the military, which will play an essential role in fostering a new generation of officers and soldiers equipped with revolutionary spirit, competence, fearlessness, and moral integrity, with men and women in uniform as strong as iron in their belief, faith, discipline and sense of responsibility, so that the nature, purpose and character of the military will remain unchanged. We must drive deeper all-round reform of national defense and the military, overcome prominent institutional, structural and policy barriers that constrain their development, improve and develop a modern military with Chinese characteristics, and accelerate the development of a system of modern armed forces that are capable of winning informatized warfare and can accomplish their missions. We must fully implement the strategy of strengthening the military with science and technology, the essence of which is innovation. We should follow developments in military science and technology throughout the world. Plans and designs should be forward-looking. Research and development should focus on strategic, cutting-edge and disruptive technologies, which will contribute to strengthening the military and increasing combat capabilities. The military should be well aware of the rule of law. The establishment of rule of law in the military with Chinese characteristics has to be accelerated, so as to facilitate a fundamental change in the command and control of the military.

— To build a strong military, we must promote deeper civil-military integration, and build a national strategy and the capacity to advance this integration. As a national strategy, civil-military integration represents China's long-term endeavor to coordinate economic development with national defense. It is a strategic decision based on our overall national development and security interests, and a key measure to deal with complex security threats and gain national strategic advantage. We must strengthen the top-level design, balance the needs and requirements, and coordinate stock and increment. At the same time, we must simultaneously promote reform in our

structure and mechanisms, integrate systems and factors of production, formulate regulations and standards, so as to form a deeper, highly efficient civil-military integration which embraces all factors and all areas. We should strive to promote the coordinated, balanced and inclusive development of the economy and national defense. National defense is the defense of all the people. The modernization of national defense and the armed forces is a joint undertaking of the Party and the people. All central Party and government departments, all local Party committees and governments should be fully aware of the importance of national defense, create a favorable environment for reform of national defense and the military, play an active role, and give it their strongest support.

— To build a strong military, we must always remember that serving the people wholeheartedly is our fundamental purpose. We must stand side by side with the people so as to be trusted, supported and exalted by the people. Our victories would not have been possible without the support of the people. The military is deeply rooted in the people; the power of people's war lies in the great power of the people. All men and women in uniform should keep the people in their hearts, keep the sacred duty of fighting for the people in their minds, and safeguard people's lives and work in peace. We should carry forward the worthy tradition of close ties with the people, go through thick and thin with them, and always be the defenders of the interests of the people. The military should take an active part in local economic and social development, and always be ready to serve the people with concrete actions and take on responsibilities in the face of urgent, difficult, dangerous and heavy challenges. The unity between the military and the government and between the military and the people is the unique political strength of the Party and the military. All Party members, all men and women in uniform, and all the people of China should carry forward the great tradition of mutual support between the people and the military, and consolidate the rock-solid relations between the military and the government and between the military and the people.

* Part of the speech at the ceremony marking the 90th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army.

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SERVE THE REAL ECONOMY AND PREVENT FINANCIAL RISKS

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SERVE THE REAL ECONOMY AND PREVENT FINANCIAL RISKS*

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Efficient and High-Quality Financial Services for the Real Economy

Finance and the real economy have a symbiotic relationship. The real economy serves as the foundation of finance, while finance acts as the lifeblood of the real economy. Serving the real economy is the duty and mission of finance, and an essential means of preventing financial risks. As Sima Qian said, “When farmers, craftsmen and merchants engage in smooth trade, all forms of currency, including shells, gold and coins, will thrive.”

The interaction of supply and demand in the real economy plays a crucial role in preventing serious problems from emerging in economic flows. China’s economic development is currently facing a significant challenge — the supply structure is falling short of the upgraded demand structure. This structural imbalance between supply and demand has led to poor flows in the real economy. This is precisely what supply-side structural reform aims to solve, and it is also the primary task of finance in serving the real economy at present and for some time to come.

Serving the real economy is the purpose of the financial industry. In the current landscape, it is crucial for the financial industry to meet the requirements of supply-side structural reform and focus on addressing the challenges of limited and expensive financing. This will enable the financial industry to play a more effective role in correcting the imbalance in China’s economy, bridging the gap between supply and demand, and organizing resources. It is a complex issue that needs to be resolved.

During periods of rapid economic growth when the conditions are favorable, the financial industry is motivated to serve the real economy. However, during times of transition to slower growth, the return on many real industries drops sharply, and the risk increases, leading to a lack of incentive for the financial industry. Conversely, if supply and demand in the real economy are imbalanced, the financial industry will face many difficulties. Some of these issues require in-depth research and targeted measures, such as how to accelerate the exit of “zombie enterprises” and restructure existing assets in industries with excess capacity, how to create financial products that mitigate uncertainties, disperse risks across different time periods, industries and groups, and expand effective investment, how to provide financial support for emerging industries and promote reasonable asset pricing and equity protection, and how to establish institutional arrangements for

medium- and long-term funding to accommodate the long payback periods typical of green investments. Solving these problems is a shared responsibility of both industry and the financial sector, and it is also a key focus of macroeconomic policy adjustment.

To implement the new development philosophy, we need to consider the laws of development and characteristics of the financial industry. When the economy grows rapidly, the financial industry can expand extensively alongside the real economy. However, this approach has reached its limits. In the future, we should prioritize quality and efficiency and focus on internal improvements. Particularly in the context of excess capacity, we need to shift our focus towards restructuring existing assets, optimizing new assets, and transforming drivers of growth on the supply side. The financial industry used to benefit from wide interest margins as a result of interest rate controls and was strongly driven by the idea of earning profits without effort. Now, it is essential to prioritize customer needs, create value through services, and rely on competitiveness to succeed.

We should optimize the financing structure and construct a financial chain that is aligned with developments in the real economy. The capital market represents a major weakness in China's financial system and hinders the deleveraging process. Therefore, we must prioritize direct financing, particularly equity financing, and expedite capital market reform to establish a multilevel market system which has complete financing functions, robust basic systems, effective market regulation, and full protection of investors' legitimate rights and interests. We should prioritize the quality of listed companies, steadily reform the registration-based IPO system, and improve the delisting system to ensure that unfit companies are removed from the market. Furthermore, we should encourage venture investment such as angel investment and startup investment. We need to improve the structure of indirect financing by accelerating the strategic transformation of large state-owned banks and developing small and medium-sized banks and private financial institutions. We must also improve the system of medium- and long-term financing to meet the needs of developing quasi-public goods and infrastructure. We should encourage commercial insurance to play its role in promoting long-term and stable investment, acting as an economic shock absorber and social stabilizer. In order to achieve the unity of economic value and social value, it is imperative that we strengthen the service awareness of the financial industry. Multiple measures must be taken to reduce costs, address shortcomings effectively, and create value and profits while serving economic and social development. All types of financial institution should accelerate the transformation of their business models, optimize their core businesses, and specialize in their fields. Small and medium-sized financial institutions should focus on localized businesses and services, and avoid diversification and cross-regional operations.

An inclusive financial system must be established, with strengthened financial services for micro and small enterprises, agriculture, rural areas, rural people, and remote areas. Financial support should be reinforced to advance targeted poverty alleviation. Financing channels for social programs must be expanded and new financing models be created to benefit the public, and more financial products developed to meet the needs of the public in areas such as health care, elderly care, education, and training.

The financial industry should actively support the implementation of major national strategies and prioritize the funding needs of key national construction projects. Sci-tech finance should be developed and improved, and green finance encouraged. Internal management of financial institutions must be strengthened, and operating costs and service charges reduced. The phenomenon of charging without providing services must be resolutely dealt with.

Intermediate processes must be regulated, and capital chains shortened. We should avoid malpractices that increase the financing costs of the real economy, such as substandard financing corridors that bypass regulation and debt financing disguised as equity financing. The focus must shift from blindly pursuing high returns to seeking reasonable returns under controllable risks, and from meeting large and massive demands to satisfying personalized, differentiated and customized demands. Differentiated service capabilities must be improved to respond to different demands, including heavy and light assets, micro, small, medium-sized and large enterprises, state-owned and private enterprises, innovative and traditional industries, and infrastructure and eco-environmental conservation that take long to pay back.

Financial innovation must prioritize the real economy and the needs of consumers and investors. Innovation should not be reckless and should not deviate from the needs of the real economy or be designed to bypass regulation. Financial institutions should avoid blind expansion, excessive internal capital circulation, the shift from the real economy to the virtual economy, and Ponzi schemes. Risk assessment of financial innovation should be strengthened, and harmful innovations should be called off.

Financial products should be developed that are adaptable to innovative industries and micro, small and medium-sized enterprises. With high savings rates and limited investment channels among the general public, financial products such as certificates of deposit and fixed-income bonds should be developed. To address high corporate debt ratios, limited sources of funding, and impeded financing channels for local governments, a wider range of bonds should be provided.

As internet finance is characterized by scale, broad coverage, strong flexibility and liquidity, and high risk, it is essential to clean up and rectify the market, optimize the systems for market access and fund monitoring, and improve industry norms.

It is crucial to ensure that financial institutions and the financial system as a whole are sound. The global financial crisis has taught us an important lesson — it is necessary to restore and maintain the health of financial institutions. Financial institutions need to stay healthy not only in terms of their balance sheets but also in corporate governance, internal control systems, trading and settlement of complex financial products, and critical financial infrastructure. If financial institutions are in poor health, it is difficult for them to serve the real economy effectively.

Overall, China's financial institutions and the financial system are healthy. However, there are still many problems regarding internal controls, asset quality, service level, and competitiveness, which are not aligned with the development of the real economy. Effective measures must be

taken promptly to tackle these problems.

Here, I would like to highlight an important issue concerning China's basic economic system based on the predominance of public ownership and the development of diverse forms of ownership. We have always emphasized the principle of consolidating and developing the public sector and at the same time encouraging, supporting and guiding development of the non-public sector. However, in reality, some state-owned enterprises use low-cost financing to invest in financial products and the stock market, and make financial investments rather than their core businesses the primary source of profit. On the other hand, private enterprises still face restrictions in terms of credit policies and direct financing. The financial sector needs to establish sound values and norms to better serve the improvement of our basic economic system.

Measures for Protecting Against and Defusing Financial Risks

Protecting against and defusing financial risks, particularly systemic financial risks, is a fundamental task and a perpetual concern of financial work. Proactive measures for fulfilling this task should top our agenda, as it would be too late to act once an incident occurs.

We should adopt a well-conceived approach to protecting against financial risks, with early detection, warning, identification and disposal. Our focus should be on protecting against and defusing risks in key areas, addressing various financial irregularities, strengthening risk control at the source, and reinforcing financial security defenses and emergency response mechanisms. We must actively and prudently protect against and manage significant risks, and closely monitor and defuse risks related to liquidity, credit, shadow banking, abnormal capital market fluctuations, the insurance market, and real estate bubbles. We should effectively protect against technology and information security risks in financial networks and forestall cross-border capital flow risks. We cannot overlook any threat or hidden danger. We must take preventive measures to ensure the security, efficiency and stability of financial operations. Currently, we must focus on three key measures.

First, we should promote deleveraging in the economy. In a sense, high leverage is a source of financial risk. Leverage refers to the ratio of borrowed funds to equity, and the macro leverage ratio usually measures a country's total debt to its GDP. At the end of 2016, China's macro leverage ratio reached 247 percent, an increase of 104 percentage points compared to 2008. This high ratio is partly due to high savings rates and our development stage. However, high and imbalanced leverage can easily lead to macroeconomic instability and vulnerability, fuel speculation, increase insolvency levels and risks, disrupt social expectations, and make policy-based regulation and market self-adjustment more difficult. Therefore, when emphasizing supply-side structural reform, I clearly identified deleveraging as one of the key tasks. This is crucial in preventing systemic financial risks.

Deleveraging measures will be ineffective if they cannot control the money supply. In the past, we have used a combination of GDP growth rate, inflation rate, and some other factors to define a reasonable range for monetary supply growth. Based on these criteria, the current overall supply of money and credit is quite abundant. To prevent the macro leverage ratio from further soaring, it is essential to firmly implement a prudent monetary policy, maintain neutrality, and exert strict control over the supply of money and credit. The implementation of monetary policy should strike a balance between the need for steady growth, structural adjustment, and overall monetary supply control. This will ensure stable economic performance and improve development quality and efficiency, while preventing excessive monetary supply from increasing systemic financial risks.

China's corporate sector has the highest debt to GDP ratio among major economies in the world, standing at 165 percent, with "zombie enterprises" as the primary culprit. To tackle this issue, we need to focus on the main challenges and their main factors. We should prioritize the deleveraging of state-owned enterprises and decisively eliminate zombie enterprises. It is unacceptable for local authorities to protect these zombie enterprises. Sometimes conservative therapy is not enough, and we need to intervene to remove lesions that will have serious consequences if left untreated. I have emphasized this point on several occasions, and we must be resolute in our efforts. We should ensure the implementation of national plans for market-oriented, law-based debt-to-equity swaps. Deleveraging must be combined with the mixed-ownership reform of state-owned enterprises, putting existing assets to good use and optimizing new assets. The role of the capital market and various financial institutions must be leveraged in corporate mergers and reorganizations to create new value. The central government must increase its responsibility for expenditures related to pensions and social security for workers laid off due to overcapacity cuts, while local governments must also play their part in maintaining social stability.

We must strictly control increases in local government debt. Local governments should accelerate the transformation of their development approach and avoid relying on high debt to drive growth. We should put an end to the tendency of disorderly borrowing for construction and prevent financing platform companies from indirectly raising funds for local governments. Moreover, we should closely monitor the emergence of hidden debt and ensure that public-private partnerships (PPP) are not converted into new financing platforms. Government investment funds and government purchases of services must not be used as a "second treasury". We should strengthen audit and accountability, implement a lifelong liability mechanism, and resolutely investigate all violations of laws and regulations. Local finance departments should borrow lawfully through government bonds, reasonably determine the issue sizes, build open channels and block hidden corridors, and ensure fiscal sustainability. We must accelerate the preparation and publication of local government balance sheets, strengthening market-based constraints on local government debt. Available information shows that the issue of local government debt is complex, particularly for hidden debt beyond the limit, and we must provide differentiated guidance and address the issue prudently. To tackle the issue at its root, we should accelerate reform of the fiscal and tax systems, establish a balanced fiscal relationship between central and local governments, and improve the local tax systems.

Reducing the leverage ratio is a lengthy process, and we must take stock of the situation, clarify responsibility, and adopt practical and effective measures. Through sustained efforts, we can achieve a steady decline in the leverage ratio.

Second, we should address financial irregularities. As an ancient Chinese statesman observed, “The market reveals order or disorder in a country, as well as the abundance or scarcity of goods.” The proliferation of such irregularities poses a significant risk to systemic stability. This year, I have emphasized on many occasions the need to rectify financial irregularities and consolidate financial order. Relevant departments have already taken action and achieved preliminary results. Investigations into major cases have revealed that various financial irregularities, especially activities in breach of laws and regulations, involve significant economic interests and numerous connections. Rectifying financial irregularities is not an easy task, as it often leads to market volatility and negative public reaction. Nonetheless, we must have the courage and determination to take stringent measures and stay committed to our goals, and we must not be swayed by market sentiment or unbalanced opinions.

Currently, we should focus on rectifying behaviors that seriously disrupt the financial market order. These include illegal financial services and fundraising, unregulated interbank transactions and off-balance sheet businesses, abuse of leverage, and illicit arbitrage. To correct such problems, we need to strengthen regulation of internet finance, financial market transactions, and comprehensive financial services, and the integration of financial and industrial capital. We must also reinforce financial risk control at the source, enforce strict market access regulation, strengthen the accountability of financial institutions in fulfilling the main responsibility for risk management, and improve the social credit system.

To achieve our goals, we must resolutely ban illegal financial institutions and activities, continue to take resolute action against illegal fundraising activities, and prohibit non-financial enterprises from engaging openly or clandestinely in statutory financial businesses. We must be particularly vigilant against Ponzi schemes that use noble rhetoric and various tricks. We must be aggressive in combating illegal financial activities and increase punishments for insiders suspected of pay-to-play wrongdoing and abuse of public office for private gain, financial magnates who manipulate the market and engage in backroom deals, and reckless offenders engaged in illegal fundraising and underground banking, so as to form a powerful deterrent. Certainly, rectifying financial irregularities also requires a differentiated approach based on their nature and root causes. For issues that arise from inadequate financial regulatory rules and standards, and weak internal control and compliance management in financial institutions, as long as there is no violation of discipline or law, we should follow the principle of learning from mistakes to prevent recurrence and treating the illness to save the patient. This can be achieved step by step through regulating market behavior, improving corporate governance, and strengthening internal control and compliance management systems.

The frequent occurrence of financial irregularities highlights our shortcomings in the rule of law. As we strive to fully advance the rule of law, financial irregularities must be addressed in accordance with laws and regulations. In the process of rectifying irregularities and defusing risks, we should pay close attention to the lessons learned. As the saying goes, “A fall in the pit, a gain in the wit.” We cannot afford to pay the price for no gain. Departments involved should improve law-based financial governance that best suits China’s national conditions. The Criminal Law should also be revised accordingly to address various financial irregularities and crimes.

In order to reinforce financial regulation, it is important to control the pace and intensity of our efforts and adopt sound methods. Financial risks do not emerge suddenly, and resolving disorder cannot be achieved overnight. We need to have a thorough understanding of the underlying laws of the financial market, control spillovers and contagion, and prevent policy overlaps and inappropriate behaviors from disrupting capital chains. Relevant departments should set phased goals, proceed steadily, make incremental progress, and achieve tangible results.

Third, we should promote the stable and healthy development of the real estate market. Internationally, financial risks are often closely associated with an overreliance on the real estate sector for economic growth. A number of factors such as income, population, land supply and taxation have been behind the recent surge in housing prices. However, the macroeconomic reason behind this was a loose monetary policy, with the real estate market acting as a reservoir for excess liquidity. The links between real estate enterprises and financial institutions have resulted in a high dependence on the real estate sector for economic growth, fiscal revenues, and bank assets and profits. The steady rise in housing prices has caused growing distortions in resource allocation.

Addressing real estate bubbles is a global challenge. I have consistently emphasized the importance of establishing a long-term mechanism for the healthy development of the real estate market. We must ensure that housing is for living in, not for speculation, take a holistic approach to developing the real estate market, and move faster to implement comprehensive and effective policies. In the short term, we need to better manage demand, guide expectations, and improve the land supply system, and adopt well-designed land supply methods to prevent sharp fluctuations in housing prices. In the medium term, we should follow the approach of supply-side structural reform to improve the housing supply system and adjust the supply structure. We can use multiple channels to increase the supply of rental housing in large cities where conditions permit, optimize the spatial configuration of cities of different sizes, and strengthen connectivity between megacities and small and medium-sized cities. We should also promote equitable access to basic public services in small and medium-sized cities — particularly in education and health care — and make small and medium-sized cities more attractive to people. These issues can be fully worked out in the course of further development. The reform of real estate taxes will help real estate regulation out of the current predicament. Relevant departments should accelerate their work in accordance with the requirements of the Party Central Committee.

* Part of the speech at the National Finance Conference.

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GREEN GROWTH AND GREEN LIVING – REVOLUTION IN DEVELOPMENT THINKING

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GREEN GROWTH AND GREEN LIVING – REVOLUTION IN DEVELOPMENT THINKING*

May 26, 2017

Today, we gather here for the 41st group study session of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. The theme of this session is promoting green growth and green living, which bears on overall economic and social development and is of great concern to all sectors of society. Now, I would like to share some of my thoughts.

I. Promoting green growth and green living is essential to our new development philosophy.

Human development must respect, protect, and keep in harmony with nature; otherwise, nature will take its revenge. This is a law that everyone should observe. Humanity relies on nature, and the relationship between the two is one of symbiosis. Harm to nature will eventually hurt humanity. Only by following the laws of nature can we avoid going astray in our exploitation and utilization of nature.

To promote green growth and green living, we should follow the basic state policy of resource conservation and environmental protection, giving priority to conservation and protection and letting nature restore itself. We must develop a resource-saving and eco-friendly spatial configuration planning system, industrial structure, production model, and way of life. We should strive to create a good environment for our people to work and live in.

Since the introduction of reform and opening up in 1978, our achievements in social and economic development, of which we are rightly proud, have been historic. At the same time, however, many eco-environmental problems have arisen. These problems have become prominent and have become pressing concerns to the public. We must redouble our efforts to address them.

If the economy was developed at the expense of the ecosystems and the environment, people would live in smog all day long, without safe food, clean water, fresh air, or a livable environment. This is not what the people expect from moderate prosperity and a modern society. Therefore, we must give top priority to eco-environmental progress in our overall plan, and strive for coordinated progress in the economy, society, and environmental protection.

Promoting green growth and green living represents a profound revolution in people's attitude to development. This requires us to adopt and implement the new development philosophy, and strike a proper balance between economic growth and environmental protection. We should protect our ecosystems as preciously as we protect our eyes, and cherish it as dearly as we cherish our lives. We must be resolute in casting aside the growth model that harms or even destroys the environment, and in abandoning the practice of development at the expense of the environment for temporary economic growth in certain localities. The protection and improvement of our ecosystem will help improve quality of life, promote sound and sustained social and economic development, and present an image of an environmentally friendly China. We should strive to build a beautiful China where skies are blue, mountains green, and waters lucid.

II. Promoting green growth and green living remains a demanding task.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, promoting eco-environmental progress has been an important component of the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy. Our effort to promote a model of green growth and green living has been integrated into economic, political, cultural and social development and the whole process of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. We have followed a path of sound development that ensures growth, better lives, and a good environment, thus opening up new prospects for environmental protection.

Over the years, we have made remarkable progress in promoting green development. In 2016, carbon dioxide emissions per unit of GDP declined by 26.9 percent over 2011, and energy consumption per unit of GDP by 20.9 percent. The proportion of days with good or excellent air quality in 74 cities was 13.7 percentage points higher than in 2013, and the average concentration of PM2.5 in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region fell by 33.3 percent. The proportion of state-controlled surface water of Grade V (inferior water quality) was 7.9 percentage points lower than in 2010, and that at or above Grade III (good water quality), 16.4 percentage points higher. The area of land used for construction per unit of GDP dropped by more than 24 percent over 2011, and the amount of water consumed, by more than 30 percent. Total chemical oxygen demand (COD) and ammonia nitrogen emissions fell by more than 13 percent. Forest coverage rose from 16.6 percent at the beginning of this century to around 22 percent.

We have taken an active part in global environmental governance. China was the first country to release a national plan on implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and to deposit its instrument of ratification of the Paris Agreement with the UN. At the second session of the UN Environment Assembly in 2016, the UN Environment Programme issued a report entitled "Green is gold: The strategy and actions of China's ecological civilization". As people have said, the years since the 18th National Congress of our Party have seen the biggest efforts, the most concrete measures, the fastest progress and the best results in our effort to build an eco-civilization. This must be fully affirmed.

At the same time, we must be aware that on the whole we face serious eco-environmental problems — ever-tighter resource constraints, heavy pollution, and serious environmental degradation. In particular, damage to our ecosystems still occurs frequently in some places, despite repeated prohibition measures.

Environmental degradation is still a serious issue. Areas experiencing soil erosion account for 31 percent of our total land area, and desertification affects 30 percent. Degraded farmland makes up over 40 percent of the total farmland. The amount of lost soil amounts to 5 billion tonnes per year, and the loss of soil nutrients is equivalent to 40 million tonnes of standard fertilizer. Due to soil erosion, more than 20 million hectares of arable land has seen declining productivity. Ninety percent of available natural grasslands are degraded to varying degrees, and nearly 50 percent are moderately degraded or worse. Since the 1950s, more than one third of the 696 lakes with an area larger than 10 square kilometers have suffered serious shrinkage, and the area of natural terrestrial wetlands has dropped by 28 percent. A large number of natural shorelines and tidal flats have been occupied, and no more than 40 percent of natural shorelines have been preserved.

From the perspective of resources, utilization remains inefficient. Energy consumption per unit of GDP is more than twice the world average, water resource productivity is only 62 percent of the world average, and water consumption per RMB10,000 of industrial added value is twice the advanced world level. Per capita urban land used for industry and mining is 149 square meters, and per capita rural land used for construction is 317 square meters, both far beyond the national upper limits. Water-saving irrigation areas account for less than half of the total effective irrigation areas, and the effective utilization coefficient of irrigation water is far lower than 0.7 to 0.8, the world's advanced level.

Water resources are over-exploited. The utilization rate of water resources in the Haihe River Basin has reached 106 percent, that in the Yellow River Basin, 82 percent, and that in the Liaohe River Basin, 76 percent. The average utilization rate of groundwater in the northern plain area has reached 85 percent, and the rate even exceeds 100 percent in Hebei, Tianjin, Henan and Shanxi. Groundwater over-exploitation is serious, covering an area of 300,000 square kilometers. Every year 17 billion cubic meters of groundwater are over-exploited, resulting in serious eco-environmental problems such as land subsidence, ground collapse, seawater intrusion, land desertification, and lower discharge from springs. The North China Plain has become a huge cone of depression.

In terms of the environment, pollution remains heavy. Total discharge of major pollutants around the country is far beyond the environmental carrying capacity. Regional smog and water pollution in river basins remain a familiar sight. Every year, more than 9 million tonnes of major COD pollutants flow into rivers, and pollutant inflows exceed the capacities of water functional zones in 32 percent of rivers and 11 percent of lakes. Of the rivers and lakes monitored and evaluated nationwide, 23 percent of the rivers by length and 55 percent of the lakes by area fall below Grade III water quality. Only 70 percent of the water function zones in major rivers meet the water quality

standards, and 6.4 percent of surface water and 15 percent of groundwater do not meet the standards for sources of drinking water. Black and fetid water bodies in cities are a serious problem.

In agriculture, pollution from non-point sources is still high. According to the first national survey of pollution sources, COD, total nitrogen emissions, and total phosphorus discharge from agricultural sources accounted for 43.7 percent, 57.2 percent and 67.3 percent respectively of the national total. Agricultural pollution from non-point sources has become one of the main causes of water pollution. The main sources are widely used chemical fertilizers and pesticides and the large amount of manure produced in livestock and poultry breeding. The amount of fertilizers used in China accounts for about one third of the world total, higher than our share of cultivated land in the world; but the overall utilization rate of chemical fertilizers and pesticides is only 30 percent, much lower than that of developed countries. Residual chemical fertilizers and pesticides enter water bodies through precipitation, surface runoff and soil filtration, leading to deterioration in soil and water quality.

In terms of consumption, waste is alarming. In food alone, there is a lot of waste in production, distribution, processing and consumption. Waste on the dinner table is especially shocking. As estimated in a survey, every year more than RMB200 billion worth of food is wasted on the dinner table, equivalent to the annual needs of more than 200 million people. Packaging waste is also serious. Some high-end goods, even ordinary goods, have many layers of wrapping. Excessive packaging is a serious waste of resources and gives rise to an unhealthy consumer mentality.

These alarming figures reflect the current situation of our eco-environment.

I list in detail all the problems in eco-environmental protection to show you that promoting green growth and green living is a long-term, complex and demanding challenge. I hope you will give it full attention and make solid efforts to promote eco-environmental progress. Failure to pay due attention, contribute due effort, or take decisive and effective action against these issues will only serve to exacerbate the problem, and our development will never be sustainable.

That is why I take eco-environmental protection so seriously. Since our Party's 18th National Congress, I have given instructions on some cases which caused severe damage to the environment, and demanded investigations and sanctions. The cases include:

- the building of a new city by destroying mountains in Yan'an, Shaanxi;
- the illegal construction near the Qiandao Lake in Hangzhou, Zhejiang;
- the illegal construction of villas at the Xi'an section of the northern foot of the Qinling Mountains in Shaanxi;
- the illegal reductions in the area of the Kalamayli Nature Reserve in Xinjiang;
- the pollution in Tengger Desert in Inner Mongolia;
- the destructive mining activities in Qilian Mountain Nature Reserve and Muli Coalfield in Qinghai;
- the environmental damage to the Qilian Mountains in Gansu.

The reason why I keep track of these problems is that if we relax our effort and let these problems arise and recur, it will be very difficult for us to turn the tide on environmental deterioration. That is irresponsible to our nation and future generations.

III. Laying extra emphasis on promoting green growth and green living.

We must be aware that it is an important and pressing but difficult task to achieve green growth and adopt green living. We must move faster to make a rational, appropriate and well-designed plan for territorial space, an industrial system for green, circular and low-carbon development, a complete support system for eco-environmental progress which attaches equal importance to incentives and restraints, and an environmental governance system jointly implemented by the government, enterprises and the public. We will speed up our work on drawing three red lines for protecting our ecosystems, covering ecological function security, basic eco-environmental quality standards, and natural resource utilization. We will step up environmental protection in all respects, in all places, and in all the processes of production, distribution and consumption.

To complete this task, I want to make the following six proposals:

First, move faster to transform the economic growth model.

To fundamentally improve our ecosystems, we must abandon the model based on an increase in material resource consumption, extensive development, high energy consumption, and high emissions. This is an important part of supply-side structural reform. Over the years, China has established an industrial structure involving high energy consumption and high carbon emissions, with energy-intensive industries, especially heavy chemicals, taking a bigger share. Industrial energy use accounts for 70 percent of the national total, of which five energy-consuming industries — steel, building materials, petrochemicals, non-ferrous metals, and chemicals — make up nearly 50 percent.

The situation will not be changed overnight. But we must step up our efforts and work faster. As I said before, to adjust the industrial structure we should cut overcapacity, and at the same time develop advanced manufacturing, new and high-tech industries, and modern services, all low in energy consumption. We must remain firm in both areas. We should stay determined to shift the focus of development to higher quality and efficiency. We should rely on a more innovation-driven development which is oriented towards the future and gives full play to first-mover advantage.

Second, intensify the comprehensive control of environmental pollution.

We must resolve air, water and soil pollution problems that are of major concern to the public on a priority basis, and redouble our efforts to prevent and control environmental pollution.

We will continue our campaign to prevent and control air pollution. We will reinforce our concerted effort to prevent and control air pollution in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region and its surrounding area, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Pearl River Delta. We will gradually reduce and bring an

end to severe air pollution, and bring back blue skies.

We will strengthen water pollution prevention and control. We will strictly control heavy chemical and other projects along the main streams of the seven major river basins, and remedy black and fetid water bodies in cities. The river chief system will be rolled out nationwide to ensure supervision over the whole process, from water sources to faucets. In developing the Yangtze River Economic Belt, we will promote well-coordinated environmental conservation and avoid excessive development, giving priority to environmental protection and green development.

We will conduct soil pollution control and soil restoration projects. We will concentrate efforts on resolving soil contamination to ensure the safety of agricultural products and a sound living environment.

We will reinforce prevention and control of non-point source pollution in agriculture. We will strive for zero growth in the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, increase the recycling rate of agricultural plastic sheeting, and accelerate the full utilization of crop straw and livestock and poultry waste.

We will develop green and clean production, effectively control pollution and greenhouse gas emissions, and support more developed regions to achieve peak carbon emissions first.

We will intensify comprehensive environmental governance in urban and rural areas to build beautiful cities and villages.

Third, accelerate environmental protection and restoration.

We must prioritize environmental protection and let nature restore itself. We will carry out an integrated program of protection and restoration for mountains, waters, forests and farmlands. Priority will be given to restoration projects in areas with a critical impact on national eco-environmental security, including the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, the Loess Plateau, the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau, the Qinling-Daba Mountains, the Qilian Mountains, the Greater and Lesser Hinggan Mountains, the Changbai Mountains, the Nanling Mountains, the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei water conservation area, the Inner Mongolian Plateau, the Hexi Corridor, the Tarim River Basin, and the karst area in the Yunnan-Guangxi-Guizhou region. These projects will help us to build a strong national shield for eco-environmental security.

We will carry out large-scale greening programs. We will launch major projects to protect natural forests, build shelterbelts, control the sources of sandstorms that affect Beijing and Tianjin, turn more marginal farmland into forests and grasslands, and protect and restore wetlands. We will launch projects to make urban areas greener and step up comprehensive control of soil erosion, desertification, and stony desertification.

Fourth, promote all-round resource conservation and efficient resource utilization.

Environmental problems, in the final analysis, are caused by over-exploitation, inefficient utilization, and wasteful consumption of resources. We exploit and utilize natural resources to guarantee a happy life for the people, but at the same time we should leave to our future generations sufficient resources for their needs.

To achieve this goal, we must change the way resources are utilized and improve the efficiency of using resources. We should promote efficient, economical use and recycling of resources. We will implement the strictest system for the protection of arable land and the management of water resources, and tighten control not only over the total amount of energy, water and land for construction being used, but also over their consumption to GDP ratio. We should focus more on increasing efficiency of resource utilization, which is a systematic project, reducing damage to the environment in the process of resource development and utilization, and improving recycling and utilization of resources. We will strive to obtain maximum social and economic benefits with minimal detriment to resources and the environment.

We will promote low-carbon and circular development in key fields. We will tighten control of energy consumption in energy-intensive industries, improve energy conservation in buildings and transport, develop water-saving industries, and promote centralized processing and utilization of various wastes and garbage.

Fifth, advocate and popularize green consumption.

Building an eco-civilization is a matter for everyone. Each of us should advocate and contribute to this undertaking. We should raise environmental consciousness among the people. We will continue to advocate thrift and low-carbon consumption, popularize eco-friendly furniture and building materials and products that save energy and water, promote green travel, and encourage consumers to buy energy-saving, eco-friendly and recycled products. We should encourage people to develop a green way of life and a healthy consumption model characterized by economy, restraint, and low carbon.

We should strengthen publicity and education on the need to promote eco-environmental progress. We will instill respect for, and protection of, our ecosystems, resources and environment in our national education and training system as well as in activities for raising the people's cultural-ethical standards, so as to raise public awareness of our eco-civilization and foster a social trend in favor of eco-conservation.

Sixth, refine the overall mechanism for eco-environmental progress with complete supporting systems.

To promote green development and guarantee eco-environmental progress, it is imperative to have the strictest possible systems and legislation in place. We will speed up price reform of natural resources and their products and improve the system of paid use of resources. We will improve the management system for natural resource assets, strengthen regulation on natural resources and the environment, implement environmental inspections and an eco-compensation

system, and refine the system of public participation in the protection of the environment. The legal system will be improved to ensure eco-environmental progress is achieved with law-based thinking and approaches.

Our experience has shown that officials have a key role to play in implementing eco-conservation programs. The reasons for some major environmental incidents are: leading officials which lack a sense of responsibility or the will to act, local governments which fail to perform their duties or enforce relevant regulations due to a lack of environmental awareness, and environmental protection departments which fail to fully play their role in law enforcement and supervision or to leverage the mandatory force of laws and regulations.

We must implement an eco-conservation responsibility system for officials during their tenure of office and an audit of natural resource assets when they leave their posts. We will follow the principles of abiding by laws and regulations, objectivity and fairness, rational conclusions, balance between power and responsibility, and lifelong accountability. We must clearly identify the responsibilities in decision-making, enforcement and monitoring for which officials at different levels are to be held accountable.

Any official responsible for damage to the environment must be held accountable even if they have retired or been transferred or promoted. All Party committees and governments must attach great importance to this and provide stronger leadership. Discipline inspection and supervision departments and organization departments, together with the government's regulatory authorities, must assume their responsibilities and join efforts to form a synergy. Once the need for accountability arises, we must carry the work to the end. Never shall the systems and regulations become a "toothless tiger".

* Speech at the 41st group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

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WORK TOGETHER TO BUILD THE BELT AND ROAD

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WORK TOGETHER TO BUILD THE BELT AND ROAD*

May 14, 2017

Distinguished heads of state or government,
Heads of international organizations,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

In “this lovely season of early summer when every living thing is full of energy”, I wish to welcome all of you, distinguished guests representing over 100 countries, to this forum on the Belt and Road Initiative in Beijing. This is indeed a gathering of great minds. In the coming two days, I hope that we will fully exchange views and contribute our ideas on how to pursue the Belt and Road Initiative, a project of the century, which will benefit people across the world.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

Over 2,000 years ago, our ancestors, trekking across vast steppes and deserts, opened the transcontinental passage connecting Asia, Europe and Africa, known today as the Silk Road. Our ancestors, navigating rough seas, created sea routes linking the East with the West, namely, the Maritime Silk Road. The ancient Silk Road, embracing both the land silk road and maritime silk route, opened windows of friendly engagement between nations, adding a splendid chapter to the history of human progress. The thousand-year-old gilt bronze silkworm displayed at China’s Shaanxi History Museum and the Belitung shipwreck discovered in Indonesia bear witness to this exciting period of history.

Spanning thousands of miles and years, the ancient Silk Road embodies the spirit of peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning, and mutual benefit. The Silk Road spirit has become a great heritage of human civilization.

— Peace and cooperation. In China’s Han Dynasty, around 130 BC, Zhang Qian, an imperial emissary, left Chang’an, capital of the Han Dynasty. He traveled westward on a mission of peace, and opened an overland route linking the East and the West, a daring undertaking which came to be known as Zhang Qian’s journey to the Western Regions. Centuries later, during the Tang, Song and Yuan dynasties, the Silk Road, by both land and sea, became increasingly busy. Great adventurers, including Du Huan of China, Marco Polo of Italy and Ibn Battuta of Morocco, left their

footprints along these ancient routes. In the early 15th century, Zheng He, the famous Chinese navigator of the Ming Dynasty, made seven voyages to the Western Seas, a feat which is still remembered today. These pioneers won their place in history not as conquerors with warships, guns or swords. Rather, they are remembered as friendly emissaries leading camel caravans and sailing treasure-laden ships. Generation after generation, the Silk Road travelers built a bridge for peace and East-West cooperation.

— Openness and inclusiveness. The ancient Silk Road spanned the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates, the Indus and Ganges, and the Yellow and Yangtze rivers. They connected the birthplaces of the Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian and Chinese civilizations, the lands of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, and homes of people of different ethnic groups and races. Through the Silk Road, people of different civilizations, religions and races interacted with and embraced each other with open minds, in the spirit of seeking common ground while reserving differences. In the course of exchanges, they fostered a spirit of mutual respect and were engaged in a common endeavor to pursue prosperity. Today, the ancient cities of Jiuquan, Dunhuang, Turpan, Kashi, Samarkand, Baghdad and Constantinople, as well as the ancient ports of Ningbo, Quanzhou, Guangzhou, Beihai, Colombo, Jeddah and Alexandria stand as living monuments to these past interactions. This part of history shows that civilization thrives with openness and nations prosper through exchanges.

— Mutual learning. The ancient Silk Road was not only for trade; it boosted the flow of knowledge as well. Through the Silk Road, Chinese silk, porcelain, lacquerware and ironware were shipped to the West, while pepper, flax, spices, grapes and pomegranates entered China. Through the Silk Road, Buddhism, Islam and Arab astronomy, calendar and medicine found their way to China, while China's Four Great Inventions (gunpowder, printing, the compass, and papermaking) and silkworm breeding spread to other parts of the world. More importantly, the exchange of goods and know-how spurred new ideas. For example, Buddhism originated in India, blossomed in China, and was enriched in Southeast Asia. Confucianism, which originated in China, gained appreciation by European thinkers such as Leibniz and Voltaire. Herein lies the appeal of mutual learning and the fruit of exchanges.

— Mutual benefit. The ancient Silk Road witnessed bustling scenes of visiting emissaries and traveling merchants jostling one another on the land and numerous ships calling at ports. Along these major arteries of interaction, capital, technology and people flowed freely, and goods, resources and culture were shared widely. The important ancient cities of Alma-Ata, Samarkand and Chang'an prospered, and the Port of Sur and Guangzhou Port thrived, as did the Roman Empire and the Parthian and Kushan kingdoms. The Han and Tang dynasties of China were a golden age. The ancient Silk Road brought prosperity and development to these regions.

History is our best teacher. The glory of the ancient Silk Road shows that geographical distance is not insurmountable. If we take the first courageous step towards each other, we can embark on a path leading to friendship, shared development, peace, harmony and a better future.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

From the historical perspective, humanity has reached an age of great progress, great transformation and profound change. In this increasingly multipolar, economically globalized, digitized and culturally diversified world, the trend towards peace and development has become stronger, and reform and innovation are gaining momentum. Never have we seen such close interdependence between countries as today, and such a fervent desire of people for a better life, and never have we had so many means to prevail over difficulties.

In terms of reality, we find ourselves in a world fraught with challenges. Global economic growth requires new drivers, development needs to be more inclusive and balanced, and the gap between rich and poor needs to be narrowed. Flashpoints in some regions are causing instability, and terrorism is rampant. Deficits in the spheres of peace, development and governance have posed daunting challenges to humanity. All this has always been on my mind.

In the fall of 2013, I proposed building the Silk Road Economic Belt in Kazakhstan and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road in Indonesia, which is now known as the Belt and Road Initiative. As a Chinese saying goes, “Peaches and plums do not speak, but they are so attractive that a path is formed below the trees.” Four years on, over 100 countries and international organizations have become involved in this initiative. Important resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly and Security Council contain references to it. Thanks to our efforts, the Belt and Road Initiative is becoming a reality and bearing rich fruit.

— These four years have seen deeper policy coordination. I have said on many occasions that the Belt and Road Initiative is not meant to reinvent the wheel. Rather, it aims to leverage the comparative strengths of the countries involved and coordinate their development strategies. We have enhanced policy coordination with relevant countries for such initiatives as the Eurasian Economic Union proposed by Russia, the Master Plan on Connectivity by ASEAN, the Bright Road initiative by Kazakhstan, the Middle Corridor initiative by Turkey, the Development Road initiative by Mongolia, the Two Corridors and One Economic Circle initiative by Viet Nam, the Northern Powerhouse initiative by the UK, and the Amber Road initiative by Poland. We are also promoting the coordination of the national development plans of China, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, Hungary, and many other countries. China has signed cooperation agreements with over 40 countries and international organizations, and institutionalized cooperation in industrial capacity with more than 30 countries. During the forum, a number of agreements on policy coordination and action plans will be signed. We will also launch the Belt and Road cooperation initiative on trade facilitation together with some 60 countries and international organizations. Such policy coordination will have a multiplying effect on cooperation among the parties involved.

— These four years have seen enhanced infrastructure connectivity. Building roads and railways helps create prosperity in all sectors. We have accelerated the implementation of such projects as the Jakarta-Bandung high-speed railway, China-Laos railway, Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway,

Hungary-Serbia railway, Gwadar Port and Piraeus Port in cooperation with the relevant countries. In addition, a large number of connectivity projects are in the pipeline. Today, a multidimensional infrastructure network is taking shape, one that is underpinned by economic corridors such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor and New Eurasian Continental Bridge, connected by land-sea-air transportation routes and information expressways, and supported by major railway, port and pipeline projects.

— These four years have seen increased trade cooperation. China has worked with other countries involved in the Belt and Road Initiative to promote trade and investment and improve the business environment. I was told that for Kazakhstan and other Central Asian countries alone, customs clearance time for agricultural produce being exported to China has been cut by 90 percent. Total trade between China and other countries along the Belt and Road in 2014-2016 exceeded US\$3 trillion, and China's investment in countries along the routes has surpassed US\$50 billion. Chinese companies have set up 56 economic and trade cooperation zones in over 20 countries, generating some US\$1.1 billion in tax revenue and 180,000 jobs.

— These four years have seen expanded financial integration. Financing bottlenecks are a key challenge to realizing connectivity. China has engaged in multiple forms of financial cooperation with countries and organizations involved in the Belt and Road Initiative. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank has provided US\$1.7 billion in loans for nine projects in participating countries. The Silk Road Fund has invested US\$4 billion in those countries, and the Sino-CEEC Financial Holding Company Limited, a "16+1" arrangement, has been officially inaugurated. With a distinctive focus, these new financial mechanisms and traditional multilateral financial institutions such as the World Bank complement each other. A basic multitiered Belt and Road financial integration network has taken shape.

— These four years have seen increased people-to-people contacts. Friendship, which derives from close contacts between peoples, holds the key to sound state-to-state relations. Guided by the Silk Road spirit, we countries participating in the Belt and Road Initiative have pooled our efforts to build the educational Silk Road and the health Silk Road, and carried out cooperation in science, education, culture, health and people-to-people exchanges. Our cooperation in all these fields has helped lay a solid popular and social foundation for pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative. Each year, the national government of China provides 10,000 government scholarships to participating countries of the Belt and Road Initiative, and its local governments have also set up special Silk Road scholarships to encourage international cultural and educational exchanges. A series of people-to-people exchange projects such as the Silk Road culture year and tourism year, art festivals, film and TV projects, seminars and think-tank dialogues have been introduced and conducted. These interactions and exchanges have brought our peoples increasingly closer.

These fruitful outcomes show that the Belt and Road Initiative responds to the trend of the times, conforms to the law of development, and serves the interests of the people. It surely has bright prospects.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

As we often say in China, “The beginning is the most difficult part.” A solid first step has been taken in pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative. We should build on the sound momentum and steer the Belt and Road Initiative towards greater success. In this regard, I would like to share with you my thoughts on how to advance the Belt and Road Initiative for a better future:

First, we should build the Belt and Road into a road of peace. The ancient Silk Road thrived in times of peace and declined in times of war. Without a peaceful and stable environment, it would be impossible to pursue the Belt and Road Initiative. We will foster a new model of international relations featuring mutually beneficial cooperation, and forge partnerships through dialogue instead of confrontation and friendship rather than alliance. All countries should respect each other’s sovereignty, dignity, territorial integrity, development path, social system and core interests, and accommodate each other’s major concerns.

Some regions along the ancient Silk Road used to be “lands of milk and honey”. Yet today, these places are often associated with conflict, turbulence, crisis and challenge. This state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. We should foster a vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, and ensure that a security environment is built by all and for all. We should work to resolve flashpoint issues through political means, and promote mediation in the spirit of justice and fairness. We should intensify counter-terrorism efforts by addressing both symptoms and root causes, and by eradicating poverty, backwardness and social injustice.

Second, we should build the Belt and Road into a road of prosperity. Development holds the master key to solving all problems. In pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative, we should focus on the fundamental issue of development, release the growth potential of participating countries, achieve economic integration and interconnected development, and work for the benefit of all.

Industry is the foundation of an economy. We should deepen industrial cooperation so that the industrial development plans of different countries complement and reinforce each other. Focus should be put on major projects. We should enhance international cooperation in industrial capacity and equipment manufacturing, and seize the development opportunities presented by the new industrial revolution to foster new forms of business and maintain dynamic growth.

Finance is the lifeblood of a modern economy. Only when the blood circulates smoothly can one grow. We should establish a stable and sustainable financial safeguard system that keeps risks under control. We should create new models of investment and financing, encourage closer cooperation between government and private capital, and build a diversified financing system and a multitiered capital market. We should also develop inclusive finance and improve financial service networks.

Infrastructure connectivity is the foundation of development through cooperation. We should promote land, maritime, air and cyberspace connectivity, concentrate our efforts on key passageways, cities and projects, and connect networks of highways, railways and sea ports. Since we have set the goal of building six major economic corridors under the Belt and Road Initiative, we should endeavor to meet it. We need to seize the opportunities presented by the new round of change in energy mix and the revolution in energy technologies to develop global energy interconnection and achieve green and low-carbon development. We should improve transregional logistics networks, and promote coordination in policies, rules and standards so as to provide institutional safeguards for better connectivity.

Third, we should build the Belt and Road into a road of opening up. Opening up brings progress, while isolation results in backwardness. For a country to open itself to the outside world, it is like a silk moth breaking free from its cocoon. There will be short-term pains, but one gets a new life afterwards. The Belt and Road Initiative calls for opening up, which in turn will enable us to achieve both economic growth and balanced development.

We should build an open platform of cooperation, and uphold and foster an open world economy. We should jointly create an environment that is friendly to opening up and development, establish a fair, equitable and transparent system of international trade and investment rules, and boost an orderly flow of factors of production, efficient allocation of resources and full market integration. We welcome efforts made by other countries to foster an open economy in light of their respective national conditions, participate in global governance and provide public goods. Together, we will build a broad community of shared interests.

Trade is an important engine driving growth. We should embrace the outside world with an open mind, uphold the multilateral trading system, advance the building of free trade areas, and promote liberalization and facilitation of trade and investment. Of course, we should also focus on resolving issues such as imbalances in development, difficulties in governance, the digital divide and income disparity, and on making economic globalization open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial for all.

Fourth, we should build the Belt and Road into a road of innovation. Innovation is an important force powering development. The Belt and Road Initiative itself is new by nature, and its implementation needs to be driven by innovation too.

We should pursue innovation-driven development, intensify cooperation in frontier areas such as the digital economy, artificial intelligence, nanotechnology and quantum computing, and advance the development of big data, cloud computing, and smart cities, so as to turn them into a digital Silk Road of the 21st century. We should spur the full integration of science and technology with industries and finance, improve the environment for innovation, and pool resources for innovation. We should create space and build workshops for young people of various countries to cultivate entrepreneurship in this internet age and help realize their dreams.

We should pursue the new vision of green development and a way of life and work that is green, low-carbon, circular and sustainable. Efforts should be made to strengthen cooperation in ecological and environmental protection and build a sound ecosystem so as to realize the goals set by the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Fifth, we should build the Belt and Road into a road connecting different civilizations. In pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative, we should ensure that, when it encounters different civilizations, exchange will replace estrangement, mutual learning will replace clashes, and coexistence will replace a sense of superiority. This will boost mutual understanding, mutual respect, and mutual trust between different countries.

We should establish a multitiered mechanism for cultural and people-to-people exchanges and build more cooperation platforms and channels. We should boost educational cooperation, increase the number of exchange students, and improve the performance of cooperatively run schools. Efforts should be made to establish think tank networks and partnerships, and to give these think tanks a greater role. In the cultural, sports and health sectors, new cooperation models should be created to encourage projects for concrete results. Historical and cultural heritages should be fully tapped to jointly develop tourism products and protect heritage items in ways that preserve the distinctive features of the Silk Road. We should increase exchanges between parliaments, political parties and non-governmental organizations of different countries as well as between women, youth and people with disabilities, with a view to achieving inclusive development. We should also enhance international cooperation in the fight against corruption so that the Belt and Road will be a road of high ethical standards.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

China has reached a new starting point in its development endeavors. Guided by a vision of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, we will adapt to and steer the new normal in economic development, and seize the opportunities it presents. We will actively promote supply-side structural reform to achieve sustainable development, inject a strong impetus into the Belt and Road Initiative, and create new opportunities for global development.

— China will enhance friendship and cooperation with all countries involved in the Belt and Road Initiative on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We are ready to share development experiences with other countries, but we have no intention of interfering in other countries' internal affairs, or of forcing our social system and development model on others, and even less of imposing our own will on others. In pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative, we will not resort to outdated geopolitical maneuvering. What we hope to achieve is a new model of mutually beneficial cooperation. We have no intention of creating a small group detrimental to stability; what we hope to create is a big family of harmonious coexistence.

— China has reached practical cooperation agreements with many countries in relation to the Belt and Road Initiative. These agreements cover not only projects of hardware connectivity, like transport, infrastructure and energy, but also software connectivity, involving telecommunications, customs and quarantine inspection. The agreements also include plans and projects for cooperation in business and trade, industry, e-commerce, maritime activities, and green economic development. The Chinese railway authorities will sign agreements with their counterparts of relevant countries for further cooperation in China-Europe regular railway cargo services. We will work to launch these cooperation projects at an early date and see that they deliver early benefits.

— China will scale up financing support for the Belt and Road Initiative by contributing an additional RMB100 billion to the Silk Road Fund. We have encouraged financial institutions to conduct overseas Renminbi fund business with an estimated amount of about RMB300 billion. The China Development Bank and Export-Import Bank of China will introduce special lending schemes respectively worth RMB250 billion equivalent and RMB130 billion equivalent to support Belt and Road cooperation in the fields of infrastructure, industrial capacity, and financing. We will also work with the AIIB, the BRICS New Development Bank, the World Bank, and other multilateral development institutions to support Belt and Road-related projects. We will work with other parties concerned to formulate guidelines for financing Belt and Road-related development projects.

— China will endeavor to build a mutually beneficial business partnership with other countries participating in the Belt and Road Initiative, enhance trade and investment with them, and build a Belt and Road free trade network. These efforts are designed to promote growth both in our respective regions and globally. During this forum, China will sign business and trade cooperation agreements with over 30 countries, and enter into consultation on free trade agreements with related countries. Moreover, China will host the China International Import Expo starting in 2018.

— China will enhance cooperation in innovation with other countries. We will launch the Belt and Road Science, Technology and Innovation Cooperation Action Plan, which consists of the Science and Technology People-to-people Exchange Initiative, Joint Laboratory Initiative, Science Park Cooperation Initiative and Technology Transfer Initiative. In the coming five years, we will offer 2,500 short-term research visits to China for young foreign scientists, train 5,000 foreign scientists, engineers and managers, and set up 50 joint laboratories. We will set up a big data service platform for ecological and environmental protection. We will propose establishing an international coalition for green development on the Belt and Road, and we will provide support to related countries in responding to climate change.

— In the coming three years, China will provide assistance worth RMB60 billion to developing countries and international organizations participating in the Belt and Road Initiative to launch more projects to improve people's wellbeing. We will provide emergency food aid worth RMB2 billion to developing countries along the Belt and Road and make an additional contribution of US\$1 billion to the South-South Cooperation Assistance Fund. China will launch 100 Happy Home

projects, 100 poverty alleviation projects, and 100 healthcare and rehabilitation projects in countries along the Belt and Road. China will provide relevant international organizations with US\$1 billion to implement cooperation projects that will benefit countries along the Belt and Road.

— China will put in place the following mechanisms to boost Belt and Road cooperation: a liaison office for the Forum's follow-up activities, Research Center for Belt and Road Financial and Economic Development, Facilitation Center for Building the Belt and Road, Multilateral Development Financial Cooperation Center in cooperation with multilateral development banks, and an IMF-China Capacity Building Center. We will also develop a network for cooperation among the NGOs in countries along the Belt and Road as well as new people-to-people exchange platforms such as a Belt and Road news alliance and a music education alliance.

The Belt and Road Initiative is rooted in the ancient Silk Road. It focuses on the Asian, European and African continents, but it is open to all other countries. Countries from Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Americas can be partners under the Belt and Road Initiative. The initiative should be implemented through extensive consultation, and all should benefit from it.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

An ancient Chinese saying goes, "A long journey can be covered only by taking one step at a time." Similarly, there is an Arabic proverb which says that the pyramids were built by piling one stone block upon another. In Europe, there is also a saying, "Rome was not built in a day." The Belt and Road Initiative is a great undertaking which requires dedicated efforts. Let us pursue this initiative step by step and deliver its achievements one by one. By doing so, we will bring true benefits to both the world and all its peoples.

In conclusion, I wish the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation every success.

Thank you.

* Speech at the opening ceremony of the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation held in Beijing.

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APPLY THE HIGHEST STANDARDS IN THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF XIONGAN NEW AREA

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-05-28

APPLY THE HIGHEST STANDARDS IN THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF XIONGAN NEW AREA*

February 23, 2017

The CPC Central Committee's decision to develop the Xiongan New Area was tabled in the context of advancing the strategy of the coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, a move decided by the Central Committee following the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012. This, the Belt and Road Initiative, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt are three national development initiatives.

The Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the Political Bureau discussed the development plans for the Xiongan New Area and the Beijing Municipal Administrative Center at their meetings held in March and May of 2016 respectively. At the meetings, I underscored the strategic importance of the two projects for boosting the coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region. These strategic projects have a long-term impact and bear on the national interests. In designing, planning and implementing the projects, we must adopt the most advanced concepts and world-class standards to ensure they will stand the test of history.

The decision to establish the Xiongan New Area is a monumental one. This project is central to relieving Beijing of functions non-essential to its role as the capital and driving the coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region. It will have both an immediate and a far-reaching impact, as it explores optimal development models for densely populated regions and fine-tunes the urban layout and spatial configuration of Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei and cultivate a new engine for innovation-driven development of the whole country.

Across the world, people tend to solve urban malaise by building new cities outside the existing metropolises. Since the launch of reform and opening up, we have built the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone and the Pudong New Area, which have in turn vigorously propelled the development of the Pearl River Delta and the Yangtze River Delta. Now, the Beijing Municipal Administrative Center and the Xiongan New Area to be built outside Beijing's city center will become two "wings" of the capital, and will afford new prospects for the development of the region. Meanwhile, there will also be two "wings" for Hebei Province — the Xiongan New Area and the Zhangbei area. Zhangbei's development has been expedited thanks to the Beijing 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. It is crucial that we reach consensus on this, have a clear understanding, and view these initiatives from a broader historical perspective.

Phased results have been achieved in site selection, planning and initial groundwork for the Xiongan New Area. Located in the hinterland of Beijing, Tianjin and Baoding, the Xiongan New Area — with an advantageous geographical location, easy access to transport links, and favorable geological conditions in terms of land, water supply, and the environment — offers an ample space for development. All this has made Xiongan the first choice for relieving Beijing of its non-essential functions.

Phased progress has also been made with regard to 19 specific plans and 24 specialized studies, covering such issues as eco-environmental restoration of Baiyangdian Lake, transport, and new-type urbanization. Preliminary drafts for initial development zones and for the detailed regulatory plan have taken shape. The goals behind the planning for the Xiongan New Area are to make it “an eco-friendly and liveable urban area”, “an area for leading innovation-driven development”, “a demonstration area for coordinated development”, and “a pilot zone for open development”, among others. All this aligns well with the Party Central Committee’s requirements and suits the actual conditions in Hebei. Hebei has conducted a lot of preparatory work for the development of the Xiongan New Area in terms of defining the scope for regulation and control, funding and financing, land requisition, demolition of old housing, and resettlement of residents.

For the planning and development of the Xiongan New Area, it is important we apply the highest standards and aim for the best results. In this regard, I would like to emphasize the following points:

First, we must adopt advanced concepts and the highest international standards in planning and building the Xiongan New Area. It will be part of the historical legacy that we leave to our future generations. Therefore, we must build the New Area into a demonstration zone for innovation-driven development, characterized by a global vision, international standards, Chinese features, and ambitious goals. To this end, we must adopt a people-centered approach, meet people’s needs, and build a liveable environment with a proper level of density, a green, low-carbon lifestyle, and excellent public services so that it will succeed in attracting people from Beijing into Xiongan and relieve Beijing of its non-essential functions. Spatial balance is critical. We must properly balance spaces for work, living, and the environment so that people will enjoy high standards of employment, housing, education and health care. To facilitate this, we will develop a fast and convenient urban transport network.

Cultural heritage is another element we need to consider. We should build Xiongan into a distinctive city with traditional architectural elements in a contemporary setting and with the local cultural and historical heritage blended with modern features.

Here, I would like to emphasize the need to leverage the eco-environmental strengths of Baiyangdian Lake and improve its eco-environmental protection, as it is in the close proximity of the Xiongan New Area and serves as the “kidney of North China”. We should give top priority to

conservation and green development. In this regard, we need to define red lines for urban development and for ecological conservation, observe the two red lines, and build a smart, green New Area of trees and lakes.

Second, the plans and designs of the Xiongan New Area should meet the highest standards. We should make plans before taking actions and start the building of the New Area in accordance with them. Drawing on best international practices, we should compile a master plan for the New Area, a plan for the initial development zones, a detailed regulatory plan, and a plan for eco-environmental protection and governance of Baiyangdian Lake. We should give special attention to a series of special plans, covering such areas as social and economic development, transport, new-type urbanization, and land utilization.

We should invite first-class planning talent from home and abroad to plan for the development of the Xiongan New Area. We should have a good plan before starting construction, leaving nothing to chance later. We must design individual buildings with meticulous care and pay special attention to the design details so that they will become benchmarks and models for future urban construction. Once a blueprint is adopted, it should be implemented through to the end. It is also important to coordinate the development plan of the New Area with those of neighboring cities like Baoding, Langfang and Cangzhou, in order to ensure a reasonable division of labor, a rational distribution of economic sectors, and complementary growth to avoid homogeneous competition.

Third, we should make a master plan for the development of the Xiongan New Area and implement it in a phased manner. This is a historic undertaking, and we must have great patience and work tirelessly for its success without concerning ourselves with any credit for our contribution. At the initial stage, we have mainly focused on the planning and preparation. Now that the plan has been approved and authorized, we have come to its implementation phase, in which we should respect the rules for urban development, maintain a reasonable pace, and try to make solid and steady progress.

We should advance the construction of major projects vigorously, yet in a well-coordinated and orderly manner, including projects such as the pre-requisition of entire pieces of land in the initial development zone, resettlement of residents from the requisitioned land in the pilot zones, housing construction in priority resettlement areas, and vital transport projects involving eco-environmental protection. Meanwhile, a number of key projects for relieving Beijing of its non-essential functions should be launched, as should the construction of infrastructure. We should synchronize these two projects which will yield early results.

At the initial stage, we should identify some specific areas as priority areas for development in the initial development zone and channel more investment and efforts into these areas to increase their capacity to pool resources and enable them to play a leading and demonstration role.

At the intermediate stage, we should take appropriate control measures and raise the threshold for setting up enterprises in the New Area to foster balanced growth. There should be clear red lines for development, and boundaries for regulation and control over land use for different functions, including land development so that land will be used efficiently and economically. We should try to prevent excessive expansion into urban sprawl. All projects in the Xiongan New Area must be subjected to due assessment and evaluation. Stringent rules must be introduced to screen and control those trying to start businesses in the New Area. Large-scale real estate development and illegal construction should be prohibited, and speculative investments should be prevented from flowing into the area to inflate the development costs.

Regulation of the Beijing-Tianjin-Baoding triangle zone should be tightened, with the construction scale in the wider regions surrounding Xiongan under strict control and efforts for afforestation and wetland restoration greatly intensified, to the benefit of coordinated development of both the Xiongan New Area and its surrounding areas, both urban and rural. It is also important to address the concerns of residents due to be relocated, resolve problems arising from relocation and resettlement in the interests of these residents, and foster a favorable environment for the development of the Xiongan New Area.

Fourth, it is important to pursue institutional reform and break new ground. Shenzhen Special Economic Zone has developed from a small fishing village to its present splendor. This success can be attributed to strong support from the central government and other parties, but more importantly to the reform and innovation that Shenzhen has introduced. As the Xiongan New Area is still a clean slate, less encumbered by vested interests, we must carry forward the spirit of reform and breaking new ground and make Xiongan a pacesetter in establishing new mechanisms and institutions. We should further institutional reform, design a rational and effective administrative institution, and pool all resources so as to develop a streamlined, effective and cohesive administrative body for the Xiongan New Area. This body should enjoy full authority for the administration of the New Area and improve service efficiency. We should rely on the market for financing construction. In this regard, we should put in place investment and financing platforms and explore financing channels, so as to provide financial support for the implementation of the project and for land requisition and relocation of residents. We should adopt new policies and reinforce studies to update policy. In this regard, we should intensify policy-oriented studies on land, fiscal issues, finance, and investment, among others, and encourage testing new ground. Some reform measures can be piloted in the Xiongan New Area first, and gradually extended and promoted elsewhere once they produce positive results. It is important to fully leverage the market's decisive role in resource allocation and to reinforce the role of the government. To achieve this, it is necessary to further streamline government administration, delegate powers, improve regulation, provide better services, and boost market vitality. We should adapt to the new normal in economic development, explore new growth models, foster new growth drivers, and blaze new trails.

Fifth, we must promote coordinated regional development. The Xiongan New Area cannot develop all by itself. It must strengthen integrated development with cities like Beijing, Tianjin, Shijiazhuang and Baoding from the very beginning. Xiongan should not perform all the same functions as Beijing's city center and the Beijing Municipal Administrative Center in order to pursue complementary development and avoid homogeneous competition. Xiongan, unlike other new areas, is primarily designed to take over Beijing's non-essential functions. It will host entities now based in Beijing, including administrative and public institutions, corporate headquarters, financial institutions, institutions of higher education, and research facilities. Those that are not eligible should not be admitted to Xiongan. We should keep the broader picture in mind and start to study this issue now. We should transfer some important functions from Beijing to Xiongan, so that the New Area will be able to play an important role in driving development across south-central Hebei or even the entire Hebei Province. It will stimulate coordinated development of urban and rural areas, across the region, between social and economic sectors, and between the utilization of resources and the protection of the environment. In sum, it will spur the overall development of the entire province of Hebei.

There is one more point I would like to emphasize here. Providing equal access to basic public services is essential for relieving Beijing of its non-essential functions. As people always pursue a higher standard of living, localities that provide better public services have a greater appeal. Compared with Beijing and Tianjin, Hebei has noticeable gaps in both social undertakings and the quality of public services. In areas around Beijing and Tianjin, there are still some counties on the priority list for national poverty alleviation. As I have said before, this is strikingly incongruous, like wearing a mink coat with two large elbow patches. The Party Central Committee has paid close attention to this issue and has adopted a number of policy measures to narrow the gap. But it cannot be done overnight. We will bolster our support for Hebei to narrow the gap. Hebei, on its part, needs to actively create an enabling policy environment and provide quality public services. We should share quality education and medical resources and improve their allocation in the region. We should press ahead with poverty eradication and increase our support in terms of funds, projects, development of industries, and conservation of the eco-environment. Basic public services are vital to the interests of the people. We should ensure that people have easy access to them.

* Main part of the speech at a meeting on the development of the Xiongan New Area held in Anxin County, Hebei Province.

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OUR PARTY MUST HAVE THE COURAGE TO ENGAGE IN SELF-REFORM

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-05-26

OUR PARTY MUST HAVE THE COURAGE TO ENGAGE IN SELF-REFORM*

February 13, 2017

The defining characteristic and the greatest strength of our Party come from its courage to engage in self-reform. Ours is a great Party not because we do not make mistakes, but because we have never tried to cover up our mistakes. Rather, we face up to them and reform ourselves. The Party has a matchless ability to restore itself.

At the New Year reception hosted by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at the end of last year, I spoke about the spirit of carrying the revolution through to the end. I chose this topic because keeping the revolutionary spirit alive is an issue that must be addressed by the CPC, a Marxist party that was founded more than 95 years ago and has governed the country for more than 67 years.

Our Party has always attached great importance to this issue. In March 1949, on the eve of the nationwide victory of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao proposed Two Musts at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, emphasizing that "the Chinese revolution is great, but the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous". This was a call to the whole Party to continue to maintain and carry forward the revolutionary spirit. After we launched reform and opening up in 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasized the need to promote "the revolutionary spirit, which inspires people to work tirelessly". We must never allow ourselves to lose the revolutionary spirit amid applause and praise, to gradually become contented, to lack the drive to make progress, to be afraid to face up to difficulties, and to become complacent and indulge in pleasure-seeking. If that happens, it will pose a great threat to our Party. Forging ahead with our founding mission in mind means that we should never forget our revolutionary spirit.

In order to maintain its progressive and wholesome nature and to accomplish its lofty mission, a Marxist party must "make up for past mistakes, welcome criticism, and regard self-correction as a virtue and knowledge of its own faults as the hallmark of wisdom". It must never ease up on its efforts to remedy shortcomings, and it should always respond to the call of the times and meet the needs of the people.

Why was our Party able to emerge victorious in the prolonged power contest between various political forces in modern China? Why has it always stayed at the forefront of the times as the backbone of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation? The fundamental reason is that our

Party has always kept alive the spirit of self-reform and the courage to recognize and correct its mistakes. By using the scalpel, time and again, to remove the lesion from its body, our Party has repeatedly overcome its own weaknesses through its own efforts. This ability is a distinct feature that makes our Party different from political parties in other countries and an important reason behind our Party's enduring vitality.

The courage to engage in self-reform comes from the fact that our Party has no interests of its own; it only pursues the interests of the country, the nation, and the people. Chairman Mao said, "Communists are a special group of people. They do not hanker after personal gain, but only seek benefits for the people and the nation. They are rooted among the people. They are the people's sons and daughters as well as their teachers. They are on constant guard against losing touch with the people. Whatever situation they encounter, they always put the interests of all the people first. This is how they have won the wholehearted support of the people. This is what is behind the ultimate victory of their cause." "Those who harbor no self-interest may run the government." "Selflessness in governance creates social equity." Only those with no pursuit of personal gain in mind can work for the fundamental interests of all. Selflessness enables us to ensure that our conduct is in keeping with the Party's nature and purpose, and with the people's fundamental interests. It also drives us to face up to our shortcomings, problems and mistakes and rectify them.

After the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, we made the decision to enforce strict self-discipline in the Party and take resolute action to resolve long-standing intractable problems within the Party. Like driving nails with a hammer, we have fully and rigorously enforced Party discipline. This demonstrates our strong revolutionary spirit and our Party's resolve to reform itself. Today, many people worldwide marvel at the rapid pace of China's ground-breaking advances in theory, practice and system, and its tremendous social transformation. This progress reflects our Party's character — never becoming conceited and never slackening our effort — as well as our commitment to continuously cleanse, improve, renew and temper ourselves.

At present, the world, our country and our Party are all undergoing profound changes that present increasingly complex challenges. The Four Tests — tests of the capacity to exercise governance, carry out reform and opening up, develop the market economy, and respond to external developments — and the Four Risks — lack of drive, incompetence, disengagement from the people, and inaction and corruption — are becoming more severe. The more onerous the task, the greater the risks and challenges, and the more we must carry forward the spirit of self-reform. Against this background, what will determine our future and the success of our cause is whether the Party has a strong sense of self-reform, the resolve to improve itself, and the perseverance to address its own shortcomings and mistakes.

With nearly 89 million members and more than 4.4 million primary-level organizations, ours is the largest governing party in the world. This position makes it easy for a large party like ours, with access to all the resources afforded by its governing status, to be carried away by its achievements and overlook its shortcomings, and to be ensnared in a situation where it is more

convenient for the party to reform others rather than itself. No external forces can defeat our Party, only we alone can defeat ourselves. The future of the Party is in the hands of the Party. We must have a full and objective understanding of our Party, always proceed from facts and realities, and have the courage to temper ourselves in the spirit of self-reform if we are to become stronger and forever maintain the Party's vitality.

To engage in self-reform, we should have the courage to face up to our own shortcomings and redress them. "The greatest threat to governance is not knowing the cause of problems." Covering up problems and refusal to rectify them can only stifle self-reform, the purpose of which is exactly to identify and address these problems. Problems do exist at all times. Just as seepage piping, if ignored, will eventually cause the dam to collapse — we must not turn a blind eye to small problems and allow them to build up into catastrophes. It is through self-reform that we can keep the cause of the Party and the people strong and robust as ever. We must do so by breaking new ground while consolidating our foundations.

Some people blindly believe in the Western model of changeover in running the government by different parties and the separation of powers, arguing that under the one-party system the governing party cannot resolve problems of its own. But the fact is, across the world, there are few political parties like the Communist Party of China, a party that has always faced up to its own problems, instituted a complete set of rules and regulations for self-discipline, and severely punished a large number of corrupt and degenerate elements within its ranks.

Party committees at all levels should measure their performance against the Party Constitution, discipline and regulations, as well as its theories, guidelines and policies. Just as "a virtuous man often examines himself as a fallible person", Party committees should identify shortcomings and their root causes through thorough analysis, correct them, and stay committed to our goal.

We must address problems that undermine the Party's progressive and wholesome nature, impede internal Party activities or internal Party supervision, or cause serious public concern, and we must be ready to take resolute action against such tough issues on this never-ending journey of self-reform, and win the trust of the people with our solid performance.

* Part of the speech at a study session on implementing the decisions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, attended by principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level.

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TOWARDS A GLOBAL COMMUNITY OF SHARED FUTURE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-05-23

TOWARDS A GLOBAL COMMUNITY OF SHARED FUTURE*

January 18, 2017

Your Excellency Mr Peter Thomson, President of the 71st Session of the UN General Assembly,
Your Excellency Mr António Guterres, UN Secretary-General,
Your Excellency Mr Michael Møller, Director-General of the UN Office at Geneva,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

As a new year begins, everything takes on a new look, and it gives me great pleasure to visit the United Nations Office at Geneva and discuss with you the building of a global community of shared future, which is the call of our times.

I have just attended the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting. In Davos, many speakers pointed out that today's world is full of uncertainties. They observed that people long for a bright future but are bewildered about what lies ahead. What has happened to the world and how should we respond? The world is reflecting on these questions, and they are also very much on my mind.

I believe that to answer these questions, we need to be clear about fundamental issues: Where did we come from? Where are we now? And where are we going?

Over the past century and more, humanity has gone through blood-drenched hot wars and the chilling Cold War, but has also achieved remarkable development and huge progress. In the first half of last century, humanity suffered the scourges of two world wars, and the people yearned for the end of war and the advent of peace. In the 1950s and 1960s, the peoples of the colonies awakened and fought to shake off their shackles and achieve independence. Since the end of the Cold War, people have pursued a shared aspiration to expand cooperation for common development.

Peace and development have been the aspirations held dear by all humanity over the past century or more. However, the goal is far from being met. We need to respond to the people's call, take up the baton of history, and forge ahead on the marathon towards peace and development.

Humanity is in an era of major development as well as profound transformation and change. The trend towards multipolarity and economic globalization is surging. Progress is being made in the application of IT in social development and in the promotion of cultural diversity. A new round of scientific and industrial revolution is in progress. Interconnection and interdependence between

countries are crucial for human survival. The forces of peace far outweigh factors causing war, and the trend of our times towards peace, development, cooperation, and win-win outcomes has gained stronger momentum.

On the other hand, humanity is also in an era of numerous challenges and increasing risks. Global growth is sluggish, the impact of the financial crisis lingers on, and the development gap is widening. Armed conflicts occur from time to time. Cold War mentality and power politics still exist. Nonconventional security threats, particularly terrorism, refugee crises, major communicable diseases and climate change, are spreading.

There is only one earth, and we humans have only one home. Dr Stephen Hawking has raised the possibility of parallel universes. He also believes we should seek out other planets that might serve us as our new home. We do not know when that hope will come true. For the time being the earth is still the only home we have, so to care for and cherish it is our only option. There is a Latin motto inscribed in the dome of the Federal Palace of Switzerland which says "*Unus pro omnibus, omnes pro uno*" (One for all, and all for one). We should not only think about our own generation, but also take responsibility for those to come.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

Pass on the torch of peace from generation to generation, sustain development, and ensure civilization flourishes: This is what people of all countries long for; it is also the responsibility that statespersons of our generation ought to shoulder. And China stands for building a global community of shared future and achieving inclusive and win-win development.

Vision guides action, and direction determines the future. As modern history shows, to establish a fair and equitable international order is the goal for which humanity has always striven. From the principles of equality and sovereignty established in the Peace of Westphalia over 360 years ago to international humanitarianism affirmed in the Geneva Convention more than 150 years ago, from the four purposes and seven principles enshrined in the UN Charter more than 70 years ago to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence championed by the Bandung Conference over 60 years ago, many principles have emerged in the evolution of international relations and have been widely accepted. These principles should guide us in building a global community of shared future.

Sovereign equality has been the most important norm governing state-to-state relations over the past centuries, and the cardinal principle observed by the United Nations and its agencies and institutions. The essence of sovereign equality is that the sovereignty and dignity of all countries, whether big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, must be respected; their internal affairs brook no interference, and they have the right to independently choose their social system and development path. In organizations such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization, World Health Organization, World Intellectual Property Organization, World Meteorological Organization, International Telecommunication Union, Universal Postal Union, International Organization for

Migration, and International Labor Organization, all countries should have an equal voice in decision-making, and they constitute an important force for improving global governance. In a new era, we should uphold sovereign equality and work for the equality of all countries in enjoying rights and opportunities and in making and observing rules.

Geneva witnessed the adoption of the Final Declaration on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, the first summit meeting for reconciliation between the two blocs during the Cold War, and the dialogue and negotiations on sensitive issues like the Iranian nuclear issue and the Syrian issue. What we can learn from both past and present is that dialogue and consultation are an effective way to bridge differences, and political negotiation is the fundamental solution to conflicts. When we have sincerity, goodwill and political wisdom, no conflict is too big to settle, and no ice is too thick to break.

An ancient Chinese philosopher said, "Law is the very foundation of governance." Here in Geneva, on the basis of the UN Charter, member states of the United Nations have concluded a number of international conventions and legal instruments on political security, trade, development, social issues, human rights, science and technology, health, labor, intellectual property rights, culture, and sports. The relevance of law lies in its enforcement. It is thus incumbent on all member states to uphold the authority of the international rule of law, exercise their rights in accordance with the law and fulfill their obligations in good faith. The relevance of law also lies in fairness and justice. All UN member states and international judicial institutions should ensure equal and uniform application of international law. They must reject any double standards or selective application of international law. As an ancient Chinese classic says, "By upholding justice without any partiality or bias, the kingly way is inclusive and boundless."

As a Chinese saying goes, "The ocean is vast because it admits all rivers." Openness and inclusiveness have made Geneva a center of multilateral diplomacy. We should advance democracy in international relations and reject dominance by just one or a few countries. All countries are entitled to shape the future of the world, making international rules, managing global affairs, and sharing the fruits of development.

In 1862, in his book *A Memory of Solferino*, Mr Henry Dunant wondered whether it was possible to set up humanitarian organizations and conclude humanitarian conventions. The answer came one year later with the founding of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Over the past 150 years and more, the Red Cross has become a symbol and a banner. In the face of frequent humanitarian crises, we should champion the spirit of humanity, compassion and dedication, and give love and hope to innocent people caught in dire situations. We should uphold the basic principles of neutrality, impartiality and independence, refrain from politicizing humanitarian issues, and ensure non-militarization of humanitarian assistance.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

Great visions can be realized only through actions. Actions hold the key to building a global community of shared future. To achieve this goal, the international community should promote partnership, security, growth, inter-civilization exchanges, and the building of sound ecosystems.

— We should build a world of lasting peace through dialogue and consultation. When countries enjoy peace, so will the world; when countries fight, the world suffers. From the Peloponnesian War in the fifth century BC to the two world wars and the Cold War that lasted more than four decades, we have drawn painful and profound lessons. As a Chinese saying goes, “History, if not forgotten, can serve as a guide for the future.” Established by those before us, the United Nations has made it possible for us to enjoy relative peace for more than 70 years. What we need to do is to improve the mechanisms and means to more effectively resolve disputes, reduce tension, and end wars and conflicts.

The Swiss writer and Nobel laureate Hermann Hesse emphasized the importance of serving “not war and destruction but peace and reconciliation”. Countries should foster partnerships based on dialogue, non-confrontation and non-alliance. Major powers should respect each other’s core interests, take care of their main concerns, keep their differences under control, and build a new model of relations featuring non-conflict, non-confrontation, mutual respect, and win-win cooperation. As long as we maintain communication and treat each other with sincerity, we can avoid the Thucydides trap. Big countries should treat smaller ones as equals instead of acting as hegemonies imposing their will on others. No country should open Pandora’s box by willfully launching wars or undermining the international rule of law. Nuclear weapons, the Sword of Damocles that hangs over humanity, should be completely prohibited and thoroughly destroyed over time to realize a nuclear-free world. Guided by the principles of peace, sovereignty, inclusiveness, and shared governance, we should turn the deep sea, the polar regions, outer space, and the internet into new frontiers for cooperation rather than a wrestling ground for competition.

— We should build a world of common security for all through joint efforts. No country in the world can enjoy absolute security alone. A country cannot have security while others are in turmoil, as threats facing other countries are likely to haunt it too. When neighbors are in trouble, instead of strengthening one’s own fences, one should extend a helping hand to them. As a saying goes, “United we stand, divided we fall.” All countries should pursue common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security.

The terrorist attacks that have occurred in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East in recent years once again demonstrate that terrorism is the common enemy of humanity. Fighting terrorism is the shared responsibility of all countries. In fighting terror, we should not only treat the symptoms, but also remove the root causes. We should strengthen coordination and build a global united front against terrorism so as to create an umbrella of security for people around the world.

The number of refugees has hit a record high since the end of World War II. While tackling the crisis, we should also get to its roots. Why would anyone want to be displaced if they have a home to return to? The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization for Migration should act as the coordinator to mobilize the world to respond effectively to the refugee crisis. China has decided to provide an additional RMB200 million in humanitarian assistance for refugees and the displaced of Syria.

As terrorism and refugee crises are closely linked to geopolitical conflicts, resolving conflicts provides the fundamental solution to these problems. Parties that are directly involved in the conflicts should return to the negotiating table, while others should facilitate peace talks. We should all respect the role of the United Nations as the main mediator.

Pandemic diseases such as bird flu, Ebola and Zika have sounded the alarm for international health security. The WHO should play a leadership role in strengthening epidemic monitoring and in sharing information, best practices, and technologies. The international community should step up support and assistance for public health in African countries and other developing countries.

— We should build a world of common prosperity through win-win cooperation. Development is the top priority for all countries. Instead of impoverishing their neighbors, countries should stick together like passengers in the same boat. All countries — the major economies in particular — should strengthen macro policy coordination, pursue both current and long-term interests, and focus on resolving deep-seated problems. We should seize the historic opportunity presented by the new revolution in science, technology and industry, shift growth models, drive growth through innovation, and further unleash productivity and creativity. We should uphold WTO rules, support an open, transparent, inclusive and nondiscriminatory multilateral trading system, and build an open world economy. Trade protectionism and self-isolation will benefit no one.

Economic globalization, a surging historical trend, has greatly facilitated trade, investment, flow of people, and technological advances. Since the turn of the century, under the auspices of the UN and riding on the waves of economic globalization, the international community has set the Millennium Development Goals and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Thanks to these initiatives, 1.1 billion people have been lifted out of poverty, 1.9 billion people now have access to safe drinking water, 3.5 billion people have gained access to the internet, and the goal has been set to eradicate poverty by 2030. All this demonstrates that economic globalization is generally good. Of course, some problems still remain, including development disparity, governance dilemma, the digital divide, and equity deficit. But they are growing pains. We should face these problems squarely and tackle them. As we Chinese like to say, “One should not stop eating for fear of choking.”

We should draw inspiration from history. Historians told us long ago that rapid economic development necessitates social reform; but people tend to support the former while rejecting the latter. Instead of watching and hesitating, we should move forward against all odds. Answers can also be found in reality. The global financial crisis has taught us that we should strengthen

coordination and improve governance so as to ensure sound growth of economic globalization and make it open, inclusive, balanced, and beneficial to all. We should make the cake bigger and share it fairly to ensure justice and equity.

Last September, the G20 Summit in Hangzhou focused on global economic governance and other major issues, adopted the Blueprint on Innovative Growth, put development for the first time in the global macro policy framework, and formulated an action plan.

— We should build an open and inclusive world through exchanges and mutual learning.

“Delicious soup is made by combining different ingredients.” Diversity in human civilizations not only defines our world, but also drives human progress. There are more than 200 countries and regions, over 2,500 ethnic groups, and multiple religions in our world. Different histories, national conditions, ethnic groups, and customs give birth to different civilizations and make the world colorful. There is no such thing as a superior or inferior civilization. Civilizations are different only in identity and location. Diversity in civilizations should not be a source of global conflict; rather, it should be a driver for progress.

Every civilization, with its own appeal and roots, is a human treasure. Diverse civilizations should draw on each other to achieve common progress. Exchanges among civilizations should become a source of inspiration for advancing human society and a bond that keeps the world in peace.

— We should make our world clean and beautiful by pursuing green and low-carbon development. Humanity coexists with nature, which means that any harm to nature will eventually come back to haunt humanity. We hardly notice natural resources such as air, water, soil, and blue sky when we have them. But we will not survive without them. Industrialization has created material wealth as never seen before, but it has also inflicted irreparable damage on the eco-environment. We must not exhaust all the resources passed on to us by previous generations and leave nothing to our children, or pursue development in a destructive way. Clear waters and green mountains are as good as mountains of gold and silver. We must maintain harmony between humanity and nature and pursue sustainable development.

We should pursue a green, low-carbon, circular and sustainable way of life and work, advance the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in a balanced manner, and explore a model of sound development that ensures growth, better lives, and a good eco-environment. The Paris Agreement is a milestone in the history of climate governance. We must ensure this endeavor is not derailed. All parties should work together to implement the Paris Agreement. China will continue to take steps to tackle climate change and fully honor its obligations.

The Swiss Army knife embodies Swiss craftsmanship. When I first got one, I was amazed that it had so many devices. I could not help thinking how wonderful it would be if an exquisite Swiss Army knife could be made for our world. Whenever there is a problem, we could use one of the tools on the knife to fix it. I believe that with a ceaseless effort on the part of the international community, such a knife can be created.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

We in China always believe that China will do well only when the world does well, and vice versa. Many people are interested in what policies China will pursue and are speculating on the subject. Here, I wish to give you an explicit answer.

First, China remains unchanged in its commitment to world peace. Amity with neighbors, harmony without uniformity, and harmony as a top priority are values very much cherished in Chinese culture. *The Art of War*, a Chinese classic, begins with this observation, “The art of war is of vital importance to the state. It is a matter of life and death, a road to either survival or ruin. Hence it demands careful study.” What this means is that every effort should be made to prevent a war and great caution must be exercised when it comes to fighting a war. For several millennia, peace has been in the blood of us Chinese and a part of our DNA.

Even when China was so strong that its GDP accounted for 30 percent of the global total several centuries ago, it was never engaged in aggression or expansion. In the century following the Opium War of 1840, China suffered immensely from aggression, wars and chaos. Confucius said, “Do not do unto others what you do not want others to do unto you.” We Chinese firmly believe that peace and stability are the only way to development and prosperity.

China has grown from a poor and weak country to the second largest economy not through military expansion or colonial plunder, but through the hard work of its people and their efforts to uphold peace. China will never waver in its pursuit of peaceful development. No matter how strong its economy grows, China will never seek hegemony, expansion, or spheres of influence. History has borne this out and will continue to do so.

Second, China remains unchanged in its commitment to pursuing common development. As an old Chinese saying goes, “When you reap fruits, you should remember the tree; when you drink water, you should remember its source.” China has benefited from the world in its development, and China has also contributed to the world’s development. We will continue to pursue a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up, share our development opportunities with other countries, and welcome them on board the train of China’s development.

Between 1950 and 2016, China provided foreign countries with over RMB400 billion in aid, and we will continue to increase assistance to them as far as our ability permits. Since the outbreak of the global financial crisis, China has contributed on average over 30 percent of global growth each year. In the coming five years, China is expected to import US\$8 trillion worth of goods, attract US\$600 billion in foreign investment, and make US\$750 billion in outbound investment. It is also expected that Chinese tourists will make 700 million outbound visits. All this means more development opportunities for other countries.

China pursues development in light of its national conditions. We always put people's rights and interests above everything else and have worked hard to promote and protect human rights. China has met the basic living needs of its 1.3 billion-plus people and lifted over 700 million people out of poverty, which is a significant contribution to the global cause of human rights.

The Belt and Road Initiative that I have proposed aims to achieve win-win and shared development. Over 100 countries and international organizations have positively responded to and supported the initiative, and a large number of "early harvest" projects have been launched. China supports the successful operation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and other new multilateral financial institutions in order to provide more public goods to the international community.

Third, China remains unchanged in its commitment to fostering partnerships. China pursues an independent foreign policy of peace, and is ready to strengthen friendship and cooperation with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. China is the first country to make partnership-building a principle guiding its relations with other countries. It has formed partnerships of various forms with over 90 countries and regional organizations, and will expand its circle of friends around the world.

China will promote efforts to put in place a framework of major-country relations featuring general stability and balanced growth. We will strive to build a new model of major-country relations with the United States, a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination with Russia, a partnership for peace, growth, reform and civilization with Europe, and a partnership of unity and cooperation with other BRICS countries. China will continue to pursue the greater good and shared interests, and boost pragmatic cooperation with other developing countries to achieve common development. We will further strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation with our neighbors based on amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness. We will pursue common development with African countries in a spirit of sincerity, real results, amity, and good faith. And we will elevate our comprehensive cooperative partnership with Latin America to a higher level.

Fourth, China remains unchanged in its commitment to multilateralism. Multilateralism is an effective way to peace and development. For decades, the United Nations and other international institutions have made a universally recognized contribution to maintaining global peace and sustaining development.

China is a founding member of the United Nations, and it was the first country to put its signature on the UN Charter. China will firmly uphold the international system with the UN at its core, the fundamental norms governing international relations embodied in the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, the authority and stature of the UN, and its core role in international affairs.

The China-UN Peace and Development Fund has been formally inaugurated. We will make funds available to peace and development oriented programs proposed by the UN and its agencies in Geneva on a priority basis. China will increase its support for multilateralism as the country

continues to develop itself.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

Geneva invokes a special memory in us. In 1954, Premier Zhou Enlai led a delegation to the Geneva Conference, and worked with the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom, and France for a political settlement to the Korean issue and a ceasefire in Indo-China. This demonstrated China's desire for peace and contributed Chinese wisdom to world peace. Since 1971, when China regained its lawful seat in the UN and began to return to Geneva-based international agencies, we have gradually involved ourselves in disarmament, trade, development, human rights and social issues, offering Chinese proposals for the resolution of major issues and the making of important rules. In recent years, China has taken an active part in dialogues and negotiations on the Iranian nuclear issue, the Syrian issue, and other flashpoints, giving Chinese input to their political settlement. China applied to the International Olympic Committee to host both the summer and winter Olympic and Paralympic games, and was successful in both bids. In addition, we have gained endorsement from the International Union for Conservation of Nature for over a dozen applications for natural world heritage sites as well as cultural and natural world heritage sites. All this has presented Chinese splendor to the world.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

As an ancient Chinese saying goes, "One should be good at finding the laws of things and solving problems." Building a community of shared future is an exciting goal, and it requires efforts from generation to generation. China is ready to work with all the other UN member states as well as international organizations and agencies to advance the great cause of building a global community of shared future.

On January 28, we Chinese will celebrate the Chinese New Year, the Year of the Rooster. The rooster symbolizes bright prospects and auspiciousness. As a Chinese saying goes, "The crow of the golden rooster heralds a great day for all." With that, I wish you all the very best and a very happy Chinese New Year.

Thank you.

* Speech at the United Nations Office at Geneva.

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CHART THE RIGHT COURSE FOR ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-05-21

CHART THE RIGHT COURSE FOR ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION*

January 17, 2017

“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times.” These are the words used by the English writer Charles Dickens to describe the world after the Industrial Revolution. Today, we also live in a world of contradictions. On the one hand, with growing material wealth and advances in science and technology, human civilization has developed as never before. On the other hand, frequent regional conflicts, and global challenges like terrorism, refugees, poverty, unemployment, and a widening income gap have all added to the uncertainties of the world.

Many people feel bewildered and ask themselves: What has gone wrong with the world?

To answer this question, one must first track the source of the problem. Some blame economic globalization for the chaos. Economic globalization was once viewed as the treasure cave found by Ali Baba in *The Arabian Nights*, but it has now become a Pandora’s box in the eyes of many. The international community finds itself in a heated debate on economic globalization.

Today, I wish to address the global economy in the context of economic globalization.

The point I want to make is that many of the problems troubling the world are not caused by economic globalization. For instance, the refugee waves from the Middle East and North Africa in recent years have become a global concern. Several million people have been displaced, and some small children have lost their lives while crossing the rough sea. This is indeed heartbreaking. It is war, conflict and regional turbulence that have created this problem, and its solution lies in making peace, promoting reconciliation, and restoring stability. The global financial crisis is another example. It is not an inevitable outcome of economic globalization; rather, it is the consequence of excessive pursuit of profit by financial capital and a grave failure of financial regulation. Simply blaming economic globalization for the world’s problems is neither consistent with reality, nor helpful for finding solutions to the problems.

From the historical perspective, economic globalization is a result of growing social productivity, and a natural outcome of scientific and technological progress - not something created by any individuals or any countries. Economic globalization has powered global growth and facilitated flows of goods and capital, advances in science, technology and civilization, and interactions among peoples.

But we should also recognize that economic globalization is a double-edged sword. When the global economy is under downward pressure, it is hard to make the cake of global economy bigger. It may even shrink, which may cause conflicts between growth and distribution, between capital and labor, and between efficiency and equity. Both developed and developing countries have felt the pinch. Voices against globalization have exposed problems in the process of economic globalization that we need to take seriously.

As a line in an old Chinese poem goes, “Honey melons hang on bitter vines; sweet dates grow on thistles and thorns.” In a philosophical sense, nothing is perfect in the world. Those who claim something is perfect because of its merits, and who view something as useless just because of its defects have failed to see the full picture. It is true that economic globalization has created new problems, but this is no justification to write it off altogether. Rather, we should adapt to and guide economic globalization, cushion its negative effects, and make it benefit all countries and all nations.

There was a time when China, too, had doubts about economic globalization, and was not sure whether it should join the World Trade Organization. But we came to the conclusion that integration with the global economy is a historical trend. To grow its economy, China must have the courage to swim in the vast ocean of the global market. Those who fear to face the storm and explore the new world will sooner or later drown in the ocean. Therefore, China took the bold step to embrace the global market. From time to time we have struggled to keep our heads above the water, and we have encountered whirlpools and choppy waves, but we have learned how to swim in this process. It has proved to be the right strategic choice.

Whether you like it or not, the global economy is the great ocean from which you cannot escape. Any attempt to cut off the flow of capital, technologies, products, industries and people between economies, and channel the waters in the ocean back into isolated lakes and creeks is simply not possible. Indeed, it runs counter to the historical trend.

The history of humanity tells us that problems are not to be feared. What should concern us is refusing to face up to problems and not knowing what to do about them. In the face of both the opportunities and challenges of economic globalization, the right thing to do is to seize every opportunity, jointly meet challenges, and chart the right course for economic globalization.

At the APEC Economic Leaders’ Meeting in late 2016, I spoke about the need to make the process of economic globalization more vigorous, more inclusive, and more sustainable. We should be proactive and manage economic globalization appropriately so as to release its positive impact and keep the process in balance. We should follow the general trend, proceed from our respective national conditions, and embark on the right pathway of integrating with economic globalization at the right pace. We should strike a balance between efficiency and equity to ensure that different countries, people from different social strata, and different groups of people may all share the benefits of economic globalization. The people of all countries expect nothing less from us, and this is a responsibility we cannot shirk as leaders of our time.

At present, the most pressing task before us is to steer the global economy out of difficulty. The global economy has remained sluggish for quite some time. The gaps between poor and rich and between North and South are widening. The root cause is that the three critical issues in the economic sphere have not been effectively addressed.

First, lack of robust driving forces for growth makes it difficult to sustain a steady growth of the global economy. Global economic growth is now at its slowest pace in seven years. Growth of global trade has been slower than global GDP growth. Short-term policy stimuli are ineffective. Fundamental structural reform is only beginning. The global economy is now in a period of moving towards new growth drivers, and the role of traditional engines to push growth has weakened. Despite the emergence of new technologies such as artificial intelligence and 3D printing, new sources of growth are yet to emerge. A new path for the global economy remains elusive.

Second, inadequate global economic governance makes it difficult to adapt to new developments in the global economy. Mme Christine Lagarde recently told me that emerging markets and developing countries already contribute 80 percent of the growth of the global economy. The global economic landscape has changed profoundly in the past few decades. However, the global governance system has not embraced those new changes and is therefore inadequate in terms of representation and inclusiveness. The global industrial landscape is changing, and new industrial chains, value chains and supply chains are taking shape. However, trade and investment rules have not kept pace with these developments, resulting in acute problems such as closed mechanisms and fragmentation of rules. The global financial market needs to be more resilient against risks, but the global financial governance mechanism fails to meet the new requirements and is thus unable to effectively resolve problems such as excess international financial market volatility and the build-up of asset bubbles.

Third, uneven global development makes it difficult to meet people's expectations for better lives. Dr Schwab has observed in his book, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*, that this round of industrial revolution will produce extensive and far-reaching impacts such as growing inequality, particularly the possible widening gap between return on capital and return on labor. The richest 1 percent of the world's population owns more wealth than the remaining 99 percent. Inequality in income distribution and uneven development space are worrying. Over 700 million people in the world are still living in extreme poverty. For many families, to have a warm house, adequate food and secure employment is still a distant dream. This is the biggest challenge facing the world today. It is also what is behind the social turmoil in some countries.

All this shows that there are indeed problems with world economic growth, governance and development models, and they must be resolved. Henry Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross, once said, "Our real enemy is not the neighboring country; it is hunger, poverty, ignorance, superstition and prejudice." We need to have the wisdom to dissect these problems and, more importantly, the courage to take actions to address them.

First, we should develop a dynamic, innovation-driven growth model. The fundamental issue plaguing the global economy is the lack of driving force for growth. Innovation is the primary force leading development. Unlike the previous industrial revolutions, the fourth Industrial Revolution is unfolding at an exponential rather than linear rate. We need to chart a new course through innovation. Only with the courage to innovate and reform can we remove bottlenecks blocking global growth and development.

With this in mind, the G20 leaders reached an important consensus at the Hangzhou Summit, which is to take innovation as a key driver and foster new driving forces for growth for both individual countries and the global economy. We should develop new development concepts and go beyond the debate about whether there should be more fiscal stimulus or more monetary easing. We should adopt a multipronged, holistic approach to address both the symptoms and the underlying problems. We should adopt new policy instruments and advance structural reform to create more space for growth and sustain its momentum. We should develop new growth models and seize opportunities presented by the new round of industrial revolution and the digital economy. We should meet the challenges of climate change and aging population. We should also address the negative impact of informatization and automation on jobs. When cultivating new industries, new business forms, and new business models, we should create new jobs and restore confidence and hope to our peoples.

Second, we should pursue a well-coordinated and interconnected approach to develop a model of open and win-win cooperation. Today, humanity has become a close-knit community of shared future. Countries have extensive converging interests and are mutually dependent. All countries have the right to development. At the same time, they should view their own interests in a broader context and refrain from pursuing their interests at the expense of others.

We should commit ourselves to growing an open global economy, share opportunities and interests through opening up, and achieve win-win outcomes. We should not just retreat to the harbor when encountering a storm, for this will never get us to the other shore of the ocean. We must redouble our efforts to develop global connectivity to enable all countries to achieve interconnected growth and share prosperity. We must remain committed to developing global free trade and investment, promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation through opening up, and avoid protectionism. Pursuing protectionism is like locking oneself in a dark room. While wind and rain may be kept outside, the dark room will also block light and air. No one will emerge as a winner in a trade war.

Third, we should develop a model of fair and equitable governance in keeping with the trend of the times. As the Chinese saying goes, “Shrewd people of petty mind attend to trivial matters, while people with vision attend to the governance of institutions.” There is a growing call from the international community for reforming the global economic governance system, which is a pressing task for us. Only when it adapts to new dynamics in the international economic architecture can the global governance system sustain global growth.

Countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are all equal members of the international community. As such, they are entitled to participate in decision-making, enjoy rights, and fulfill obligations on an equal basis. Emerging markets and developing countries deserve greater representation and voice. The 2010 IMF quota reform has entered into force, and its momentum should be sustained. We should adhere to multilateralism and uphold the authority and efficacy of multilateral institutions. We should honor commitments and comply with rules. No one should select or bend rules as they see fit. The Paris Agreement is a hard-won achievement which is in keeping with the underlying trend of global development. All signatories should stick to it as this is a responsibility we must assume for future generations.

Fourth, we should develop a balanced, equitable and inclusive development model that benefits all. As the Chinese saying goes, “When the Great Way rules, the land under Heaven belongs to the people.” Development is ultimately for the people. To achieve more balanced development and ensure that the people have equal access to opportunities and to the benefits of development, it is crucial to have a sound development philosophy and model, and make development more equitable, effective and balanced.

We should foster a culture that values diligence, frugality and enterprise, and respects the fruits of the hard work of all. Priority should be given to addressing poverty, unemployment, the widening income gap, and the concerns of the disadvantaged to promote social fairness and justice. It is important to protect the eco-environment while pursuing economic and social progress so as to achieve harmony between humanity and nature and between humanity and society. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development should be implemented to realize balanced development across the world.

A Chinese adage reads, “Victory is ensured when people pool their strength; success is secured when people put their heads together.” As long as we keep to the goal of building a global community of shared future and work hand in hand to fulfill our responsibilities and overcome difficulties, we will be able to create a better world and deliver better lives for our peoples.

* Part of the keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the World Economic Forum 2017 in Davos, Switzerland.

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THE FOUR CONSCIOUSNESSES AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-05-19

THE FOUR CONSCIOUSNESSES AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

December 26-27, 2016

The CPC's history and the PRC's course of development have proved that to govern this political party and this vast country, we must ensure solidarity, centralization and unity of the CPC, and safeguard the authority of the CPC Central Committee. The latter is an important requirement of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee in implementing the Guidelines for Internal Party Activities Under New Circumstances and the Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Internal Scrutiny. Members of the Political Bureau should always take a clear political stance. They must maintain their political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the Central Committee, and act in accordance with its requirements. They must uphold the Party's guidelines, keep in line with the Party's direction of progress, and maintain the Party's lofty will. To remain faithful to the Party, we must have firm ideals and convictions. The Four Consciousnesses are not an empty slogan, and must be put into action. We must abide by the Party's basic line, and correctly understand and implement the Party's theories, guidelines, principles and policies. Based on the development trends of humanity, the evolving international situation, and China's development history, we should have an in-depth understanding of the Party's basic line and the reasons to uphold it.

Remaining forever faithful to the Party is the basic requirement of the Party Constitution for all CPC members. In this regard, members of the Political Bureau must be absolutely loyal to the Party, and this is concrete, not abstract, unconditional, not conditional. This loyalty must be reflected by their loyalty to the faith, to Party organizations, and to the Party's theories, guidelines, principles and policies. Standing on the side of the people is the fundamental political stance of a Marxist political party; the public is the true driving force for historical progress; the people are the real heroes; and the people's interests are the ultimate goal of the Party's work. The Central Committee must be directly connected with the people, and we should always keep the people in our thoughts. Members of the Political Bureau must share the people's joys and sorrows, weal and woe; must pursue people-centered development; must always care for the people, work for the people, and benefit the people; must understand public sentiment, listen to public appeal, and voice public concerns.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Political Bureau has performed well in implementing democratic centralism. Always upholding and developing intra-Party democracy, it has expanded democracy by multiple means and through multiple channels, thereby ensuring that

its decision-making is effective, democratic, and in accordance with the law. The Political Bureau should become a model of the whole Party in upholding democratic centralism, combining democracy-based centralization and centralization-guided democracy. As members of this collective leadership, we must find our right place, implement collective decisions no matter what high positions and power we hold, and bear in mind the overall situation no matter what decisions we make and what we do. Strict discipline is an important guarantee for the Party's solidarity, centralization and unity. Every Party member must view discipline with respect and observe it strictly. Members of the Political Bureau should be the first to put this into action. Concerning guiding thoughts, guidelines, principles, policies, and important matters of principle bearing on the overall situation, we must be particularly clear-headed and take a firm stance. We must implement the systems for requesting instructions and submitting reports on major issues, balancing the part with the whole and the central authorities with local authorities. The Party has maintained its strength because it implements the principle of the Party supervising the performance of officials, and we must uphold this principle.

The development of the Party and its national undertakings relies on the whole Party's hard work towards concrete results. Between merely shouting slogans and earnestly practicing what we advocate, the results are quite different. Speaking the truth and doing honest work is the best way to test and temper the Party spirit. Members of the Political Bureau must do solid work, conduct in-depth studies, and make targeted efforts to implement the programs for promoting reform, development, stability, and the people's wellbeing. To put them into practice, we must conduct research and determine the truth. Facing new circumstances and challenges, we should have the courage and the capacity to confront difficulties, take a firm stance in major matters of principle concerning the future of Chinese socialism, tackle tough issues in promoting reform, development and stability, crack hard nuts in strengthening internal Party governance, and confront the tough with toughness in safeguarding core national interests. We should never bow our heads in the face of difficulties, never flinch from challenges, never compromise our principles, and never damage the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation under any pressure.

The Political Bureau should set a good example in carrying out criticism and self-criticism, and be bold in reforming ourselves. We should seek truth from facts, dare to conduct criticism and self-criticism, be willing to listen to dissenting views, and correct our mistakes promptly. Superiors, equivalents, and subordinates alike are equally subject to criticism and self-criticism. High-level officials are not untouchable. We should exercise criticism and self-criticism as a habit, an initiative and a responsibility; we should do this often and well.

To win popular support and maintain the authority of the CPC Central Committee, the Party must maintain integrity. We must uphold the fundamental purpose of the Party, have firm ideals, convictions and aspirations, maintain good conduct, enhance our morality, and improve Party conduct. Members of the Political Bureau should be the first to practice what is required for the whole Party. We should enhance the awareness of integrity and self-discipline, maintain integrity in exercising power properly, incorruptibly, and in accordance with the law, and be self-disciplined

in observing discipline and rules while maintaining our reputation and integrity. Members of the Political Bureau must resist the temptations of privileges, and provide good guidance for and exercise proper management of their relatives and immediate staff.

* Main points of the speech at a criticism and self-criticism meeting among members of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

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FAMILY VALUES, FAMILY EDUCATION AND FAMILY TRADITION

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FAMILY VALUES, FAMILY EDUCATION AND FAMILY TRADITION*

December 12, 2016

The Chinese nation has always valued the family. As an ancient Chinese thinker said, “The family is the foundation of all under Heaven.” Traditional Chinese family virtues include: One should respect the elderly and love the young; a virtuous woman brings her husband good; a kind mother brings up children dutiful to the family; the younger brother should respect the elder brother and the elder brother should be gentle with the younger brother; passing good traditions of reading and farming from generation to generation; one should run the family diligently and thriftily; one should be learned and practice etiquette; one should observe discipline and the law; a peaceful family will prosper. These family values have been imprinted on our people’s minds and mixed into our blood. They have been passed on through generations as a vital moral strength while being treasured as a precious legacy of the Chinese family.

Thanks to continuous reform and opening up, further economic and social development, and higher living standards, changes have taken place in family structure and people’s lifestyles throughout the country. However, no matter how the times change and how the economy and society develop, for a society, family is irreplaceable in terms of its economic and emotional support, social functions, and civic education. Most of us have always been and will always be part of a family. We must strengthen and support Chinese families and make them an important foundation for the country’s development, progress, and social harmony, and a place where people start to pursue their dreams. Here I would like to share with you some of my hopes.

First, I hope you will continue to value family. Families are cells of society. Family harmony contributes to social stability, family happiness fosters social peace, and family virtues bolster social virtues. Both history and reality show that the future of families is closely connected with that of the nation. We must be conscious that a nation can do well only when its families do well. A prosperous and strong nation, the national rejuvenation and the happiness of the people are embodied by the happiness of the families and the better life of hundreds of millions of people. Similarly, only when a nation does well can its families do well.

Currently, the Chinese people are forging ahead along the new Long March towards the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. To ensure that the dreams of families come true, we must realize the Chinese Dream. Chinese people have always thought highly of loyalty to the nation. During the revolutionary wars, many mothers encouraged their sons

to fight against the Japanese aggressors and wives sent their husbands to the battlefields. During the challenging first three decades of the PRC, Chinese people prioritized national interests over their family matters, which demonstrated their pursuit of family virtue and deep love for the motherland.

We should combine the love we have for our families with our love for our nation and integrate our family dreams with the dream of the nation. We should work together with one heart to weave the wisdom and enthusiasm of our 1.3 billion people from 400 million families into a powerful force to realize the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream.

Second, I hope you will continue to value family teachings. Family is the first school, and parents are their children's first teachers. Family education begins as a child learns to talk. The kind of family education a child receives determines his or her future conduct. Though there are many aspects to family education, the most important is character-building. As ancient Chinese scholars put it, "if you love your children, teach them the right path", and "love your children the right way, or you will cause them harm". Young people are the hope and the future for not just families but also the nation. The ancient Chinese believed that to feed without teaching is the father's fault. Parents should educate their children.

The impact of family, especially parents, may influence a person throughout his or her life. This is manifested in Chinese folktales such as "Mencius' mother moving home three times" to find the neighborhood she believed to be favorable for his education, and "Ouyang Xiu's mother teaching him to write with a reed". When I was a child, my mother gave me a dozen illustrated books from the series *The Legend of Yue Fei*. One of the books illustrates Yue Fei's mother tattooing four characters meaning "serve the country with the utmost loyalty" across his back. The story deeply impressed me. Parents should pass down sound moral values to their children from an early age, and guide them to develop integrity, help them cultivate sound minds, and ensure their healthy growth, so that they will be useful to the country and the people when they grow up.

Parents should instruct their children through word and deed, giving them both knowledge and virtue and practicing what they teach. They should help their children fasten the first button in their lifetime and take the first step on the ladder of life. We should all strive to foster and practice the core socialist values in families, encouraging family members, especially the younger generation, to love the Party, the motherland, the people and the Chinese nation. We should also disseminate traditional Chinese ethics by spreading the concepts of respecting the elderly and loving the young, gender equality, marital harmony, frugality, and neighborhood solidarity, while promoting loyalty, responsibility, family affection, learning, and public welfare. The goal is to enhance people's moral outlook and foster civic virtue in society for family happiness, extending care to others and contributing more to society.

Third, I hope you will continue to value family traditions. Family culture is an integral part of social ethos. Family not only provides a place for the physical body to reside; it is also where people's hearts belong. A family will thrive with a good culture while a bad culture can bring trouble to a

family and even to society. Just as an ancient Chinese said, “Families doing good deeds will reap benefits; those doing bad deeds will suffer misfortune.” The admonitions of Zhuge Liang to his son, the admonitions for the Yan clan, and the family mottos of Zhu Zi all advocate positive family culture. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and other revolutionaries of the older generation all highly valued family culture. I have read the touching last words of many revolutionary martyrs to their children, which are filled with their instructions and hopes.

Fine values should be promoted among all the families so as to nurture healthy social conduct. Officials at all levels must play a leading role in the promotion of good family culture. As the ancient Confucian classic *Book of Rites* puts it, “What is meant by ‘in order to govern the state rightly, it is necessary first to regulate the family’ is that it is impossible for one to teach others while he cannot teach his own family.” The family culture of officials will have an impact not only on their own families, but also on the Party and the government. Officials at all levels, especially high-ranking ones, should inherit and promote the best of Chinese culture and the communist family values of older generations of revolutionaries. They should cultivate moral virtues and regulate the family, learning from role models such as Jiao Yulu, Gu Wenchang and Yang Shanzhou and taking the lead in maintaining family virtues. They should maintain moral integrity and a healthy lifestyle, while at the same time placing strict demands on their spouses and children and teaching them to be self-disciplined and law-abiding, frugal and self-reliant, and be aware that sacrificing principles for profit, taking bribes, and violating the law are immoral acts. They should set the example for society.

Families who have received awards today should treasure the honor and work harder to mobilize all Chinese families to strive together for family harmony and affection, healthy growth of the younger generation, guaranteed old-age care, and a more civil society.

All Party committees and governments should be fully aware of the importance of developing family virtues, bear overall leadership responsibility, and place the development of family values high on their agenda. Trade unions, the Communist Youth League, women’s federations and other people’s organizations should actively organize suitable activities to promote family virtues. All sectors should care for and help families in difficulty. Departments for cultural and ethical progress should play a coordinating, guiding and supervisory role, encourage wide participation from all walks of life, and work towards a set of new socialist family morality and values featuring love for the country, family, and one another, devotion to progress and kindness, joint efforts, and shared benefits.

* Part of the speech at a meeting with representatives to the First National Conference of Model Families.

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MORAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATION HELPS TO BUILD A SOUND MINDSET

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-05-14

MORAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATION HELPS TO BUILD A SOUND MINDSET*

December 7, 2016

Education in moral standards and political philosophy is essentially designed to help people build a sound mindset. In order to facilitate students' all-round development towards wholesome and capable individuals, education should focus on the students, care for and serve them, strengthen their moral standards and political awareness, and refine their character and manners. Moral and political education at universities and colleges is a broad topic. It should give consideration to what students are thinking and answer some profound and comprehensive theoretical and ideological questions. Here, I would like to emphasize a few points.

First, we should help students acquire a clear understanding of international and domestic trends.

Only with an understanding of these trends and the laws of history, can we take a firm stance in upholding our ideals and convictions. Human society evolves from primitive society to slave society to feudalism and capitalism, and then to socialism and communism – this is the general law. However, the path of history is never smooth or straight. Since the concept appeared more than 500 years ago, socialism has experienced both successes and setbacks. It is like a river, flowing a winding course but always surging forward. Understanding these twists and turns is as important as understanding the general trends of development.

Some people like to say that the future of communism is bleak or the idea is outdated. What lies behind these claims is no more than ideological bias or a lack of vision. Communism is an ongoing movement that keeps developing in practice, and we are championing such practice by building Chinese socialism. We should help students to understand that the evolution of human society is an unstoppable historical course and so is Chinese socialism. To achieve this, they should be educated on the ideological source and evolution of socialism, and the history of our Party's endeavors to develop Chinese socialism. This will build up their faith and confidence in communist ideals and the common goal of building Chinese socialism.

Second, we should foster in students an accurate understanding of Chinese socialism in comparison with other social systems in the world.

China is now a fully open economy. We see interactions between our country and the rest of the world all the time and face comparisons. When students experience problems, many of them automatically turn their eyes abroad and compare China with the West. Without a correct stance

and the right methods, they risk reaching ill-founded or even erroneous conclusions. This is the root cause of a large number of ideological problems among students. We cannot avoid this problem, and we should and must give a proper response.

We say that China is following a sound and feasible path. This is not the subjective judgment of any individual, but a conclusion we have drawn based on past experiences, the current situation in China and worldwide comparisons. When we talk about Chinese characteristics, we mean they are special and have unique strengths.

For example, our democracy is people's democracy, by which all affairs and matters of public concern are decided through discussion and consultation. Under the leadership of the Party, this helps us determine the common will and the convergence of interests of the whole society. In contrast, the Western political model, characterized by the separation of powers and constant shifts in party rule, increasingly exposes its shortcomings and limitations. The system of checks and balances has become a hindrance to the exercise of power, and rivalry between parties has hijacked national interests. Some countries that blindly copied the Western political model or had it imposed on them are now trapped in endless changes of government and social unrest.

Another example is our socialist market economy, which leverages the decisive role of the market in resource allocation as well as capitalizing on the role of the government. It has secured remarkable achievements for our country. In contrast, some countries that disregarded their own realities and uncritically embraced neoliberalism found themselves in a development trap from which they struggle to escape.

Here is another example. Since our country launched reform and opening up in 1978, more than 700 million rural people have escaped poverty. This means that we have contributed to more than 70 percent of global poverty reduction. In accordance with the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, by 2020 all the rural population living below the current poverty line will have emerged from poverty. We have devoted enormous efforts to this and attained remarkable results recognized by the UN. This is an unprecedented achievement and a major contribution to humanity. How have we been able to achieve this? Because with the strengths of our socialist system, the Party and the state have pooled massive resources and the whole of society has contributed.

I can give many other such examples in our economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental progress and Party development. We should talk about these facts openly and thoroughly to help students grow more confident when comparing China with other countries and foster an objective and comprehensive understanding of contemporary China and the outside world. Some people think the grass is greener on the other side of the fence. We must work harder to assure more Chinese that the moon is brighter and the scenery is beyond compare in their homeland.

Third, we should make students aware of their mission and responsibilities in this era.

A country can be full of hope and look forward to a great tomorrow only when its younger generations have ideals and a strong sense of responsibility. College students today are in their prime while we are working towards the Two Centenary Goals. It will be a great honor to join in this great journey to realize the dream long pursued by generations of Chinese.

An important task for our education is to inspire students, through the Chinese Dream, to pursue their own dreams. We show them the road to ideals and light it up. We should make it clear to our students that rejuvenation is the greatest dream of the Chinese nation since the 1840s, and that it requires continuous efforts from generation to generation. We should make it clear to them that the Chinese Dream is the dream of the country, the nation, and every Chinese.

Students now have unprecedented opportunities to build their careers and achieve success, and genuine prospects of turning their dreams into reality. We should also inspire them to pursue their own dreams as their contribution to the cause of our country and our people, to forge ahead as builders and pioneers, and to write a song of youth and lead a life worthy of our times.

Fourth, we should help students develop a correct understanding of how to integrate great ideals and practical work.

“Throughout history, those who can achieve great feats have not only extraordinary talent, but also an indomitable will.” To turn aspirations into reality requires true knowledge, competence, perseverance, unremitting self-improvement through hard work, and the patience to start from small things. We should guide students to cherish their youth, be grounded, and achieve their dreams through diligence. We should help them understand that dreams begin with study and success depends on competence, so that they will work hard and acquire knowledge and competence as the foundations for their future success.

We should help students temper their will and character, develop an enterprising spirit to give of their best, improve their inner strength to have no fear of failure, maintain an optimistic attitude towards life, and cultivate the courage to face all difficulties and setbacks.

Young people should be ready to realize their aspirations anywhere in the country. We should encourage college students to fix their gaze on national development and go to the grassroots, the west, or any other places that need them most to make a worthwhile contribution to the country.

* Part of the speech at a national conference on moral and political education in institutions of higher learning.

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CONFIDENCE IN CHINESE CULTURE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-05-12

CONFIDENCE IN CHINESE CULTURE*

November 30, 2016

I hope we all have full confidence in our culture and work to lift our national spirit with literary and art works. The realization of national rejuvenation requires us to have confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. A good understanding of and strong confidence in China's profound culture are the prerequisites for the creation of excellent works with distinct national features and unique personal style. Writers and artists should excel in learning from the best of the country's cultural heritage, and siphon energy from it. They should have full confidence in the aspirations, values, vitality and creativity of their own culture, and produce works of art that give strength to the Chinese people on their march towards the future.

Culture is the soul of both a country and a nation. History and our experience have shown that a nation which abandons or betrays its own history and culture cannot prosper, and is likely to end in tragedy. Confidence in culture is basic, deep-rooted, and reaches far and wide; it is a force that is more fundamental, stable and persistent. Increasing confidence in our own culture is critical to the prospects of our country, to our cultural security, and to the independence of our national character. Without confidence in culture, there is no way to create works that are hard-hitting, unique and charming.

Human history tells us that all nations across the globe, without exception, are deeply influenced by excellent art and literature as well as by gifted writers and artists in each and every phase of their historical development. The spirit of the Chinese nation is embodied in the striving of the Chinese people and their achievements, in the cultural life of the Chinese people, in all the marvelous works created by the Chinese nation over thousands of years, and also in the fantastic creative activities of all Chinese writers and artists.

The Chinese nation has created numerous brilliant works at every step of its historical course, such as the *Book of Songs*, *Songs of Chu*, *fu* poetry of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), poetry of the Tang (618-907) and Song (960-1279) dynasties, operas of the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368), and novels of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1616-1911) dynasties, that give birth to the splendid history of Chinese art and literature. It is the prolific literary and artistic creativity of the Chinese nation, our marvelous achievements, and confidence in culture that make us so proud.

Each era has its unique art and literature as well as its unique spirit. Classical art and literature in any era epitomize the social life and spirit of that era with coincident traces and features. Only when the arts of an era are closely related to the nation and share weal and woe with its people,

can they air resonant voices. Writers and artists should follow the pulse, respond to the call, listen to the voice, and brave the challenges of the times.

There is a universally applicable law across the whole world throughout history: Art and literature rise and prosper at the beginning of a new era; they change as the momentum changes, march along with their time, and synchronize with their time in rhythm and wavelength. At every critical juncture of human development, art and literature are the heralds of social progress and human wisdom, proclaiming periodic change and social transformation. Aloof from booming life and the zeitgeist, those writers and artists who indulge in self-admiration are bound to be marginalized by society.

The significance of any work of art and literature lies in the ideas and values contained in it. All forms of expression are but a means to transmit the ideas and values. A work devoid of ideas and values is worthless no matter what dazzling forms of expression are adopted. It is the sacred mission of art and literature to reflect the zeitgeist. Our core socialist values fully represent the spirit of contemporary China and serve as the cultural and ethical cornerstone that coalesces China's strength. Our writers and artists should undertake the principal task of developing and promoting the core socialist values and create excellent works carrying the distinct brand and style of China by following Chinese ways of thinking, expression of emotions and aesthetical preferences.

Since our motherland gives us the strongest support while our heroes best represent our nation, singing the praises of our motherland and our heroes is the eternal theme and the most touching chapter of our literary and artistic creations. To ignite the sense of national pride and honor of all Chinese people, we should follow this patriotic theme, describe the beauties of China, and tell the best stories of our nation through striking language and vivid images. We must hold our heroes in great respect, present them and their stories in a respectful way, promote them in our art and literature, and help our people develop positive viewpoints on history, nation, state, and culture. We should never disparage our ancestors, classics and heroes. Our art and literature should exhibit energetic efforts on behalf of reform and opening up, socialist modernization, and a colorful, progressive and united China, to encourage all our people to march towards a promising future.

Strengthening cultural confidence is nothing but empty talk without perceiving and applying the history of the Chinese nation. History is a mirror, through which we can better see the world and life and understand ourselves; history is also a sage whose admonition can help us better understand the past, grasp the present, and face the future. As an ancient Chinese said, "Our imagination expressed in literary and artistic creation can reach any point in time throughout history and every corner of the whole world in the blink of an eye." Writers and artists will struggle in search of inspiration and profound ideas if they lack a basic understanding of history. They should base their artistic creation on historical materials. This requires that they know, understand and respect history.

Our cultural legacy has provided writers and artists with abundant nourishment and sent their imagination flying. But writers and artists must not portray past events or persons merely through their unbridled imagination or by resorting to historical nihilism. No writers or artists can accurately reconstruct what has happened in the past, but they have the duty to tell the truth about our history and let the people know what is most valuable in our tradition. Literary and artistic works that make travesty of history indicate that these authors are not serious about history, that they are not serious about their own creations. Such works will not have a place in the literary and artistic pantheon. Only if we develop a sound outlook on history, show respect for our tradition and present the past through proper artistic means can our works stand the test of time, find their proper place in our time and pass on to posterity.

The Chinese culture is both historical and contemporary, belonging both to the Chinese nation and the whole world. Art and literature must take root in the land where they were born and grew up to reflect reality, strengthen confidence, and absorb energy, if they are to hold against the impact of other cultures. This echoes with a Chinese poem which goes, “When you reap fruits, you should remember the tree; when you drink water, you should remember its source.”

We have to bear in mind the essence of Chinese culture, learn from foreign cultures, and look to the future. We need to complete a creative transformation in cultural inheritance, and try to surpass those from whom we learn. We hope to create excellent works that embody the essence of the Chinese culture, reflect the Chinese people’s aesthetic pursuits, spread the values of contemporary China, and are in line with the world’s progressive trends. We have to present our literature and art in the international arena with distinct Chinese characteristics, style and ethos.

* Part of the speech at the opening ceremony of the 10th National Congress of China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the Ninth National Congress of China Writers Association.

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CLEAR WATERS AND GREEN MOUNTAINS ARE INVALUABLE ASSETS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-05-09

CLEAR WATERS AND GREEN MOUNTAINS ARE INVALUABLE ASSETS*

November 28, 2016

Eco-environmental progress is an important component of the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy. All provincial authorities and central departments should diligently implement the new development philosophy, be fully aware that “clear waters and green mountains are invaluable assets”, and make every effort to usher in a new era of ecological development under the socialist system.

Reform for eco-environmental progress should be driven to a new level, and a pertinent institutional framework should be set up as soon as possible, providing functional mechanisms buttressed by the rule of law. By introducing supply-side structural reform, we will speed up China’s development in a green, circular, and low-carbon fashion, and make our work and daily life less resource-reliant and more environment-friendly. Emphasis will be put on the supervision of environmental crimes, and violations of Party discipline and the law in relation to environmental protection will be handled accordingly. We will focus our strength on pressing environmental problems, so that the public will see noticeable improvement in the eco-environment. Party committees and governments at all levels, along with other relevant bodies, must treat eco-environmental progress as an important task, take solid steps to tackle difficult issues, and be persistent and pragmatic to achieve concrete results. They must make sure that the decisions and plans of the Party Central Committee on promoting eco-environmental progress are thoroughly implemented, and strive to contribute to a better environment for a beautiful China and to global ecological security.

* Comments on promoting eco-environmental progress.

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STRENGTHEN INTERNAL PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNANCE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-05-07

STRENGTHEN INTERNAL PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNANCE*

October 27, 2016

I. Exercise Full and Rigorous Governance over the Party

To implement the decisions made at the plenary session, we must build a better understanding of full and rigorous governance over the Party. After the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, having comprehensively analyzed the new circumstances and tasks faced by the Party and the state, and the emerging situations and problems in the Party, the country, society and the international environment, the Party's Central Committee came to an important conclusion: To succeed in the great struggle with many new features, effectively deal with threats and challenges, and realize the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, we must strengthen the Party. If its members' conviction is wavering, their organization flaccid, their discipline weak and their conduct slack, the Party will not be able to effectively respond to the tests it faces in governance, reform and opening up, the market economy, and the external environment. Nor will it be able to overcome the dangers of a lack of drive and competence, disengagement from the people, inaction, or corruption. In this case, it will be unable to achieve its ultimate goals. There is a risk that it will become seriously detached from the people and repeat the tragedy of *Farewell My Concubine*. This is the fundamental reason why the Central Committee has time and again emphasized that it takes a good blacksmith to forge good tools.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, we have incorporated full and rigorous internal Party governance into the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy. This is an essential choice of our Party in responding to the changing situation in the world, in China and in the Party in the new era. Focusing on solving problems, we have strengthened internal Party governance mainly in the following respects:

First, political awareness. We have armed ourselves and forged cohesion with the latest achievements in adapting Marxism to Chinese conditions. We have consolidated the foundations of our values with ideals and convictions and education on Party consciousness, and guided all Party members to hold to the Party's ideals and convictions and have stronger confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Second, Party self-discipline. We have upheld and enforced the Party's leadership, and guided all Party members to maintain political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and act in accordance with its requirements. We

have worked to ensure that all obligations related to internal Party governance are fulfilled and continued to strengthen the consciousness and capability of Party organizations at all levels in exercising internal Party governance.

Third, discipline compliance. To ensure the Party's unity and concerted action, we have given top priority to compliance with Party discipline, tightened political discipline and rules, and urged all Party members to bear in mind the Five Musts, and to avoid the Seven Malpractices.

Fourth, supervision over officials. We are adopting a sound approach to selecting officials and extending reform of the management of officials. We have discarded the practice of "four overemphases". We have rectified undesirable tendencies and improved the environment in the selection and appointment of officials.

Fifth, high standards for good conduct. We have emphasized that leading officials play an exemplary role. With perseverance and targeted efforts, we aim to solve problems that were deemed intractable, and have continued to improve the conduct of the Party and the government.

Sixth, the fight against corruption. We have shown zero tolerance for corruption and dealt with both "tigers" and "flies". We are narrowing the gap between the bars of the institutional cage. In particular, we have removed high-ranking corrupt officials such as Zhou Yongkang, Bo Xilai, Guo Boxiong, Xu Caihou and Ling Jihua, effectively curbing the spread of corruption.

Through several years of effort, we have made significant progress in exercising full and rigorous internal Party governance. Integrity is on the rise within the Party, and Party conduct and social ethos are improving. These are comprehensive and profound changes that are encouraging and far-reaching, creating tremendous momentum for the cause of the Party and the country. This shows that the strategic decision made by the Central Committee to strengthen internal Party governance is absolutely correct and has gained strong support from all Party members and the people.

Nonetheless, we are soberly aware of the following problems: The governing environment our Party faces is complex, as are the factors undermining the Party's progressive and wholesome nature and the makeup of Party membership. Some deep-seated problems within the Party have not been completely resolved. Factors that may cause the recurrence of old problems still exist. We are also facing some new situations and problems. With regard to full and rigorous governance over the Party, some Party members and officials still lack adequate understanding, are ill-prepared in mind, and have shown little initiative.

The entire Party must realize that the foundations of the Party's governing status will be unstable and might even crumble if supervision over the Party is lax and outstanding issues of significant public concern remain unsolved. Likewise, if we allow the problems that have previously been solved to recur, we will lose the trust of the people and face greater danger.

Problems themselves are not to be feared; what does ring the alarm is when we have no solution to the problems or lack perseverance in pushing through the solution. As an ancient Chinese writer said, “People who fall aside will achieve nothing, and farmers who are indolent will reap no harvest.” Therefore, the whole Party must maintain its resolve, make real, decisive and persistent efforts in enforcing strict Party discipline, and apply stringent standards throughout the process and in every aspect of internal Party governance.

China is entering a decisive stage in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and the Chinese nation is in a critical period leading to its rejuvenation. As our reform enters uncharted waters and our economic development has entered a new normal, various problems overlap and risks and hidden dangers mount. In today’s world, as the international balance of power is shifting and the global economy is undergoing profound adjustment, China’s development faces a more complex and challenging international environment. On our journey ahead, there are various stumbling blocks. In such internal and external circumstances, to seize the initiative, gain the advantage, and win the future, we must make the Party still stronger so that it can unite the people and lead them in responding to daunting challenges, defusing grave risks, removing major obstacles, and resolving serious problems.

In exercising full and rigorous governance over the Party, we need to make an effort that is both comprehensive and focused. One key is to strengthen and regulate internal Party activities and tighten internal scrutiny. The basis of full and rigorous governance over the Party is to be strict with internal Party activities. Self-supervision of the Party should start with internal Party activities. The Party’s governing status decides that internal Party scrutiny is the first and most fundamental means among all forms of supervision for the Party and the country. Only by driving other forms of scrutiny with internal Party scrutiny and by improving the relevant systems can we provide a strong institutional guarantee for full and rigorous governance over the Party. The Guidelines and Regulations adopted at this plenary session are consistent and complementary and form an important institutional and regulatory guarantee for strengthening internal Party governance.

II. Comprehensively Strengthen and Regulate Internal Party Activities

Sound internal Party activities are one of the great traditions of the CPC and a hallmark that distinguishes the Party from other political parties. It has long been proved that sound internal Party activities are an important means for our Party to uphold its nature and purpose and maintain its progressive and wholesome nature. They are a golden key to problems within the Party, a great furnace to temper members’ and officials’ commitment to the Party, and a purifier to improve Party conduct.

“A carpenter’s line marker is created because there are objects that are not straight.” This plenary session is problem-oriented as it focuses on strengthening and regulating internal Party activities and tightening internal Party scrutiny. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, as we continuously strengthen internal Party governance, outstanding problems within the Party have been increasingly exposed. High-ranking officials such as Zhou Yongkang, Bo Xilai, Guo Boxiong, Xu

Caihou and Ling Jihua were not only financially greedy and decadent, but also overinflated in their political ambitions. They conspired in political maneuvering by means such as feigning compliance, ganging together in pursuit of selfish interests, and forming cliques. These serious political problems caused me to ponder. In the past three years and more, I have repeatedly emphasized that it is imperative to understand and do a good job in internal Party governance from a political perspective.

On November 16, 2012, at the first meeting of the Political Bureau of the 18th Central Committee, I emphasized that members should take the lead in knowing the rules, abiding by discipline, and observing the Party's organizational principles and guiding principles for its internal activities. On November 20, I published the article titled "Earnestly Study and Strictly Observe the Party Constitution" in the *People's Daily*, emphasizing that we should strictly follow the various provisions in the Party Constitution on internal Party activities, hold to principles without flinching, carry out criticism and self-criticism, and play a leading role in promoting integrity and opposing malfeasance.

On January 22, 2013, at the Second Plenary Session of the 18th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, I said that to improve Party conduct we need to purify the political ecosystem and foster a sound environment of clean government. On June 25, the Political Bureau convened a special meeting to review the implementation of the central Party leadership's Eight Rules and discuss measures on further improving Party conduct. At the meeting, I emphasized that we require Party organizations at all levels and all Party members and officials, and especially leading officials, to willingly abide by the Party's Constitution, its organizational principles, and the guiding principles for its internal activities. They must willingly accept regulation by Party discipline; one cannot place oneself above the Party organization. Members of the Political Bureau must be the first to meet these requirements.

On October 8, 2014, at the conference reviewing the education campaign on the Party's mass line, I said, "Internal Party activities are the main platform on which Party organizations educate its members and Party members strengthen their commitment to the Party. Strengthening internal Party governance must start with internal Party activities. Internal Party activities determine the conduct of Party members and officials." "Essentially, strengthening internal Party governance means ensuring that Party organizations at all levels and all Party members and officials act in accordance with the Party's guiding principles for its internal activities and with its regulations." On October 23, when I stated at the second full assembly of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee that Party members and officials, leading officials in particular, should strictly abide by political discipline and rules, I pointed out, "Some officials, ignoring the Party's political discipline and rules, have engaged in one or more of these malpractices: (1) making appointments based on favoritism and discriminating against those who hold different views; (2) ganging together to form self-serving factions; (3) making anonymous and false allegations against others and spreading rumors; (4) buying support and votes; (5) promising high positions in exchange for favors and relying on cronyism for promotion; (6) feigning compliance while

opposing in action and going their own way; (7) failing to comply with or even making baseless criticisms of Central Committee decisions. Some of their conduct is outrageous. These problems have often failed to draw attention in some localities and departments. Even when identified, they have not been understood and dealt with as actions running counter to Party discipline and state law. This is wrong and must be rectified.” These are the Seven Malpractices, which I talked about mainly from a political perspective.

On January 13, 2015, at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, I emphasized that to observe political discipline and rules, it is essential to focus on the following: to uphold the authority of the Central Committee and make sure that Party members and officials all keep in line with the Party’s central leadership in thinking, action and political orientation; to safeguard the unity of the Party and unite with everyone loyal to the Party regardless of their origin and background; to abide by organizational procedures, request instructions or report as required when major issues are concerned, and ensure that no one is permitted to act beyond his or her authority; to obey the decisions of the Party organization, and ensure that no one is permitted to carry out activities it bans; to rein in relatives and immediate staff, and never allow them to use their connections to seek personal gain. These are the Five Musts as I called them. On October 29, at the second full assembly of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, I emphasized, “Now it is indeed necessary to restore the political ecosystem and carry forward the Party’s great traditions and conduct. In this regard, members of the Central Committee should identify with and share the concerns of the Party, and work towards its interests and play an exemplary role.”

On July 1, 2016, at the ceremony marking the 95th anniversary of the founding of the Party, I underlined that “we must strengthen and regulate internal Party activities; strictly enforce the CPC’s political discipline and rules; make internal Party activities more politically oriented, up to date, principled, and effective; and comprehensively purify the political environment within the Party.”

Over the past few years I have been reiterating the importance of rigorously carrying out internal Party activities, because our Party is at a critical historic juncture, when significant changes in the Party membership and new developments in the relations between the Party and the people and between officials and the people demand that we make a political effort to strengthen internal Party governance in every respect.

The Guidelines adopted at this session not only embody the provisions and requirements of the Party Constitution, but also are a systematic representation of the rules and measures that have been formed through recent experience in strengthening internal Party governance. Targeting major conflicts and problems inside the Party, the Guidelines lay out provisions in 12 sections, pointing out symptoms and issuing prescriptions to deal with both symptoms and root causes. The key to making the Guidelines effective lies in their enforcement.

First, we should work to accomplish the fundamental task of guiding people in their ways of thinking. “To succeed, one must become resolute first.” To better guide people in their ways of thinking and strengthen their theoretical education is a top task for internal Party activities and a prerequisite for concerted action. Mao Zedong once pointed out, “Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole Party for great political struggles.” The root cause of problems in our Party is that some members and officials waver in their ideals and convictions, and falter in their worldview, outlook on life, and values. Ideals and convictions come from perseverance and are tempered by practice. We should strengthen education in theory, in ethics, and in commitment to the Party. We should guide Party members and officials to strengthen their beliefs, reinforce the marrow of their faith, and maintain the correct way of thinking. We want them to uphold the truth, the correct path, principles, and rules; to recognize virtue, follow social ethics, and restrict personal desires; and to observe moral standards, preserve integrity, and cultivate character. We want them to be able to conduct themselves in life and society with faith, character and action.

Political activities, the political ecosystem, and political culture within the Party are complementary. Political culture is the soul of political activities, exerting an imperceptible influence on the political ecosystem. We should build a strong intra-Party political culture and prepare the ground for a sound political ecosystem, advocating and practicing values such as honesty, frankness, fairness, pragmatism, realism, hard work, and integrity, and opposing misconduct such as nepotism, unscrupulous pursuit for money and position, undesirable practices among officials, and hidden rules.

Second, we should enforce strict discipline, which is key. As our ancestors said, “Nothing can be accomplished without regulations and rules.” Strict discipline is an inherent requirement and important guarantee for improving and regulating internal Party activities. We should strengthen intra-Party institutional restrictions, and narrow the gap between the bars of the institutional cage. Political discipline and rules are the most crucial part of Party discipline, and observing them is the basis for observing other Party discipline. Party organizations and Party members should conscientiously abide by political discipline and rules, maintain their political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and act in accordance with its requirements, ensuring that they are firm in political belief and stance and follow a correct orientation.

We should work to ensure every order or prohibition is executed without fail, and investigate and prosecute all violations, so that discipline and rules become a strong deterrent against the broken windows phenomenon and its negative consequences. We should review the current rules and regulations for internal Party activities in accordance with the Guidelines, revising whatever should be revised, supplementing those that require it, and formulating new ones if necessary. Party organizations shoulder the responsibility for enforcing discipline and rules. They must strengthen scrutiny and accountability, targeting those who slack off in this regard. The goal is to transform lax and slack Party governance into strict and firm governance.

Third, we should adopt the right approach in selecting and appointing officials, which is a weather vane for internal Party activities. Unhealthy tendencies and corruption in the appointment of officials are most harmful; a correct orientation is the fundamental solution to rigorously carrying out internal Party activities. We must implement the standards for good officials and be strict with officials in their political consciousness, character, conduct, and clean governance, rewarding and promoting high performers who are loyal, honest, responsible, pragmatic, incorruptible, hardworking, and keen on reform, while leaving no space for and punishing those who feign compliance, flatter and ingratiate superiors, practice fraud, and do nothing practical, but angle for posts and indulge their own interests. We must be resolute in correcting unhealthy tendencies in the selection and appointment of officials, ensuring that no appointment is made of unqualified people, preventing the phenomenon of “bad money drives out good”, and creating a sound political ecology with a clean environment for employing capable officials. We should improve the institutions for managing and overseeing officials so that selection is not over-emphasized and supervision is not overlooked. In addition, we need to fine-tune mechanisms that allow for and address mistakes, give more positive incentives, and guide officials to maintain a positive mindset, work hard, and act responsibly.

Fourth, we should make good use of regular activities of Party organizations. They are an important part and vehicle of internal Party activities. They are an important way that Party organizations educate, manage and oversee Party members. The capability and competence of a leading body depends very much on whether it carries out regular activities of Party organizations in earnest. We should reinforce the organizational system to ensure that the following activities receive due attention: Three Meetings and One Lecture; Party members in leading positions engaging in criticism and self-criticism sessions both among themselves and within their branch of affiliation; and democratic appraisal, frank communication and self-criticism among Party members and within Party branches. We also need to strengthen regular education, management and oversight of Party members. And we should adopt new approaches to make regular activities of Party organizations more appealing and effective.

Criticism and self-criticism are good tools for the Party to address problems and keep itself healthy, and an important means to strengthen and regulate internal Party activities. Officials must take the lead and leading groups should set a good example in creating an atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism within the Party. Officials should firmly oppose such ideas as “it is none of my business” or “it is better to say nothing about what’s wrong”. And they should overcome any tendency to cover up errors and fail to correct mistakes.

Fifth, we should focus on both inheritance and innovation, which are two key links. The great tradition of internal Party activities that our Party has brought into being is its permanent treasure, whether in the past, the present, or the future. We must never cast aside this tradition, which gives us our soul; neither should we change our nature as a true Communist party. At the same time, as conditions change, we should constantly innovate and improve the content, forms, vehicles, methods and means of internal Party activities, and guide new practice with new experience.

Giving better play to the role of such activities, we should try to create a lively political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind.

The purpose of implementing the Guidelines is to effectively solve major problems in internal Party activities. All Party organizations, members and officials should consciously check their thoughts and actions against the Guidelines, face up to their mistakes with courage, conduct self-analysis, and tackle deep-rooted problems. On the one hand, we should work to solve the problems that are all-pervasive and most conspicuous. For example, at work, some officials are arbitrary; some seek no others' input in making decisions, or behave in disregard of rules and oppose centralism. Some officials simply favor form over substance, or engage in bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance. There is also abuse of power, embezzlement, bribery, moral decline, and violation of the law and discipline. Some officials do not observe discipline, and fail to enforce discipline strictly or punish transgression. Some lack drive, shirk their responsibilities, are mediocre and lazy on the job, and accomplish nothing. These problems, obvious in the eyes of the people, have clearly defined stipulations against them. The solution lies in strict enforcement and more rigid constraints.

On the other hand, we need to tackle problems that are highly political and potentially devastating. For example, some officials do not follow the CPC Central Committee on major issues, or refuse to act in accordance with our Party's political discipline and rules. Some are not loyal to or honest with the Party, feign compliance, practice fraud, or conceal private vice behind a mask of public virtue. Some officials make appointments based on favoritism or for reasons of personal gain. Some angle for official positions, buy and sell posts, or engage in vote rigging. Some gang together in pursuit of private interests, form exclusive cliques, or are primarily driven by overinflated political ambitions. Such problems are often hidden, and will not become apparent until critical moments. Our solution is to establish criteria for spotting them, put in place an effective mechanism, and deal with typical instances in a timely manner.

Internal Party activities are a complicated matter, and problems differ from place to place. It takes courage to confront our problems and competence to solve them. We should address whatever problems that come up, with a focus on the most difficult and serious. When trying to solve these problems, we should make comprehensive analysis, and draw inferences about other problems from individual examples. And every measure we take or effort we make should help strengthen and regulate political activities and purify the political ecosystem within our Party.

III. Reinforce the Party's Internal Scrutiny

The Regulations passed at this plenary session represent a top-level design to strengthen internal Party scrutiny in the current era. These are basic rules regulating current and future internal Party scrutiny, and we must lay emphasis on their implementation, so that they serve as a restraint on the conduct of all Party organizations, members and officials.

In the Yan'an days, Chairman Mao Zedong emphasized the need to break the historical cycle of rise and fall. It was thus made clear at the Eighth CPC National Congress in 1956 that all Party members and organizations were subject to top-down and bottom-up scrutiny. Today we are improving our Party's internal scrutiny system in order to make it more effective and efficient for preventing and correcting misconduct and reinforce our ability to cleanse, improve, renew and temper our Party.

There is a long-standing prominent problem in the Party – people are reluctant to or dare not engage in scrutiny, or they resist it. They worry about suffering from retaliation if they criticize their superiors, about damaging friendships with persons of equivalent rank if they criticize them, about losing support if they criticize their subordinates. In many central and local government departments, internal Party scrutiny exists only on paper. The absence of such scrutiny will inevitably lead to the weakening of Party leadership, a failure to strengthen the Party, and inefficiency in internal Party governance. All Party members should be fully aware that internal scrutiny is the source of health and life for the Party. We should constantly bolster our will to tackle deep-rooted problems, so that actively carrying out scrutiny and being receptive to such scrutiny become standard conduct throughout the Party.

Internal Party scrutiny is a task for our Party. Party committees or Party leadership groups are responsible for scrutiny, and their secretaries are first in the line of responsibility. Members of Party standing committees or Party leadership groups and Party committee members conduct scrutiny within the defined scope of their duties. Party officials at various levels must understand and shoulder their responsibilities, perform their duties and be bold in carrying out scrutiny. Done properly, internal Party scrutiny will be carried out in the spirit of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient. We should talk to people to give them warnings as to their conduct, and engage in criticism and self-criticism so as to identify problems and handle them promptly. An analysis of typical cases in recent years shows a common corruption process. People first commit small acts of misconduct, and these gradually become more serious. If they had been pulled up by the Party organizations at the outset, it would have been possible, certainly in some cases, to halt their slip down the path of wrongdoing before it was too late. Party organizations should communicate more with Party members, learning about how they think, live and work. They should pay more attention to feedback from officials and the people, and prevent minor misdeeds from growing into major wrongdoing. Internal Party scrutiny should be carried out everywhere, at any time and in everything, to urge Party members and officials to take on and play their role properly. All Party members should make a habit of drawing each other's attention to and correcting mistakes, in order to make common progress.

The commissions for discipline inspection at various levels are responsible for internal Party scrutiny and accountability. They should put political discipline and rules first, strengthen scrutiny of compliance with the Party Constitution and Party discipline and rules, and check the implementation of the Party's guidelines, principles, policies and resolutions within their prescribed jurisdiction. They should conduct discipline inspection under the dual leadership system,

strengthen the leadership of commissions for discipline inspection over those at lower levels, reinforce leadership over dispatched inspection groups, and ensure that all obligations related to internal Party governance are fulfilled by both the Party organization under scrutiny and the inspection group. As a vehicle and a means for Party committees or Party leadership groups to fulfill their responsibilities in their relevant fields, Party affairs offices should carry out internal Party scrutiny within their scope of responsibilities. They should strengthen both the internal scrutiny of their own departments and the routine scrutiny of their sector. They should investigate and handle problems promptly instead of always forwarding them to Party committees and commissions for discipline inspection. A powerful mesh of internal Party scrutiny will be woven as long as we join hands at all levels and across all areas.

Democratic scrutiny by Party members is a basic approach within the Party. It is not only the right but also the unshirkable duty and obligation of Party members to our Party. Party organizations and members at the grassroots level should strengthen supervision over Party officials, and urge them to participate in regular activities of their Party organizations and perform their obligations as Party members. At Party meetings, Party members should be bold in exposing violations of the Party Constitution and discipline, in criticizing, with evidence, any Party organization or member, and in reporting any organization or member to the Party on issues of misconduct that contravene the law and Party discipline. Party organizations at all levels should guarantee Party members' rights to be informed and to scrutinize; encourage and support their active role in internal Party scrutiny; and strictly investigate and handle cases of interfering with scrutiny and retaliation against anyone involved in scrutiny.

Internal Party scrutiny is the first and most fundamental means among all forms of scrutiny for the Party and the country. But it cannot work as a joint force without being integrated with scrutiny by state agencies, other political parties, the general public, and public opinion. Officials should welcome scrutiny from all sides, showing both breadth of mind and confidence. We should support democratic oversight by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in accordance with its charter, value the comments, criticisms and suggestions from other political parties and prominent individuals without party affiliation, and encourage them to speak frankly and offer suggestions. We should consciously accept supervision from the people, provide smooth channels for reporting through letters and calls, deal seriously with typical violations of discipline, and promptly respond to the concerns of the people. We should strengthen public opinion as a means of supervision, and use media exposure and analysis of typical cases as a warning, so as to create a positive atmosphere of public opinion in favor of ensuring full and rigorous governance over the Party.

IV. Focus on Leading Officials, Especially High-Ranking Ones

"If we fail to lead by example, others will neither trust nor follow us." Strengthening and regulating internal Party activities and tightening internal Party scrutiny must begin with leading officials, especially those in senior positions. This is determined by the special positions they hold that offer them great power, and is also necessitated by their special responsibility to play a model role.

Our Party always attaches great importance to strengthening senior officials' political commitment, improving their conduct, and guiding them to play an exemplary role. In 1938, Mao Zedong pointed out, "...our Party's fighting capacity will be much greater ... if there are one or two hundred comrades with a grasp of Marxism-Leninism which is systematic and not fragmentary, genuine and not hollow." In 1989, Deng Xiaoping said, "As long as we have a good Political Bureau, and a good Standing Committee in particular, and as long as the committee is united and sets an example by working hard to build the country and by combating corruption, it can withstand all kinds of trouble." Jiang Zemin also emphasized on many occasions that as the Party's senior officials, members of the Central Committee "must align with the Central Committee in thinking and political stance, resolutely uphold the Central Committee's authority, and unwaveringly follow the Party's guidelines and policies. At critical moments in particular, they should be even firmer in implementing major decisions of the Party and never vacillate at any time and under any circumstance. If all high-ranking officials do so, the Party can always remain strongly cohesive and highly effective." Hu Jintao said, "Leading officials at all levels, especially those holding senior positions, must maintain integrity and self-discipline, develop a firm Marxist worldview, outlook on life, and values, and take the right attitude towards power, position and interest. They must constantly cultivate ethical qualities as officials, think about the harms of greed, and discipline themselves. They must remain vigorous, enterprising and righteous as Communists, behave properly, exercise introspection, self-caution and self-motivation, and be truly clean and honest."

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized that its members must set a good example in strengthening their ideals and convictions, carrying out earnest study and practice, upholding democratic centralism, and promoting exemplary conduct. It has emphasized that senior officials must lead by example in being loyal to the Party, fulfilling their responsibilities in Party governance, and abiding by Party discipline.

Admittedly, the various problems in recent years in internal Party activities and internal Party scrutiny can be ascribed to some extent to the general environment of the market economy and the profound changes in the makeup of Party membership. Nevertheless, problems of high-ranking officials are often the main cause of the growth and spread of problems in the localities and departments where those officials work. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, almost 200 senior officials have been investigated and held accountable, many of whom had been provincial Party secretaries or governors, ministers, and alternate or full members of the Central Committee. In particular senior leading officials such as Zhou Yongkang, Bo Xilai, Guo Boxiong, Xu Caihou and Ling Jihua caused enormous damage to the image and prestige of our Party. That is why we emphasize the important role of leading officials, especially officials in senior positions, when it comes to internal Party governance and the implementation of the Guidelines and Regulations. That is also why I said at the second full assembly of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee: "We must be clear about the special importance of senior officials to the Party and the country. High-ranking officials must consciously examine themselves against the standards set by the Party, and temper and improve themselves accordingly. The higher their

positions are, the more they are expected to do the following: work diligently, devote themselves selflessly to the Party and the people, strictly abide by the rules, exercise power in a proper, prudent and incorruptible manner, cherish honor and integrity as much as they cherish their own life, remold their subjective world, sincerely accept oversight, and work hard to become good officials trusted by the Party and the people.”

The Guidelines and Regulations adopted at this plenary session highlight senior officials and set higher standards and stricter requirements for them. This is a distinctive feature of these two internal Party documents. Next, the Central Committee is going to formulate a detailed instruction for senior officials to implement the Guidelines and specify those requirements which are merely general principles in the Guidelines.

Senior officials should be clear about the special importance of their position, have a stronger sense of self-discipline, become the person that others can look up to, and play an exemplary role in observing the Party Constitution. They should be the first to meet the requirements set for Party members and officials and refrain from doing anything Party members and officials are not allowed to do. At the same time they should earnestly carry out their responsibilities in Party governance, have the moral fiber to tackle tough problems in strengthening internal Party activities and tightening internal Party scrutiny, and ensure that they can identify the problems that fall within their jurisdiction as soon as possible, and effectively solve them without delay. We should carry out strict education, management and supervision of senior officials. Once their problems are identified, they must be reminded, criticized, or punished, and their wrongdoing rectified. We must not ignore problems, nor should we cover them up or play them down.

The head of a leadership team should play an exemplary role in implementing the Guidelines and Regulations, as this is important for managing leadership teams and leading officials. We should make the education of those in command more targeted, their management more regular, and their supervision more effective, so that they take the lead in abiding by the Party Constitution and rules, and the Constitution and the law, earnestly enforce democratic centralism, continuously strengthen their commitment to the Party, and do not abuse their power for personal gain.

Among high-ranking officials, members of the Central Committee, its Political Bureau and the Political Bureau Standing Committee should be the first and foremost to shoulder responsibility. We Central Committee members must do the following: hold firm ideals and convictions, resolutely safeguard and fully implement the Party’s basic line, unwaveringly follow the Central Committee’s orders and uphold its authority, improve our moral qualities, act as models in applying the core socialist values, strictly observe the Party’s political discipline and rules, take the lead in respecting, studying, abiding by and applying laws, persevere in opposing the Four Forms of Official Misconduct, wage resolute struggles against ideas and instances of seeking privilege, establish a sound family culture, educate and restrain our family members and immediate staff, and sincerely accept scrutiny from all sides. We should understand the importance of strengthening the Central Committee, its Political Bureau and the Political Bureau Standing Committee, as they bear on the long-term prosperity and stability of the Party and the country. We

should effectively carry out internal Party activities and internal Party scrutiny at these levels, and lead the whole Party in breaking new ground in strengthening internal Party governance through our own exemplary actions.

* Part of the speech at the second full assembly of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

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INCREASE THE STRENGTH AND SCALE OF STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES

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INCREASE THE STRENGTH AND SCALE OF STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES*

October 10, 2016

When discussing the issue of strengthening the Party in state-owned enterprises (SOEs), we must first understand whether we still need SOEs or not. I raise this question not without reason, nor to create unnecessary alarm, but because it is a very real issue that we must confront.

There is no doubt that SOEs and the state-owned sector of the economy must continue to develop and grow in strength under the CPC leadership and in our socialist system. However, there are individuals who have presented entirely misleading arguments targeting SOEs. They harp on about the “monopoly of SOEs”, spread the idea of “SOEs competing against private enterprises for profit”, and claim that SOEs are “intolerable entities”. They advocate privatization, divestiture of state ownership, and stripping the state-owned sector of its leading role. They claim that the state-owned public sector develops at the expense of the private sector and vice versa. Hostile forces and individuals with ulterior motives single out SOEs for malicious attacks, claiming that “if SOEs are not eliminated, China will not prosper” and asserting that “dismantling” is the best way to reform SOEs. We must stay alert to their hidden agenda. Well aware of the significance of SOEs to our Party’s governance and our socialist system, these people aim to confuse the public and undermine the foundations of our governance and social system. Unfortunately, some of our officials fail to see and understand this issue clearly. They have accepted some vague and seemingly plausible but erroneous ideas. We must analyze the issue from a political perspective and not consider it merely as a simple issue of ownership or purely an economic one. That would be too naive.

I have said before that SOEs are part of the material and political foundations of socialism with Chinese characteristics. They are crucial for consolidating the leading role of the public sector, maintaining the governing status and capacity of the Party, and upholding our socialist system.

As the material foundations for Chinese socialism, SOEs have secured tremendous achievements since the founding of the PRC in 1949, particularly after the launch of reform and opening up in the late 1970s. In 2015, there were 167,000 SOEs nationwide, with total assets of RMB140.7 trillion, operating revenue of RMB44.9 trillion, and total profits of RMB2.5 trillion. China has 110 enterprises listed in the Fortune Global 500, ranking second in the world, and 83 of them are state-owned. SOEs have made significant and world-leading technological innovations and mastered a large number of core technologies in key fields such as manned spaceflight, lunar

exploration, deep sea exploration, high-speed rail, ultra-high-voltage power transmission and transformation, and mobile communications. They have shouldered numerous social responsibilities, including investing in infrastructure and public services which require large financial input but have low returns, undertaking long-term and high-risk fundamental research and development, implementing major projects in defense-related science, technology and industry, providing relief and response after major natural disasters and emergencies, and implementing projects related to poverty reduction and public wellbeing.

Through deeper reform, optimization and adjustment, and innovative development, SOEs have built up their presence in important industries, critical sectors, and key areas of infrastructure that are related to national security, the lifeblood of the national economy, and the wellbeing of the people. They have also gravitated towards prospective and strategic industries and become leading enterprises with core competitiveness. As a result, there has been a steady increase in the quantity and quality of state-owned assets and a gradual improvement in the distribution and structure of state-owned capital. Moreover, the vitality, leveraging power, influence, international competitiveness, and resilience of the state-owned sector continue to strengthen.

Therefore, I would like to state very clearly that SOEs have made a historic contribution to China's economic and social development, technological progress, national defense, and public wellbeing. This is a feat that cannot be denied. If it were not for the important material foundation laid by SOEs over the years, we would not have achieved economic independence, national security, and a steady improvement in people's lives. Neither would China enjoy its current international standing as a steadfast socialist country in the East.

From a political perspective, for our Party to "sit tight on the fishing boat despite the rising wind and surging waves", we must have a backbone that will follow the Party's command, respond promptly and readily to challenges at critical moments, and prevail. SOEs and their Party members, officials and employees are exactly such a force. We can count on them at critical moments.

SOEs are an important pillar supporting the Party in the governance and rejuvenation of China. The working class is China's leading class; it is the most steadfast and reliable class foundation of our Party's governance; and it is the main force for realizing a moderately prosperous society in all respects and for upholding and building socialism with Chinese characteristics. SOEs have trained a large contingent of industrial workers, with over 40 million employees, nearly 800,000 Party organizations, and over 10 million Party members. They constitute the backbone of the working class in China. Strengthening SOEs and harnessing the role of the working class is significant for bolstering our Party's governing status and our socialist system. This is the basis for my statement that SOEs serve as the political foundation of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

If SOEs shrivel, collapse or disappear altogether, how can we uphold the leading role of public ownership, the state-owned sector of the economy, and the working class? How can we achieve common prosperity? How can we consolidate the foundations of our Party as a ruling party? How

can we uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics? We must remain sober-minded about these questions, and so must leading officials at all levels, especially senior officials, as well as Party members and employees of SOEs. We cannot simply parrot what certain people are preaching, and play into their hands.

SOEs shoulder a significant historic mission in upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, implementing the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy, achieving the Two Centenary Goals, and realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. Firm support for the development of SOEs and the non-public sector is a manifestation of confidence in our socialist path, theory, system and culture, and of our political commitment.

Therefore, SOEs must be strengthened. All local authorities, government departments, and SOEs must act on the decisions and plans of the CPC Central Committee regarding their reform and development. They must adapt to changes in the domestic and international economic situation, continue to preserve and increase the value of state-owned assets, improve the competitiveness of the state-owned sector, and bolster the role of state capital. At the same time they should expand reform of SOEs, improve their operational and managerial capabilities, strengthen supervision of their assets, and increase their strength and scale.

* Part of the speech at the National Conference on Strengthening the Party in SOEs.

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BUILD AN INNOVATIVE, INVIGORATED, INTERCONNECTED AND INCLUSIVE WORLD ECONOMY

BUILD AN INNOVATIVE, INVIGORATED, INTERCONNECTED AND INCLUSIVE WORLD ECONOMY*

September 4, 2016

Dear colleagues,

I declare the G20 Hangzhou Summit open.

I am pleased to meet you all here in Hangzhou. First of all, I want to extend a warm welcome to you.

Last year's G20 Antalya Summit was a great success, and I want to take this opportunity to thank Turkey, which chaired last year's summit, again for its outstanding job and for achieving positive results. Turkey made "collective action for inclusive and robust growth" the theme of the summit, and promoted results in terms of "inclusiveness, implementation and investment". China has always positively commented on the various tasks carried out by Turkey during its presidency.

Last November, when I introduced Hangzhou to you in Antalya, I quoted a Chinese saying which goes, "Up in Heaven there is Paradise, down on earth there are Suzhou and Hangzhou." I believe that the Hangzhou Summit will present you an opportunity to appreciate a unique mixture of the past and present Hangzhou. Today, this invitation has become a reality. Here we have both old and new friends, as we gather in Hangzhou to discuss major development plans for the world economy.

In the coming two days, we will discuss topics including better macro-policy coordination, innovation in growth models, more efficient global economic and financial governance, robust international trade and investment, inclusive and interconnected development and other prominent issues that may impact the world economy.

Eight years ago, at the most critical point of the global financial crisis, the world economy was sliding towards a precipice. The G20 was entrusted to pull it back onto a track of stability in a spirit of partnership and joint action. That was an unprecedented move. Unity triumphed over differences. Mutual benefit replaced selfish gains. That crisis made people remember the G20, and led to the establishment of the G20 as a major forum for international economic cooperation.

Eight years later, the world economy has again arrived at a critical moment. Scientific and technological progress, population growth, economic globalization, and other main engines that propelled world economic growth over the past several decades have shifted down a gear, and

their impetus for the world economy has visibly weakened. The growth impetus brought about by the previous round of scientific and technological progress has gradually slackened, and a new revolution in science, technology and industry has yet to gain momentum. A graying society and low population growth rate in major economies have brought about economic and social pressure on various countries. Economic globalization has suffered a setback. Protectionism and inward-looking tendencies have reasserted themselves. The multilateral trading system has been adversely impacted. In spite of the marked progress in financial oversight reform, risks including high leverage and large bubbles have continued to accumulate. How to make financial markets effectively serve the real economy while maintaining stability still remains a major headache for many countries.

Given the composite effects of these factors, although the world economy has generally maintained a recovery posture, it is still faced with multiple risks and challenges, including a lack of growth impetus, sluggish demand, recurrent volatility in financial markets, and a sustained slump in international trade and investment.

Although the G20 is a forum for the world's major economies with pivotal influences and roles, it also puts itself at the forefront of risks and challenges, and of expanding growth space. The international community has high expectations of the G20 and places great hopes on the current summit. We need to square up to problems and jointly seek answers through respective actions and collective efforts. It is hoped that based on past achievements, the G20 Hangzhou Summit will offer a prescription that can treat both the symptoms and root causes of the problems and work out comprehensive measures to get the world economy onto a path of robust, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth.

First, in the face of the current challenges, we should enhance macro-economic policy coordination, join efforts to promote global economic growth, and help maintain financial stability. G20 members should adopt sounder and more balanced macroeconomic policies in the light of their own countries' reality, use various effective policy tools, make overall plans for working out fiscal, monetary and structural reform policies, strive to expand global overall demand, improve the quality of supply in all respects, and solidify the foundation of economic growth. While formulating and implementing the Hangzhou Action Plan, we should continue to strengthen policy coordination, reduce negative spillover effects, jointly help maintain financial stability, and raise market confidence.

Second, in the face of the current challenges, we should innovate development models and tap growth impetus. The G20 should adjust its policies, and place equal emphasis on short-term policies and medium-and long-term policies, as well as on demand-side management and supply-side reform. This year we have reached a consensus on the G20 Blueprint on Innovative Growth, and have unanimously decided to open up a new path and expand new frontiers for the world economy through innovation, structural reforms, new industrial revolution, and the digital

economy. We need to firmly continue in this direction, help lift the world economy out of the situation of lackluster recovery and fragile growth, and lay a solid foundation for a new round of growth and prosperity.

Third, in the face of the current challenges, we should improve global economic governance and solidify its mechanism guarantee. The G20 needs to steadily improve the international monetary system, optimize the governance structure of international financial institutions, and give full play to the role of SDR of the International Monetary Fund. The Global Financial Safety Net needs to be improved, and cooperation in financial oversight, international taxation, and the fight against corruption needs to be enhanced so as to increase the capability of the world economy to resist risks. This year we have reactivated the G20 international financial framework working group. We will continue to promote it, and raise its effectiveness.

Fourth, in the face of the current challenges, we need to build an open world economy, and continue to push trade and investment liberalization and facilitation. Protectionism is like treating an ailment with poison. From a short-term perspective, protectionism may seem to relieve a country's internal pressure, but from a long-term perspective, it will inflict irreparable damage on the country itself and on the world economy as a whole. The G20 should not adopt beggar-thy-neighbor policies. Instead, it should advocate and promote an open world economy, avoid adopting new protectionism measures, strengthen coordination and cooperation in investment policies, and take effective actions to promote trade growth. We should give full play to the radiating effect and locomotive roles of infrastructure construction and connectivity, help developing countries and small and medium-sized companies to become part of the global value chain, and push for further opening, exchanges, and integration of the global economy.

Fifth, in the face of the current challenges, we should implement the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and promote inclusive development. Realizing common development is the hope of the people of all countries, particularly the developing countries. According to available statistics, the world's Gini coefficient is already around 0.7, a figure that is higher than the recognized "danger point" of 0.6. This is something we should pay close attention to. This year we have placed development in a prominent position on the G20 agenda, made a joint commitment to earnest implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and formulated action plans. At the same time, we will reduce unequal and imbalanced global development, and enable people of all countries to enjoy the growth results of the world economy by means of supporting the industrialization efforts of Africa and LDCs, enhancing energy access, energy efficiency, the utilization of clean energy and renewable energy, developing inclusive finance, and encouraging young people to start businesses.

Dear colleagues,

The G20 bears the expectations of various countries. It has important missions. We need to make an effort to build up the G20 and steer the world economy in a sound direction of prosperity and stability.

First, advancing with the times and giving full play to its leading role, the G20 should adjust its own development direction in the light of the needs of the world economy and further transform itself from a crisis-management body to a long-term and effective governance mechanism. In the face of major and salient problems, the G20 has the responsibility to play a leadership role, demonstrate a strategic vision, chart a course, and identify a development path for the world economy.

Second, words should be matched with action. We need to adopt pragmatic actions. It is better to enforce one thing than making thousands of commitments. We should make the G20 an action team instead of a talking shop. This year we have formulated action plans in the spheres of sustainable development, green finance, improved energy efficiency, and the fight against corruption, and we should implement every action in real earnest.

Third, the G20 should create a platform for cooperation in the spirit of making joint efforts for the benefit of all involved. We should continue to enhance the mechanism building of the G20, to ensure that cooperation will be extended and expanded. It is necessary to extensively seek suggestions, and listen attentively to the voices of countries all around the world, particularly those of the developing countries, so that the G20 will be even more inclusive in its work and it will respond to the appeals of the people of all countries more effectively.

Fourth, the partnership spirit. The partnership spirit is the most precious asset of the G20. Although we may differ in national conditions and development stages, and we may face different challenges, we share the same desire for promoting economic growth, the same intention of addressing crises and challenges, and the same vision for realizing common development. As long as we carry forward the partnership spirit of going through thick and thin together, we will be able to ride through the rough waves of the world economy and embark on a brand-new voyage for future growth.

Dear colleagues,

In the course of preparing for the Hangzhou Summit, China has put into practice the concept of openness, transparency and inclusiveness, and maintained close contact and coordination with all other G20 members. We have also held various forms of parallel dialogue. We have briefed the UN, African Union, Group of 77, LDCs, land-locked countries and small island nations, and given information on our preparations for the Hangzhou Summit to countries all over the world and people who have an interest in the G20, and listened attentively to their calls and appeals. Their opinions and suggestions have played an important part in the preparations for this summit.

I expect that in the discussions in the next two days we will pool our wisdom and efforts to make sure that the Hangzhou Summit will realize the objectives of promoting world economic growth, enhancing international economic cooperation, and pushing G20 development.

Let us make the Hangzhou Summit a new starting point, lead the convoy of the world economy on a voyage from the Qiantang River here, and head into the vast ocean.

Thank you all.

* Opening speech at the G20 Hangzhou Summit.

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PROPERLY UNDERSTAND MAJOR ISSUES IN BUILDING A HEALTHY CHINA

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-04-25

PROPERLY UNDERSTAND MAJOR ISSUES IN BUILDING A HEALTHY CHINA*

August 19, 2016

Health is directly related to wellbeing. It is also a matter of great social and political significance. In promoting a healthy China, we should follow the Chinese health development path and tackle major problems.

First, we should adhere to sound public health guidelines, which constitute a general requirement. China's current public health guidelines are as follows: focusing on community-level improvement, encouraging reform and innovation, prioritizing prevention, laying equal emphasis on Western medicine and traditional Chinese medicine (TCM), incorporating health care into all our policies, and ensuring the people contribute to the cause and share the benefits.

Public health guidelines should meet the needs of the people and address outstanding problems in medical and health services in a specified period of time. Soon after the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, we stipulated that health services were there to serve workers, farmers and soldiers, that prevention should be prioritized, that both Western medicine and TCM should be utilized, and that health promotion and public involvement should be integral to the guidelines. Our goals were to accelerate the building of a system of sanitation, personal hygiene, and disease prevention, to prevent and eliminate infectious diseases, and to quickly improve the people's health. At the health conference held in 1996, we set the guidelines of focusing on the rural areas, prioritizing prevention, laying equal emphasis on Western medicine and TCM, relying on science and education, encouraging public participation, promoting public health, and serving socialist modernization. These guidelines played an important role in promoting the development of China's medical and health services in different periods.

Our latest public health guidelines were designed on the basis of an in-depth analysis of the general trends in medical and health services in our country. Focusing on community-level improvement means expanding the scope of the focus from rural areas to grassroots communities in both rural and urban areas, with the goal of strengthening their capability in preventing and treating diseases. This is in line with the requirements of urbanization and balanced development across rural and urban areas and among different regions. Encouraging reform and innovation means furthering medical and health institutional reform and doing all we can to promote innovation in theory, institutions, management and technology. Prioritizing prevention and laying equal emphasis on Western medicine and TCM means adhering to and carrying forward past

practices that have long proven their effectiveness. Incorporating health care into all our policies and ensuring the people contribute to the cause and share the benefits means putting greater emphasis on the government's responsibility for overall planning and coordination, relying more on the people, and encouraging the initiative, creativity, and participation of the whole of society, with an understanding of the pervasive, societal, and holistic nature of the factors affecting health. Underpinning the guidelines are the people-centered philosophy of development and a commitment to serving the people's needs in health. This is and has been the basic orientation of our country's medical and health services.

Second, we should uphold the public interest in our medical and health services. What is most precious to a human being is his or her life. "A human life is more valuable than tonnes of gold." Medical and health services are related to the life and health of everyone and the wellbeing and happiness of every family. They constitute a noble and unique cause.

It is precisely because our Party serves the people wholeheartedly and our country is a socialist country run by the people that we must uphold the public interest in our medical and health services. Deng Xiaoping emphasized that public health departments should make social benefit the sole criterion for their activities. Jiang Zemin pointed out, "Health programs serve the public interest. The government should adopt financial policies to support health programs, and the ultimate objective of health reform and development of health programs should always be social benefit." Hu Jintao said that continuously improving the people's health is an important embodiment of the people sharing the fruits of reform and development, an important measure to promote social harmony, and an unshirkable responsibility of the Party and the government. No matter how advanced our society may become, we will always maintain the non-profit nature of medical and health services and reject the path of complete commercialization. Investment from the government should be employed mainly to provide basic medical and health services. We will continue to improve the healthcare system, expand healthcare services, and improve healthcare quality, so that the public can have equal access to systematic and consistent healthcare services including disease prevention, treatment, rehabilitation, and health promotion.

Third, we should improve the quality and capacity of healthcare services. Basic medical and health services are the foundation and the core. They should be mainly guaranteed by the government and be accessible to all.

The scope of basic and non-basic healthcare services is not fixed. Economic growth gives the government greater capacity to provide medical and health services and enables the steady advance of medical technology. The scope of basic services can thus be enlarged step by step with higher service standards. Meanwhile, we must also note that the development of basic services should be compatible with our national conditions and stage of development and that the focus should be ensuring people's access to these services rather than simplistic egalitarianism. Since our country has a large population and is still in the primary stage of socialism and will

remain so for a long time to come, we should expand the scope and raise the standards of basic medical services within our means and to the best of our abilities. We should refrain from making unrealistic promises and raising excessive expectations.

Fourth, we should balance the roles of the government and the market. In developing medical and health services, we should properly define the roles of the two parties. The government should fulfill its responsibility to provide basic healthcare services. It should play a leading role and carry out its responsibility in guidance, support, administration and supervision. It should provide basic medical services for the people through multiple means and support basic medical research. At the same time, it should introduce reasonable competition mechanisms, and encourage the non-government sector to run non-profit medical institutions.

The market should be active and dynamic in other healthcare areas. We should encourage the non-government sector to provide services to meet the diverse, varied, and individual health needs of the people. We should ease market access, widen investment and financing channels, and remove policy barriers. We should also increase the supply of medical and health resources and optimize their structure. The government should improve regulation and administration, sanction in accordance with the law those involved in illegal activities such as unlicensed practice, and safeguard the people's right to health.

* Part of the speech at the National Health Conference.

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BUILD CHINA INTO A WORLD LEADER IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-04-23

BUILD CHINA INTO A WORLD LEADER IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY*

May 30, 2016

The history of human development proves that innovation has always been important for promoting the development of a country and its people as well as human society. One will fall behind without innovation, and just as much if one is too slow in innovation. We will lose the strategic edge and miss opportunities for development – or miss an entire era – if we fail to seek, recognize and respond to change. Seeking innovation-driven development is a natural choice if we are to adapt to changing developmental conditions, hold the decision-making power for our own development, and improve our core competitiveness; if we are to speed up the transformation of our growth model and solve deep-rooted conflicts and problems; if we are to better steer the new normal in economic development and sustain sound growth.

Science and technology are the bedrock upon which a country relies for its strength, enterprises for success, and people for a better life. Great scientific and technological capacity is a must if we are to make China strong and improve our lives.

New missions and tasks of the new era require us to develop new concepts, designs and strategies regarding technological innovation. We should implement the new development philosophy and the strategy for invigorating China through science and education, and build a talent-strong country. We should further implement the innovation-driven development strategy, and promote the development of science and technology through overall planning and coordination.

First, we will reinforce the foundations in order to rank China among world leaders in key science and technology.

To advance science and technology, we must be able to identify breakthrough points, so that we can seize opportunities. As Mencius said, “It is wiser to avail oneself of a favorable situation than to rely on one’s mere wisdom.” History shows that the countries that realized modernization by making the best use of the scientific and technological revolution were all strong in science and technology, and those that became world leaders by making the best of the revolution all possessed cutting-edge technologies in key fields.

On the whole, China ranks among the most advanced countries in science and technology, and innovation is playing an increasing role in supporting and guiding our economic and social development. However, we should be aware that in our drive to become a scientific and technological leader, we still face major obstacles. For instance, we still have to depend on others for core technologies in key fields, our scientific and technological foundation is still weak, and our innovation capability, especially in original innovation, is not strong.

Science and technology respond to the call of the times and have a global impact. To develop them we should have a global vision and meet the needs of the times. In today's world, a new scientific and technological revolution is gaining momentum. Original breakthroughs concerning the structure of matter, the evolution of our universe, the origin of life, the nature of consciousness and other significant issues are pushing back the frontiers and indicating the direction of new research. Some major disruptive technologies are creating new industries and new forms of business, and information, biological, manufacturing, new materials, and new energy technologies are diffusing into nearly all sectors. All this has brought about massive technological changes that are green, intelligent and ubiquitous. The integration of new-generation information technology represented by big data, cloud computing, and mobile internet with robot and smart manufacturing technologies is accelerating, and the innovation chain is becoming more flexible. It has become more convenient to make technological upgrading and commercialize scientific and technological advances, and industrial upgrading is speeding up, shifting production and consumption from industrialization-based to automatic and intelligent, and leading to another step forward in the productive forces and productivity.

We must seize the time, because wait-and-see produces nothing and imitation gets us nowhere. Time and tide wait for no one. We must have a sense of urgency and implement our strategy without delay to expand our comprehensive capability in innovation. As scientists and engineers, you must be confident and break new ground. You should try to make things of your own, venture to explore the most cutting-edge issues, create more theories, and make more discoveries. You should seek leapfrog development in key fields, catch up with or even lead global development, and seize the strategic initiative in a new round of global competition.

Second, we will follow our strategic orientation and tackle core problems.

We must have a correct strategic orientation, which provides key guidance on innovation and ensures that breakthroughs are made on tough issues. Currently, our country is in greater need than ever before for strategic support from science and technology.

I will give you a few examples. Theoretically, the distribution of usable underground resources extends from the surface to a depth of 10,000 meters. Advanced world technology can explore to a depth of 2,500 meters to 4,000 meters, while our own technology only allows us access to a depth of 500 meters. So deeper exploration capacity is a strategic problem we must solve.

Materials are the key to manufacturing. Our country lags far behind in the research, development and production of advanced high-end materials, and has to rely on imports of key high-end materials.

Our markets in many key patented medicines are dominated by foreign companies, and we rely on imports for high-end medical equipment. This is one of the main causes for high medical costs. Research and development in new medicines largely depends on new achievements and breakthroughs in life science and biotechnology; in advanced medical equipment it requires interdisciplinary and system integration.

Research on the brain atlas based on connectional architecture is at the cutting-edge of work on human brain function and probes into the essence of consciousness. Besides scientific significance, such exploration will guide the prevention and treatment of brain diseases and the development of intelligent technology.

There are many resources in the deep sea that are yet to be recognized and developed. To reach these resources, we have to master key technologies in terms of deep sea penetration, exploration and exploitation.

Space technology has profoundly enriched human knowledge about the universe, and provides powerful impetus to social progress. More mysteries await us in the immensity of space, and to solve them, we must develop comprehensive space science, technology and utilization.

There are many other such fields. The CPC Central Committee has drawn up a long-term strategy for scientific and technological development through the year 2030, and decided to roll out a number of projects. Our scientists and engineers should accelerate the progress of these projects, respond to the country's strategic needs, advance research into core technologies in key fields, and occupy the strategic "commanding heights" that have a bearing on long-term overall development.

To build our country into a scientific and technological leader and a global center for research and innovation, we must have a number of first-class research institutes, research universities and innovative enterprises, which will produce substantial achievements in their original research.

It was decided at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2015 to build a number of state laboratories for the purpose of innovation in key areas. This is of strategic importance. The development of these laboratories is expected to reinforce our national strategic science and technology. In dimensions with clear state goals and urgent strategic needs, and in strategic areas that may lead future development, with the focus on key scientific and technological programs and large-scale state scientific infrastructure, and based on the most competitive innovators, we will integrate nationwide innovation resources, build a new mechanism that is goal- and performance-oriented and encourages cooperation and resource sharing, and build state laboratories with the mission of making breakthroughs, conducting guiding research, and serving as platforms. Such laboratories should be a strategic force in tackling key problems

and guiding future development. They should complement and interact with other research institutes, universities and R&D centers of enterprises, and promote collaborative innovation with them.

Third, we will increase our scientific and technological support to economic and social development. As an ancient Chinese philosopher put it, “One studies everything to obtain knowledge, and proves it in practice.” Scientific research should serve economic and social development and the needs of the people in their pursuit of the truth. You scientists and engineers should take what you have learned and put it into practice on the land of China and apply your research results in our nation’s drive for modernization.

After more than 30 years of reform and opening up, China’s economy now ranks second in the world. However, in many sectors we are not strong; we are just large in size. Today, the model where expanding economic growth and scale is supported mainly by resources, capital, labor and other inputs is no longer sustainable, and our country is facing challenging tasks such as transforming drivers and the growth model and adjusting the economic structure.

The driving forces generated by low-cost resources and factor inputs are evidently weakening, and we have to rely on more and better scientific and technological innovation to fuel our economy. We are facing challenges such as providing care for an aging population, eliminating poverty, and improving health, and we have to rely on more and better scientific innovation to sustain coordinated economic and social development. We now encounter increasing pollution that undermines our ecological conservation efforts, and we have to rely on more and better scientific innovation to build a beautiful China with blue skies, green fields and clean waters. We are facing pressures related to energy, food, cyberspace, ecology, biology and national defense, and we have to rely on more and better scientific and technological innovation to ensure national security. All in all, innovation holds the key to the development of our country.

To advance sustained, sound social and economic development and supply-side structural reform and fulfill the five tasks, i.e., cutting overcapacity, reducing excess inventory, deleveraging, lowering costs, and strengthening areas of weakness, we have to make a fundamental change to the internal forces driving our development and create new impetus. We will promote innovation-driven and leading-edge development with preemptive strength. On the basis of in-depth research, we will produce the scientific and technological advances needed for economic and industrial development. We will promote the commercialization of scientific research results and encourage industries and products to target the medium- and high-end markets, in our endeavors to transform the growth model and adjust the economic structure, build a modern industrial system, foster strategic emerging industries, and develop modern services.

A prominent problem has long been imbalance – between different regions, between urban and rural areas, between economic and social development, between material progress and cultural and ethical progress, and between economic growth and national defense. We must rely on scientific and technological innovation, exploit our potential for innovation-driven development,

and make innovation the foundation for our development. Innovation will open up space, bring about opportunities, create driving force, promote the synchronic advances of a new type of industrialization, informatization, urbanization and agricultural modernization, enhance overall efficiency and performance, and bring coordinated development to a higher level.

Green development is needed for ecological conservation. It represents the direction for contemporary scientific and industrial revolution, and offers the most promising prospects. Human beings must respect nature, follow its ways, and protect it in their activities; otherwise we will be punished by nature. This is a rule no one can deny. We will deepen our understanding of natural rules, and take actions accordingly in a conscious manner. For this, we will study means of ecological restoration, protection and governance and raise our awareness of biodiversity and other scientific rules. We will reinforce management and protection policies, comprehend global changes and the mechanism of carbon cycling, and rely on scientific innovation to pursue green development and achieve harmony between humanity and nature.

International economic cooperation and competition are experiencing profound changes, and the system and rules of global economic governance are undergoing significant adjustment. Economic globalization is superficially exemplified by an extensive flow of products, capital and information across the world, but behind such a flow is the propelling force of human resources and scientific and technological innovation. We will enhance our capacity for guiding this flow, and bring opening up to a new level. We will build up our strength and capacity to participate in the formulation of global economic, financial and trade rules, conduct international cooperation in economic development and scientific and technological innovation at a higher level, and participate in global governance in a more extensive community of common interests, so as to realize common development.

The people's needs and appeals call for scientific and technological progress and innovation. As our country develops, our more than 1.3 billion people are expecting a better life. More scientific and technological innovation is needed to enhance social development and improve their lives and health. We will treat their concerns and worries as our own, address issues such as the control and prevention of major diseases, safety of food and medicine, and an aging society, and substantially increase public scientific services, so as to ensure a more livable environment, better health care, and safer food and medicines. We will rely on scientific and technological innovation to build a system of extensive public services low in cost and high in quality. We will increase inclusive and public scientific provision, develop low-cost disease control and prevention and long-distance medical technologies, and make available quality medical and healthcare resources. We will develop information and cyber technologies, narrow the digital divide between different income groups and between different regions, and realize equal access to quality cultural and educational resources.

Fourth, we will form an energetic mechanism for science management and operation through reform and innovation. Innovation is a systemic project. The chains of innovation, industry, capital and policy are intertwined and mutually supportive to each other. Reform in one single link or just

two or three is far from sufficient. Rather, we will make overall planning and proceed in a firm manner. Scientific innovation and institutional innovation should work in synergy, like the simultaneous movement of the two wheels of a chariot.

Our greatest strength lies in our socialist system, which enables us to pool resources in a major mission. This is the key to our success. We have relied on this in making major scientific breakthroughs in the past. And today we will still rely on this in achieving leapfrog scientific and technological innovations. We will develop a new mechanism under the socialist market economy to pool our resources in scientific initiatives.

We encourage scientific and technological innovation and will proceed with a thorough reform of the science and technology management system and relevant systems. We will build a decision-making mechanism that enables scientific consultation to support administrative decision-making, reinforce scientific decision-making consultation, and build high-level scientific think tanks. We will accelerate the institutionalization of major scientific decision-making in order to prevent officials from making random decisions or scientists from passively acting upon them. We will follow the rules of scientific innovation and improve resource allocation, abandon the practice of simply applying administrative budget and financial management to run scientific resources, and improve ways to support basic research, strategic high-tech research, and research in technologies for public benefit, in order to maximize the efficiency of scientific and technological innovation. We will reform and innovate the ways to use and manage R&D funds, and let the money serve creative activities rather than vice versa. We will reform the appraisal system and establish a classified system to appraise the quality, contribution and performance of scientific and technological innovations and make correct ratings of their scientific, technological, economic, social and cultural value.

Enterprises are an important force in integrating science and technology with the economy. They should do more to make innovation-related decisions, arrange R&D investment, organize research programs, and apply research results. We will work out and implement policies that encourage technological innovation in enterprises, and reinforce the mechanism to encourage enterprise innovation, increase support to technological innovation in SMEs, promote reform in circulation, combat monopolies and unfair competition, and guide enterprises to build up their R&D. We will move faster to improve the management systems concerning the use, disposal and benefits of research results, let the market play a decisive role in resource allocation, and activate organizations, personnel, equipment, capital and projects, so as to form a strong synergy in supporting innovation. We will adjust current industrial and local research institutes, ensure that enterprises augment their R&D strength, support the establishment of enterprise-based national centers for technological innovation, and encourage enterprises to become globally influential and lead their industries.

Research institutes and research universities are the major centers for China's science and technology, and the cradle of innovative talent. They should improve the planning of their research programs. Research institutes should improve the arrangement of their programs in accordance

with global trends, consolidate their disciplinary foundations, foster emerging interdisciplinary fields, support research on common technologies, programs for the public good, and sustainable development, and increase public scientific supplies. Research universities should boost their disciplinary strength, with a focus on conducting basic research on the basis of the freedom to experiment. Institutes and universities should cooperate to integrate goal-oriented research with the freedom to experiment, and adopt a new model to enable teaching and research to benefit each other and work together in education, thus laying a solid foundation for our further innovation and human resource development in science and technology.

We will give full play to the initiatives of all regions in innovation-driven development. This is very important to the formation of national synergy in scientific and technological innovation. We will serve the Belt and Road Initiative, the Yangtze River Economic Belt and the coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, respect the need for regional agglomeration in scientific and technological innovation, explore paths of innovation-driven development suited to local conditions, accelerate the building of innovation centers with global influence, and create a few innovative cities and regional innovation centers with radiating effect.

Fifth, we will encourage the spirit of innovation and grow a talent pool for innovation-driven development. According to an ancient Chinese book, “Feats are accomplished by capable people; work develops because of achievers.” Science and technology activities are great creative endeavors. All innovations are achieved by people. We need a large, well-structured contingent of high-caliber people, and we must stimulate their creative potential in order to build China into a world leader in science and technology. We should motivate and respect the creativity of scientists and engineers, and encourage them to promote and conduct innovations, so that proposing, promoting and conducting innovations will become their conscious drive.

China has the largest reserves of scientists and engineers in the world. This offers great possibilities for the emergence of leading masters, scientists and professionals. The cultivation and growth of scientific personnel has its rules to follow. We will work to ensure that capable people are spotted and their talent is valued, respected and put to use, and create a stimulating environment for their development. We will discover, nurture and retain capable people throughout the whole process of innovation. We will attract and pool talent from around the world and let more of them display their potential to the full.

We will improve our mechanisms for training, recruiting and using capable people, and work hard to bring up a large number of strategic scientists and engineers with broad vision to perceive the global trend of scientific and technological development, a large number of leaders good at pooling strengths and coordinating overall work, and a large number of entrepreneurs and high-caliber technicians who are bold and skilled in innovation. We will improve the training model for creative personnel, value the spirit of science and creative thinking, and increase collaboration between research and education and between universities and enterprises in order to foster a large number of young scientists and engineers, and a large number of people who know the market, have scientific knowledge, and dare to start businesses or pursue innovation. We will

create a healthy academic environment, advocate academic ethics and research morality, and create an enabling environment that encourages innovation and tolerates failure. We will increase protection of intellectual property rights, and introduce policies oriented to rewarding knowledge, including raising the share of benefits to researchers from commercialized research results, and giving them the incentives they deserve, such as stock shares, options and dividends.

In basic research, and in some areas of applied research, we need to respect the spontaneous inspiration of scientists and their random ways of experimentation with uncertain prospects, and allow them to freely experiment with and test the bold hypotheses they have. We will not interfere in their research or urge them to produce results, or use rules rigidly to restrict their research. Haste makes waste. We will restrain from seeking immediate gains from research, but have our eyes on the future. We will refrain from giving arbitrary or impractical directions, but grant leading scientists and engineers more power and liberty to decide upon the direction of their research, and manage research funds and resources. We will establish corresponding systems of responsibilities and accountabilities, and address the problems of rushing headlong into mass action and “white elephant” projects. Competent government departments should draw up strategies, plans and policies, provide services, and exploit the collective strength of national strategic scientific force.

Scientific and technological innovation and dissemination of science are the two wings to propel our innovation-driven development. The latter should be considered as important as the former. If the scientific literacy of the whole of society is not raised, we cannot build a large contingent of high-caliber innovative personnel, or turn their research results into production quickly. You scientists and engineers should take it as your mission to enhance the scientific literacy of the whole nation, and make it your unshirkable duty to spread science, the spirit of science, and scientific thinking and methods. With your efforts, we will see a society emerge where everyone loves, studies and uses science, and this should allow the creativity of the Chinese people to flourish.

* Part of the speech at the joint session of the National Conference on Scientific and Technological Innovation, the 18th Meeting of the Members of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the 13th Meeting of the Members of the Chinese Academy of Engineering, and the Ninth National Congress of the China Association for Science and Technology.

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DEVELOP PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES WITH CHINESE FEATURES

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DEVELOP PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES WITH CHINESE FEATURES*

May 17, 2016

The distinct characteristics, style and ethos of a country's philosophy and social sciences are the results of development at a certain stage, and therefore a symbol of its maturity, strength and self-confidence. In the field of philosophy and social sciences in the world of today, China ranks high in the number of researchers and papers, and in government input. However, our standing in the areas of academic ideas, thoughts, viewpoints and standards, and our voice in international academia, are still incommensurate with our overall national strength and international status. To change this situation we must develop our philosophy and social sciences that are grounded in China's conditions, learn from other countries, show humanistic care, research into history, focus on the present, and look into the future. They should display distinct Chinese characteristics, style and ethos in such areas as guiding principles, range of academic disciplines, research system, and discourse system.

What should philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features be like? In my view they bear three hallmarks.

First, they encompass all resources and legacies and retain their Chinese identity.

The status of philosophy and social sciences is the result of a confluence of different learning, conceptions, theories and methods throughout history. Our philosophy and social sciences should therefore make the best of various resources, ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign – especially the following three:

One, Marxist resources. These include axioms of Marxism, the achievements of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and its cultural manifestations – the CPC's theories, guidelines, principles, and policies; the path, theoretical systems and institutions of Chinese socialism; and thoughts and achievements in philosophy and social sciences concerning China's economy, politics, laws, culture, society, the eco-environment, diplomacy, national defense, and the CPC's development. These constitute the primary substance of philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features. They are also the fastest-growing areas in Chinese philosophy and social sciences.

Two, the best of traditional Chinese culture, a valuable resource for the development of philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features.

Three, the philosophy and social sciences of other countries, including all the wholesome results of studies worldwide, which provide additional nourishment for philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features.

We should make the past serve the present, and the foreign serve China, rallying all resources available to make ceaseless innovations to our knowledge, theories and methods. We should learn from other countries and look into the future without forgoing our own history and heritage. Internally we should conduct thorough research on key issues bearing on the economy and standards of living; externally we should actively explore major issues concerning the future of humanity. We must make a precise assessment of the development trends of Chinese socialism, inheriting and carrying forward the best of traditional Chinese culture.

The splendid Chinese culture that spans thousands of years offers fertile soil for the growth of philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features. As I have said on other occasions, backed by a territory of 9.6 million square kilometers, rich cultural “nutrients” amassed over the long course of strenuous endeavors, and the formidable strength of a united people of 1.3 billion, China can follow its own path with great determination, with boundless horizons ahead and a peerless civilization behind it. We Chinese people – each and every one of us – should be confident of this.

Our confidence in our path, in our theory and in our system boils down to our confidence in our culture – the essential, underlying and enduring strength of a nation. It has been proved in both this and previous times that a people who renounce or betray their history and culture can in no way achieve development, and what is worse, may face tragic consequences.

The rich cultural traditions and the system of thoughts with indigenous features embody the knowledge, wisdom, and rational thinking Chinese people have garnered over millennia. They give us an unparalleled strength.

The Chinese civilization carries on the spiritual, ethical lineage of the Chinese nation and its people. It must be passed down from generation to generation, keep abreast of the times through innovation, and get rid of the stale and bring forth the fresh. We should make greater efforts to find and expound the best elements of traditional Chinese culture, acclimating core cultural genes of the Chinese people to contemporary culture and modern society, and promoting those cultural elements whose lasting appeal defies time and borders and which are still relevant today.

We should push forward the innovative transformation and creative evolution of China’s civilization to boost its vitality, so that it can provide proper guidance to humanity together with other splendid civilizations. We should put forward concepts, proposals and programs about major issues facing China and the rest of the world that give expression to the Chinese stance, Chinese wisdom, and Chinese values. In addition to Chinese delicacies as shown in the well-received documentary A

Bite of China, we should also introduce to the rest of the world China's academia, theories, and philosophy and social sciences, projecting the image of a China in progress, an open China, and a China making a constant contribution to human civilization.

While highlighting the national identity of our philosophy and social sciences, we do not mean to reject the research results of other countries. Instead we should make comparative and critical analysis before absorbing and extending them, so that Chinese philosophy and social sciences can better respond to the current demands of national and international development. Anything unique to one nation is of great significance to the rest of the world. Only after solving national problems will we be in a better position to solve international problems. And by reviewing domestic practices we will develop a greater ability to offer insights and solutions for global issues. This is the law of evolution from particularity to universality.

Chinese philosophy and social sciences should be based on national conditions, and meanwhile open themselves to the rest of the world, drawing from the good theories, ideas and intellectual achievements of all humanity. But we cannot enshrine any of these theories, ideas or intellectual achievements as the one and only criterion, or attempt to transform the world with a single mode. Otherwise we will slip into the mire of Mechanism. Certain theories, ideas and intellectual achievements denote the course of development of certain countries and peoples, and make sense in the context of a particular region, culture or history. It is ludicrous to force them on all countries and peoples, or use them to pass judgment on people's lives and reduce them to one format. We must analyze and assess foreign theories, concepts, assertions and methods, taking in what suits us and discarding what does not. Philosophy and social science researchers must adopt a critical attitude, the most valued quality of Marxism.

Philosophy and social sciences have a broad sphere, covering varied disciplines, each of which has its own learning system and research method. We should study all learning systems and research methods and learn from the good ones rather than rejecting them indiscriminately without conducting any analysis. Marx and Engels drew extensively on the creations of those who preceded them in the course of establishing their own theoretical systems. We too should make good use of the worthy learning systems and effective methods of modern social sciences, including such models as deduction and quantitative analysis. But in doing so we must be mindful of our roots and maintain good judgment.

Capital by Marx, *On Imperialism* by Lenin, and the series of investigative reports on rural China by Mao Zedong all contain a large volume of statistics and information collected through field studies. We must stand by the Chinese worldview and Chinese methodology when solving domestic problems and proposing to address issues concerning all humanity. Blindly worshipping foreign thoughts and methods without due analysis will deprive us of originality, as will drawing the same conclusions as foreign researchers by employing their methods. To achieve original results, Chinese researchers must ground themselves in the realities of China, cleave to the practical, historical, dialectical and developmental perspectives, and discover, test and advance truth through practice.

Second, philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features must display originality and zeitgeist.

A sense of national identity and an emphasis on original thinking are what make our philosophy and social sciences distinct from those of other countries. Mindlessly imitating others cannot lead us to philosophy and social sciences adapted to our own conditions, or solutions to our own problems. Mao Zedong remarked back in 1944: “Our attitude is that of critical acceptance of our own historical heritage and of foreign thought. We are against blind acceptance as well as blind rejection of any ideas. We Chinese must think with our own brains and must decide for ourselves what can grow on our own soil.”

We must put forward original theories and views on the basis of studying China’s conditions, and develop distinctively Chinese disciplinary, academic and discourse systems. This is the only way for Chinese philosophy and social sciences to develop independent properties and strengths.

The life of a theory lies in innovation, which is the perpetual theme of the development of philosophy and social sciences and the requisite of social, practical and historical progress. As human society continues to evolve, new circumstances and new problems arise. Some of them can be tackled with existing experience and approaches; others cannot. Without the creation and application of new thoughts, concepts and methods through timely study, theories will be impotent in the face of reality, and philosophy and social sciences will be lame and flaccid. Innovation in philosophy and social sciences can come in many forms. It could mean discovering a rule, founding a school of thought, illustrating a truth, or finding a solution to a specific problem.

Where theoretical thinking starts decides what results will be achieved, and all theoretical innovations start with specific problems. The course of theoretical innovation is, in a sense, the course of identifying, winnowing, researching and eventually solving problems. Karl Marx wrote insightfully, “The *question* and not the *answer* constitutes the main difficulty.” “They [Questions of the time] are its mottoes, they are the supremely *practical* utterances proclaiming the state of its soul.”

I have read many classics of philosophy and social sciences. Among them are *The Republic* by Plato, *Politics* by Aristotle, *Utopia* by Thomas More, *City of the Sun* by Campanella, *Two Treatises of Government* by Locke, *The Spirit of Laws* by Montesquieu, *The Social Contract* by Rousseau, *Federalist Papers* by Hamilton et al., *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* by Hegel, *On War* by Clausewitz, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* by Malthus, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* by Keynes, *Theory of Economic Development* by Joseph Schumpeter, *Economics* by Samuelson, *Capitalism and Freedom* by Friedman, and *Economic Growth of Nations* by Simon Kuznets. My impression is that they are unexceptionally the product of their times and the result of pondering over and delving into prominent conflicts and problems of a given society at a given time.

Since the start of reform and opening up China has persevered in theoretical innovation, correctly answering such critical questions as “what is socialism”, “how to build socialism”, “what kind of party should the CPC be”, “how to build the CPC”, and “what kind of development should we pursue and how can we achieve it”. We have continuously put forward new theories in light of new practices, which provide us with sound guidance in formulating policies and advancing our work.

The conceptions and theories of originality and zeitgeist that China has produced in the past years include those on modernizing its system and capacity for governance; developing the socialist market economy, socialist democratic politics, and socialist consultative democracy; constructing a socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics; promoting an advanced socialist culture; nurturing and implementing the core socialist values; building a harmonious socialist society, a healthy eco-environment, and a new and open economic system; adopting a holistic approach to national security; building a global community of shared future; advancing the Belt and Road Initiative; pursuing the greater good and shared interests; strengthening the Party’s governance capacity; and following the Chinese path to achieve the Party’s goal of building a strong military in the new era. China’s philosophy and social sciences sector has made a significant contribution to these conceptions and theories, and achieved an incomparable competitive edge in the process.

The sweeping social changes that China is undergoing are not simply the extension of China’s historical and cultural experiences, the repetition of socialist practices by other countries, or the duplication of modernization endeavors elsewhere. Nor can they be readily slotted into the template devised by earlier writers of Marxist classics. There is thus no textbook of predetermined solutions to which we can turn.

Chinese philosophy and social sciences should focus on the country’s current undertakings, and delve into China’s experience of reform and development to forage for new materials, identify new problems, create new ideas, and found new theories. At the same time it should make greater efforts to systematically review the practical experience China has garnered in its reform, opening up and socialist modernization, to analyze and study such major issues as those concerning the socialist market economy, democratic politics, advanced culture, harmonious society, the eco-environment, and the CPC’s governance capacity, and to canvass and expound new concepts, new ideas and new strategies about governance raised by the CPC Central Committee. In doing so, we will be able to produce new theories based on scientific rationale and new practices with regular patterns. These are the focus and priority of building Chinese philosophy and social sciences. Any approach that ignores changing circumstances or mechanically imitates others will lead us up a blind alley.

Third, philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features must be systematic and professional.

It should cover history, the economy, politics, culture, society, the eco-environment, the military, and Party development, and span traditional subjects, emerging subjects, leading-edge subjects, interdisciplinary subjects, and less popular subjects as well. These are expected to evolve into an

all-encompassing system of learning by continuously improving and innovating the academic discipline system, research system and discourse system.

To date Chinese philosophy and social sciences have developed into a coherent system of disciplines, but some pressing issues still exist. For instance, certain subjects have nothing much to do with social development; the disciplinary structure is incomplete; and emerging and interdisciplinary subjects are still weak. What we should do next is therefore to build on our strengths, extend our fields of study, address our weaknesses, and improve the disciplinary structure. One, we should strengthen Marxist subjects. Two, we should further improve pillar subjects, including philosophy, history, economics, political science, science of law, sociology, ethnology, journalism, demography, study of religions, and psychology, establishing a coherent system of disciplines with Chinese features and international significance. Three, we should pay great attention to important subjects in which we are strong. Four, we should give priority to emerging and interdisciplinary subjects of great practical significance, which offer potential for breakthroughs in Chinese philosophy and social sciences as a whole. Five, we should not neglect more marginal subjects that are of high cultural value or bear on Chinese heritage. These subjects may seem distant from the everyday life of today, but they are none the less relevant. As the Chinese saying goes: A country maintains its army for thousands of days for use in a single day's battle. When in need, they can be readily used. Some subjects bear on the continuity of China's cultural heritage, such as the study of oracle bone inscriptions and other ancient scripts. We should treat these subjects seriously, and make sure that there are people working on them, and carrying them on from one generation to the next.

In summary, we should endeavor to foster a philosophy and social sciences sector where the basic subjects are sound and complete, where we have a clear competitive edge in key subjects, where emerging and interdisciplinary subjects evolve creatively, where less popular subjects are given due academic attention from generation to generation, where basic research and applied research complement each other, and where academic research and application of research results are mutually reinforcing.

The disciplinary system is inseparable from the textbook system, and in terms of level of development they are interdependent. Studies show that almost all Chinese universities offer philosophy and social sciences programs at the undergraduate level, and students majoring in liberal arts account for a significant share of the total enrollment. These students are the reserve forces for Chinese philosophy and social sciences. They however cannot fulfill the mission if they fail to form the right worldview and methodology or fail to lay down a solid intellectual foundation in their school years.

Higher education programs of philosophy and social sciences bear responsibility to foster people of high caliber. They should reach out to all students, helping them foster a sound outlook on the world, on life and on values, a noble mind, a strong moral character, and scientific thinking, so that they can grow healthy in mind, body and personality. Good textbooks are essential to the cultivation of future philosophy and social sciences professionals. China has made remarkable

headway in this regard in the course of studying and advancing Marxist theories. But our textbook system as a whole is still weak. More has to be done to enable it to render stronger support to the development of Chinese socialism, move to the forefront of global academia, and establish a complete range of categories.

To this end, mechanisms and institutional innovations should be introduced into the compilation, distribution and application of textbooks, bringing into play the initiative of all parties concerned, including academics, schools and publishers.

A stronger discourse system is also needed for Chinese philosophy and social sciences to play their due role. We should have more say than anyone else when construing Chinese practices and constructing Chinese theories. The truth is, however, that our voice is still weak on the international stage when it comes to philosophy and social sciences, due to our inability to make potent arguments and reach broader audiences. To remedy this shortcoming, we must hone our skills in formulating iconic concepts and creating new concepts, domains and expressions that can be readily understood and accepted by the international community, thereby inclining international academics into relevant research and discussions. Efforts in this regard must start with establishing systematic theories and concepts in every discipline. We must also encourage research institutions of philosophy and social sciences to join and found international academic organizations, support the establishment of Chinese research centers abroad, and encourage research by foreign associations and foundations on Chinese issues. Furthermore, we will promote exchanges between Chinese think tanks and their foreign peers and encourage China studies in other countries.

China's philosophy and social sciences sector should expand its international influence by focusing on issues of global concern, and initiating and leading relevant research projects. It should also put more effort into incubating excellent foreign-language academic websites and journals, and help to introduce the accomplishments of Chinese researchers to the rest of the world, supporting their participation in international seminars and publication of their research papers.

Fostering philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features is a systematic project and an arduous task that requires good top-level design and coordinated efforts by all parties concerned. We should launch innovation programs and establish innovation platforms, and promote innovation in all domains of philosophy and social sciences. We should intensify and expand the research, promulgation and education of Marxist theories by giving full play to research and development programs in Marxist theory, to centers of research into Chinese socialist theories, to academies of Marxism, and to newspapers, periodicals, websites and other platforms for ideological and theoretical work. Furthermore, internet and big data should be employed to upgrade IT infrastructure and applications in the philosophy and social sciences sector, in such fields as books, dossiers, websites and databases.

Construction of the national center for literature on philosophy and social sciences should be accelerated, and an efficient and accessible digital platform for philosophy and social science studies should be created, allowing for sharing of resources. The systems for the distribution, grant and management of research funding should be innovated so as to ensure better use of funds. This includes increasing input, making efficient use of funds by teaming up fiscal appropriation with specific allocation, generic funding with competitive funding, and government grants with public donations. Meanwhile, an authoritative and transparent evaluation system and a promotion system should be installed to effectively identify and disseminate good research results.

* Part of the speech at a meeting on philosophy and social sciences.

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GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS TO OWN, CONTRACT AND UTILIZE RURAL LAND

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-04-18

GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS TO OWN, CONTRACT AND UTILIZE RURAL LAND*

April 25, 2016

Deeper rural reform is the key to overcoming challenges and problems facing agriculture and rural areas and the best way to motivate hundreds of millions of farmers. The CPC Central Committee attaches great importance to deeper rural reform. At the 18th CPC National Congress and the third, fourth, and fifth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee, decisions were made on advancing rural reform and development.

Since the 18th National Congress in 2012, I have presided over 23 meetings of the Leading Group for Further Reform under the CPC Central Committee, of which eight were directly related to rural reform. Some major pilot projects involving deeper rural reform have been launched all around the country. Party committees and governments at all levels must implement the decisions and plans of the Central Committee, take solid measures to advance rural reform, and give fresh impetus to rural development, so that people in rural areas will see greater returns.

Our rural reform began with adjusting the relationship between farmers and land. In the new era, this reform remains focused on this relationship. Our fundamental policy is to consolidate and improve the basic rural system. We absolutely cannot vacillate on this policy. This is not an empty slogan, but a solid policy goal – to uphold the collective ownership of rural land, maintain the fundamental status of family-based operations, and continue land contracting practices. Rural land contracting practices must remain stable and unchanged for a long time to come. We must guarantee farmers' rights to contract and utilize rural land by introducing a registration system for these rights. Solid steps must be taken to allay any concerns.

At the Central Conference on Rural Work in 2013, I pointed out that to improve the basic rural system, we should respect the desire of farmers to retain their land contracting right and transfer the land use right. To this end, we should keep the land contracting right separate from the land use right, and see that the two separate rights are exercised in parallel.

The separation of these two rights is a significant innovation in rural reform. While upholding the collective ownership of rural land, it guarantees farmers' right to contract land, allows a flexible approach to the land use right, and promotes the development of modern agriculture. This flexible approach to the land use right, and orderly provisions for transferring this right, need policy support. We should therefore devise guidelines for transferring the land use right, for pooling this right from multiple holders, and for large-scale agricultural operations. The progress of this reform

must keep pace with the rate of urbanization, the scale of rural labor migration, improvements in agricultural technologies and production methods, and the development of commercialized agricultural services.

“Trends are formed over time, and achievements are made through continuous effort.” Given its importance, we should handle the reform of the rural land system with great prudence. On the one hand, we need to recognize that large-scale agricultural operations are crucial to agricultural modernization, which cannot be achieved by way of scattered and inefficient farming operations. On the other hand, we need to be aware that the transformation from scattered farming operations to a model of large-scale operations is an ongoing process, and that such change takes time and will not be possible without the proper conditions. This is why we should not rush into such a change. There are many issues involved, and we must address them with a historical perspective. We should be wary of tackling issues which are not yet clear to us at the moment, and we should make no decisions in haste.

I have emphasized on a number of occasions that the existing practices of rural land contracting should remain unchanged, and farmers’ land use right should not be disrupted. If farmers lose their land, but find it hard to settle in towns or cities, this could very easily lead to bigger problems. We have learned the lesson the hard way in the past. This issue needs time to address. We should not expect to understand it overnight. We must be patient. We should respect the will of farmers and protect their rights and interests, and let them decide for themselves and make their own choices rather than decide for them on their behalf. We can provide guidance and assistance, but we should not issue compulsory orders, take sweeping actions, or implement one-size-fits-all policies. No matter what reform measures we take, we must make sure that the collective ownership of rural land is not undermined, the area of arable land is not reduced, grain production capacity is not weakened, and the interests of farmers are not jeopardized.

The Leading Group for Further Reform under the CPC Central Committee has met several times to consider issues relating to further rural reform, and we have introduced a series of reform plans. The following are our priorities at this stage:

First, we should focus on certifying household-based ownership of rural collective assets and on reforming the joint stock cooperative system. We should develop more forms of joint stock cooperation, and endow farmers with more rights to collective assets and more property rights.

Second, we should move faster to establish a new agricultural operation system and coordinate the development of family-run, collective, cooperative and enterprise-run agricultural operations. We need to encourage large-scale agricultural operations that are efficient, organized, commercialized and industrialized.

Third, we should advance comprehensive reform of supply and marketing cooperatives while serving farmers’ interests, keeping government functions separate from those of public institutions, and keeping cooperatives separate from their affiliated businesses. In this way, we

can build a system of supply and marketing cooperatives that safeguards the interests of farmers with more farmer-oriented services and functions, so that these cooperatives will be able to operate more efficiently as market entities.

Fourth, we should improve the system for supporting and protecting agriculture. We should improve the pricing mechanism of agricultural products, better regulate agricultural markets, and fine-tune agricultural subsidies to expedite the growth of an all-inclusive, clearly defined, focused, well-coordinated and user-friendly system of agricultural support and protection.

Fifth, we should accelerate reform of the household registration system so that rural migrant workers who live in urban areas and have secure employment can be registered as urban residents. We should also ensure that urban and rural workers enjoy equal access to employment opportunities and receive equal pay for equal work.

Sixth, we should improve mechanisms and institutions that facilitate the integrated development of urban and rural areas, equal distribution of factors of production, and balanced allocation of public resources in urban and rural areas. These measures will achieve integrated urban and rural development by creating new relationships between industry and agriculture and between urban and rural areas in which industry promotes agriculture, urban areas support rural development, and agriculture and industry complement each other.

* Part of the speech at a meeting on rural reform held in Xiaogang Village, Fengyang County, Anhui Province.

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LET A HEALTHY INTERNET GUIDE AND REFLECT PUBLIC OPINION

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-04-16

LET A HEALTHY INTERNET GUIDE AND REFLECT PUBLIC OPINION*

April 19, 2016

As a broad social platform through which millions upon millions of users obtain and exchange information, the internet has a profound influence on the way people acquire knowledge, on the way they think, and also on their values and views. In particular, it influences the way that people view the country, society, their jobs and also their lives.

Attaining the Two Centenary Goals requires that our entire society work with concerted efforts. It requires that all the people focus their thoughts and their efforts towards the same goal. A society that lacks common ideals, goals, and values and that finds itself in disorder all the time will never achieve success. For China, which has a population of more than 1.3 billion, disorder will benefit neither the people nor the country.

Forming a consensus is no easy task, and so we all need to work harder. To attain our goals, we should form concentric circles both online and offline. What do I mean by concentric circles? I mean rallying all the people of China under the leadership of the CPC, and motivating people of all walks of life to engage in a concerted effort to bring about the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

The ancients used to say, “The person that knows a leaking roof is the one who is under that roof; the person that knows an error of the court is the one who is not in power.” If netizens are the “grassroots”, as many of them refer to themselves, then the internet is today’s “grassroots” platform. Netizens are members of the general public. If members of the public go online, so does public opinion. Our officials need to go wherever the public goes, otherwise how else are they expected to maintain ties with them? Party and government agencies and their leaders must learn to stay in touch with the people through the internet. They should go online regularly, observing, chatting, and posting their comments. They need to know what the people think and want, gather good ideas and suggestions, and actively respond to their concerns, answer their queries and remove their doubts. Using the internet to understand public opinion and do their job is a basic skill that officials now need to learn. Officials of all ranks, particularly those in leading positions, must work constantly to improve their performance in this regard.

The majority of netizens are ordinary people who come from different walks of life and have different life experiences. Their views and opinions are sure to vary greatly, and we cannot expect them to always be right about everything and correct in what they say. More tolerance and patience are therefore required. We should promptly take constructive suggestions, afford

assistance to those who need help, tell the truth to those in the dark, offer clarification to those who are confused about certain issues, help pacify those who bear a grudge against something, and guide those with erroneous views and correct their misunderstandings. This way we will ensure that the internet becomes a new platform through which we communicate and interact with the public, a new means through which we understand the people, stay in touch with them, and address their worries and difficulties, and a new channel through which we promote people's democracy and accept public scrutiny.

Cyberspace is a common virtual home for millions of people. A clean and sound online environment is in the best interests of all users. Nobody wants to live in a space occupied by fraud, scams, attacks, slander, terror, obscenity and violence. The internet cannot be a lawless place. The use of the internet to advocate the toppling of the government, preach religious extremism, or incite ethnic separatism and terrorism must be resolutely prevented and punished. Under absolutely no circumstances can such activities be allowed to go unchecked. The use of the internet to engage in fraud, circulate obscene materials, commit slander, and sell contraband goods cannot be left unchecked either. No country in the world would allow such activities to spiral out of control.

Inspired by a sense of duty to society and the people, we must step up our law-based governance of cyberspace, develop better online content, strengthen positive communication, and work to foster a healthy, upbeat and upright online culture. We should use our core socialist values and profit from the best achievements of human civilization to nurture people's minds and nourish society, ensuring that positive energy and mainstream values prevail. By doing so, we will be able to create a clean and upright cyberspace for internet users, especially young ones.

A sound atmosphere for the expression of opinion online does not imply that there should be only one voice and one tune. Rather, it means that people are not permitted to conflate right and wrong, circulate rumors, cause trouble, violate the law, or commit crime; it means that people cannot overstep the boundaries of the Constitution and the law. I have emphasized on many occasions that power must be confined in an institutional cage. An important means of doing this will be to exert the role of public scrutiny, including scrutiny on the internet. Party and government agencies and their leaders must take particular note of this point and make it their priority. We must not only welcome well-meant criticism and public oversight online; we must study it and take it into account, regardless of whether it is directed at the work of the Party and the government or at individual officials, and regardless of whether it is mild-mannered or unpleasant to hear.

* Part of the speech at a meeting on cybersecurity and informatization.

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PROMOTE THE HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF DIVERSE FORMS OF OWNERSHIP

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PROMOTE THE HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF DIVERSE FORMS OF OWNERSHIP*

March 4, 2016

Good afternoon. It is a great pleasure for Yu Zhengsheng and me to be here with members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) from the China National Democratic Construction Association (CNDCA) and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce (ACFIC) and to join your discussion today. First of all, on behalf of the CPC Central Committee, I wish to convey sincere regards to the CPPCC members present and absent, and through you to other CNDCA and ACFIC members, to people working in the non-public sector of the economy.

Several speakers have offered inspiring insights on issues such as sustaining healthy economic development, promoting supply-side structural reform, and promoting the sound growth of the non-public sector. They have also voiced valuable and insightful opinions and suggestions. Departments concerned should study and draw ideas from them.

Last year, in the face of a complex international landscape and the formidable tasks of reform, development and stability at home, we committed ourselves to the coordinated implementation of the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy in accordance with the underlying principle of making progress while keeping performance stable. We took the initiative in economic and social development by proactively adapting to the new normal and taking a sound approach to dealing with significant risks and challenges. Economic growth continued to rank among the highest worldwide, while reform gained momentum across the board and was driven to deeper levels, leading to new breakthroughs in economic, political, cultural, social and ecological fields. The year's major targets were accomplished, and the 12th Five-year Plan was completed.

Indeed, these achievements were hard-won. They were a result of the strong leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and the concerted efforts of all the people of China. The hard work and wisdom of other political parties, the ACFIC and the CPPCC members present also factored in. Last year, the CNDCA Central Committee and the ACFIC tapped into their own strengths to carry out in-depth studies and research. They focused on topics such as boosting the Yangtze River Economic Belt, carrying out targeted poverty alleviation, accelerating the commercialization of scientific and technological advances, creating a favorable environment for innovation, involving

private companies in the Belt and Road Initiative, and supporting small and micro businesses. They put forward a number of constructive proposals, which gave a boost to our work. I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to you all.

Now let me share some of my thoughts in response to your remarks and concerns.

I. Upholding and Improving the Basic Socialist Economic System

The basic economic system in which public ownership is dominant and diverse forms of ownership develop side by side is a fundamental policy inaugurated by the CPC. The policy is a pivotal part of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics as well as an essential requirement for improving the socialist market economy.

China's non-public sector has flourished since the adoption of reform and opening up in 1978 in keeping with the CPC's guidelines and policies, a trail blazed under the Party's leadership. The country's basic economic system was defined at the 15th CPC National Congress in 1997. It was pointed out emphatically at the congress that the non-public sector is an important component of China's market economy. The 16th CPC National Congress in 2002 decided to "consolidate and develop the public sector of the economy" and "encourage, support and guide the development of the non-public sector of the economy". While reaffirming the latter statement, it was further noted at the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012 that China would "ensure that economic entities under all forms of ownership have equal access to factors of production in accordance with the law, compete on a level playing field, and are protected by the law as equals". It was pointed out at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2013 that both the public and non-public sectors are key components of the socialist market economy and are important foundations for the economic and social development of China. Also, the property rights of the public sector are inviolable, as are those of the non-public sector. The state protects the property rights and legitimate interests of all economic sectors. In addition, China will promote equality of rights, opportunities and rules; abolish all the unreasonable regulations for the non-public sector; remove all hidden barriers; and stimulate its dynamism and creativity. The Fourth Plenary Session in the following year called for "improving the system for protecting property rights with fairness as the core principle, better protecting the property rights of natural persons and economic organizations of all types of ownership, and abolishing clauses in laws and regulations that go against the principle of fairness". The Fifth Plenary Session in 2015 underlined the need to "encourage private enterprises, in accordance with the law, to enter more sectors and involve non-state capital in SOE reform to better stimulate the dynamism and creativity of the non-public sector".

The reason why I touch upon these crucial policies and principles is to illustrate that the CPC's stand on the basic economic system is clearcut, consistent and unwavering, and it continues to move to deeper levels. It is enshrined in the Party Constitution. It will not and cannot be changed.

I would like to reaffirm that the status and role of the non-public sector in China's economic and social development have not changed, nor have our guidelines and policies of encouraging, supporting and guiding the growth of the sector and of devoting ourselves to creating a favorable environment and providing more opportunities for its development.

China is a socialist country led by the CPC. The public sector has maintained a firm hold over the years as the country develops. It has made a monumental contribution to China's development, national defense and security, and improvement in the people's standard of living. It is an invaluable asset belonging to all Chinese. There is no doubt that we should ensure its sound growth so that it will continue to contribute to reform, opening up, and modernization. Our emphasis on the need to consolidate and develop the public sector and our policy of encouraging, supporting and guiding development of the non-public sector are not contradictory but inherently coherent. China is a huge country with a large population. It is still and will long remain in the primary stage of socialism. In a bid to step up economic and social progress, it is imperative that all sectors work in unison. The flame leaps high when everybody adds wood to a fire. The public and non-public sectors of the economy should be mutually reinforcing and beneficial; there is no need for conflict or strife.

China's non-public sector has grown larger and stronger under the guidelines and policies of the CPC and the state. For a long time, its rapid expansion has played a crucial role in helping stabilize growth, power innovation, increase employment, and raise living standards. This sector is a cornerstone for economic stability, a major source of the country's tax revenue, an essential player in technological innovation, a pillar for financial progress, and a driving force for sustained and healthy economic development.

Of course, the public and non-public sectors alike encounter problems, dilemmas and challenges as they grow. We need to work together in pursuit of solutions. However, we should not reach a point where we adopt a one-sided perspective. Claims that seek to negate the role of the public sector or the non-public sector run counter to the fundamental interests of all the people and the requirements of China's reform and development and are therefore incorrect.

II. Implementing Policies and Measures on Promoting the Healthy Development of the Non-Public Sector

Since the reform and opening-up initiative began, the Party and the government have come up with a series of policies and measures on the development of the non-public sector. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in particular, these have been improved as we forge ahead with all-round in-depth reform.

A host of reform measures aimed at granting greater market access to non-public sector enterprises and ensuring that they develop on an equal footing with SOEs were launched at the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee. These included:

- encouraging non-public enterprises to take part in SOE reform;
- fostering mixed enterprises with non-public capital as the controlling shareholder;
- ensuring that all kinds of market players can enter areas not on the negative list on an equal basis in accordance with the law;
- allowing more SOEs and enterprises of other types of ownership to develop into mixed enterprises;
- allowing private capital to hold shares in projects invested in by state-owned capital;
- allowing qualified private capital to set up financial institutions such as small and medium-sized banks in accordance with the law;
- allowing private capital to participate in urban infrastructure investment and operation by government license and other means;
- encouraging private capital to invest in rural development;
- allowing enterprises and social organizations to initiate various programs in rural areas.

In order to implement the guiding principles proposed at the 18th CPC National Congress and the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee, we have launched a large number of relevant policies and measures. It is safe to say that a policy framework that encourages, supports and guides the development of the non-public sector has taken shape. The non-public sector enjoys a better policy and social environment than ever before.

For some reasons, supportive measures for these policies are not substantive enough. Consequently, the policies have yet to achieve the desired results on the ground. Several problems stand out. For instance, there remain many restrictions on market access. During policy implementation, the so-called “glass ceiling” exists, coupled with numerous restrictive policies and hidden rules. Certain government departments still fail to provide efficient services to private companies. The financing channels of private companies are insufficient, especially for small and medium-sized enterprises and small and micro businesses, resulting in a strained cash flow. Mired in the current predicament, some entrepreneurs have identified three stumbling blocks – a cold market, financing hurdles, and business model transformation woes.

Although these problems mostly occur during policy implementation and stem from ineffective execution, they have taken a toll on the viability of our policies. We must make resolute efforts to solve them. On the one hand, we should improve policies by giving greater substance to them and making them more practicable. On the other hand, we should intensify implementation efforts to ensure that all policies are carried out to the letter. The total or partial failure to implement policies and defective implementation are mainly last-kilometer problems. I want to reiterate that now that we have a plan, it is most important to implement it. All localities and departments should add

detail to our policies and measures with quantitative indexes based on actual conditions. They should also take supportive steps to ensure that the policies can take root, become more specific, and produce substantive results, so that private companies can reap more tangible benefits.

At present, we must concentrate on the following areas: First, we need to tackle financing difficulties for small and medium-sized enterprises. The financial system should be improved so that it can offer reliable, efficient and convenient services to meet their financing needs. Second, we need to relax restrictions on market access. Private capital should be encouraged to enter all industries and sectors to which entry is not explicitly prohibited by laws or regulations. All sectors that the Chinese government has opened or promised to open to overseas investment should be open to Chinese private capital. Third, we need to accelerate the establishment of a public service system. The creation of a generic technology service platform for private companies should be supported. The technology market should be vigorously developed to provide technological support and professional services for innovative private companies. Fourth, we need to guide private enterprises in reorganizing private capital through the equity market and carrying out mergers and acquisitions across regions and industries, thus fostering a number of competitive conglomerates with distinct features. Fifth, we need to further re-engineer and streamline administrative approval procedures concerning private investment management and fees charged to enterprises. Intermediate processes and the conduct of intermediaries should be regulated to reduce the burden on enterprises and lower their costs.

The new normal is a hallmark of China's economic development during the 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020). It presents both challenges and opportunities. The key lies in how to understand and grasp it. A proper understanding, a good grasp, and effective actions can help turn challenges into opportunities. Private companies should be self-motivated and innovation-driven to gain a correct understanding of the new normal, proactively adapt to it, and strive for new achievements, upgrades and developments. For instance, the Belt and Road Initiative, the coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt offer unprecedented opportunities. Private companies have every right to be fully involved in the three strategies. As they push for joint reorganization regarding equipment, technology, standards and services, they can optimize and upgrade their industries. Also, the proposed 13th Five-year Plan puts forward 50 major initiatives and more than 300 specific measures, all of which provide tremendous opportunities for the non-public sector.

The advantages of China's economy – solid resilience, great potential, and significant scope for adjustments – are readily apparent. China remains the country with the best investment opportunities throughout the world. There is more space; there are more opportunities and better prospects for the non-public sector to develop and for those working in the sector to make the most of their abilities. This sector is expected to play a bigger role. Confidence counts. There may be short-term fluctuations in China's development, but in the long run, positive trends prevail. People in the non-public sector should have an accurate idea of the overriding trend of China's economic development, bolster confidence, and enhance overall competence. They should

improve the corporate management system, rekindle entrepreneurship, bring their talent into full play, boost the inherent dynamism and creativity of their enterprises, and enable them to scale new heights.

III. Encouraging People in the Non-Public Sector to Be Actively Involved in Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

I emphasized at the Central Conference on the United Front last year that the healthy development of the non-public sector depends on those working in the sector. While bearing this idea in mind, these people should dedicate themselves to self-development, lifelong learning, and self-improvement. Do not let this requirement make you feel uncomfortable. In the CPC, officials are required to do likewise, and the bar is even higher. A traditional Chinese saying goes, “There is no pure gold, nor are there perfect people.” We should constantly improve ourselves and strive for excellence.

Many entrepreneurs are successful and have become public figures. To put it colloquially, you are all “big shots”. What you do and say can have a remarkable social impact, and you should therefore cherish and maintain a positive social image. The campaign in which entrepreneurs are educated in ideals and convictions and called upon to put them into practice, with a focus on the observance of the law, honesty and firm confidence, should be more extensive. You should always love the motherland, the people, and the Party; practice the core values of socialism; and set a good example of dedication to work, abiding by the law in doing business, entrepreneurship and innovation, and giving back to society. As you work to make the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation a reality, you will write a glorious chapter in your own lives and careers.

We need to set great store by educating the younger generations of non-public sector leaders. They should be encouraged to inherit and carry forward the older generations’ entrepreneurial spirit and the great tradition of answering the call of and following the Party. Private companies should participate in the Guangcai Program and other charitable initiatives. They should not forget how they have prospered; they should attach equal importance to the public and individual interests and be ready to undertake social responsibilities. The ACFIC’s targeted poverty alleviation program of 10,000 Enterprises Helping 10,000 Villages is a good initiative. It should be implemented effectively.

We have demanded that officials stay true to our principles and conduct themselves appropriately in their relations with entrepreneurs. They should not be indifferent to entrepreneurs, turn a deaf ear to their legitimate requests, or refuse to protect their lawful rights and interests. In an effort to propel economic and social progress, they often work with those in the non-public sector. This is inevitable and is actually a necessity. They should build a gentlemen’s relationship. Officials should develop an affinity with entrepreneurs, create a stable business climate for them, and help

them prosper. Their relations, however, should not be like those between feudal bureaucrats and entrepreneurs holding official posts or between financial consortiums and politicians in Western countries, far less between casual friends who get together only for wining and dining.

I often think about a new type of relationship between officials and businesspeople – what should it be like? In my opinion, it can be summed up in two words – affinity and integrity.

For officials, affinity means that they should be open-minded and sincere in developing relations with private companies. In particular, when these companies encounter difficulties and problems, they should take the initiative in lending a helping hand. They should pay more attention to people working in the non-public sector, often hold heart-to-heart talks with them and provide them with guidance, help them address practical problems, and support the development of the private sector wholeheartedly. Integrity means that their relations with entrepreneurs should be clean, without selfish motives. They should not abuse power for personal gain or profiteer from their public office.

On the part of entrepreneurs, affinity means that they should closely communicate with Party committees, governments and government agencies at all levels, speak the truth, put forward constructive proposals, and support local development with enthusiasm. Integrity means that they should behave honorably and righteously, run enterprises in accordance with discipline and laws, and do business in an open and aboveboard way. When their companies experience difficulties and problems, they can make themselves heard and seek solutions through regular channels. If government workers fail to give them a hearing or are negligent, they can report them to relevant authorities. They can protect their lawful rights and interests through legal means. No company can succeed through improper and unscrupulous practices. These practices undermine not only social ethics, but also the good conscience of those involved.

Abiding by the law is an overriding principle that all enterprises should uphold. People in the public sector and the non-public sector alike should take the act of being law-abiding and honest as their lifeline. They should do business, govern their companies, and safeguard their rights in accordance with the law. Never should they break the law by doing things such as tax evasion, smuggling, and producing and selling counterfeit products. They should refrain from dishonest practices such as performing sub-quality work, defrauding with short weights, and selling shoddy products at high prices.

Since the 18th National Congress, the CPC has intensified its anti-corruption campaign. We have continued to catch “tigers” and also “flies” – to punish senior officials as well as junior ones guilty of corruption. Showing zero tolerance for corruption, the campaign covers all those holding public office without exception. We have investigated and dealt with a large number of discipline and law violations. The campaign is conducive to cleansing both the political and economic ecosystems, restoring market order and operations, and rectifying distortions. Is it not inevitable that the economy should suffer if people in positions of authority ask for bribes, seek personal gain by deliberately erecting obstacles, or engage in embezzlement of public funds and under-the-counter

dealings? I believe upright entrepreneurs can identify with this. At the same time, I must point out that some of the cases that have been dealt with involve private enterprises. In some cases, officials demanded bribes, while in others, business managers offered bribes. The former shows that we have not yet put officials under sufficient scrutiny, and we therefore need to enforce more stringent discipline. Entrepreneurs should learn a lesson from the latter cases. In no circumstances should they let this happen.

Several political parties and the ACFIC will elect new leaderships this year or next year, as will local people's congresses and CPPCC committees. It is important to make proper political arrangements for non-public sector figures who have made outstanding contributions. We should uphold high standards, adopt strict procedures, and conduct careful reviews. Based on valid overall assessments, we should see to it that non-public sector representatives who have strong moral and political integrity, who are in a good position to represent their industries, who are capable of participating in the deliberation and administration of state affairs, and who enjoy a favorable social reputation are recommended to leadership positions. We will support the efforts of other political parties including the CNDCA to promote ideological, organizational and institutional progress, and especially to make their leadership more competent. In this way, they can become more capable of grasping the political landscape, taking part in the deliberation and administration of state affairs, exercising leadership, cooperating with others, and addressing their own problems. These political parties have raised concerns over certain problems including those that they have experienced while performing duties. We should create the conditions for helping to analyze and resolve them. The ACFIC should continue improving itself to enhance the organization's cohesion, influence, and capacity to execute plans. It should promote the reform of its affiliated chambers of commerce and live up to its role in providing direction, guidance and services.

* Speech at a joint panel discussion of CPPCC National Committee members from the CNDCA and the ACFIC during the Fourth Session of the 12th CPPCC National Committee.

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THE MEDIA SHOULD BE POLITICALLY SOUND

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-04-11

THE MEDIA SHOULD BE POLITICALLY SOUND*

February 19, 2016

In the new era, the Party-led media and communication sector has the following responsibilities:

- upholding socialism and guiding public opinion;
- focusing on our central task and serving the overall interests of the country;
- uniting the people and boosting their morale;
- fostering social ethics and forging cohesion among the people;
- refuting mistaken ideas and discerning between truth and falsehood;
- connecting the country with the outside world as a conduit of communication.

To fulfill these responsibilities, the sector must above all be politically sound, and work on the following:

First, affirm commitment to the Party.

This is fundamental to the Party's media and communication sector. Leadership over public communication, ideology, and the media is an important part of Party leadership. We must speak of this with conviction, rather than avoiding or evading it. When I was working in Zhejiang Province in 2006, I raised requirements for the media: "serving the Party and the people, exalting virtue and denouncing vice, basing your reports on what you see and hear". I put "serving the Party and the people" first.

To affirm commitment to the Party, the fundamental prerequisite is upholding the Party's leadership over the media. The media run by the Party and the government are their voice to the public; they must therefore be under the leadership of the Party and act as the spokespersons for the Party and the people. "Party newspapers and journals must in all circumstances publicize the Party's views." The principle of Party leadership over the media and the mechanisms to ensure its implementation shall not change, no matter how the times evolve and how the media landscape changes.

To affirm commitment to the Party, we must keep in line with the Party's central leadership in thinking, action and political commitment. Newspapers, periodicals, news agencies, radio and TV stations, and news websites must represent the Party's will and views, safeguard the authority of the CPC Central Committee and the unity of the Party, and respect, protect and serve the Party. They must keep in alignment with the central Party leadership and act in accordance with its theories, guidelines, principles, policies, decisions and plans. They should maintain strategic

resolve and take a firm political stance. In the face of distractions and disturbances that can “dazzle the eye like a riot of blooms”, they should remain steadfast while “riotous clouds sweep past”. They must neither make comments contradicting the Central Committee’s decisions nor provide channels for the spread of erroneous ideas or observations.

To affirm commitment to the Party, we must have a deeper understanding of the relationship between commitment to the Party and commitment to the people. I highlighted this relationship at the National Conference on Public Communication. In socialist China under the leadership of the CPC, commitment to the Party and commitment to the people are consistent with each other and unified. Our Party aims to serve the people wholeheartedly and has no special interests of its own. To represent the will of the Party is to represent that of the people; to publicize the propositions of the Party is to publicize those of the people; and to remain committed to the Party is to remain committed to the people. Commitment to the Party is embodied in commitment to the people; the two cannot be separated. Some asked, “Are you speaking for the Party or the people? Are you siding with the Party or the people?” These questions, regarding the Party as distinct from the people, are erroneous in theory and harmful in practice. This shows that those who asked the questions are ideologically confused.

Commitment to the Party provides our media with a clear stance and direction; commitment to the people is the source of vitality and strength of our media. Only with commitment to the Party and the people-centered philosophy can we ensure that the media always serves the people rather than a selected few. The media should be responsible both to the Party and the people; they should serve and guide the public, meet public needs, and improve their moral attainment. They should turn the Party’s theories, guidelines, principles and policies into people’s conscious action, reflect people’s experience in their creation and the actual problems they face, enrich their inner world, and increase their mental fortitude.

To uphold Party leadership over the media, we still have some important matters to study and a lot of work to do.

I have said on many occasions that if we fail to adapt to the internet, we will not be in power for long. The Party’s leadership over the media covers more than those that fall under its direct remit – it covers all types of media at all levels. This leadership is not ineffective management over trivial matters. The ways of leadership may vary, but the principle must be applied in practice.

Proper management and use of the internet is vital for us to keep the edge in public communication in the new era. The key is who will manage it and how to manage it. Some people are attempting to turn the internet into the biggest game changer in contemporary China. In response, we must ensure Party leadership over new media. All communication platforms that provide news services, have the attributes of media agencies, and play a part in shaping public opinion must be under Party leadership. All news and information services and the personnel engaged in relevant businesses must meet the industry access requirements. The departments concerned must study this issue and take effective measures.

Second, adhere to the Marxist perspective on journalism.

A correct approach to journalism is the soul of news media. A mountain of sand has no roots, and a person without a spine cannot stand upright. The Party's news media must also have a "spine". Mencius said, "When we focus on the most important thing, other worldly temptations will not distract us." For the Party's media work, the "most important thing" is the Marxist approach to journalism. We should improve education in this regard, making the Marxist approach to journalism the compass of the Party's media work. We should encourage journalists to report on the Party's ideas and policies, record major events of our time, promote social progress, and exercise public supervision for fairness and justice.

Some advocate the Western approach to journalism. They tout Western media as a "public instrument", the "fourth estate" or an "uncrowned monarch", and demand abstract, absolute "freedom of the press". A small number, under the banner of "freedom of the press", focus their criticism on major political principles, openly criticizing the CPC leadership and socialist system. Some ignore right and wrong, take pleasure in and make a habit of criticizing mainstream values, adopt a cynical attitude, or even tell lies.

The Western media operate on the principle that "bad news sells". Reading their stories carefully, one will find that there are three basic types. The first comprises negative reports about other countries; the second comprises sensational reports about scandals, pornography, murders, violence, celebrities, private lives, gambling, drug abuse, and sex; and the third comprises exaggerating reports, or perfunctory criticism masquerading as genuine exposure of real problems. There are very few reports or discussions on serious topics, such as the nature and root problems of capitalism. When there are protests or even terrorist activities in other countries, particularly those with different ideologies, Western media describe them as movements fighting for "democracy", "freedom", or "human rights", or opposing "tyranny", and splash coverage over as many pages as possible. They take a relentlessly negative view of socialist China and try every means to smear, vilify and demonize us.

The truth is that all media have a distinct ideological viewpoint; there is no abstract, absolute freedom. We must perceive the nature of the "freedom of the press" advocated by the West and consciously oppose the Western approach to journalism and other erroneous ideas.

Third, maintain the right tone in public opinion.

The right tone in public opinion helps to unite minds and forces and advance our cause; the wrong tone unsettles the morale and will of the people and undermines the cause of the Party and the people. All Party members, especially those working in the media, must bear this in mind. We must use the right tone in guiding public opinion to ensure that all of our work helps to uphold CPC leadership and our socialist system, to promote reform and development, to strengthen ethnic unity, and to safeguard social harmony and stability. This is the most important and essential orientation.

Some people believe that the media are only about publishing and disseminating information; they report only what have happened and have nothing to do with orientation. This is wrong. An ancient Chinese once said, “Literature is the channel by which ideas are disseminated.” Every report has its own orientation; its content, style and tone represent a stance, viewpoint, or attitude. In addition to covering events around the world, the media should advocate correct stances, viewpoints and attitudes, guide the public in discerning right from wrong, good from bad, virtue from evil, and beauty from ugliness, and inspire positive mental strength that will drive people towards goodness and excellence.

We must maintain the right tone in all aspects of the media including news gathering, writing, editing, proofreading and publishing, and ensure that this applies to all staff. All persons at all levels involved should perform their duties according to the strictest standards. Party newspapers, periodicals, radio and TV stations at all levels should follow this principle, as should local newspapers and periodicals and new media. News reports should follow this principle, as should supplements, features and advertisements. Reports on politics and news should follow this principle, as should entertainment and social reports. Domestic reports should follow this principle, as should international reports.

There is a view that this principle can be flexible when reporting on entertainment and social topics. This view is wrong, at least incomplete. If such reports are all about extravagance, debauchery, intrigue and rivalry, ostentation, infidelity, crime, or gossip about the rich and celebrities, the media cannot provide positive guidance for the public. Mainstream values and positive energy must be the main focus in newspapers, periodicals, radio and TV programs, cyberspace and mobile platforms. The same criteria must be applied to entertainment reporting as to serious social reporting.

Fourth, focus on constructive reporting.

Maintaining unity and stability, boosting morale, and encouraging constructive reporting is at the core of the Party’s media work. Without unity and stability, we will achieve nothing. We emphasize this principle for two reasons:

On the one hand, the active and positive is the mainstream of our society, while the negative is at the fringes. We should have a fair understanding of the relationship between the mainstream and tributaries, between achievements and problems, and between the whole and the part. We should report healthy and positive social trends, and coordinate the whole picture of social progress with the momentum of our reform and development.

On the other hand, we are carrying out a great struggle with many new features and face unprecedented challenges and difficulties. We must motivate the whole Party and society to unite and overcome difficulties, and mobilize the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of all sectors. To this end, the Party’s media must play its due role.

Constructive reporting requires higher quality and standards and should be attractive and appealing. Some people think that constructive reporting is easy to produce with ready-made materials. Others think it is a hard job and unpopular among the public. This is not true. Many of our news programs that promote positive energy are influential and their audience ratings are high. Constructive reporting requires sincere and concerted efforts to captivate the audience. Stories that are not based on facts, without substance, full of exaggeration and repeated and empty political slogans, and written in a monotonous style that fails to differentiate readers cannot achieve the intended results.

Focusing on constructive reporting, so as to unite the people, maintain stability, and boost morale, requires us to have a proper understanding of truth. "Loyalty, credibility and prudence are the basis of morality and justice; fantasy and absurdity lead people astray." Truth is the lifeblood of news reporting; facts are the essence, while falsehood is the natural enemy. In news reporting, no negligence in the principle of truth is tolerable, otherwise even what is most authentic might lose credibility. Journalists should base their stories faithfully on facts, rather than their own wishes. At the same time, they should adhere to the Marxist stance, viewpoint and methodology, and find out whether the reporting presents a truthful picture of the whole event or it is just a ragtag collection of some facts.

In a country as large as ours with more than 1.3 billion people, many events and problems occur every day. The media is the generator and amplifier of public opinion. If they observe only the dark and negative while neglecting the bright and positive, their reports will not be able to reflect the complete true picture, even though what is reported is based on facts.

Some cannot see the forest for the trees. Some seize upon one point and ignore the whole picture. Although the trees do exist, they do not reflect the forest, that is, the wider truth. At the same time, in order to avoid being subjective, one-sided, or taking a part for the whole, in addition to one cause and one effect we should pay more attention to complex situations, including one cause and many effects, many causes and one effect, many causes and many effects, reciprocal causation, and the fact that cause and effect can be reversed.

Some incidents, especially those of little significance, will not have any social impact if they are not reported. However, once disseminated and amplified by the media, they can cause considerable impact on society. Continuous and repeated reporting of negative information will damage the morale and cohesion of society.

This does not mean that the media only report the positive, not the negative. The key is to ensure an overall balance. Public oversight through the mass media is consistent with constructive reporting; they are not contradictory. News media should confront problems and social evils, denounce vice and exalt virtue, and condemn unhealthy tendencies. We should pay attention to issues of widespread public concern and report on them, respond to questions promptly in order to dispel doubts and misunderstandings, guide public expectations, and improve our work.

There are some problems in our current approach to critical reporting. Some media agencies are inept at writing reports of criticism, while those subject to criticism, including some leadership bodies and leading officials, are not accustomed to being criticized. When confronted with sensitive or complex problems, some local authorities and central departments have a tendency to cover them up or even try to put a gloss on them through their public communication departments. Their conduct is like burying their heads in the sand in this information society.

We must adapt ourselves to scrutiny of public opinion, rather than restricting media interviews and coverage for fear of damage to our “image” or “interests”. At the same time, the media must base their criticism on truth and accuracy and their analyses on objectivity, rather than regarding themselves as “judges”. Criticism of major policy issues should be submitted to the higher-level authorities through internal channels, rather than being made public in the media.

To uphold constructive reporting does not mean the media should act as “nice guys”, or be over-charitable or soft-pedaling when dealing with evil people or things. When addressing political and ideological misconceptions in society, the media should reinforce positive guidance. They can present the facts and reason things out to help the public discern right from wrong and gain a clear understanding. When it comes to major political issues and matters of principle, the media should take an unequivocal stance. In the face of malicious criticism or rumors aimed at creating trouble, the media must fight back and set the record straight.

Not long ago, there was an online surge of comments denigrating, ridiculing and smearing our national heroes. Our mainstream media responded immediately, defending and championing the heroes with solid facts. This fostered positive public opinion.

As I said before, all our colleagues working in public communication should fight for what is right rather than taking a nice-guy approach. They should never sit on the fence, trim their sails with every passing breeze, or be too concerned with their own reputation. They must carry out their noble duties and glorious missions, and work hard in the forefront of public communication with readiness for combat and a sense of responsibility.

This is exactly what Mao Zedong said, “We must firmly uphold the truth, and truth requires a clear-cut stand. We Communists have always disdained to conceal our views. Newspapers run by our Party and all the propaganda work of our Party should be vivid, clear-cut and sharp and should never mutter and mumble. That is the militant style proper to us, the revolutionary proletariat. Since we want to teach the people to know the truth and arouse them to fight for their own emancipation, we need this militant style.”

* Part of the speech at a meeting on the Party’s media and communication work.

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INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY THEATER COMMANDS

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INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY THEATER COMMANDS

February 1, 2016

Today, we are holding this ceremony to inaugurate the People's Liberation Army (PLA) theater commands and confer upon you the PLA flag. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission (CMC), I extend warm congratulations to all my comrades present, and to all officers and soldiers of the theater commands.

The establishment of the Eastern Theater Command, the Southern Theater Command, the Western Theater Command, the Northern Theater Command, and the Central Theater Command, and of the joint operations command institutions at the theater level, is a strategic decision taken by the CPC Central Committee and the CMC to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation and achieve the Party's goal of building a strong military. It is a landmark step to ensure full implementation of the strategy of strengthening the military through reform. It is a measure of historic significance adopted to improve the joint operations system of the PLA. It will have significant and far-reaching impact on our military and make it more capable of fighting and winning, and more effective in safeguarding national security.

The mission of the theater commands is to respond to security threats in the areas under your respective strategic command, maintain peace, deter conflicts, and win wars. The theater commands will play a pivotal role in implementing the national security strategy and our military strategies.

I hereby order that all theater commands must stay true to your mission, strive for the Party's goal of building a strong military, implement the strategic military guidelines for the new era, and observe the underlying principle of the CMC exercising overall leadership, the theater commands overseeing military operations, and the services focusing on developing military capabilities. You should ensure that the joint operations command institutions in your theaters are absolutely loyal to the Party, capable of combat planning, effective in command, and determined to fight and win.

– All theater commands should unswervingly obey the Party's command, uphold its absolute leadership over the armed forces, and strengthen the political loyalty of the armed forces. You should maintain your political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and act in accordance with its requirements. You

should align yourselves with the CPC Central Committee and the CMC, strictly observe political discipline and rules, and carry out to the letter orders and instructions issued by the CPC Central Committee and the CMC.

– All theater commands should focus on developing and improving combat capabilities. In order to secure the initiative in future wars, you should closely follow national security developments, broaden your strategic vision, study the dynamics of winning modern wars, fully understand the use of military force, its characteristics and the laws underlying its use, speed up the development of region-specific strategies, improve plans for operations, and strengthen the training of joint operations and joint command.

– All theater commands should establish effective command over joint operations, exercise authority of command conferred by the CMC, and fulfill related responsibilities. You should build up command capacity and rationalize the chain of command in line with the requirements of establishing a lean and efficient joint operations system composed of permanent and specialized command establishments for both peacetime and wartime operations. You should improve the mechanisms of joint command, joint operations, and joint logistic support, and ensure that your troops maintain combat readiness and accomplish military operations as required.

– All theater commands should be prepared to lead and fight at any time and always be ready to respond to the call of the Party and the people. You should keep in mind that our military is and will always be a force that fears neither hardship nor death and is brave and tenacious in combat. You should carry forward this fighting spirit and style in safeguarding China's sovereignty, security, and development interests, write a new chapter in the glorious history of the people's armed forces, and live up to the expectations of the Party and the people.

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NEW DEVELOPMENT CONCEPTS AND SUPPLY-SIDE STRUCTURAL REFORM

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A Deeper Understanding of the New Development Concepts

On the philosophy of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, I have talked much at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2015 and on other occasions. Today, I will not try to elaborate on it from the practical perspective of our work, but proceed from history and reality, and offer some suggestions on how to tackle major issues.

First, we should implement the strategy of innovation-driven development.

We should put innovation first because it is the primary driving force for development. The force of innovation determines the speed, effectiveness, and sustainability of development. In the case of such a large economy as China, without continued development impetus we will find it difficult to realize sound and sustained economic growth, and we will struggle to double the 2010 GDP and the per capita income for both urban and rural residents by 2020. Of course, coordinated, green, open, and shared development helps to strengthen the impetus for development, yet the core is innovation. Innovation is the key to driving overall social and economic development.

The need to pursue innovative development is a conclusion drawn from the world's development process in modern times and from China's practice in reform and opening up since 1978.

Pursuing innovative development is fundamental to our strategy in adapting to the changing environment for development, boosting the impetus for development, seizing the initiative in development, and leading the new normal.

Reviewing the world's development process in modern times, we can see that a country's or a nation's capacity for innovation influences its future and can even be the determining factor.

In the 16th century, human society entered an unprecedented period of active innovation. Achievements in scientific innovation over the past five centuries have exceeded the sum total of several previous millennia. Especially since the 18th century, the world has witnessed several major scientific revolutions, such as the birth of modern physics, steam engines and machinery, electricity, transportation, the theory of relativity and quantum theory, and the development of electronic and information technology. These have led to industrial revolutions in the world economy, including mechanization, electrification, automation and informatization. Each and every

scientific and industrial revolution has profoundly changed the outlook and pattern of world development. Some countries have seized the available opportunities, so they achieved rapid social and economic development and increased their economic, scientific and military strength. Some have emerged as world powers. The First Industrial Revolution, which originated in the UK in the 18th century, made the country the world leader. The US took the opportunity of the Second Industrial Revolution in the mid-19th century and surpassed the UK, becoming the No. 1 world power. Since the Second Industrial Revolution, the US has maintained global hegemony because it has always been the leader and the largest beneficiary of scientific and industrial progress.

China has the motivation and the skills required for successful innovation. China's development and the historical achievements I have mentioned previously can be attributed to its scientific inventions and innovation. Ancient China's achievements in astronomy, calendar, mathematics, agriculture, medicine, and geography were remarkable. These inventions were closely related to economic activity, providing forceful support to the development of agriculture and the craft industries. The British philosopher Francis Bacon once said that printing, gunpowder, and the magnet had changed the whole face and state of things throughout the world, and that no empire, no sect, no star seemed to have exerted greater power and influence in human affairs than these mechanical discoveries.

Records show that China has 173 items among the world's most important 300 inventions and discoveries made before the 16th century, far surpassing Europe in the same historical period. China led the world for a long time, and China's culture and thought, social system, economic progress, science, and technology motivated and led its neighboring countries and regions. Since 1840 China has lagged behind, mainly because we missed the great development opportunities brought by the scientific and industrial revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Nowadays, social and economic development throughout the world relies more on theoretical, institutional, scientific, and cultural innovation, while new competitive edges are to be gained through the capacity for innovation. Those countries which advance in innovation will seize the initiative in leading global development. A new round of scientific and industrial revolution is on the way, whose main characteristics are as follows: Major revolutionary technologies are emerging; the transformation of scientific achievements is accelerating; and the form of industrial organization and industrial chains is more monopolistic. Major world powers have adopted new strategies to promote innovation, increased investment in innovation, and made greater efforts to contend for strategic resources in innovation such as talent, intellectual property, and standards.

Despite being the world's second largest, China's economy is obese and weak. Inadequate capacity for innovation is its Achilles' heel. Innovation-driven growth has become the pressing demand for China's development. Therefore, I emphasize repeatedly that innovation is development; innovation is the future.

Through years of efforts, China's overall scientific capacity has improved, shifting from quantitative increase to qualitative improvement. It has now reached advanced international level in some major areas. Nevertheless, China's core technologies in key fields remain restrained by other countries; China's scientific reserve is far from adequate to create new industries and lead future global development; China's industries remain at the middle and low end of global value chains; and China lags far behind developed countries in high technologies for military and security use. Therefore, we must seek development based on innovation, foster new development impetus through innovation, and promote leading-edge development that gives greater incentives to first innovators.

Innovation is a complicated and systematic social program covering all social and economic areas. In pursuing innovative development we should adopt a holistic view, while at the same time attending to key issues and propelling overall development through innovative breakthroughs in major areas and at key points. We should make plans ahead of time, focusing on core economic competitiveness, pressure points in social development, and major challenges to national security. We should improve basic research and research on key general-purpose technologies which have a bearing on overall development. We should improve our capacity for independent innovation, and make major breakthroughs in scientific innovation, striving to push our scientific capacity to a higher level, in an attempt to catch up with and eventually surpass the advanced countries. Driven by major scientific innovation, we should accelerate the application of innovative technology in industry, and build a new industrial system. In this way we can ensure that we possess technologies that other countries have, that we possess technologies that are stronger than those of other countries, and that our technologies are more advanced than those of other countries, so as to increase our overall economic quality and international competitiveness. We should further scientific institutional reform, and promote talent development systems and policy innovation, with an emphasis on cultivating highly educated top-notch talent who master cutting-edge technologies but are in short supply. We should open our arms wider to innovative talent from overseas, and bring together the world's best minds to contribute to our nation's development.

Second, we should strengthen overall and coordinated development.

"Everything has its counterpart." According to materialistic dialectics, things are universally related; they interact with and constrain each other, and so do their composing elements; and the world is an interrelated whole and also an interactive system. Applying materialistic dialectics, we should grasp the inherent relationship between objective things to understand and handle problems. Authors of Marxist classics value materialistic dialectics, and are skilled in applying them to understand and explore the theory of movement of opposites in the development of human society. For example, Karl Marx proposed that social reproduction falls into two categories – means of production and means of subsistence, and they must maintain a certain ratio to realize social reproduction.

While leading the people to build socialism, the CPC has formed many ideas and strategies concerning coordinated development. As early as 1949, when the PRC was founded, Mao Zedong put forward the holistic approach and the working method of “playing the piano”. He said, “In playing the piano all ten fingers are in motion; it won’t do to move some fingers only and not others. But if all ten fingers press down at once, there is no melody. To produce good music, the ten fingers should move rhythmically and in coordination. A Party committee should keep a firm grasp on its central task and at the same time, around the central task, it should unfold the work in other fields. At present, we have to take care of many fields; we must look after the work in all the areas, armed units and departments, and not give all our attention to a few problems, to the exclusion of others. Wherever there is a problem, we must put our finger on it, and this is a method we must master.” “On the Ten Major Relationships” is a typical example of Mao Zedong’s application of the idea that the world is an interrelated whole to expounding the law of building socialism. In “On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People”, he further raised the principle of “overall consideration and proper arrangement”.

After China adopted the reform and opening-up policy in 1978, Deng Xiaoping analyzed the existing situation and the problems we faced, saying, “Since our modernization program covers many fields, it calls for an overall balance and we cannot stress one to the neglect of the others.” In various stages of reform and opening up, Deng Xiaoping set forth the principle of grasping two links at the same time. Jiang Zemin proposed to handle 12 major relationships that affect overall development in advancing socialist modernization. Hu Jintao put forward comprehensive, balanced, and sustainable development. At its 18th National Congress in 2012, the Party put forward the Five-sphere Integrated Plan for building Chinese socialism – promoting coordinated progress in the economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental fields. Later we put forward the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy – making comprehensive moves to achieve moderate prosperity in all respects by 2021 (and to build a modern socialist country in all respects by 2049), to further reform, to advance the rule of law, and to strengthen internal Party governance. These all manifest a deeper understanding of coordinated development, and have proved the significance of materialistic dialectics in resolving China’s development issues.

Presently, coordinated development has acquired new features. Coordinated development is the means and the objective of development, and the standard and measurement for evaluating development. In the development of all things, we should address both major and minor problems, and both major and minor aspects of a problem; at the same time, we should focus on major problems and major aspects of a problem. Coordinated development is the unity of the above two theories. A country, a region, or an industry has both strengths and constraints at any given development stage. Accordingly, we should make a targeted effort to resolve tough problems and improve weak points, and at the same time, consolidate and build up our existing strengths. By taking the two measures that complement each other we can achieve high-level development. Coordinated development is the unity of balanced development and imbalanced development. The process from balance to imbalance and then to rebalance is the basic law of development. Balance is relative while imbalance is absolute. Emphasizing coordinated development is not

pursuing equalitarianism, but giving more importance to equal opportunities and balanced resource allocation. Coordinated development is the unity of weakness and potential in development. China is in a stage of transition from a middle-income country to a high-income country. According to international experience, this is a stage of concentrated conflicts of interest, in which imbalanced development and various weaknesses are inevitable. In pursuing coordinated development, we should identify and improve our weaknesses, so as to tap development potential and sustain growth momentum.

In order to secure overall national development during the 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020), pursuing coordinated development is the key. We should learn to use the method of dialectics, be good at “playing the piano”, and properly handle the relationships between the part and the whole, between the present and the future, and between major and minor issues. We should weigh our strengths and weaknesses, draw on strengths and avoid weaknesses, and make strategic choices in the best of our interests. Proceeding from the prominent problems of imbalance, incoordination and unsustainability in our development, we should coordinate development between regions, between urban and rural areas, and between material and cultural progress, and integrate the development of our economy and national defense. This is the key feature of coordinated development affirmed at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

We should develop regional comparative edges and improve the distribution of productive forces. We should make special efforts to implement three strategies – the Belt and Road Initiative, the coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt. We should support accelerated development in old revolutionary bases, areas with large ethnic minority populations, border areas, and poor areas. We should build a multi-centered, IT-supported, and open regional development framework which connects the eastern, central, and western regions and runs through the southern and northern regions, so as to narrow regional development gaps. We should continue to ensure that industry helps agriculture and that cities support the countryside; we should implement the policy of giving more, taking less, and loosening control to increase rural incomes; we should balance public resource allocation in urban and rural areas; we should build new forms of relationship between industry and agriculture and between urban and rural areas in which industry promotes agriculture, urban areas support rural development, industry and agriculture reinforce each other, and urban development and rural development are integrated, so as to continue to narrow the gap between urban and rural development. We must adhere to the goal of advancing socialist culture, using the core socialist values to forge consensus and gather strength, using outstanding cultural products to inspire people and boost morale, and using the best of traditional Chinese culture to nourish morality, thereby raising cultural progress to a higher level. We should continue to make progress in both our economy and our defense capabilities; we should continue to pursue civil-military integration through a framework that covers all areas and all production factors and produces high returns;

and we should ensure that strengthening national defense and the armed forces is consistent with completing the First Centenary Goal, and ensure the coordinated, balanced, and inclusive development of the two processes.

Third, we should promote the harmonious coexistence of humanity and nature.

The purpose of green development, fundamentally speaking, is to serve this end. Human development activities must respect, accommodate, and protect nature; otherwise nature will retaliate against us. This is a law no one can deny.

Engels argued in *Dialectics of Nature*: The people who, in Mesopotamia, Greece, Asia Minor and elsewhere, destroyed the forests to obtain cultivable land, never dreamed that by removing along with the forests the collecting centers and reservoirs of moisture they were laying the basis for the present forlorn state of those countries. When the Italians of the Alps used up the pine forests on the southern slopes, so carefully cherished on the northern slopes, they had no inkling that by doing so they were cutting at the roots of the dairy industry in their region; they had still less inkling that they were thereby depriving their mountain springs of water for the greater part of the year, and making it possible for them to pour still more furious torrents on the plains during the rainy seasons.

In the 20th century, the eight social pollution nuisances that occurred in Western countries greatly affected the eco-environment and public life. Of these, the Los Angeles photochemical smog in the 1940s caused nearly 1,000 deaths, and 75 percent of local citizens suffered from pinkeye disease. The Great London Smog of 1952 in the UK caused about 4,000 deaths in only a few days during its first outbreak in December, and then nearly 8,000 deaths from respiratory diseases in the following two months; later, the city was stricken by 12 severe smog attacks in 1956, 1957 and 1962. The Minamata disease of 1956 in Japan was caused by methylmercury-containing sewage discharge into Minamata Bay. After eating polluted fish and shellfish, local people suffered from severe mercury poisoning, the number of victims being about 1,000 and the number of people at risk reaching 20,000. American writer Rachel Carson gave a detailed account of the hazards of chemical pesticides in her book *Silent Spring*.

According to historical records, China's Loess Plateau, Weihe River drainage, and Taihang Mountains – now sparse in vegetation – were once covered by dense forests and crisscrossed by clear streams, arable farmland and natural pastures; however, deforestation for agriculture severely damaged the local eco-environment. The expansion of the Taklamakan Desert buried the once-prosperous ancient Silk Road. The expansion of the Hexi Corridor Desert destroyed the ancient city of Dunhuang. The Khorchin and Mu Us sandy lands and the Ulan Buh Desert encroached on the beautiful and fertile Mongolian Steppe. The ancient city of Loulan declined as the Peacock River changed its course as a result of reclaiming wasteland for farming and irrigation. The plains in the north of Hebei once abounded with lush woods and meadows, but the land reclamation policy during the Tongzhi years (1862-1874) of the Qing Dynasty reduced the 500-kilometer stretch of pinewoods to barren mountains. We must take warning from these cases.

In treating nature, Engels pointed out: “Let us not, however, flatter ourselves overmuch on account of our human victories over nature. For each such victory nature takes its revenge on us. Each victory, it is true, in the first place brings about the results we expected, but in the second and third places it has quite different, unforeseen effects which only too often cancel the first.” Humanity was born in nature, lives in coexistence with nature, and will finally incur harm by damaging nature. Only by respecting the law of nature can we avoid setbacks in developing and utilizing nature. We must bear this principle in mind and put it into practice.

Since the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, China’s economic development has made historic progress. This is what we are proud of and also what has won the admiration of other countries. Nevertheless, we must be aware that eco-environmental problems have become our obvious weaknesses and a pressing public concern. For example, frequent incidences of environmental pollution have endangered lives and caused widespread distress. We must make every effort to change this situation.

Our predecessors understood the significance of the eco-environment. *The Analects of Confucius* says, “The master fished with a line but not with a net; when fowling he did not aim at a roosting bird.” Xun Zi argued, “If it is the season when the grasses and trees are in the splendor of their flowering and sprouting new leaves, axes and halberds are not permitted in the mountain forest so as not to end their lives prematurely or to interrupt their maturation. If it is the season when the giant sea turtles, water lizards, fish, freshwater turtles, loach, and eels are depositing their eggs, nets and poisons are not permitted in the marshes so as not to prematurely end their lives or to interrupt their maturation.” *Lü’s Spring and Autumn Annals* also states, “If you drain off the water to catch fish, how can you miss them? But there will be no fish in the river at all the next year. If you set swamps on fire to catch animals, how can you miss them? But there will be no animals at all the next year.” These ideas – taking from nature at the proper time and to the proper extent – have a great and genuine significance.

The eco-environment has no substitutes. We are not aware of this when we exploit it, yet it is irretrievable once lost. As I previously mentioned, the environment is livelihood, green mountains are beauty, blue sky is happiness, and clear water is wealth. Protecting the environment equates to protecting productive forces; improving the environment equates to developing productive forces. In protecting the environment, we must develop a broad, long-term and holistic perspective. We should not try to save a little only to lose a lot; we should not attend to one thing and lose sight of another; we should not eat our seed corn; and we should not be eager for quick success and instant benefit. Instead, we should adhere to the fundamental state policy of conserving resources and protecting the environment; we should protect the eco-environment like our own eyes and treat it as our own lives; and we should develop a green mode of development and a green way of life, as a support to increasing individual and national prosperity and creating a beautiful environment. Lately, at the meeting on the development of the Yangtze River Economic Belt held in Chongqing, I emphasized that we must prioritize the eco-environment and pursue

green development, treat the restoration of the Yangtze River eco-environment as an overwhelmingly important task, and step up our efforts for large-scale eco-protection instead of eco-exploitation.

Officials at all levels must strengthen their faith in eco-protection and discard development patterns and methods that damage or even destroy the environment. They must not pursue short-term growth at the cost of the eco-environment. We should be firm in promoting green development and the appreciation of natural capital, so that a sound eco-environment helps improve the people's quality of life and presents a positive image of the country. We should ensure the people breathe fresh air, drink clear water, eat safe food, and enjoy a livable environment. We should ensure the people receive the real environmental benefits from economic development, enjoy life with a blue sky, green mountains, clear waters, and a better environment than ever before, and step into a new era of eco-progress.

Fourth, we should establish a new system of opening up.

China's development achievements over the past 30 years derive from opening up. The prosperity of a country and the rejuvenation of a nation mostly rely on responding to the call of the times and propelling historic progress.

Economic globalization is the trend we have to recognize in planning our development. The concept of economic globalization became popular after the Cold War ended in 1991, but it is not a new phenomenon. As early as the 19th century, Marx and Engels elaborated theories on world trade, world markets, and world history in *The German Ideology*, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Economic Manuscript of 1857-1858*, *Capital* and other works. They pointed out in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*: "The bourgeois has through its exploration of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country." Marx and Engels' perception and arguments revealed the nature, logic and process of economic globalization, laying a theoretical foundation for us to understand the concept today.

Economic globalization underwent three general stages. One, colonial expansion and the formation of the world market. Western countries, through plunder, occupation by force, and colonial expansion, had largely completed the carve-up of the world before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, bringing all regions and nations into a single capitalist world system. Two, two parallel world markets. After the end of World War II in 1945, a number of socialist countries emerged, and colonial and semi-colonial countries declared their independence, which divided the world into two camps and formed two parallel markets in the international economy. Three, economic globalization. As the Cold War ended in 1991, opposition between the two camps and the two parallel world markets disappeared; interdependence between countries increased; and economic globalization quickened its pace.

Correspondingly, China's relationship with the world also underwent three stages. One, from national seclusion to semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. Before the Opium War of 1840, China was isolated from the world market and global industrialization. After that, during the wars against Western aggression, China suffered repeated defeats and fell to the status of a poor and weak country.

Two, sole alliance with the Soviet Union and national semi-seclusion, and then complete seclusion. After the founding of the PRC in 1949, China explored the path of building socialism in sole alliance with the Soviet Union and in semi-seclusion from the rest of the world, and almost completely separated itself from the international community during the Cultural Revolution.

Three, multidimensional opening up. After reform and opening up in 1978, China seized the opportunity presented by economic globalization and steadily opened ever-wider to the outside world, marking a historic change.

Practice has proved that to develop and grow stronger, we must comply with the trend of economic globalization, adhere to opening up, and make full use of advanced scientific achievements and management experience. During the early period of reform and opening up, when we lacked strength and experience, many people doubted whether we could benefit from reform and opening up without becoming corroded and being swallowed up by the dominant Western countries. In those years, we came under heavy pressure in pushing the negotiations on China's accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the World Trade Organization. Looking back today, we chose the correct direction of development by opening up the country and going global.

Twenty or even 15 years ago, the major propellants of economic globalization were the US and other Western countries. Today, China is considered the biggest driver of global trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, resisting various forms of Western protectionism. This proves that as long as we consciously support the trend of global development, we can grow stronger and lead world development.

In promoting open development, the domestic and international situations we face now are quite different from the past. On the whole, we have more favorable factors, but we also face significant risks and challenges that are by no means negligible. This can be seen from four perspectives.

One, the international balance of power is changing positively in an unprecedented way. The rise of emerging markets and developing countries is changing the global political and economic landscapes. There is an irresistible trend towards multipolarity and democracy in international relations. The West-dominated global governance system is finally showing signs of change, but the competition to gain dominance in global governance and the formulation of international rules is fierce. Since Western developed countries retain advantages in the economy, science and technology, politics, and military affairs, there is a long way to go to build an international political and economic order that is fairer and more equitable.

Two, the world economy is gradually emerging from the shadow of the global financial crisis. Western countries are maintaining the momentum of economic recovery through reindustrialization. The structure of the international industrial division of labor has changed, but protectionism remains severe worldwide. The formulation of international economic and trade rules tends to be politicized and fragmented. Emerging markets and developing economies are still sluggish, and the global economy has not yet found new engines for full recovery.

Three, China's share of the world economy and global governance has increased rapidly. China is now the world's second largest economy, the largest exporter, the second largest importer, the second largest source of foreign direct investment, the largest holder of foreign exchange reserves, and the largest market for tourism. China has become a major factor in changing the world political and economic landscapes. Nevertheless, it remains the case that China's economy is big but not strong, and our per capita income and living standards are not in the same league as those of Western countries. We need to work harder to turn our economic strength into international institutional authority.

Four, China's opening up has reached a better balance between bringing in and going global. The opening-up pattern has changed from mainly bringing in to both bringing in and going global on a large scale, but the corresponding law, consultancy, finance, personnel, risk management, and safety controls cannot meet the practical needs, while our mechanisms remain weak in supporting high-standard opening up and large-scale going global.

This means that the overall environment for open development is more favorable than ever before, but the conflicts, risks and contests we are facing are also unprecedented, setting delicate traps for any potential negligence. On the subject of the next steps in open development, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee made pertinent provisions, and I also set out some requirements in the speech at the second full assembly. I hope we continue to explore and practice, raise our awareness and ability to address the overall situation both domestically and internationally, and improve the effectiveness and raise the level of opening up.

Fifth, we should practice the people-centered philosophy of development.

This was initiated at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee. It displays the CPC's fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, and the historical materialist viewpoint that the people are the primary force for propelling development.

As mentioned in ancient Chinese classics, "There are some fixed principles in governing a state, among which benefiting the people should be the root." The people-centered philosophy of development is not an abstract, abstruse concept. We will not restrict ourselves to lip service or idle reflection, but put it into practice in all areas of social and economic development. We should maintain the people's principal position in the country, and fulfill their expectation for a better life. We should continue to realize, safeguard and develop the fundamental interests of all the people. We should ensure that development is for the people and by the people, and that its fruits are

shared among all the people. We should, through furthering reform and innovation-driven development, improve the quality and increase the benefits of development. We should produce more and better material and cultural products to meet the growing material and cultural needs of the people. We should fully stimulate the people's initiative, enthusiasm and creativity, and provide the platform and environment for all workers, entrepreneurs, idea generators, and officials at all levels to play their innovative role. We should adhere to the basic socialist economic system and the socialist income distribution system. We should adjust the structure of income distribution. We should improve the mechanism of redistribution regulating income distribution mainly through taxation, social security, and transfer payments. We must safeguard social fairness and justice and narrow income gaps to ensure that development offers greater benefits to all the people in a fair way.

In nature, the philosophy of shared development represents the vision of people-centered development. It reflects the demand of achieving shared prosperity in stages. Shared prosperity is a primary goal of Marxism; it has also been an ideal of the Chinese people since ancient times. Confucius said, "Inequality rather than scarcity is the cause of trouble; instability rather than poverty is the matter of concern." Mencius said, "Respect others' elders as one respects one's own, and care for others' children as one cares for one's own." The *Book of Rites* gives a detailed and lively description of "moderate prosperity" and "great harmony".

According to Marx and Engels, communism will eradicate the opposition and differentiation between classes, between urban and rural areas, between mental labor and physical labor; it will adopt the distribution principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs", so as to achieve shared development of all and the free and well-rounded development of individuals in the real sense.

Of course, there will be a long trek through history to reach this goal. China is still in the primary stage of socialism and will remain so for a long time to come. Therefore, we cannot do what is premature, but this does not mean we should do nothing in realizing shared prosperity step by step. Instead, we should start to do what is appropriate to the current conditions, accumulating small successes and moving towards prosperity for all.

In the early years after the founding of the PRC, Mao Zedong pointed out: "Since we are implementing such a system, such a plan, the country can grow more prosperous and powerful year by year, and we will see that happen. The prosperity is shared prosperity and the power is also shared by all the people." During the reform and opening-up period, Deng Xiaoping emphasized shared prosperity on many occasions. As he said to several colleagues from the CPC Central Committee in December 1990: "Since the very beginning of the reform we have been emphasizing the need to seek common prosperity; that will surely be the central issue some day. Socialism does not mean allowing a few people to grow rich while the overwhelming majority live in poverty. No, that is not socialism. The greatest superiority of socialism is that it enables all the people to prosper, and common prosperity is the essence of socialism." Jiang Zemin also emphasized, "Achieving common prosperity is a fundamental principle and essential characteristic

of socialism, and we absolutely cannot vacillate on this issue.” Hu Jintao also required, “We should ensure all our people share the fruits of development and move steadily towards shared prosperity.” After years of hard work, quality of life has improved significantly and people have a fairer share of the benefits of social development; this is a remarkable achievement.

The philosophy of shared development, put forward at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, emphasizes four points.

One, the beneficiaries are all the people. This is about the coverage of shared development. Shared development means development fruits are shared by all the people, each enjoying his or her share. They are not to be shared by the few or by a special group.

Two, the development benefits to be shared cover all fields. This is about the content of shared development, including economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental achievements. We should safeguard the people’s rights and interests in all these respects.

Three, development achievements are shared through concerted efforts. This is about the means of realizing shared development. It is through jointly contributing to development that people enjoy the benefits of shared development. The process of contributing together is also the process of sharing benefits. We should practice democracy, widely gather the wisdom of the people, and encourage their efforts, so that all the people participate in and dedicate themselves to shared development and share a sense of fulfillment.

Four, shared development is realized step by step. This is about the process of achieving shared development. As a Chinese proverb goes, you will not make a strong man out of one meal. Shared development must extend from lower to higher levels and move from imbalance to balance. It must be differentiated even at an advanced level. Our policy design should be based on the national conditions and the future socio-economic development level. We should neither hesitate to move forward, nor be niggardly with necessary investments, nor aim too high, nor spend on deficit, nor issue empty promises without providing real gain.

These four points are interconnected, so we must understand and tackle them as a whole.

In terms of implementing the philosophy of shared development, the 13th Five-year Plan proposed many tasks and measures which can be distilled down to two points. One, we should give full rein to the people’s enthusiasm, initiative and creativity, gather their strength to advance Chinese socialism, and “make the cake bigger”. Two, once the cake has indeed become bigger, we must cut it fairly, so as to demonstrate the full strength of socialism and make the people feel a greater sense of gain. We should expand the middle-income class and gradually form an olive-shaped income distribution structure. In particular, we should make greater efforts to help people in difficulties and win the campaign against rural poverty. Implementing shared development is a big issue. From the top-level design to the “last kilometer” of policy implementation, we should make continuous efforts to mark new milestones in our progress.

Supply-Side Structural Reform

At last year's Central Conference on Economic Work, I emphasized supply-side structural reform. This caused a lively discussion and won recognition both domestically and internationally. Some colleagues later told me that they were not quite clear about the concept and the related discussions. Here I would like to explain it in more detail.

First, I want to make it clear that the supply-side structural reform we have raised is different from that of conventional Western supply-side economics. We cannot see it as another version of the latter. We must prevent people from using it to advocate neoliberalism or to disseminate negative press reports.

Western supply-side economics emerged in the 1970s. At the time, the demand management policies of Keynesian economics were failing, resulting in the stagnation of Western economies. Supply-side economics emphasizes that supply creates its own demand, so supply is the key to economic development – to increase production and supply, tax cuts are a must to increase savings, investment capacity, and incentive. This is the Laffer Curve invented by the leading supply-side economist Arthur Laffer. Moreover, supply-side economics holds that tax cuts demand two conditions – one, reducing government expenditure to balance budgets; two, restricting monetary supply to stabilize prices. Supply-side economics emphasizes tax cuts and overstates the role of tax rates. This theory is too definitive, emphasizing supply while ignoring demand, and emphasizing market functions while ignoring government intervention.

What we have raised is “supply-side structural reform”. As I mentioned at the Central Conference on Economic Work in 2015, the word “structural” is critical to the full expression, although we can call it “supply-side reform” for short. The key to our supply-side structural reform is to release and develop productive forces, to adjust structures through reform, to reduce ineffective and lower-end supply while increasing effective and medium- and high-end supply, to make supply structure more adaptive and flexible to changes in demand, and to increase total factor productivity. This is not only about taxation and tax rates; it is a strategy designed to resolve China's supply-side problems through a string of policy measures, in particular by promoting innovation in technology, by developing the real economy, and by improving the quality of life. Our supply-side structural reform emphasizes both supply and demand, aims both to develop productive forces and to improve relations of production, allows the market to play its decisive role in resource allocation and the government to fulfill its functions, and looks to both present and future. From the perspective of political economics, the fundamental goal of our supply-side structural reform is to improve the country's supply capacity, so as to meet the people's material, cultural, and eco-environmental needs, which are becoming more extensive, more sophisticated, and more individualized, and to ultimately realize the purpose of socialist production.

Supply and demand are the two basics of the inner relationships of the market economy. They are opposite and unified, interdependent, and mutually conditional. New demand generates new supply while new supply creates new demand.

Supply side and demand side are the two basic means of macroeconomic regulation. Demand-side management addresses economic aggregate problems, focuses on short-term macro regulation, and propels growth mainly by adjusting taxation, fiscal expenditure, and money supply to stimulate or restrain demand. Supply-side management tackles structural problems, creates growth drivers, and boosts growth mainly by optimizing the allocation of production factors and by adjusting the structure of production to improve the quality and efficiency of the supply system.

Reviewing world economic development, we can see that whether a country focuses its economic policies on supply side or demand side depends on its macroeconomic conditions. It is a one-sided perspective to ignore either of them. Supply side and demand side do not replace each other but coordinate with each other.

Now and in the future, China's economic development is facing and will encounter problems on both the supply side and the demand side, while major problems exist in the former. For example, some industries have severe overcapacity problems, however we are still relying on the import of key equipment, core technology, and high-end products, and the vast domestic market is not in our own hands. For example, agricultural growth has maintained good momentum, but the supply of agricultural produce is not adaptive to changes in demand – milk has not met the demand for quality and won public trust; there is a shortage of soybean while corn is overproduced; and agricultural produce in general is overstocked. For example, despite great purchasing power, our consumption demand cannot be met by domestic supply; much money is spent on outbound shopping tours and overseas online shopping, for goods ranging from jewelry, cosmetics, brand handbags, watches, clothes, and other luxuries to electric cookers, toilet lids, milk powder, feeding bottles, and other daily necessities. Statistics indicate that in 2014 China's outbound travel expenditure exceeded RMB1 trillion.

These facts prove that China is not short of demand, but the supply of quality products and services fails to keep up with changing demand. Inadequate effective supply has caused spillover in demand and a severe outflow of consumption. To resolve these structural problems, we must promote supply-side reform.

Profound changes are afoot in the international economic structure. The global financial crisis broke the global economic flows in which developed economies in Europe and the US relied on borrowing-driven consumption; East Asia provided high savings rates, and cheap labor and products, and Russia, the Middle East, and Latin America provided energy and resources. As a result, effective demand in the international market has fallen sharply, and economic growth lags far behind potential production capacity. In major countries, the problem of population aging has become more severe; the growth rate of the working population is decreasing; social costs and production costs have risen rapidly; traditional industries and their growth have declined; and emerging industries have not gathered sufficient size and growth momentum. Against this background, we should start with reform on the supply side to redefine our position in the world supply market.

Domestically, China's economy is facing five problems, namely, a slowdown in the growth rate, falling prices of industrial products, falling business profits, falling fiscal revenues, and rising economic risks. The major causes of these problems are not periodic but structural – the supply structural mismatch is severe. As the marginal benefit of demand management falls, overcapacity and other structural problems cannot be resolved simply by stimulating domestic demand. Therefore, we must concentrate our efforts on improving the supply structure, so as to push the supply-demand balance to a higher level.

To promote supply-side structural reform, we should start with production. The key is to resolve overcapacity effectively, promote industrial restructuring, reduce enterprise costs, develop strategic emerging industries and modern service industries, increase the supply of public goods and services, and ensure that the supply structure is more adaptive and flexible to changes in demand. In short, measures are required to cut overcapacity, reduce excess inventory, deleverage, lower costs, and strengthen areas of weakness.

In recent years, a number of Chinese enterprises have succeeded in promoting experimental supply-side structural reform. For example, various cellphone brands have competed fiercely in the domestic market, both foreign brands like Motorola and Nokia and domestic brands, pushing some to the edge of bankruptcy. In response to the situation, domestic cellphone enterprises upgraded production, promoted original innovation, aimed at the high-end market, and launched high-end smartphones. These smartphones have met the demand for more functions, higher speed, clearer images, and more fashionable appearance, thus seizing an increasing market share in both domestic and international markets. The international cellphone market also features fierce competition. Once monopolistic brands such as Motorola, Nokia, and Ericsson no longer hold sway – some no longer even exist. After New Year's Day, I visited a company in Chongqing. The thin-film-transistor liquid crystal display they produce is a successful example of supply-side reform. In recent years Chongqing has developed the industries of laptops and other intelligent terminal products, as well as Chinese brand automobiles, forming the world's biggest electronic information industrial cluster and the country's biggest automobile industrial cluster. One of every three laptops in the world was made in Chongqing. This proves that as long as we advance supply-side reform aimed at the market, industrial upgrading can be achieved.

Based on international experience, a country's development is fundamentally driven by the supply side. Time after time technology and industrial revolution have improved the productive forces, creating unimaginable supply capacity. Nowadays socialized mass production has a distinctive feature: Once historic innovation has been achieved on the supply side, the market will respond with immense trade volume. According to one article, at the Meta-Council on Emerging Technologies, 2015 World Economic Forum, a panel of 18 experts compiled the list of the top 10 emerging technologies of 2015; these were fuel cell vehicles, next-generation robotics, recyclable thermoset plastics, precise genetic engineering techniques, additive manufacturing, emergent artificial intelligence, distributed manufacturing, "sense and avoid" drones, neuromorphic technology, and digital genome. Last year during my visit to the UK, Professor Konstantin

Novoselov and Professor Andre Geim from the National Graphene Institute of the University of Manchester, co-winners of the 2010 Nobel Prize in Physics, told me about the R&D of graphene and its application prospects. Graphene is a promising new material that is winning forceful support from the British government and the European Foundation for Research and Development. Technology innovation has brought scientific progress and will add impetus to economic growth. Therefore, to push forward supply-side reform, we must uphold the new development concepts and vigorously develop new technologies, industries, and forms of business, so as to continuously provide endogenous impetus for sound and sustained economic development.

* Part of the speech at a study session on implementing the decisions of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, attended by principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level.

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OUR GENERAL APPROACH TO URBAN WORK

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OUR GENERAL APPROACH TO URBAN WORK*

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Urban work is a systematic undertaking. It requires us to adapt to evolving circumstances, satisfy new requirements of reform and development, meet changing public expectations, uphold the people-centered development philosophy, and build better cities for the people. These are the clear goals. At the same time, we should pursue intensive urban development – limiting the overall size and capacity of cities, upgrading cities on the basis of making full use of existing resources, and improving the quality of urbanization. We should base urban development on the national conditions, respect, adapt to, and protect nature, ameliorate the urban eco-environment, take a holistic approach, and aim for breakthroughs in key areas. These endeavors are critical in making our cities more sustainable and more livable.

First, we should observe the laws that underlie urban development. Urban development is a natural historical phenomenon and follows its own laws. Although we have built a clearer understanding of objective economic laws since reform and opening up, we have not done so concerning urban development. The root cause of the various problems that have arisen in our urban development is our inadequate understanding and observance of its laws.

One, urban and economic development complement and reinforce each other. Urban economic growth can create more jobs and attract more people to cities. A more powerful economy and higher labor productivity increase incomes and boost consumption and investment. This in turn stimulates the economy. Therefore, we should not start a “blind urban sprawl campaign” that takes no account of the level of economic development. Initial progress has been made in curbing the construction of excess roads and plazas. However, a new round of building new urban districts is rising to the extent that the planned construction areas, in some cases, are up to one thousand or even several thousand square kilometers. As has been reported, the planned construction area of new districts in cities at all levels amounts to 73,000 square kilometers, while the built-up area currently measures 49,000 square kilometers. This level of expansion appears to have no connection with reality. I think there is a need to remind relevant departments and local authorities of this issue.

Two, urbanization involves the flow of rural residents to cities and the conversion of agricultural land for urban construction in proportion to a city’s scale. Therefore, land use must be compatible with population size. If a city ignores this and designates a disproportionate amount of agricultural land to urban construction without granting urban residency to the rural population concerned, newly-built housing and infrastructure will lie unused, a reasonable rate of return on investment

will be impossible, and agriculture will be undermined. Cities have come into being due to greater division of labor, and they serve as a platform for multiple functions. An urban population comprises individuals from all types of employment. If a city prioritizes high-caliber talent and white-collar workers but neglects blue-collar workers, this will create an imbalanced social structure, undermine some of its capabilities, and even hamper its normal functioning.

Three, a city's scale should align with its carrying capacity of resources and the environment. Excessive industrial concentration and unregulated expansion of urban functions will result in undesirable population density and the use of more cropland and ecological land. If a city has a population and economic scale that exceeds its carrying capacity of water resources, the city has to resort to overexploitation of groundwater or diversion of water from other regions. This imbalance disrupts the equilibrium between eco-environmental conservation and urban construction, inevitably leading to reduced environmental capacity and heavier pollution.

The laws underlying urban development are not limited to those I have mentioned above, and I have listed only the most relevant ones here. We must understand, respect and abide by these laws, and based on this, draw up correct guidelines, and act accordingly.

Second, we should adopt a holistic approach to urban work and give overall consideration to a city's spatial configuration, scale, and industrial structure. This approach must be followed in line with local realities, resource endowment, and cultural characteristics to ensure a city's overall development during its rapid growth, as international experience proves. The spatial configuration and scale of a city should be designed and its functions defined in conformity with the National Plan for Major Function Oriented Zoning, and the National Plan for New-type Urbanization (2014-2020). In addition, they should be in alignment with three strategic initiatives – the Belt and Road Initiative, the coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt.

A city cluster is a high-level spatial configuration that takes shape when urbanization enters a mature stage. It functions as an important growth driver of the national economy, a strategic field of global competition, and an essential platform to plan and coordinate the spatial configuration, scale, and industrial structure of cities. We should take city clusters as the base and elaborate their spatial configuration to build compact and green city clusters with high efficiency and minimum waste of resources. We should establish a system of coordination between city clusters. This will serve as a new platform on which to build cooperation and interaction in industrial division of labor, infrastructure, and eco-environmental conservation and governance between cities across different regions. Through this platform, we can also remove administrative barriers, eliminate market segregation, and ensure the free flow and optimal distribution of factors of production. If conditions allow, city belts can be developed along trunk lines and coastlines. In view of the overall requirements of the national territory spatial planning strategy, all cities should accurately define their functions, draw on each other's strengths, and work closely to create a new pattern of transregional coordinated development.

In line with the National Plan for New-type Urbanization (2014-2020), we should optimize and upgrade eastern city clusters so that they can continue to take the lead in institutional innovation, technological progress, industrial upgrading, and green development, and more rapidly acquire new leadership in global competition. With a sound focus on appropriate planning and layout, we need to foster a number of city clusters and leading regional cities in central and western regions, and promote the interconnected development of leading cities and port cities in border areas. To promote industrial clusters, population clusters, and new drivers for economic growth and opening up in central and western regions, we should encourage labor-intensive industries with the appropriate market and profit profile to relocate there, and attract migrant workers to return home from the east or those who live nearby. This is how we deliver the fruits of urbanization to people in central and western regions right at their home.

All city clusters should draw on the useful experience of the coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region and abandon the mindset of limiting themselves to their own little world. In line with their designated roles and functions, megacities should relieve themselves of the non-essential ones in an orderly way. Large cities should set practical instead of grandiose development goals, or they will become overextended and end up with urban maladies. They should better drive the development of neighboring small and medium-sized cities and refrain from siphoning off their resources. Large and medium-sized cities must avoid impeding the progress of districts, counties, and small cities, or exploiting them by treating them as “cash cows” or “money trees”. Cities at all levels should decide and cultivate their own leading industries and distinctive businesses that can leverage local resources and geographic advantages. For closer cooperation between industries across small, medium-sized, and large cities, and small towns, they should build an industrial framework based on complementary strengths, effective collaboration, and division of labor, and establish a transregional benefit-sharing system regarding investment, GDP and taxation. At the same time they must encourage transregional industrial division of labor, industrial integration, and joint development of industrial parks. They should establish cooperative innovation systems and build open and efficient innovation resource-sharing platforms, in order to achieve coordinated development through coordinated innovation.

With modern technologies such as the internet and high-speed rail, it is time for cities to cooperate with each other and progress side by side, and the key here lies in commitment and willingness to act together, and in effective measures to deliver.

No matter how urbanization proceeds, there will always exist a large rural population. Agriculture, which is paramount to national food security, should therefore be consolidated as the foundation of our economy. This calls for synchronic advances in urbanization and agricultural modernization, and a balanced focus between work related to cities and work related to agriculture, rural areas, and rural people. Industry should help agriculture, and cities support rural areas. We should implement the policy of giving more, taking less, and easing control to increase rural incomes. We

need to double our efforts to integrate urban-rural planning, infrastructure, and basic public services, and to increase the capacity of cities to support and lead rural areas. In this way, we can establish a new framework for urban-rural integrated development.

Third, we should integrate planning, construction and administration to make urban work systematic. To achieve this, we need to develop systems thinking, analyze the elements, structures, and functions that constitute a city and conduct in-depth research on key issues bearing on urban development, and on this basis formulate an overall plan to make progress on all fronts. Early-stage issues and problems should be addressed promptly to avoid subsequent troubles and challenges which will otherwise be hard to reverse or resolve.

I have said on several occasions that when we evaluate the work of a city, we must first look at how its urban planning has been done. Scientific planning maximizes efficiency, inappropriate planning maximizes waste of resources, and reckless planning must be avoided. To create a sound plan, we must give full consideration to multiple factors such as the primary roles and functions, cultural characteristics, construction, and management of a city. In planning urban development, we should take public sentiment into account as well, and engage all stakeholders, including the targeted enterprises and public institutions, construction contractors, engineering administration departments, and local residents. To facilitate urban construction and management, we should accommodate the legitimate concerns of all stakeholders so that all parties will more willingly implement the plan and practical issues will be better solved. For example, when planning to upgrade outdated underground pipe networks, planners should ensure a well-designed layout for utility tunnels to prevent a tangled web of pipelines beneath the surface, which would contrast with the well-equipped facilities above ground, and to save the trouble of repeated ground digging for repairs. A second issue is the waterlogging that has been afflicting our cities in recent years. In response to this, planners should work harder to improve drainage and to build sponge cities, making full use of environmental spaces – mountains, rivers, lakes, wetlands, farmlands, forests and grasslands – and reducing the coverage of concreted areas. In this way, urban ground surface can better retain water, percolate water, and reserve water resources. Traffic congestion is another increasing problem that afflicts big cities. To deal with it, we should develop new concepts, and build road networks with a rational design and distribution of expressways, arterial roads, sub-arterial roads, and branch roads. In order to accomplish the set goals, departments in charge of planning should actively participate in the entire process of building and managing cities, and intensify supervision and scrutiny.

The problem is not that our cities develop unplanned, but that we neither give adequate consideration to future development nor set high standards of green development when drawing a blueprint. Many urban plans fall behind the realities on the very day when they are given the stamp of approval. The mandatory regulations stipulated in urban development plans are for the most part toothless and ineffectual, exercising no supervision over or inflicting weak sanctions on any breach of the rules. Public participation can rarely be seen in the process of making plans, and poor transparency often renders public scrutiny over the implementation of the plans in

progress impossible. Far too often, the will and preference of officials in charge prevail over serious planning, and this breeds rampant corruption. We should faithfully observe the following points for better urban planning: (1) apply innovative concepts and methods in urban planning and strengthen its rationale and guiding role; (2) ameliorate urban design and support urban renovation; (3) make the planning process more transparent, regulatory plans more detailed, and compliance compulsory; (4) prevent unstructured urban planning that fails to provide a solid base for the construction of infrastructure and other engineering projects; (5) strengthen planning and control to achieve good visual impact, harmonious plane layout, landscape consistency, and sustained cultural continuity.

Urban planning should be tailored to local realities. In other words, urban planners should make best use of all favorable conditions their city can offer. They should preserve the local environment, cultural heritage, and architectural styles that have been a tradition particular to a given location. Once a plan is ratified, we should ensure that it is consistently implemented and not replaced with a new one when a new local leadership is elected.

At the very heart of urban planning are city residents. Therefore, meeting their daily needs, ensuring their wellbeing and access to medical services and elderly care, and enabling them to enjoy a happy life should be our overriding concern. The quality of urban management and services is an important criterion to judge whether urbanization is proceeding well and whether residents are enjoying a contented and convenient life. Urban management and services have an important influence on every aspect of daily life. For example, it matters to people whether the sewer works well when they use toilet in the morning. It matters to them whether water supply pipes function well to flush the toilet and whether tap water is up to standard for washing up. It matters to them whether their breakfast meets food hygiene standards. It matters to them whether rubbish collectors are available in residential compounds so that residents can dispose of rubbish anytime at their convenience. It also matters to them whether they can take an easy bus or subway ride during rush hours, whether there might be traffic jams, whether public transport transfers are convenient, and whether they risk having their carry-on items stolen on a bus or subway ride. And it also matters to them whether they can sleep well without being disturbed by noise. So it is the case that urban management and services, especially in big cities, affect the lives of locals from daybreak till well into the evening hours. As to preschool, school education, medical care, and cultural activities, they are all equally dependent on management and services. Public suggestions and complaints about urban life are mainly targeted at management and services. The top priority for city management is to serve the people wholeheartedly and to provide them with refined urban management and good public services. We must dismiss the attitude that highlights only material factors but lacks the human touch. In urban work, we must steadily improve urban management and services as a top priority and thoroughly alter the old model of management that lacks attention to details, so that people can lead more convenient, more contented, and more comfortable lives.

Buildings with a short lifespan are an affliction common to many of our cities. At present, most of the buildings that are being or have been demolished in many cities were constructed in the 1980s. Improperly planned or badly designed buildings of today will be pulled down in the future too. Safety in our cities is a matter of concern, with occasional heartbreaking tragedies such as sewer drowning accidents, building collapses, and major fires that have caused casualties. In some locations, we have seen jerry-built constructions leaning over, crumbling, or even collapsing, resulting in considerable distress for people. With the continuous expansion of urban areas, urban management will become more complex as risks in society will increasingly be concentrated in large cities. In recent years, a series of major accidents have exposed loopholes in our urban management. These accidents include the oil pipeline explosion in Huangdao District of Qingdao City, the New Year's stampede at the Bund in Shanghai, and the massive warehouse explosions at Tianjin Port. Therefore, we must diligently strengthen the prevention and control of urban safety and security risks. How can we assure the people of a better life if we cannot manage their safety and security concerns? Various factors contribute to the frequency of major accidents, including irrational planning, poor construction quality, and problematic management follow-up. Some accidents result from natural calamities, and others from human negligence; some are caused by technological limitations, and others by shortcomings in systems.

In this respect, we should learn from our ancestors as well as from foreign countries with advanced experience. I mentioned at the Central Conference on Urbanization in 2013 that ancient builders of the Great Wall were required to inscribe their name on every brick they made to ensure quality control and accountability. That is why we can still admire the majestic ruins of the wonder today. In Paris, many streets and houses designed and built in the Napoleonic era still maintain their vintage character.

Whenever it comes to planning, construction, or management, we must put safety above all else, tighten controls on safety and quality, and prioritize safety at every link of the chain of urban development. This is an uncompromising principle. In the process of planning and construction, we must intensify enforcement of the regulatory standards and requirements concerning safety, fully implement responsibility for quality in engineering, and clearly define the quality and safety responsibility of the five primary parties in charge of contracting, surveying, design, construction, and supervision. We must strengthen supervision over quality and safety throughout the whole process of engineering construction and implement a lifelong safety accountability system. We should tighten safety supervision over the use and operation of residential buildings, bridges, curtain walls, and tunnels. In particular, we must conduct a thorough overhaul of old buildings in cities in order to eliminate potential hazards, adopt rigorous measures to make any necessary rectifications within specified deadlines, and take strict precautions against major accidents such as collapses. We must improve the urban emergency command system for earthquake resistance, flood control and drainage, firefighting, and geological disaster response. We must also improve the urban lifeline system, strengthen the construction of disaster prevention shelters, reinforce the capacity to resist natural disasters, handle emergencies, and manage crises, and thus form an all-weather, systematic, and modern safety guarantee system for cities.

Fourth, we must take a coordinated approach to the major driving forces of reform, technology, and culture to boost the sustainability of urban development.

Urban development needs this triad of dynamics to keep its vitality.

Some problems of urban management arise mainly from imperfect institutional mechanisms, and it is therefore necessary to solve them through deeper reform. At present, owing to shortcomings in system design, urban management in some cities is disorganized, and there is confusion concerning powers and responsibilities among different government agencies. For example, as the responsibility for urban road cleaning, green belt cleaning, and sewer dredging rests with different government agencies, sanitation workers sweep a heap of garbage on the road into a green belt nearby, landscaping workers dump it into the sewer, and city workers draw it out and put it at the roadside. In the end, the garbage “takes a round tour” from one place to another before finding itself back where it started. No one is held accountable by law-enforcement staff as they could not assign the blame. This sounds like a joke, but it is actually happening around us.

Urban reform, though all-inclusive, should currently be concentrated on planning, construction, management, and household registration. A coordinated approach is required to all types of spatial planning based on major function-oriented zoning and integrated master plans. We must improve the management system and mechanisms of the construction market, and impose severe penalties on any breach of the law and regulations, strictly punishing lawbreaking firms and holding individuals to account in accordance with the law. At present, administrative law enforcement regarding urban management involves 908 items in 27 categories that fall into the scope of duties of more than 20 departments at the central level. The central government has formulated programs requiring that all local governments vigorously promote reform. We must extend reform of the urban management system, clearly specifying the departments responsible both at the central and provincial levels and defining the scope of management, the extent of authority, and the responsible subjects. We should promote comprehensive law enforcement by the planning and construction administration departments of local governments at city and county levels, and advance the delegation of law enforcement and the localized management of matters relating to law enforcement.

At the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2015, we decided that one of our major goals in achieving all-round moderate prosperity is to increase the ratio of people who are registered as permanent urban residents. In advancing urbanization, we should give top priority to the establishment of a system for granting permanent residency to those who can maintain a regular job and life in the city. I emphasized the importance of this task at the Central Conference on Urbanization in 2013. Now it is time to make solid progress. At present, the number of new rural migrant workers is falling fast, so it will be very difficult to gain comparative advantage in the future simply through an increase in the labor force. As a result, it is imperative to make efficient use of the available labor force, for example to extend the employment of rural migrant workers who would otherwise leave the city at about 40, so that they can work in cities for 20 more years. This will reduce the pressure of pay rises and increase the number of highly skilled

blue-collar workers, thus helping to increase their lifelong earnings. As reform of the household registration system involves many parties whose interests will be affected, we need to carry out research with a strategic view on how to grant urban residency to those who have moved from rural to urban areas. We should integrate and improve support policies involving land use, government funding, education, employment, medical services, elderly care, and government housing support. All provincial authorities and central departments must work harder to implement reform plans quickly and speed up the pace of granting urban residency to eligible rural migrant workers. It is important to achieve the goal the Central Committee has set – by 2020, about 100 million people will acquire urban residency, including those who have moved from rural to urban areas and other types of permanent urban residents. Land quotas for urban construction should be aligned with urbanization and linked to the scale of the registered population. Concurrently, we must have deeper reform of the rural property rights system, ensuring that farmers who have been granted urban residency fully enjoy the rights to contract and utilize farmland, to secure a residential plot, and to share earnings from collective operations. We need to incentivize migrant rural people to apply for permanent urban residency. We can do this by delinking the change of their household registration from their entitlement to the above rights.

Deeper urban reform also means that we should carry out reform in many related fields such as urban culture, science, and technology. We must improve the environment for innovation and business startups, making innovation the key driving force of urban development. Particular attention should be given to supporting and improving the layout of urban service infrastructure such as the internet and cloud computing, so as to increase connectivity and capitalize on new drivers of growth. To improve urban governance and services, we must accelerate the building of smart cities, break through data-sharing barriers and “isolated islands of information”, and integrate the new generation of information technology such as big data, the internet of things, and cloud computing with urban management and services. We should build more digital platforms and comprehensive databases for urban management, integrate their functions, and develop smart applications to better serve the people. In this way, we can realize in advance the goal that science and technology make our life better.

City architecture is the crystallization of human labor and creativity, recording the progress of human civilization. Architecture has life. Every building is a poem, a picture, or a musical note. Every building has endured the test of time and has a story of its own. The unique feature of a city is in fact how well it combines the urban image and spirit. It manifests a city’s culture which has come into being as a result of years of interactions between the local environment, economic and social factors, the local residents, and their work and daily life. It is the culture that lends taste and charm to a city.

Chinese civilization dates back more than 5,000 years, and Chinese cities have been one of the major carriers of this civilization. Cities built in ancient times are a vast repository of wisdom, ideas, concepts, theories, principles and techniques of urban development. The system of planning and building walled cities was established as early as the Zhou Dynasty (1046-256 BC),

and the layout of state capitals and other cities was required to observe the norms of etiquette. Chinese architecture, which has been of great influence since ancient times, is one of the three major world architectural systems, the other two being European and Islamic architecture. Compared with the other two, Chinese architecture has a longer history, features a more comprehensive system, and attaches more importance to nature and human life. Even today, we can still learn a lot from the concepts of ancient Chinese urban construction.

It is true that we need to draw on other countries' experience in urban development, but we should not abandon the great traditions of our own culture. At present, there are a lot of urban development and construction projects which are ill-planned and have caused damage to urban culture. In recent years we have seen very rapid development of Chinese cities. In the process, some local governments have failed to give proper attention to shaping the unique features of their cities, and have had a poor understanding of how to keep alive our cultural heritage. It is a common practice for some government officials to encourage the creation of cultural landscapes just to serve as achievements to their credit during their tenure. This is short-sighted and improper, and has made cities look weird, disorderly, and featureless. The phenomenon has been described by some experts as straying further and further away from Chinese culture and traditions and becoming ever more flashy and Westernized. We must put an end to it.

In recent years, we have been encouraging our people to have confidence in Chinese culture. However, cultural confidence is not an abstraction. What is important is that we should display our confidence through actions. We have inherited a great historical and cultural legacy from our ancestors, which we should pass down to our offspring intact. Cities carry the culture of a nation as well as its memory. The history and culture of a city are the source of its worth and appeal. The ancients observed, "Things on earth may differ in nature and way of existence and development, but they all know that they should keep their roots." It is precisely due to this awareness of the importance of roots that Chinese civilization has survived and developed till today. However, too many of our construction projects today display an ignorance of our culture and our history or belittle them. As a result, in developing our cities, some of us have taken misguided actions that sever the lifeline between past and present.

I once said that in building our cities we should ensure that the residents have clear visibility of lucid waters and lush mountains in the vicinity of their homes, and our urban construction should arouse in residents an attachment to their hometown. To foster such a feeling, we should protect and keep alive our fine traditional culture, ensuring that the history of each city will continue and the cultural heritage of Chinese civilization is maintained. In this connection, further efforts should be made to protect the cultural heritage that has been handed down to us, which includes cultural relics, historical sites, renowned historical and cultural cities, towns and villages, streets and districts with historical significance, historical buildings, remains of industrial sites, and various forms of intangible cultural heritage. Irrational practices like pulling down genuine historical sites and building fake ones must be stopped. Equal importance should be attached to the protection of

both ancient buildings and modern buildings, of individual buildings as well as unique streets and districts and their original layout, and of fine examples of Chinese architecture as well as unique folklore and residential housing typical of local dwellings.

A nation is always in need of a spirit, so is a city if it hopes to thrive and prosper. The spirit of a city is a vivid expression of its unique features. It is thus important for every city to build on its own historical and cultural legacy and the trends of the times to cultivate a spirit of its own and establish a unique and inspiring image.

Fifth, we should balance the needs of work, life, and the eco-environment to make cities more livable. The ancient Chinese said, “A city is for accommodating people.” So, in urban development we should take into consideration the internal relationships between work space, living space, and eco-environmental space. We should endeavor to make the first compact and efficient and the second livable and comfortable, and to populate the third with lucid waters and lush mountains.

For years, we have not given due attention to the establishment of a livable environment when setting guiding principles for urbanization. Greater emphasis has been put on construction than on management, on growth rate than on growth quality, on immediate results than on future impacts, on development than on protection, on work on the ground than underground, and on new districts than on old ones. Now our people have very high expectations of a livable environment. To meet these expectations, we should make it our central task to build a more livable environment and work harder to turn our cities into beautiful homelands where different groups of people live together happily, and humanity and nature coexist harmoniously.

The configuration of functional zones within a city should be well planned and refined. Different functional zones for residence, business, administration, cultural activities, and other activities in a city should mix and integrate. A balance between working and housing zones should be gradually achieved based on environmental improvements, and land redevelopment and revitalization; unnecessary relocations and commutes should be reduced. It is of the essence to highlight the major functional zoning with different functional zones sharing the same piece of land. Urban space should not be divided irrationally into several large but mono-functional and isolated areas such as central business districts, residential quarters, shopping areas, science and technology parks, and university towns. Rather, our urban planning should keep the residents' workplaces and schools as near to their homes as possible and shorten the distance of their commute as much as possible. Our cities should not be an agglomeration of several isolated enclosures encircled by countless walls or fences. Instead, we should increase accessibility and microcirculation capacity by adopting modern and rational safety and security measures and building fewer and fewer enclosed residential quarters. The design of urban grids and roads should be people-friendly. They should not serve only the needs of drivers, but also the residents. Our city blocks should be comprehensive and multi-functional – they should be convenient enough for people to exercise, go shopping and dining, and take their leisure.

Ensuring access to housing is the foundation of a livable city. In the matter of further reform of the urban housing system, we should guarantee the market's primary role in meeting the multilevel housing needs of urban residents, place particular emphasis on meeting the housing demands of new urban residents, and focus on establishing a housing system that gives equal weight to housing purchase and renting. We should continue to improve housing security, promote the monetization of public-rental housing, and accelerate the renovation of run-down areas and dilapidated houses in urban neighborhoods. To encourage and support the participation of non-governmental capital in the renovation and transformation of old residential communities and run-down areas, it is essential to refine land, fiscal, and financial policies and implement supporting tax policies.

In the development of cities, our objectives should not be restricted to the economy, but extend to the eco-environment and harmony between humanity and nature. We should cultivate an awareness that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets, and strengthen our commitment to respecting nature, preserving historical heritage, and promoting green and low-carbon practices. The environmental capacity and the urban comprehensive carrying capacity should serve as the foundations for determining urban positioning and scale. Mountains, waters, forests and farmlands are integral components of urban life and should not be arbitrarily encroached upon or damaged. This logic was indeed recognized by our ancestors over two thousand years ago. As the book *Guan Zi* says, "When situating his capital, the sage makes certain it is placed on a level portion of land and, in terms of topography, selects a site that is rich and fertile and is at the foot of mountains, and bordered by a river or lake." In reality, some of our picturesque cities, where people coexist harmoniously with nature, have been gradually built under the guidance of such philosophy. Let us take Hangzhou as an example. In the Tang Dynasty (618-907), Bai Juyi established guidelines for protecting the West Lake in his "On the Water Conservancy of the Qiantang Lake". In the Five Dynasties period (907-960), Qian Liu continued the approach of conserving the West Lake. In the Song Dynasty (960-1279), Su Dongpo submitted a memorial to the imperial court, in which he highlighted the West Lake's fivefold values and advocated lake dredging. It is precisely due to the continuous efforts to conserve and cultivate the landscape by individuals such as Bai Juyi, Qian Liu, and Su Shi that we have the present-day "paradise on earth" that the West Lake represents.

In urban development, we should embrace the beauty of nature by integrating the charms of mountains, rivers, and landscapes into the city. Our goal is to establish a complete eco-environmental network that integrates the internal water systems and green spaces of the city with the surrounding rivers, lakes, forests, and farmlands. It is essential to engage in active eco-environmental restoration to bring back lucid waters and lush mountains to the city. In the 1980s, countries like Germany and Switzerland introduced the concept of "re-naturalization" – restoring rivers to a state close to their natural condition – which serves as a valuable reference. We should end the indiscriminate alteration of nature such as filling rivers, lakes, wetlands, and paddy fields, or encasing natural rivers with concrete that turns the city into an impermeable "concrete slab".

Urban development should be undertaken in a rational manner by drawing red lines to protect water bodies, green space networks, historic sites, permanent basic cropland, and the ecosystems, to manage infrastructure projects. This philosophy aims to prevent uncontrolled sprawl and promote a green, low-carbon way of life and work, as well as providing a sustainable model of urban development and operation.

Cities serve as centers of economic development, and it is natural to pursue economic gains. However, it is important to adhere to efficient development, embrace the concepts of “smart growth” and “compact city”, and appropriately delineate urban development boundaries, so as to shift the focus of urban development from extensive expansion to internal improvement. Currently 14 cities, including Beijing, Shanghai, and Hangzhou, are in the process of delineating their development boundaries, marking a good start. In the future, development boundaries should be established in accordance with the specific conditions of each city. Permanent development boundaries should be designated for super-large and mega cities. Cities experiencing excessive strain on resources and the environment, regardless of their development potential, should also have permanent development boundaries. For cities with robust carrying capacity of resources and the environment and with great potential for development, a gradual approach may be adopted.

Urban infrastructure, including transport, energy, water supply and drainage, heating, and sewage and waste management, should be planned and constructed in accordance with the concept of green, circular, and low-carbon development. We should accelerate the development of low-carbon urban transport by expediting the construction of urban rail transit and intercity railways that are rapid and have high capacity, good energy efficiency, and low emissions, and gradually turn such systems into the backbone of passenger transport within super-large and mega cities as well as city clusters. We should support the energy-saving and low-carbon transformation of urban energy systems, increase the use of renewable energy, and encourage the development of distributed power generation systems. Existing lighting systems of buildings and cities should be retrofitted to be more energy-efficient. We should vigorously promote a circular economy, fostering the circular linkages of urban work and living systems. We should strengthen water recycling and develop ultra-low-energy building techniques to construct a set of demonstration zones approaching zero carbon emissions. We should implement waste reduction measures at source, enabling the full utilization of recyclable waste, increasing recycling rates, and reducing the amount of waste disposed of in landfills. There should be maximum afforestation of idle lands, barren hillsides, and contaminated lands on the outskirts of cities, thereby adorning the city with a “green necklace”.

Sixth, we should coordinate the efforts of the government, society, and citizens to generate enthusiasm on all sides for urban development. Urban development requires the adept mobilization of enthusiasm, proactivity, and creativity from various sectors, gathering positivity that drives urban progress. We should persevere in coordination and collaboration, making every effort

to ensure the actions of the government, society, and citizens are aligned, so that the visible hand of the government, the invisible hand of the market, and the industrious hands of the citizens all operate in unison.

The government should adopt innovative ways of urban governance. Particular attention should be paid to strengthening meticulous and targeted management of cities to nip conflicts and issues in the bud. Urban governance should combine preventive and corrective actions with the emphasis on the former, integrate precautions with sanctions while giving priority to the former, and we should address both symptoms and the root causes of any problem with a focus on the latter. We must not always resort to mending the fold after the sheep have strayed, leaving ourselves swamped with problems that could have been prevented, because it is not too late to mend the fold, but it is even better to take precautions in advance. The government should allocate significant resources at the macro level and with the overall development in view, focus on ensuring essential public services, and organize the provision of public goods and services that fill in market gaps and meet the needs of society and citizens. We should leverage the impact of the government's financial support and encourage non-governmental investment in urban construction, operations, and management.

As the real estate market undergoes adjustments, and urban land transfer revenues significantly decrease, it becomes essential to attract non-governmental capital to participate in urban development, which requires full utilization of market mechanisms. Encouraging various parties to participate in urban construction does not relieve the government of its responsibility. On the contrary, it actually raises the demands on the government. We should lower the threshold for non-governmental capital to participate in urban development, enabling it to enter and remain in the market. We should also improve the pricing policies for urban infrastructure service fees, allowing businesses to generate profits and gain returns. We should establish an open and transparent market order, facilitating organized participation of and fair competition between different market entities. And we should strengthen supervision to ensure the full implementation of our urban development approach and plans.

Citizens are the main interested party in urban construction and development. It is important to ensure their rights to stay informed about, participate in, and oversee the decision-making process related to urban development, and encourage businesses and citizens to engage in urban construction and management through various means. In the process of co-building and sharing, a city government should shift from being a mere “oarsman” to a “helmsman”, working with the market, businesses, and citizens to manage urban affairs and undertake social responsibilities. Only by engaging all citizens in addressing together their practical issues of concern, big or small, in the neighborhoods or around themselves, and by transforming the relationship between citizens and the government from “you and me” to “us”, and from “you tell me what to do” to “let's do it together”, can we truly achieve an urban governance based on joint contribution and shared benefits.

Civic virtues are determined by the ethic and cultural progress of local residents. A little progress in ethic and cultural awareness can bring a significant improvement in the city's image. We need to recognize that in some cities, there are prevalent issues such as unauthorized construction, littering, queue jumping, and loud talking in public places, reflecting inadequate civic virtues among certain individuals. Cultivating and improving civic qualities is a long-term process, but it is essential to start with small matters and persevere in order to achieve lasting success.

* Part of the speech at the Central Conference on Urban Work.

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MAKE REAL EFFORTS FOR REAL RESULTS IN TARGETED POVERTY ELIMINATION

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MAKE REAL EFFORTS FOR REAL RESULTS IN TARGETED POVERTY ELIMINATION*

November 27, 2015

To achieve results in the battle against poverty, the key is to find the right approaches, establish effective mechanisms, and focus our efforts on the most difficult problems. It will not do to simply recite slogans, put on a show, act blindly without really knowing what to do, do things in a cursory manner, use a sledgehammer to crack a nut, or set a mackerel to catch a sprat. We should make real efforts in targeted policy design and implementation for real results.

During my field trip to Fuping County, Hebei Province in 2012, I suggested that we should proceed from local realities, improve planning, and give case-specific guidance for optimum results. To summarize our experience across the whole country, we have found that the best and the most effective mechanism is the targeted approach. We need to ensure precision in identifying the poor accurately, arranging targeted programs, utilizing capital efficiently, taking household-based measures, dispatching first Party secretaries based on village conditions, and achieving the set goals. This is an essential requirement in implementing the Party's principle of pragmatism.

To implement the targeted approach, four questions should be answered.

First, we should determine who should receive help in poverty alleviation and identify the poverty-stricken households. To a certain extent the registration system has built a database of the impoverished population. However, more practical and meticulous work needs to be done to get a clearer picture of the real poor in order to ensure the success of our efforts. The quality of statistical data must be improved. The real poverty-stricken population must not be excluded, while the population that is not really poor should not be included. We should have a clear idea of the poverty level of the truly impoverished and the root causes of their problems, so as to implement targeted policies for different households and individuals. On the basis of the registration, Gansu Province and other areas have drawn a map of poverty, which provides a full picture of the scale and distribution of the poor population, as well as the root causes of their poverty, and their current employment, income and housing conditions. Through this map they have detailed information on every impoverished household, and a program of poverty alleviation, a set of assistance measures and a thorough timetable for each, leaving no one behind. This is an approach that meets the requirements of targeted poverty alleviation and should be promoted.

In determining who receives assistance, we must refrain from applying all poverty alleviation measures to every poor household regardless of specific circumstances. Targeted measures for every household and individual provide specific assistance to solve their specific problems. Not every measure is directed towards all poverty-stricken households. For example, to develop modern agriculture, promote improved crop varieties and farming techniques, and develop specialty industries, we need a considerable operational scale, with the farmers' cooperatives, family farms, and other new forms of business playing a leading role. That is not something that can be undertaken by any single household. We should allow and encourage experimentation in ways to help the poor population with targeted measures and by developing new economic activities. Rural infrastructure should be planned for the integrated development of whole villages, townships, counties, river basins or regions as appropriate. In some ethnic minority areas, for a variety of reasons, job opportunities are limited. Poverty alleviation and elimination there is more difficult than in other areas. There should be more preferential policies and more efforts to implement these policies in such areas. Small ethnic groups in remote and border areas that are still severely impoverished should be supported by additional special measures.

All localities and relevant departments should categorize poverty alleviation policies and work out standard operating procedures for targeted poverty alleviation. Preferential policies should be targeted at the households or groups they are tailored for in order to prevent new problems and instability.

Second, we should determine who is to implement poverty alleviation. The key is to assign specific responsibilities to designated officials. We should quicken our pace to develop a working mechanism in which the central leadership makes overall plans, provincial authorities assume overall responsibility, and city and county authorities take charge of implementation. They should define a clear division of work, clarify their own responsibilities, assign specific tasks to designated officials, and produce a thorough evaluation of their performance, so that all officials will perform their functions and duties in coordination and cooperation.

In this battle, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council are mainly responsible for overall planning at the national level, such as formulating major policies and measures, planning key projects, addressing systemic issues and problems, and evaluating the performance of provincial Party committees and governments in development-driven poverty alleviation. Provincial Party committees and governments assume overall responsibility for poverty elimination in their administrative regions, including matters related to goal setting, project allocation, funding, mobilization, supervision and evaluation, to make sure that poverty is eliminated and all impoverished counties emerge from poverty as scheduled. Party committees and governments at the city level are responsible for communication between different levels, coordination within their own regions, and supervision and inspection, with the focus on eliminating poverty in impoverished counties. County Party committees and governments should fulfill the main

responsibility for implementation. County Party secretaries and government heads should take first responsibility for detailed work, including target identification, scheduling, project execution, use of funds, manpower allocation, and progress management.

Central Party and government departments should take poverty elimination as their own responsibility and strengthen organization and leadership of such work in their departments and sectors. They should better fulfill the duties of their departments and use the resources of their sectors to eradicate poverty, giving priority to poverty alleviation projects, funding, work coordination and measures. The principal leaders of central Party and government departments should carry out in-depth research into the efforts of their departments and the outreach teams in poor areas to improve their work. The designated leading units responsible for contiguous impoverished areas should play the role of communication, coordination, guidance and promotion for the work in their areas.

Third, we should determine how to help the poor to break free from poverty. We cannot treat the symptoms without the right remedies. According to the real situation of the impoverished areas and people, we should adopt five targeted measures:

One, boosting the economy to provide more job opportunities. Poverty alleviation is not charity. We should guide and encourage all those who have the ability to work for a better future with their own hands. Some of the poverty-stricken population have the ability to work, with arable land or other resources, but they lack the funds, the industries and the skills required. We should encourage them to leverage local resources and strengths in areas such as agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, commerce, and tourism. The priority of poverty elimination in such areas should be improving work and living conditions, especially infrastructure such as water engineering, transport and communications facilities, and public services such as technical training, education and health care. With these improvements, all villages and households should have direct access to better infrastructure and services. We should encourage farmers in impoverished areas to seek employment or start a business in their own areas or other areas, which will effectively add to their income within a short period of time. The local governments at both ends of labor transfer should help migrant workers and provide them with more support.

Two, relocating the poverty-stricken population from uninhabitable areas. Some people live in impoverished areas with harsh natural conditions and frequent natural disasters. It is costly to provide them with water, power and roads, and very difficult to help them shake off poverty in those areas. For these areas, relocation is the only option. This is a complex and difficult project to be supported by preferential policies and dedication on our part. There is a problem fairly common in relocation projects everywhere – the poorest of rural households cannot benefit from government subsidies because they do not have the money to pay for their share of the projects. Relocation projects should be funded sufficiently from various channels through such means as integrating resources, raising the subsidy standards, making better use of the policy for the transfer of construction land quotas from rural to urban areas, and issuing subsidized loans. Before relocation, it is essential to define the scale and priorities, with a clear objective and a

feasible resettlement schedule. Relocation should be carried out year by year in a planned and organized way. Resettlement sites should be determined according to the carrying capacity of local resources and environments. The best sites would be county seats or easily accessible towns and central villages not far from villages of origin. If possible, the resettled population can be registered as urban residents. We should try our best to create job opportunities for the resettled population to ensure a stable income and equitable access to public services. We should ensure smooth relocation and settlement, and make sure that those involved have the means to better themselves. Some poverty-stricken people may find it difficult to bid farewell to their native land. We should respect the wishes of these people and use a prudent and consensus-based approach. We should explain the reasons for relocation to them, and coercion is not allowed.

Three, providing eco-jobs for the poverty-stricken population. In impoverished areas where the natural conditions are harsh, while the ecosystems are awaiting protection and restoration, we can explore a new approach to poverty elimination through promoting eco-environmental protection and restoration. Many impoverished areas are at the same time key eco-environmental functional zones or nature reserves, as well as areas with large ethnic minority populations. These include Tibet and other areas with large Tibetan populations in Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu and Qinghai, the Wuling Mountains, and other impoverished areas in Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi. We should strengthen eco-environmental protection and restoration in poor areas, increase government transfer payments to key eco-environmental functional zones, and expand the scope of those eligible for preferential policies. We should move ahead with projects to return farmland back to forest or grassland in impoverished areas. Basic cropland there on slopes above 25 degrees can be included in such projects, and the total area of basic cropland should be adjusted rationally. Funds allotted by the central government for eco-environmental recompense in key eco-environmental functional zones have not been used efficiently, some having been evenly distributed across a province, and some diverted for other purposes by counties. This has to change. For example, with the establishment of the system of national parks, we can convert poor people with the ability to work into eco-workers, such as forest rangers, and pay their wages out of the funds for eco-environmental recompense and protection projects.

Four, improving education in poor areas. The best way to help the impoverished population is to raise their educational level. Education is the fundamental means to prevent poverty from being passed down from generation to generation. At present, some poor areas face great difficulties in education. For various reasons, children from poverty-stricken families tend to drop out of school more often, and a growing number of people believe that schooling is useless. An increasing number of children from poor families have had less education than those from other families. Education in impoverished areas will have a far-reaching impact, and deserves our greatest efforts. At this stage of poverty elimination, vocational education and training is a priority. If a child from a poor family can find employment through skills acquired from vocational education, there is hope for that family to escape poverty. National education funds should continue to be weighted towards impoverished areas, for basic education and vocational education. So should the Special Teaching Post Program and the National Teachers' Training Program. We should help

impoverished areas to improve their schools and the training of their teachers. A mechanism will be built at the provincial level for the recruitment of new teachers for rural areas. We should pilot a program on exempting students from registered poverty-stricken families from all tuition and miscellaneous fees for regular high school, and exempt all tuition and fees for secondary vocational education. High-quality urban schools should be encouraged to pair up with schools in impoverished rural areas and provide assistance to them. We should work to establish a public service network for preschool education in impoverished areas, and direct particular attention to education for children from rural families, especially those who remain in rural areas while their parents leave to work in cities. In recent years, a series of painful incidents among these children have taught us that our poverty alleviation policies should be better thought out and followed through from design to implementation, so that the children of poor families truly benefit from the policies of the Party and the government.

Five, improving social security for poverty alleviation. At present, 20 million to 25 million people among the poverty-stricken population have completely or partially lost the ability to work. Even when we have eradicated extreme poverty by 2020, their basic living still needs to be guaranteed by social security. We should dovetail the rural poverty line and the subsistence allowance for rural residents. The current rural poverty line is determined by the central government, while subsistence allowances for rural residents are determined by local governments. There is a gap between the two in many areas. We should coordinate the two standards by defining the minimum subsistence allowance according to the national poverty line. If local subsistence allowances are below the national poverty line, they should be gradually upgraded to the national poverty line. The two standards should be unified to guarantee basic living. We should also provide other forms of social assistance, including emergency relief for people in difficulty due to natural disasters. We should coordinate all the social assistance systems, including rural subsistence allowances, basic old-age pension schemes for rural and nonworking urban residents, and the Five Guarantees for rural households in extreme poverty.

In addition, we should increase medical insurance and medical assistance for poverty alleviation. As to the causes of poverty, a large number of people have become poor or relapsed into poverty because of illness. The unexpected can happen at any time. It is necessary to establish and improve medical insurance and medical assistance systems, and provide timely and effective assistance to those in need. We should make sure that the rural poverty-stricken population is covered by more preferential policies of the new rural cooperative medical care system and serious illness insurance. Reimbursement for outpatient expenses should cover all the impoverished areas first. The individual contributions made by the poverty-stricken population to the new rural cooperative medical care system should be subsidized by the government. More medical aid, temporary assistance, and charity relief should be provided for those in need. We should establish a mechanism to provide insurance and aid in treating major and very serious illnesses for all the poor people. We should implement poverty alleviation through improving health care. We should strengthen the prevention and treatment of infectious, endemic and

chronic diseases in impoverished areas, and carry out major public health programs, including better nutrition for children and free pre-pregnancy examination for healthy childbirth, to ensure basic health services for the poverty-stricken population.

The above are the main approaches. It would be simplistic to apply one model to all places, as conditions may differ considerably. New approaches should be tried for targeted poverty alleviation through more channels and in diverse forms to suit local conditions.

To eliminate rural poverty on schedule, it must be made clear and emphasized that we must maintain stability in agriculture and achieve a sustained increase in farmers' incomes. This has a direct bearing on the elimination of rural poverty. If incomes fall, those who have just escaped poverty may find themselves back in poverty, and there could even be new cases of poverty. Therefore, it is necessary to expand the sources of income growth for farmers and improve the supporting policy framework.

Fourth, we should properly deregister those who have emerged from poverty. Targeted poverty alleviation is meant to help the poverty-stricken population to escape poverty. The relationship between ends and means should be clarified. We should speed up the establishment of a poverty exit mechanism to deregister the counties and households that are no longer in poverty, so as to eliminate poverty in a more targeted and effective manner.

One, we should set a timetable for an orderly exit. The elimination of poverty in impoverished counties should be coordinated with the process of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. A mechanism needs to be built early on. An annual plan for the exit has to be worked out, in a way that is neither over-conservative nor over-ambitious.

Two, we should allow a "grace period", in which we will continue to implement poverty alleviation policies in previously impoverished areas. The label of impoverished county is no accolade, but many counties are reluctant to remove the label, mainly because of the high value associated with the label, the removal of which will deprive them of funds from the government coffers. That is to some extent understandable. As a matter of fact, after being removed from the poverty list, it will take some time for the former impoverished counties to foster and consolidate the capacity for self-development. We have to give them a leg up to get them going. We should make sure that they can be supported by preferential policies for an additional period. We should continue to treat them as a priority in industrial development and annual planning. Special funding projects and partner assistance programs should continue. In addition, we can reward counties that have emerged from poverty ahead of schedule as an incentive for other counties to do the same.

Three, we should strictly follow the criteria when evaluating whether the label of poverty can be lifted from a county. Impoverished counties are encouraged to remove the label, but they are not expected to do so through fraud and falsification, or by lowering the bar and seeking instant success. This evaluation has to be conducted against strict standards and procedures, and the results must stand the test. It is necessary to strengthen public supervision of poverty elimination,

by either the local residents or third parties, in order to add credibility to the evaluation. Acts of misconduct in poverty alleviation, such as the manipulation of numbers, will be investigated, and those responsible will be held accountable.

Four, we should deregister impoverished households one by one and ensure that each and every individual has shaken off poverty. The registration of poverty-stricken households should be managed in a dynamic manner. Households no longer living in poverty should be deregistered; households that have fallen back into poverty should be re-registered. The government should match its poverty alleviation tasks with the dynamic registration data of the households and individuals before making timely adjustments to relevant policies and adopting targeted steps to address serious problems. In assigning poverty alleviation tasks, it is not a good idea to simply set quotas for each level without regard to the actual situation. This practice will prove to be self-deception, which will inevitably result in falsification. The results of our work have to be recognized by the people. Assistance measures for former poverty-stricken households can remain in place for an additional period until they are out of poverty for good.

Here I want to emphasize the importance of poverty elimination in old revolutionary base areas. The old revolutionary base areas and the people there made enormous sacrifices and a major contribution to the victory of the CPC-led Chinese revolution, which will forever be engraved in the history of the Communist Party of China, the People's Liberation Army, and the People's Republic of China.

We should always remember and honor their sacrifices and contribution. Benefitting from the rapid development since the founding of the PRC in 1949, and particularly since the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, the old revolutionary base areas have undergone profound changes, and the people there have experienced significant improvements to their lives. However, in some of these areas, the people are not leading a decent life due to inadequate infrastructure and sluggish development. What makes matters worse is that a sizable rural poor population poses a stern challenge to poverty elimination in these areas.

It is the responsibility of the Party and the government to help the old revolutionary base areas to attain faster growth, and the rural poor there to shake off poverty through development-driven poverty alleviation, so that they enter moderate prosperity along with the rest of the country. Party committees and governments at all levels should develop a stronger sense of mission and responsibility, make it a priority to develop these areas and improve people's lives there, and act to help them escape poverty and embrace prosperity as soon as possible.

* Part of the speech at the Central Conference on Poverty Alleviation and Development.

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EXTEND NATIONAL DEFENSE AND MILITARY REFORM TO STRENGTHEN THE ARMED FORCES

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EXTEND NATIONAL DEFENSE AND MILITARY REFORM TO STRENGTHEN THE ARMED FORCES*

November 24, 2015

In-depth reform in national defense and the military must be carried out by following the guiding principles of the 18th CPC National Congress and the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee, and the theories of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development. Following the requirements of the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy and the Party's goal of building a strong military in the new era, we will carry out our military strategy for the new era and the strategy of strengthening the military through reform. We will break down institutional, structural and policy barriers, and modernize the organization of the armed forces to further unleash and strengthen the combat capability and vigor of the armed forces. By doing so, we will build strong national defense and armed forces that are commensurate with China's international status and in compliance with our national security and development interests, which will provide a strong guarantee for realizing the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

To understand the above guiding principles, we should follow the Party's goal of building a strong military, and review, guide and promote defense and military reform with this goal. To realize this goal, since the 18th CPC National Congress the Central Military Commission (CMC) has made overall plans for building revolutionary, modern and standardized armed forces, taken measures to promote the development and deployment of military forces, coordinated economic development and improvement in national defense, formulated military strategies for the new era, put forward a series of major policies and principles, and made a series of major decisions and plans. We must carry out these strategic plans and designs well through reform, so as to provide a powerful driving force and an institutional guarantee for realizing our goal of building a strong military. We should focus on the following:

First, to reinforce political commitment in the military in the current era, we will exercise both absolute leadership and efficient command of the armed forces. To this end, a new structure will be established in which the CMC exercises overall leadership, the theater commands take responsibility for military operations, and the services focus on developing their capabilities. This structure is the foundation of the reform of military leadership and command systems. It has been set by the CPC Central Committee and the CMC based on the overall situation in the Party, the

country, and the military, and on a profound understanding of the requirements for leadership and command of modern armed forces. It embodies the in-depth political considerations of the Central Committee and the CMC. The purpose of establishing this structure is to ensure the Party's absolute leadership and the CMC's efficient command over the military, and the CMC's sound planning and stronger efforts in the development and administration of the armed forces. To drive deeper reform in national defense and the military, we must first and foremost understand the significance of this structure and base our efforts firmly on this foundation.

I have reiterated many times that reform does not mean changing our orientation or nature. Deeper reform in national defense and the military aims to help our distinctive socialist military institutions achieve self-improvement and development, and thereby better leverage their strengths. In the course of this reform, we need to maintain the correct political orientation, outline a series of institutional designs and arrangements to consolidate and improve the fundamental principle of absolute Party leadership over the armed forces and the systems that support it, and strengthen the CMC's centralized, unified leadership to ensure that the CPC Central Committee and the CMC exercise supreme leadership and command over the military. This should be held firmly, allowing no ambiguity or wavering, no matter how the reform is to be carried out.

We have decided to modify the system of general departments of the CMC. Formed over the decades, the system has played an important role in the development of our armed forces and the completion of major tasks. However, with changing circumstances and missions, the problems of this system have become increasingly obvious, the most prominent being functions that are too general, segmented authority, conflicting policies from different departments, mutual interference, and weak strategic planning. The concentration of power in the four general departments of the PLA (Headquarters of the General Staff, General Political Department, General Logistics Department, and General Armament Department) is particularly prominent, and these bodies form a *de facto* independent layer of leadership that exercises many functions of the CMC. This is not in line with the CMC's centralized, unified leadership. Therefore, we have decided to replace this system with one comprising multiple departments, which include seven departments (general office), three commissions and five directly affiliated bodies. The purpose is to improve the institutional structure of and functional allocation for the CMC bodies and make them truly advising, enforcing, and serving bodies of the CMC.

Our military has long adopted a system combining operations command with capacity building and deployment of the military forces, which took its shape under specific historical conditions. Now it is difficult for this system to effectively respond to the call of a modern and specialized military capable of fighting and winning wars in the information age. Unless it is adjusted, it will inevitably affect combat efficiency and overall development of our armed forces and hinder the CMC's efficient leadership and command over the entire military. We have decided to regroup the current military area commands into theater commands, establish and improve the administrative system of all services of the armed forces to realize a proper degree of separation of the operations command function and the capacity building and administration functions, i.e., having theater

commands assume the primary role in joint operations command and having services of the armed forces undertake the main role in capacity building and administration, so that theater commands and services perform their respective functions and take respective responsibilities under the unified leadership of the CMC.

In accordance with our understanding of national security threats and the military's missions and tasks, we have decided to regroup the existing seven military area commands into five theater commands – the Eastern, Southern, Western, Northern and Central theater commands. We have decided to improve the CMC's joint operations command institution and establish corresponding institutions at the theater level, in order to form a lean and efficient strategic and campaign command system composed of permanent and specialized command establishments which ensures both combat readiness in peacetime and prompt response in wartime. We will also adjust joint training and joint support mechanisms according to the joint operations command system.

We have designed the administrative system along with the joint operations command system and decided to set up a general command center for the army, aiming to overcome a long-standing structural weakness in the organization of our military, create conditions for establishing and improving a joint operations command system, and facilitate the CMC's efforts to adjust its functions, streamline institutions and downsize staff. Since the Second Artillery Force functions as a *de facto* military service, we have decided to rename it the Rocket Force. With these adjustments, we will establish a three-tier "CMC – theater command – troops" command system and a "CMC – services – troops" administrative system.

This reform is transformational in that we will dismantle the long-established system of general departments, the military area commands system, and the land-force-dominated military system. It is a restructuring of the organization of our armed forces. The CMC, theater commands and military services must adapt to this new structure. After the reform, the CMC bodies should be mainly responsible for strategic planning and macro-administration and reorient themselves from the operating model of the general departments system as soon as possible; theater commands should mainly focus on command and operations and shift from the operating model of the military area commands system as soon as possible; military services should direct their efforts mainly towards capacity building and administration of troops, transitioning from the operating model under which capacity building and deployment responsibilities are mingled.

Some comrades worry that the theater commands to be established may not be able to effectively command troops as they do not directly lead and administer troops. Here I must make it clear: As the supreme commanding body in its theater or region, a theater command is empowered with command authority by the CMC; this is an important manifestation of the Party's absolute leadership over the military, and all troops undertaking operational missions in the theater must obey its commands unconditionally. The power and responsibility of theater commands should be specified and guaranteed with regulations and institutions. Theater commands exercise command

in both wartime and peacetime. Without war preparations, military drills, scenario-based combat readiness, or practical experience garnered in time of peace, it will be hard to fulfill the function of joint operations command in case of war.

Second, to run the military in accordance with the law and enforce strict discipline, we need to focus on regulating power within the military, which demands a strict system of checks and oversight over the exercise of power. Running the military in accordance with the law and enforcing strict discipline are basic principles of the Party. A modern military should be one that attaches great importance to the rule of law and discipline. The guidance and safeguards provided by the rule of law are indispensable for our efforts to strengthen our military and build strong armed forces. We must fully implement the CMC's Decision on Running the Military with Strict Discipline in Accordance with the Law in New Circumstances, build and improve a Chinese system for law-based administration of military affairs, and expedite changes in three aspects of military governance.

Law-based exercise of power within the military is the key to running the military in accordance with the law. We must strengthen checks and oversight over the exercise of power and confine it in an institutional cage. In the past three years, the Central Committee and the CMC made sweeping efforts to improve conduct and combat corruption in the military, and the Four Forms of Official Misconduct and the spread of corruption were curbed. However, there are deep-rooted problems which have yet to be solved completely, and the fight against corruption in some sectors and fields remains a serious and complex challenge. Power must be confined and supervised – absolute power corrupts absolutely. History has proved the truth of this at home and abroad. We must maintain a tough stance on corruption, and with strong will and determination we must resolutely deal with existing cases and curb the emergence of new ones. We must address both symptoms and root causes, leave no room for corruption, and ensure a crushing victory in our fight against corruption.

Currently, with regard to checks and supervision over power, problems exist in our institutional design and implementation. The main ones are that some systems are not stringently implemented, and that supervision over the exercise of power is inadequate and ineffective – in particular, checks and supervision over the exercise of power by leadership bodies and leading officials exist in name only. “Those who are good at eradicating troubles always search for their root causes, and those who are good at curing diseases always endeavor to eliminate their sources.” We have decided that decision-making, enforcement and supervisory powers should be separated and assigned in the principle of mutual checks and coordination. Priority should be given to granting sufficient independence and authority to the bodies responsible for discipline inspection and enforcement, auditing, and judicial supervision, so as to close the loopholes in systems and mechanisms and eradicate the breeding grounds of corruption with stricter rules and regulations.

We have decided to establish a new discipline inspection commission directly under the CMC with teams dispatched to CMC bodies and theater commands for disciplinary inspection and supervision. We will ensure the implementation of the commission's dual leadership system – leadership from the Party committee at the same level and from the commission/team for discipline inspection at the next-higher level. Having placed the PLA Audit Office under the direct leadership of the CMC last year, we have decided to establish the CMC Audit Office and continue reform of the auditing supervision system, and the system of resident audit will be fully carried out. We will set up a new commission for law and order within the CMC, which will help intensify the CMC's leadership over the armed forces on law and order. This commission will lead and administrate the PLA Military Court and Procuratorate. We will also adjust the military judicial system, and military courts and procuratorates will be set up based on geographical areas to ensure independent and fair exercise of judicial power in accordance with the law. This reform will help form a system in which decision-making, enforcement and supervisory powers coordinate with and check one another.

Third, we will optimize the size, structure and composition of our troops for higher quality and efficiency, with the aim of building a crack fighting force. What is crucial to a military is not size but efficiency, which is key to a force's ability to win battles. We need to optimize the military's scale and structure, bring out its full potential, and make it leaner but more efficient.

As ours is a large country with long borders and a complicated peripheral security environment, we shoulder heavy tasks in maintaining stability and managing military challenges, and we need to keep a relatively large military. In spite of this, we still need to downsize our armed forces. We have decided to cut troop numbers by 300,000 and reduce them to 2 million. The decision has been taken in accordance with the demands of our national security and military strategies, and the adjustment serves our overall political and diplomatic interests.

This means downsizing administrative staff and non-combatants in the military. Following the principle of streamlining the military and increasing efficiency, we will exercise strict control over the rank of each unit, the establishment of internal organizations, and staffing of all administrative bodies from those of the CMC to those of theater commands and military services. If the reform leads to larger administrative bodies with more leading positions and staff, it would go against our original intention. This time, in transforming the CMC bodies from the system of general departments to a multiple-department system, we will conduct a substantial downsizing. Next, we will carry out category-based restructuring and streamlining in line with different circumstances. With current reform, the CMC bodies have taken a big stride forward in dealing with cumbersome organization and overstaffing, setting a good example for the entire military.

In addition to downsizing, we need to improve the structure. We have decided to adjust and improve the weighting and structure of forces among different services towards a strategic transformation. Our military has a relatively large number of officers and a high officer-soldier ratio. In line with the military's downsizing, the number of officers will also be reduced substantially. This goal can be achieved by transferring more officer positions to positions for non-

commissioned officers and civilian staff, and more active service members to non-active posts, trimming staff establishments of administrative bodies at all levels, slashing redundancy, and reducing leadership posts. We will make greater efforts to reduce units with outdated equipment and make room for developing new combat forces. While improving the military's size and structure, we will also reform its composition to suit new security needs and operations, so that the military will be complete in organization, well-composed, more flexible in composition, and with a broader range of competencies.

These streamlining and adjustment measures are aimed at higher quality and efficiency. On this basis we will roll out an efficiency-centered revolution of military management, establish modern ideas, improve the system, and optimize the process, so that the military comes under more professional, meticulous, and scientific management. We will establish the CMC Training and Administration Department, which will strengthen the centralized planning, organization and guidance of training across the military and improve the management of troops and military academies. We must strengthen the institutions governing the management of funds, material supplies, procurement, and projects, to achieve greater economic benefits for military expenditures. All military bodies, especially high-level ones, should transform their functions, conduct, and ways of work, press forward with their work in accordance with their statutory functions and jurisdictions, increase their work efficiency and organizational effectiveness, eliminate form over substance and bureaucratism, and solve the problems of "five excesses".

Fourth, we need to reach the commanding heights in future military competition, take full advantage of innovation-driven development, and explore new ways to drive the army's war fighting capability. Developing defense science and technology is a basic but pioneering project. Currently, major countries attach great importance to cutting-edge scientific and technological innovations that demand heavy investment and involve high risks but are richly rewarding; they vigorously develop disruptive technologies that can grant substantial advantages in military capabilities. If we fall behind in scientific and technological innovation in our defense, we will be overwhelmed in competition. It is unacceptable to always remain a follower; we must be a leader in some fields. We must apply the innovation-driven development philosophy and raise the contribution of innovation to combat capability. China is now at a crucial and challenging stage in its defense technology development. We need to identify the right breakthrough points, plan ahead, increase research in major technologies and new ideas that are forward-looking, pioneering, exploratory and disruptive, and actively seek a competitive edge in military technologies.

New combat forces represent the development trends of military technology and operation models. It is an urgent task to develop new combat forces. We have no time to waste and must actively foster such forces. Otherwise we will miss the opportunity and be left far behind our rivals.

Fifth, we need to better cultivate, manage and use military personnel, and promote institutional reform and policy innovation for their development, so as to bring about a situation where capable people come forth in large numbers and everyone can display their talents. Manpower is key to

strengthening the military. As our military preparation and modernization drive move forward and our weaponry and new combat forces develop rapidly, the shortage of capable personnel has become increasingly apparent. I have given this a lot of thought, and laid much emphasis on the training of officials and a new type of high-caliber military personnel. Further defense and military reform must be conducive to the selection and cultivation of talented people and the efficient development and use of human resources, so as to attract and bring together as much talent as possible.

The intricate classification, decentralized management, and arbitrary application of policies and institutions have caused inefficiency in the use of our military, human resources and even serious waste of such resources. In this round of reform, while upholding the Party's leadership over the management of officials and personnel, we should improve the human resource classification, integrate human resource management functions, and strengthen centralized and unified management of military personnel, so that the military's human resources can help improve the military's capability in combat. We have decided to carry out deeper reform in military academies and improve the new system for training military personnel which consists of academic study, field training, and ongoing in-service education. In particular, we will focus on the training of commanders and advisers for joint operations and new types of combat personnel.

The military's policies and institutions are related to the intermediate interests of officers and soldiers and are an important means for the military to increase its combat effectiveness and stimulate its vigor. We have taken many measures in recent years. Nevertheless, problems are still prominent, and officers and soldiers continue to call for reform. To adapt to the demands of the military's functions and missions and the country's policy and institutional innovation, we have decided to take a series of reform measures.

We will further reform management systems for officers, soldiers, and civilian staff, as well as systems of medical care, insurance, housing, and payments and benefits for service members. We will improve policies and institutions for the human resources and logistics of the military, and establish a system of policies and institutions that reflect the features of military work and help to strengthen the sense of honor and pride in service members. By doing so, we can better enhance morale and ensure stability of the forces. To meet the requirements of reforming the leadership and command systems and reducing the number of troops by 300,000, we will lose no time in reforming relevant policies and institutions, particularly those concerning civilian staff, the hierarchy which is mainly defined by military ranks, and the career officers system.

An ancient Chinese once said, "Education, training, selection and appointment. If any of these is not done properly, it will ruin all the talent in the country." That is to say, if any of these four links fail, it will be hard to attract and develop capable people. There is a consensus about the establishment of the career officers system. What is essential is to make breakthroughs in adjusting and reforming systems concerning officers' service, category-based management, and job qualifications, among others. Specialization and a strong focus on battlefield capability are

core to the career officers system. We need to properly design the career routes of officers and ensure that competence, performance and other objective factors play a dominant role in the selection and placement of personnel.

Civilian staff are important human resources for a modern military. The armed forces of developed countries usually see the importance of the use of civilian staff. Since our military has a relatively small civilian staff, we have plenty of room for reform. We have decided to establish a unified civilian personnel system, and expand the rank of civilian staff by filling some active service posts that serve both military and civilian purposes and are not directly involved in military operations with civilian personnel. We will thereby improve the military personnel composition, reduce the military's costs in human resources, and recruit excellent civilian professionals to work for the military.

Sixth, we should focus on civil-military integration, advance major reform tasks covering both military and civilian services, and coordinate economic development and national defense. Civil-military integration is not only a measure to invigorate the country but also a strategy to strengthen the military. Upgrading civil-military integration to a national strategy is a major outcome of our long efforts to coordinate economic development and defense, and is an important decision based on the overall strategic goals of national security and development. Since it is a national strategy, we must rally the will and strength of the whole nation behind concerted efforts of both military and civilian services.

There is no lack of enthusiasm for civil-military integration. However, the overall benefits of civil-military integration have not been fully realized for a number of reasons: The mechanisms for coordination between the military and local authorities, supply-demand docking, and resource sharing are not optimal; defense enterprises monopolies and exclusive markets have not been broken; and resources are scattered and development projects are redundant in some key areas.

At the local level, some sectors and regions give insufficient thought to meeting defense needs and are not supportive enough. On the part of the military, some departments and units, large or small, tend to operate on an all-inclusive model. This departmentalist mentality has resulted in a fragmented system in which each provides their own development and support services.

It is essential to transform the approach to military development and better integrate military development into national economic and social development. Civil-military integration is important for more quickly transforming the growth model and adjusting the economic structure. Local officials should have a clear understanding of this and take concrete actions.

To remedy these problems and promote civil-military integration, we need to break down relevant institutional barriers. We will work to establish an efficient organization and management system under unified leadership that facilitates coordination between the military and local authorities; a working system in which the state is the dominant force, demand is the driving force, and the market is the operating force; and a complete policy and institutional framework with supporting

measures and effective incentives. With these, we will be able to bring about a structure in which the military and non-military sectors develop together efficiently across multiple fields. We have decided to establish the Commission for Integrated Civil-Military Development under the CPC Central Committee and improve the unified leadership system to provide an institutional guarantee for civil-military integration.

Our armed forces are composed of the PLA, the Armed Police Force, and the militia. To strengthen the unified leadership of the Central Committee and the CMC over the armed forces, we have decided to adjust and reform the leadership and administrative systems of the Armed Police Force according to the requirement of making clear the respective functions and administration of the three sections of our armed forces. Relevant State Council departments should coordinate with the military and work out detailed reform plans. We have also introduced reform measures to improve the institutional framework for the militia and reserve forces and the mobilization for national defense. We have decided to establish the National Defense Mobilization Department of the CMC, which is responsible for organizing and guiding national defense mobilization and reserve force development, and leading and managing provincial military commands. Local Party committees and governments at all levels should coordinate with the armed forces to implement these measures.

Placement of demobilized veterans and their management affect the stability of the military and society at large. Highly educated and trained in the military and tested in major tasks, ex-service members are a valuable resource for the Party and the country. There are still problems in the placement and management of veterans and the services provided to them. We need to strengthen national management and improve relevant policies so as to provide better services to veterans. Relevant departments of the military and local authorities should strengthen coordination and carry forward this work.

Commercial services provided by the military is also a big issue concerning the relationships between the military and local authorities and between the military and civilian sectors. The CPC Central Committee and the CMC decided to bring an end to all business activities of the PLA and the Armed Police Force in 1998, but paid services provided by the military in some sectors are still permitted. Surveys have shown that paid services provided to the public have a negative influence on the military. Thus we must make up our mind that the military must stop providing commercial services to the public in any form. This keeps the armed forces clean and preserves their nature and character. Since the military still undertakes social security tasks assigned by the state in some fields, these tasks can be incorporated into the civil-military integration system.

* Part of the speech at the Central Military Commission Conference on Reforming the Armed Forces.

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RESOLVE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES IN REALIZING THE FIRST CENTENARY GOAL

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RESOLVE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES IN REALIZING THE FIRST CENTENARY GOAL*

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To achieve the targets and tasks set at the ongoing plenary session, we must redouble our efforts to resolve major difficulties. It is a mission we must accomplish as well as a barrier we must overcome. As an ancient Chinese thinker put it, “Leaders should strengthen planning while delegating specific tasks to lower levels.”

First, in transforming the economic growth model, we must focus on improving the quality and efficiency of development. Economic development is the foundation; without it, nothing is possible. Since the introduction of reform and opening up in 1978, we have been focusing on development, with outstanding success. To achieve the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, we must still make development our top priority and bring it to a new level. We should stick to the strategy that development is of paramount importance, ensuring that an effective approach is taken to development, intensifying structural reform, and focusing on improving the quality and efficiency of development in order to achieve higher quality, fairer, more efficient, and more sustainable development.

Currently, China’s economy faces significant downward pressure. This is partly due to the influence of global and current factors, but fundamentally it is due to structural problems. For instance, an important reason for the current economic downturn is the slowing down of industrial growth as the industrial structure is forced to adapt to changing needs and some industries are afflicted by excessive industrial capacity. These are also the main causes of poor corporate performance. The key to improving the quality and efficiency of development lies in moving faster to change the economic growth model and adjust the economic structure, and in taking resolute measures to reduce overcapacity. There is no other correct choice.

The 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020) provides an important window of opportunity for transforming the economic growth model and adjusting the economic structure. If we fail to achieve this, and instead implement stimulus policy for short-term economic growth, we will continue to jeopardize future growth. If we hesitate to address the conflicts and problems arising from our traditional growth model, and simply mark time, we will lose this precious window of opportunity and deplete the valuable resources we have accumulated since the introduction of reform and opening up. This has been proved by the experience of many countries. Opportunities never wait for us and neither do problems.

Economic development should maintain a certain pace, on condition that high quality and efficiency are guaranteed. The mounting downward pressure on the economy appears on the surface to be the result of insufficient effective demand, but is actually caused by insufficient effective supply. In general, the industrial capacity of our country is huge, but it is compromised by a portion of ineffective supply and a lack of high-quality, high-standard, effective supply. China is a big producer and exporter, but most of our products and technology are low-end while few are high-tech, high-quality, and high added-value. We must focus on improving the quality and level of supply as well as expanding demand.

In the past our industrial capacity was limited, and emphasis was therefore on advancing it by expanding investment. Now, our capacity is excessive. If we still rely on expanding large-scale investment to speed up growth, the effect will be limited, and the marginal utility will diminish. Although in the short term, investment can be an important fuel for economic growth, final consumption is the lasting engine. In this regard, while expanding effective investment and ensuring it plays a key role, we must give full play to the fundamental role that consumption plays in fueling growth.

We must implement in a vigorous and orderly manner the three strategic initiatives – the Belt and Road Initiative, the coordinated development of the Beijing Tianjin-Hebei Region, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt. These initiatives represent new space for development in the near future, and we must implement them in a vigorous and orderly manner. Over the past 30 years, three city clusters have gradually emerged – the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Pearl River Delta – and have become the main regions driving national development. Northeast China, the Central Plains, the middle reaches of the Yangtze River, and the Chengdu-Chongqing region, each with a population of more than 100 million, are big markets with ample conditions to form complete industrial systems and create new space for development. Of course, we must produce an optimal strategy for regional planning, press ahead with this, and avoid any short-sighted measures.

In regard to the key tasks of transforming the economic growth model and adjusting the economic structure, specific requirements have been put forward in the Recommendations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for Formulating the 13th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development. The key to realizing these requirements lies in securing high-quality and efficient development.

One, investments must be productive. Expanding investment can boost growth. However, if too many investments are inefficient and produce no returns, the relevant loans and debts cannot be repaid and will become bad loans, creating financial risks for enterprises and fiscal and financial risks for the state. Although the payback period of infrastructure investment, and particularly of public service infrastructure investment, is long, we should not do things decades in advance. And even with reference to those projects that we should activate, we should consider whether our financial resources are sufficient.

Two, products must be marketable, which determines whether an investment will have reasonable returns. If the government, without analyzing the market, allocates resources on behalf of enterprises, or encourages enterprises to expand investment through preferential policies, it will probably hinder continued progress.

Three, enterprises must make profits. Being an enterprise means having the ability to make money. Should an enterprise make no profits, or suffer substantial losses for a period of two or three years, it affects not only the growth rate but also its employees' income and the government's revenues, which will result in financial and even social risks. We must base our policies on the development of enterprises, and particularly of the enterprises in the real economy, pay close attention to their sound development, and increase their profitability.

Four, employees must have reasonable incomes. People go to work to earn a living. No one would work in a company if wages do not meet the needs of the employees, or are lower than the average salary determined by the market. Of course, if wages rise faster than a company's profits determined by the macroeconomy, the higher wages will become a heavy burden. In such circumstances, some labor-intensive foreign-funded enterprises will transfer to other countries with lower wage costs.

Five, the government must collect taxes. The government must provide public services and infrastructure with positive externalities. Where does the government get the money? Mainly from tax revenues. The government can also issue bonds, but cannot overindulge. If the government has no tax revenues to do those things it should do when the economy grows fast, the standards of living and public services cannot be improved, and it will be hard to maintain social harmony and stability. The government's money must be spent wisely; government spending must be carefully controlled.

Transforming our economic growth model and adjusting the economic structure are the key tasks for the 13th Five-year Plan period. With a focus on making a profound adjustment of the economic structure, and on rejuvenating the real economy, we must adjust and improve related policies, establish a new industrial system, foster a core of strategic industries, build an industrial system for modern agriculture, and make China into a strong manufacturer and an effective provider of modern services.

Innovation is the principal engine driving the shift in the economic growth model and the adjustment of the economic structure. We must encourage new technology, new industries, and new forms of business. Aiming to be at the forefront of international scientific and technological research, we must produce numerous significant innovations, promote the industrial application of scientific and technological advances, and ensure that innovations are commercialized in real economic activity in order to form new products and industries.

Second, in strengthening areas of weakness, we must properly address imbalanced development. To realize a moderately prosperous society in all respects, we must have in our mind “a moderately prosperous society”; we must also focus on the issue of “in all respects” – the latter being more important and more difficult to achieve. “A moderately prosperous society” represents a certain level of development, while “in all respects” extends that level of development to one that is balanced, coordinated and sustainable. If the lack of balance, coordination and sustainability in development becomes a more serious problem, and our areas of weakness become more prominent, we cannot truly say we have realized our goals even if we accomplish the goals for GDP and growth rate by 2020 as scheduled. In that case, even if we declare we have attained the goals, they will not be recognized by our people and the international community.

To realize a moderately prosperous society in all respects, we must seek economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental progress. We should ensure a better developed economy, more complete democracy, more advanced science and education, a more thriving culture, a more harmonious society, and a higher standard of living. While making economic development our central task, we must strive for economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental progress, and coordinate all aspects of our drive for modernization. All these must progress together – we cannot have a situation where some advance at the expense of others.

For example, the pace of eco-environmental progress is rather slow. Through over 30 years of rapid, continuous economic development, our capacity for producing agricultural products and manufactured items and for providing services has increased rapidly, but our capacity for providing high-quality ecosystem goods and services has shrunk, and the eco-environment in some places is still deteriorating. We must try our best to promote eco-environmental progress, incorporate eco-environmental ideas, principles and goals into all our economic and social development efforts, include them in our plans at all levels and in all categories, and implement them through concrete actions.

Functional zoning is the fundamental system for protecting and using our territorial space, and the principal measure to protect the eco-environment at the source. Although it was first proposed several years ago, it has not been carried out to the letter. In our land of over 9.6 million square kilometers, natural conditions vary enormously in different places; if we err in functional zoning, it will not be easy to put things right in the future. We must move faster to improve policies concerning functional zoning and differentiated performance appraisal, and drive all regions to develop in line with their functional definitions. We must give high priority to protecting the environment and letting nature restore itself, and protect and restore the ecosystems of mountains, waters, forests and farmlands. We must intensify our efforts in environmental governance, reform the fundamental system of environment governance, make all natural ecosystems more stable and better able to provide services, and safeguard national eco-environmental security.

To realize a moderately prosperous society in all respects, we must ensure that all the people are covered and share the fruits of development. The main problems that arise in achieving all-round moderate prosperity lie in areas critical to people's living standards. A lack of all-round development, to a great extent, manifests itself in the wellbeing of different social groups. "In a country, the people are the most important." To ensure that living standards are improved under the principle that everyone takes part, contributes, and has a share, we must make sure basic living needs are met, focus on key areas, improve systems, and guide expectations. At the same time, we must emphasize equal opportunity and guarantee basic living standards.

Poverty alleviation of the impoverished rural population is our biggest area of weakness. Bringing about a moderately prosperous society in all respects does not mean that each and every individual is ensured the same level of prosperity, but if the living standards of the currently impoverished rural population of over 70 million do not improve noticeably, the realization of a moderately prosperous society in all respects will lack credibility. Therefore, in the Recommendations, helping the impoverished rural population shake off poverty is regarded as a fundamental indicator. In the Recommendations, emphasis is placed on the implementation of targeted poverty alleviation, and we are required, through applying greater determination and adopting a well-designed approach, to take stronger and innovative measures to carry out our poverty alleviation projects in a bid to ensure that all the rural populations living below the current poverty threshold and all impoverished counties are lifted out of poverty, and to solve the problem of regional poverty.

Now there are about 18 million urban residents living on subsistence allowances; we must improve our welfare systems to ensure their basic living needs are met. For more than 130 million senior citizens at and above 65 years old, we must increase our supply of elderly care and make medical services more convenient; for more than 200 million migrant workers in cities, we must gradually give them equal access to the basic public services where they now reside; for tens of millions of annual college graduates working in megapolises and other permanent residents in these urban areas, we must ensure they have suitable living conditions; for over 9 million urban residents registered as unemployed, we must ensure that they have a vocational skill to achieve stable employment and a stable income. In summary, we must remain committed to a people-centered philosophy of development; for specific groups of people facing specific difficulties, we must try every means to help them solve practical problems.

In the 13th Five-year Plan period, our revenue cannot increase at the same high pace as previously. We must strike a proper balance between developing the economy and safeguarding people's wellbeing. We must continue to intensify our efforts to safeguard people's wellbeing on the basis of economic development, yet we must not make promises beyond our financial means, which we would find hard to keep. We must focus on improving our basic public services, and particularly on increasing support for basic public services in old revolutionary bases, ethnic minority areas, border areas, and poverty-stricken areas, and on assisting specific groups of people with special difficulties. On this basis, we must do a good job in education, employment,

income distribution, social security, and medical services and health care. At the same time, we must keep our spending within the limits of our income, and actively adjust the structure of fiscal expenditure. Earlier, we made some promises based on the rapid growth of our fiscal revenue. Now it seems necessary to study them from a sustainability perspective; we must be determined to reduce expenditures where necessary.

To build a moderately prosperous society in all respects, we must ensure that every aspect is covered. There should be moderate prosperity in both urban and rural areas. We must narrow the development gaps between urban and rural areas and between regions, which is a major prerequisite to realizing a moderately prosperous society in all respects. We should view this issue dialectically. Urban and rural areas have different functions, as do different regions. The main parts of Qinghai and Tibet as a key eco-environmental functional zone – commonly referred to as the world's Third Pole – have enormous value in providing ecosystem goods and services. If the region is exploited blindly, resulting in destruction of its ecosystems, then we cannot correct that no matter how much money we spend in the future. However, in the existing accounting system, in which only GDP is used to measure the level of development, the development disparity between this region and developed regions is inevitably growing. When we say narrow the development gaps between urban and rural areas and between regions, we cannot view it as only narrowing the gaps in GDP and growth rate, but rather, we should view it as narrowing the gaps in residents' income, access to infrastructure, equitable access to basic public services, and living standards. In addition, we must have a comprehensive understanding of the urban-rural income gap. The living costs, and in particular the housing costs, are quite different in urban and rural areas, and thus income alone is not an accurate reflection of real problems.

Third, in guarding against risks, we must focus on strengthening our awareness of and capacity for risk prevention and control. The next five years might become a period in which risks in all areas of our development will accumulate continuously and even become increasingly felt. The major threats we may encounter include domestic economic, political, ideological and social risks and those from nature, as well as global economic, political and military risks. If major risks occur and we are not able to fight against them, our national security could face fatal problems, and the process of building a moderately prosperous society will probably be interrupted. “Nip the problem in the bud when it is in the making; prepare yourself for risks yet to emerge,” said our ancestors. We must try our best to prevent any major risks, and, when they occur, be able to ward them off.

In the past, we tended to think that the conflicts and problems afflicting the people resulted from a low level of economic development and low income; if only we could develop the economy, and if the people lived a better life, social conflicts and problems would consequently decrease. Now it seems that problems always exist whether the economy is undeveloped or developed, and that the problems arising when the economy is developed are no fewer than those arising when the economy is undeveloped – they can even become more complicated. In this new era, if we fail to coordinate interests well and handle problems properly, the situation could deteriorate to the extent that it hinders our development process.

What calls for special attention is that risks often may not occur alone, but more likely intertwine with each other and form a risk complex. With regard to possible risks, local Party committees and governments at all levels must improve their sense of responsibility and consciousness, and strengthen risk prevention and control within the scope of their functions and duties; they must not pass the buck either up or to future Party committees and governments, nor should they be irresponsible in their work and thereby create risks. We must redouble our efforts to explore and identify the sources of risks, improve our capacity in dynamic monitoring and real time alarms, and advance risk prevention and control in an effective and meticulous manner. We must have a clear idea of potential risks and their causes, prepare different remedies for different risks, and adopt a holistic approach. We must take timely and strong measures, strive to defuse risks at source, and prevent small risks from evolving into big ones, individual ones into complex ones, partial ones into regional or systemic ones, economic ones into social and political ones, and global ones into domestic ones.

* Part of the speech at the second full assembly of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

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REMARKS AT ARRIVAL CEREMONY ON THE SOUTH LAWN OF THE WHITE HOUSE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-03-24

REMARKS AT ARRIVAL CEREMONY ON THE SOUTH LAWN OF THE WHITE HOUSE

September 25, 2015

Mr President and Mrs Obama,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Friends,

My wife and I are very pleased to come to the beautiful city of Washington D.C. in this golden autumn season. I wish to thank you, Mr President, for your kind invitation and gracious hospitality. I also wish to convey to the American people the warm regards and best wishes of over 1.3 billion Chinese people.

China and the United States are two great countries with two great peoples. Since China and the United States established diplomatic relations 36 years ago, our relationship has overcome difficulties and forged ahead, making historic advances.

At our Sunnylands meeting in the summer of 2013, President Obama, you and I made the strategic decision to build a new model of major-country relations. More than two years have passed, and we have made important progress in cooperation and exchanges in various areas, to the warm welcome of the people of our two countries and the world at large.

By working together, China and the United States can make a greater difference than by working alone. In an evolving global landscape, we need to keep pace with the times and build on positive momentum to continue growing our relationship. I am visiting the United States to promote peace and advance cooperation. We hope to work with the United States to further grow China-US relations and deliver greater benefits to the people of our two countries and the world.

– We should remain committed to building a new model of major-country relations, and ensure that our relationship is one of peace, respect, and cooperation and that it continues to grow in a healthy and stable way.

– We should strengthen strategic trust and mutual understanding, respect each other's interests and concerns, handle our differences and disagreements with a broad-minded approach, and strengthen our people's confidence in China-US friendship and cooperation.

- We should pursue mutually beneficial cooperation, create new forms of cooperation, broaden the scope of our cooperation, and bring more benefits to the people of our two countries and the world with concrete actions and the fruits of cooperation.
- We should forge close friendly ties and promote interaction between our peoples, encourage various sectors in our societies to stay closely engaged, and consolidate the social foundations of China-US relations.
- We should promote world peace and development, improve coordination on major international and regional issues, make concerted efforts to address global challenges, and work with other countries to build a better world.

Thirty years ago, during my first visit to the United States, I stayed with an American family in Muscatine, Iowa. My hosts were so warm, sincere, and friendly. We had pleasant conversations, and when time came for me to leave we hugged each other tightly. To this day, those moments are still fresh in my mind. Three years ago, I went back to Muscatine and had a great reunion with my old friends there, and they talked to me about the importance of friendship. These and many other American friends epitomize the genuine friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. We do share each other's feelings. This gives me every confidence about the future of our relations.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Friends,

Determined efforts will lead to a great future. China-US relationship has now reached a new starting point in the 21st century, and the pursuit of mutually beneficial cooperation is the sure way for our relationship to grow. Let us join hands and work with resolve to write a new chapter in China-US relationship.

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STRENGTHEN THE PARTY'S WORK WITH PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-03-21

STRENGTHEN THE PARTY'S WORK WITH PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS*

July 6, 2015

The central Party leadership has made an overall plan for its work with people's organizations in the new era, and we must implement it in full. Here I would like to share my views on some priorities, the most important of which is to maintain and strengthen the political commitment and pioneering nature of people's organizations, and their connection with the people.

First, we must maintain and reinforce political commitment in the Party's work with people's organizations. Political commitment is the soul of people's organizations. Deviation from it will distance people's organizations from the leadership of the Party, compromise their aspirations, reduce them to mundane groups, and even lead them astray. Therefore, we must pay close attention to this issue.

To maintain and reinforce political commitment in the Party's work with people's organizations, it is essential that people's organizations conscientiously uphold CPC leadership, which guarantees success in our work with people's organizations. It is the right direction, and a great tradition to be honored. As Deng Xiaoping said, "The Communist Youth League of China can make many mistakes, but there is one mistake it should never make, that is to turn away from the Party's leadership."

People's organizations should always place themselves under the leadership of the Party and align themselves with the CPC Central Committee in thinking, action and political orientation. They should respect the authority of the Central Committee, implement the Party's will and propositions, abide by political discipline and rules, and be able to withstand any trials and tribulations. They should have a clear-cut and robust stance on major matters of principle, and take the lead at critical moments.

I am emphasizing this point because reality dictates the need. Hostile forces both at home and abroad simply cannot tolerate the resounding success of Chinese socialism that "is beyond compare", long-term CPC rule in China, or China's national rejuvenation. We must not be naive about this. Against this background, some people have tried to turn our people's organizations into an issue, questioning or disputing the Party's leadership over these organizations and cooking up all sorts of fallacies. We must realize that our struggle with hostile forces is prolonged, complex and fierce. In this serious political battle, people's organizations must not hang back; rather, they should take the initiative and make their voices heard.

Political commitment in the Party's work with people's organizations is best manifested when trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations guide the people to implement the Party's instructions and follow its leadership, and when they contribute to consolidating the class foundation and popular support for the Party's governance. This is the fundamental difference between people's organizations and other social organizations and should be the political criterion to judge whether our work with people's organizations is successful.

Jiang Zemin once said, "It must be understood that our people participate in Party-led reform, opening up, and modernization programs, which serve their interests. Only by having faith in and relying on the people and giving full play to their initiative and creativity can we succeed." For people's organizations, those who can unite the people around the Party in the closest and most extensive way are doing a good job; otherwise, they are doing a bad job. This is the criterion we should adopt to evaluate our work with people's organizations; it cannot be neglected at any time, still less be downplayed or abandoned.

To maintain and strengthen political commitment in the Party's work with people's organizations, we must steer the course and guide the direction, and never make any mistakes that betray the Party's basic guidelines. The development path of the people's organizations demonstrates the efforts of the Party in building Chinese socialism. It is a path formed and developed by the Party over long years of experience in the development of trade unions, youth movements, and women's federations with the characteristics of Chinese socialism. This conforms to our national conditions and the historical development trend.

To do a good job with people's organizations, we must unswervingly follow this path and meet the following requirements: maintain the Party's leadership over people's organizations; ensure that they serve as a bridge and bond between the Party and the people; accomplish the central task of economic development and serve the overall interests of the country; uphold the lifeline of serving the people; keep abreast with the times and persevere in reform and innovation; and remain independent and self-reliant in their work according to the law and their charters. We must also ensure that people's organizations subscribe to the Party's leadership, unite and serve the people in their respective scopes of work, and operate according to the law and their charters.

We should uphold the Party's leadership and support people's organizations in independently conducting their work according to the law and their charters. The two are inseparable and indispensable. Without the Party's leadership, people's organizations will lose their way and their ethos. For example, when "vanguardism" prevailed in the Youth League in its early years, the League nearly risked rejecting the Party's leadership. Upholding the Party's leadership will in no way prejudice the role of people's organizations. On the contrary, the Party will support them in better fulfilling their functions, which in turn will help the Party to exercise its leadership and reach out to the people.

For people's organizations, upholding the Party's leadership does not mean losing their own initiative while mimicking Party and government institutions only. Should they do that they would not be themselves. At present, the major problems with some people's organizations are procrastination, inaction, and lack of initiative and creativity. This might be attributable to the following: First, some Party organizations are reluctant to let people's organizations initiate activities for fear of inviting trouble, which ends up stifling their initiative. Second, for the same reason, some people's organizations think it safer to copy every step of the Party, seeking neither merits nor demerits.

I should make my points clear on this problem. One, Party organizations should encourage and guide people's organizations, giving full scope to their initiative. We should not assume that events they stage might cause trouble. Two, people's organizations should take a proactive approach to work and play their role. They should not just shout slogans without doing solid work. If you fail to translate the Party's will and views into actions that are good for the people through hard work, you are not upholding the Party's leadership, nor doing your job properly.

Second, we must maintain and strengthen the pioneering nature of people's organizations. We require our Party to be always pioneering. Then is it appropriate to have the same requirement for people's organizations? My answer is yes. Trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations are people's organizations under the Party's direct leadership, shouldering the great responsibility of mobilizing the public to accomplish the Party's central task. How could they do this without a pioneering spirit? It is not easy to ask every single member of every people's organization to be a pioneer, but people's organizations as a whole, with tens or hundreds of millions of members, must focus on maintaining and strengthening their pioneering nature.

Our trade unions undertake the mission of leading the working class in following the leadership of the Party and making them the most solid and reliable foundation of the Party. They should never become the so-called independent trade unions of the West. Our Communist Youth League, a people's organization of forward-thinking young people, and an aide to and reserve force of the Party, should in no case become an unauthorized youth group or a group with highly charged political views or representing bizarre interests like some of those in the West. The Youth League is a huge organization as almost all junior high school students can become its members before they graduate. If its members lack a sense of belonging and honor and a pioneering spirit, the League will lose cohesion, like a heap of loose sand. Our women's federations, also a people's organization under the leadership of the Party, must commit themselves to rallying all women closely around the Party. They should never become a feminist organization or a club for upper class women like those abroad.

To maintain and strengthen their pioneering nature, people's organizations should always bear in mind the theme of our times, i.e. to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, serve the overall interests of the Party and the country, mobilize the people to advance in the forefront of the times, and make contributions on the front line of reform, development and stability. They must let

the more advanced lead the less advanced, replace ignorance and backwardness with cultural progress, and combat the false, the evil and the ugly with the true, the good and the beautiful. They must educate and guide the people to improve their theoretical and moral awareness, stick to the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, champion the core socialist values, and become the strong backer, powerful supporter and profound social foundation for the Party in its governance.

To maintain and strengthen their pioneering nature, people's organizations should always share the same stance with the Party and the people, take on the Party's cares and concerns, and work for the wellbeing of the people. They should help raise people's political awareness in all their activities, organize, educate and guide the people, carry out more awareness-raising activities among the people, and strive to unite the people, build consensus, pull their strength together, resolve conflicts, improve relationships, and stimulate motivation. They should become pioneers and working forces among the people, at the grassroots and at the forefront, to increase cohesion and mobilize the people to firmly subscribe to the Party's leadership and defend our socialist system. Simply put, there are two important requirements for people's organizations: one, great cohesion to unite the people; two, a powerful capacity to stand up to all challenges.

We must act on our promise to serve the people and be the protectors of their rights and interests. People's organizations anywhere should promptly come forward and speak for the people when their legitimate rights and interests are infringed upon. At the same time, their job is not just functionary or to provide services only. More importantly, they should fulfill their political responsibilities to consolidate our public base and win popular support. They should not allow organizations and people with ulterior motives to vie for public support. All this depends on their capacity to win. Party committees and governments at all levels must give people's organizations more and greater support to win the people's trust.

As I have mentioned, the internet has become a primary ideological battleground flooded with public opinions and messages of all types. It is difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood on this platform. But if the right is not told, the wrong will take hold. I made it clear at a meeting with the new leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League that we should pay attention to both visible and invisible targets in our work. It is incumbent on the Youth League to strengthen internet management, spread mainstream values online, and win this cyberspace battle. Not long ago, hundreds of thousands of League members posted messages online to denounce a small number of people who had defamed revolutionary martyrs like Qiu Shaoyun. In the end, good prevailed over evil. Well done.

Trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations must step up their work in cyberspace to make our voices heard, clarify ambiguous concepts, and refute erroneous statements, so that the people can find them online and participate in their activities. We have a total of 87.8 million Party members, over 280 million trade union members, more than 89 million Youth League members, and also women who "hold up half the sky". If each of them

posts a message online, it will have a huge impact. Officials and core members of people's organizations should temper themselves in the invisible battle on the internet, a very important battleground that people's organizations must defend.

Third, we must maintain and strengthen people's organizations' connection with the people, which is their defining quality. Without it, they will easily become hollow, bureaucratic organizations. Lenin once said, "The idea of building communist society exclusively with the hands of the Communists is childish, absolutely childish. We Communists are but a drop in the ocean, a drop in the ocean of the people." In the work and activities of people's organizations, the people should be leading actors rather than the supporting cast or audience. If the public are indifferent to these organizations, they will not participate in their activities, which will reduce their scope of influence. In the end, it will weaken the foundations of people's organizations.

To maintain and strengthen their connection with the people, people's organizations must avoid focusing only on the elite to the neglect of the common people. You should pay careful attention to and do more for the common people. You must not isolate yourselves from the people, ignore their needs or lose touch with them. Instead, you should pay frequent visits to them, have face-to-face and heart-to-heart contacts with them, and develop sincere relationships with them. You should know what the people really need instead of taking wild guesses. You must find out their real concerns and provide more urgently needed services, rather than holding unwelcome activities. You must have a very good knowledge of the people's common needs and prevailing problems, and refuse to sugarcoat your overall work performance with individual successful cases of services and rights protection.

To maintain and strengthen their connection with the people, people's organizations must intensify their effort to improve their organization, particularly at the grassroots. The people are rallied and united through organization, and the grassroots-level units are the first to reach the people. Over the years, a complete organizational system has been put in place within trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations. At present, there are a total of 2.8 million grassroots organizations, and over 200,000 support centers and stations functioning under trade unions, over 3.8 million grassroots organizations under the Communist Youth League, and about one million grassroots organizations and over 700,000 rural and urban Women's Homes under women's federations. They constitute a massive organizational network at the grassroots level for the Party to serve the people, a feat unrivaled by any other party in the world.

Meanwhile, we must not fail to see the salient problem of inadequate coverage by people's organizations with the emergence of diverse forms of employment, lifestyles and ways in which people gather. Trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations are generally accessible in Party and government bodies, state-owned enterprises, public institutions, and rural and urban communities. But they do not cover all the new sectors such as non-public economic entities and New Social Groups, despite all the work we have done over

these years – setting up many branches of people's organizations, with publicly available data and reports. As there are still quite a few fields or sectors not covered, our work is still not satisfactory, and many people at the grassroots are still unable to access these people's organizations.

I emphasized at a meeting with the new leadership of All-China Federation of Trade Unions that trade unions should actively expand their coverage. At present, in some places our trade unions do not have immense appeal to some people, young employees and migrant workers in particular. Activities they have staged are not as popular as some of those launched by non-governmental organizations. As I stated at the meeting with the new leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League, there are many capable and influential young people in new economic entities, new social organizations and communities, and cyberspace; among migrant workers, self-employed people, netizens, Beijing drifters, and the “ant tribe”; and particularly among emerging groups such as freelancers, online opinion leaders, internet writers, contracted writers and freelance writers, independent actors and singers, and traveling artists. If we win them over, they will become positive factors; if we fail, they might become negative factors. As society develops, there will be more such groups. People's organizations must adapt to this trend, and work hard to earn their trust rather than excluding or alienating them.

“A rigid system is not able to respond to myriad changes, a single road will not lead to multiple destinations, and a sword lost in a river will not be found by leaving a mark on the boat.” In response to the greater population mobility and changing distribution, people's organizations must adjust their setup accordingly. You should consolidate the existing foundations and expand your coverage into new sectors and New Social Groups so as to form a full-fledged organizational system for more effective coverage. Trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations should explore diverse and flexible ways to build an extensive network so that they can best meet people's needs anywhere. For example, as rural migrant workers, a large population base, have become an important part among industrial workers, trade unions should work harder to attract them into the organization and make them a firm and reliable new force of the working class.

To maintain and strengthen their connection with the people, people's organizations must put in place an improved and long-term mechanism to engage with the people. Maintaining close ties with the people is the eternal theme in developing people's organizations. As Mao Zedong said, “We must not be bureaucratic in our methods of mobilizing the masses. Bureaucratic leadership cannot be tolerated in ... our revolutionary work. The ugly evil of bureaucracy, which no comrade likes, must be thrown into the cesspit. The methods which all comrades should prefer are those that appeal to the masses, i.e., those which are welcomed by all workers and peasants.” Officials of people's organizations and particularly those in the leading bodies should walk out of their office to meet people and conduct research at the grassroots, rather than spending all their time dealing with excessive administrative work. They should work at the grassroots to learn about people's actual living conditions, becoming practitioners of the Party's principle of serving the people, executors of the Party's mass line, and experts in the Party's work for the people.

Officials of trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations should pay regular visits to the grassroots and make this a routine and part of their work requirements. They should spend most of their time with workers, young people, and women. They must not just make brief appearances or go with a large retinue. They must conduct more research at the grassroots and gather information first hand to help find solutions to problems that remain to be solved. When I was working in Fujian Province, I always managed to find time to meet people of all trades – farmers, drivers, cooks and pedicurists – and made friends with them. Officials of people's organizations need to set up contacts at the grassroots and pair up with people in need to help them out. They should do their work in a way that is popular and accessible to the people, getting them involved in devising activities, assigning tasks, and granting awards.

To maintain and strengthen their connection with the people, people's organizations must keep their attention locked on the grassroots. The leading bodies of people's organizations should reform and improve their institutional setup, management, and operations. They must reduce structural redundancy to better adapt to the work at the grassroots and meet the people's needs. Trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations should direct more attention to the people at the grassroots, and give more help to the grassroots in terms of service and resources. Leading bodies at the higher level should strengthen their units at lower levels in terms of the staffing and service resources by reducing their own staffing to expand that of those units. Public sectors at the county level may also adjust their staffing to supplement trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations. They should build a strong contingent of leading officials at the grassroots, ensure their incomes, and arouse their initiative. The grassroots people's organizations should tap their own potential and find all possible resources to boost their overall performance at the grassroots with an extensive network.

Contacting and guiding relevant social organizations is an important mission of people's organizations to serve as a bridge and bond between the Party and the people. Over the years, social organizations are developing rapidly and gaining influence. People's organizations should extend their outreach and serve as an important channel for the Party to reach out to social organizations. From the experiences across the country, this can be done in multiple ways. One, by establishing social organizations themselves. People's organizations may set up social organizations under their direct leadership in key fields and among different social groups. Two, through cooperation. Trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations can work together to set up social organizations. Three, by providing guidance. We can attract social organizations into working with people's organizations and give them guidance on fulfilling their roles. Four, by filling gaps. We can establish grassroots units of people's organizations such as trade unions, Communist Youth League organizations, and women's federations within social organizations where conditions permit. We will make these social organizations the network nodes of people's organizations, and extend to all fields of society like blood capillaries in our body. We must not rush into this, but plan thoughtfully before acting. People's organizations may launch pilot programs where conditions permit.

To maintain and strengthen their connection with the people, people's organizations must attend to the broad coverage and representation of the people – two most important points. Without broad coverage and representation, you will not be able to attract and mobilize people from different groups and sectors to carry out your work. As people's organizations, you should not have a too high proportion of elites. Otherwise, common people would find you unattainable. And if they are distancing from you, how will you reach out to them? As Zhuang Zi said, "If there is not enough deep water, big boats cannot float."

People's organizations should enroll more outstanding people from the general public. More common people, less elites. In designing the composition of the standing committee, committees, representatives, and general service staff, there should be a significant increase in the proportion of frontline personnel at the grassroots and a rational proportion of leading officials, entrepreneurs, and well-known figures. Prominent individuals or outstanding figures from all walks of life can make their contribution – and we should encourage it – but not necessarily only in people's organizations. They can be active in many other places. This problem of representation should be solved step by step so that our people will bond with people's organizations from the bottom of their hearts.

* Part of the speech at the Central Conference on the Party's Work with People's Organizations.

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UNDERSTAND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UNITED FRONT IN THE NEW ERA

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UNDERSTAND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE UNITED FRONT IN THE NEW ERA*

May 18, 2015

In the new era, what role should the united front serve in the overall work of the Party and the state? This question has always been on my mind.

Thinking about it, I am led to recall three statements by Mao Zedong. The first goes, "... the united front, armed struggle and Party building are the Chinese Communist Party's three 'magic weapons', its three principal magic weapons for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution." This is from his 1939 article "Introducing *The Communist*", which for the first time described the united front as a "magic weapon". The second sentence – "Politics means making more people support us and fewer people oppose us" – comes from his discussion on politics during the Yan'an period (1935-1948). The third sentence – "United front work is the most important work" – was said during the early years of the PRC.

What conclusions can we draw from these three statements? In brief, rallying public support and pooling the strength of the people are our top political priorities as they determine the success or failure of the cause of the Party and the people. The united front is designed to create great unity and solidarity and aims to garner public support and build up our strength. This is a major issue of strategic importance that our Party must invest real efforts to address in governing the country.

Throughout the periods of revolution, construction and reform in China, the Party has always kept the united front and related work high on its agenda. It has combined all the forces that can be united and brought into play all the positive factors that can be mobilized, creating favorable conditions for sustained progress in the cause of the Party and the people.

Now, in the new era, our Party shoulders new missions and have new tasks to fulfill as domestic and international situations have changed greatly. The greater the change, the more efforts we must exert to further develop the united front and engage ourselves better in related work. The Party's central leadership has repeatedly emphasized the importance of the united front and related work over the years. In general, Party committees at all levels have paid high attention to the united front and related work, and firmly implemented the Party Central Committee's decisions and plans. However, some of us are not giving enough attention to the united front and lack enthusiasm in related work. Their thinking and their approach are misguided.

First, they belittle the united front and overlook related work. Three misunderstandings are the main reasons for this.

One, underestimating the weight and influence of prominent non-CPC individuals. Some say that the Party was weak and lacked capable people in the past, so we needed their support then; that today there is a host of able people within the Party, and the united front is no longer essential.

It is true that our Party has a much greater pool of talented members from all professions than in the past. But still there are a large number of people of high-caliber outside the Party. For instance, more than 89 million, or 75 percent of intellectuals, are non-CPC members. The other political parties in China, in particular, boast hosts of talented people.

During my overseas visits, many leaders of developing countries expressed their admiration for our system of multiparty cooperation, saying that they lack political forces like China's non-communist parties that could fully cooperate with the ruling party, and that conflicts between political parties make it impossible to achieve results but create social and political unrest.

Just imagine what China's political environment would be like if the non-CPC political parties and other members of the united front had not shared weal and woe with our Party but disagreed with us or opposed us. Political stability would be impossible, and without stability nothing could be achieved. Sometimes people do not realize what treasure they already have and take it for granted until they lose it. This is why we should never underrate or overlook prominent non-CPC individuals at any time.

Two, deeming prominent non-CPC individuals as cause of trouble. Some officials, though acknowledging the importance of the united front, feel it is difficult to interact with these people. They are not like our Party members, who will act to order or face disciplinary action. Some officials think that seeking consultation with prominent non-CPC individuals is asking for trouble and it would be better to make all decisions by ourselves. For them, the less trouble, the better. But this is wrong.

We often say that the sea is vast because it embraces many rivers. Since the united front is an essential part of our work, we will surely meet and work with all kinds of people. It is only too natural. Otherwise the united front would be meaningless. It is beneficial to hear their opinions and criticisms – even if some are unpleasant to hear – as long as their intentions are good. And the time spent on soliciting their ideas and winning their support is well worth it. Just as good medicine tastes bitter, good advice is harsh to the ear. We Chinese Communists should be broad-minded enough to accommodate different opinions. We should take fair criticism on board and put right the mistakes that are pointed out, and tolerate unfair criticism and give critics proper guidance. It is wrong to distance ourselves from advisers to avoid trouble.

We develop socialist democratic politics and promote socialist consultative democracy for the very purpose of drawing on collective wisdom to avoid serious mistakes. Democracy and consultation are two key means by which the Party exercises leadership; they help united front members

accept the CPC's views and rally around the Party to follow its lead.

Liu Shaoqi once said that doing united front work does invite trouble, but it also saves trouble; it invites small troubles, but saves big troubles. I would say when we go into politics we should not be afraid of troubles, as only in this way can the country be governed well. There is no politics that is free from troubles in any country, not to say a country like ours with more than 1.3 billion people.

Three, deeming prominent non-CPC individuals as negative or even dissenting elements. For example, some officials dislike those working in the non-public sector, crudely labeling them as plunderers of social wealth and creators of disparity between rich and poor. The fundamental reason for this is that they are mistaken about our country's basic economic system, believing that the non-public sector is prone to problems.

Our Party has repeatedly emphasized that we must uphold the basic economic system in which public ownership plays the dominant role and develops alongside other forms of ownership, but some of us still take a biased view of the non-public sector. Combining the socialist system with the market economy and allowing the public and non-public sectors to develop together are our Party's great innovations for unleashing and developing productive forces. Today, non-public economic entities make up about 90 percent of all market players, contributing over 60 percent of China's GDP. As long as CPC leadership is upheld, and as long as public ownership plays the dominant role while other forms of ownership develop together, the strengths of socialism will continue to grow, and the foundations of our Party's governance will be more solid.

Admittedly, those in the non-public sector are not without their shortcomings. But we should not indiscriminately condemn people who have actively engaged in the development of the non-public sector in response to the calls of our Party. On the contrary, it is precisely because of their shortcomings that we need to give them guidance and help. We should reach out to them and win their wholehearted support. If some of them break the law, let the law handle them.

Some officials indiscriminately regard certain ethnic minority people as the same as the "three evil forces of ethnic separatism, religious extremism and terrorism", viewing their differences in belief as political antagonism. Of course it is absolutely essential to take resolute action against the "three evil forces", but we cannot equate these ethnic minority people with the few bad apples.

To protect people's lives and property, and prevent the "three evil forces" from making trouble, appropriate precautionary measures are necessary. However, we need to properly implement the policies without overreacting. In some places, discriminatory measures and selective law enforcement are directed against people from certain ethnic minority groups, who are required to go through extra safety checks when boarding airplanes or checking in at hotels. This hurts them deeply. Only by relying on the people of all ethnic groups, including minority groups, can we safeguard ethnic solidarity and deter separatism. We should not discriminate against religious leaders and believers just because we Communists are atheists, or because religious extremists

and particularly external hostile forces use religion to infiltrate China. The more that hostile forces try to make an issue of ethnicity or religion in China, the tighter we should unite all ethnic groups like the seeds of a pomegranate and the closer we should rally religious believers around the Party.

Second, they are incompetent in work related to the united front. It is never easy to succeed when working in such a particular environment. Many officials know little about this work, neither do they know how to unite prominent non-CPC individuals. They have the “magic weapon” at their disposal but do not know how to wield it. This is attributable to the following:

One, incompetent leadership. United front work is highly political. Forming alignments with prominent non-CPC individuals on a strong ideological and political foundation is a major task. The lack of such awareness has led to two phenomena that require our attention.

In the first case, some officials neglect ideological and political guidance and pay no attention to what prominent non-CPC individuals think. Some allow egregious views to be expressed, mistaking this as democratic politics and open-mindedness; some dare not criticize erroneous views for fear of offending others, or do not know how to raise criticisms; some are poor at explaining principles on major issues through reasoning, thus unable to convince others.

In the second case, some officials are inconsiderate and domineering in their work, demanding complete obedience from prominent non-CPC individuals. They treat organizations from other political parties as their subordinates, intervening in their internal affairs and even deciding everything on their behalf.

Tolerance of these two phenomena will hinder the healthy development of the united front.

Two, inadequate understanding. United front work bears on the implementation of policies. The various relationships and issues in united front work mostly rely on policy to adjust and address. But some officials have ignored the study of policies, their ignorance causing serious and sometimes preposterous results.

For example, when some non-CPC deputies to people’s congresses and non-CPC members of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) became involved in corruption and other criminal cases, our investigations showed that one major reason was that these deputies and members had been nominated not in accordance with policies and regulations. The risk was present at the very beginning.

Some officials think ethnic and religious issues are too sensitive, and distance themselves from those issues as best as they can. When things go wrong, they do not attempt to resolve problems in accordance with policies and laws, but try their best to cover them up or settle things with money if concealment is impossible.

Others have the habit of solving problems by giving administrative orders. They handle sensitive issues simply by issuing orders and plugging holes, rather than addressing the root causes. This will just aggravate the situation. One Party committee, when assisting the re-elections of local committees of other political parties, asked them to simply swap their chairpersons, claiming to be inspired by Chairman Mao Zedong's repositioning of the eight military area commanders. Such meddling is doomed to go wrong.

Three, inappropriate approach. Working successfully with the united front is quite an art. It engages with an unusual group of people, and therefore appropriate approaches and methods are necessary. Some officials do not know how to talk sincerely and open-heartedly with prominent non-CPC individuals. They obfuscate with official jargon, read from their prepared notes, and leave immediately after finishing. Their words are dull and full of banalities, and make anyone listening feel like outsiders.

We must be aware that many new groups are emerging in society, and quite a number of them are still out of reach. We have not established ties with them, are not able to communicate with them and win them over. Hostile Western forces are intensifying their efforts to pull these groups to their side. Unless we do better in our work, the people in these groups will become more estranged from our Party.

The above are some of the existing problems relating to the united front, but they are not all. These problems will impede or ruin our efforts to develop the united front. We must find the crux of the problems through careful analyses, and take proactive measures to solve them.

In the new era, we must master the complexities of united front work, adhere to the principles, adopt the appropriate methods, and uphold the leadership of the Party, which is most fundamental. The united front is under CPC leadership. In united front work, the policy and measures adopted should be conducive to upholding and consolidating CPC leadership and governance. At the same time, we must make it clear that CPC leadership over the united front is primarily political, namely in terms of political principles, political direction, and major principles and policies, that this leadership is conducted mainly by Party committees rather than any department, and by the collective rather than individuals. We should resolutely adhere to the Party's leadership, but in the process, we should respect, protect and give consideration to the interests of our allies and help prominent non-CPC individuals solve their problems. This is our Party's responsibility and an important prerequisite for the Party's leadership over the united front.

To be more successful with the united front in the new era, we must correctly deal with the relationship between consistency and diversity. The united front is the unity of consistency and diversity; it would not have been established or developed with only consistency or diversity alone. "There would be no diversity without unity, and no unity without diversity." Consistency and diversity are not static, but historical, concrete and developing. Some officials pursue too much consistency, and others let diversity develop unchecked; the results will undermine the foundation of the united front. The key to correctly handling the relationship between consistency and

diversity is to seek common ground while shelving differences. On the one hand, we need to consolidate the common belief and political foundation, both consolidating existing consensus and promoting new consensus. This is the basis and prerequisite. On the other hand, we should fully promote democracy, and respect and accommodate differences. We should take an unequivocal stance against anything that is detrimental to CPC leadership, socialist political power, and national systems and the rule of law, and harmful to the fundamental interests of the people, never letting it prevail in the name of diversity. This is our political red line, and it must not be crossed. On top of that, for all other issues of diversity, we should try to find the greatest common ground through patient and meticulous work. As long as we see to it that the political red line is not crossed, we will be able to create a wider inclusive circle with a longer radius.

To be more successful with the united front in the new era, we must succeed in befriending prominent non-CPC individuals. This is an important part of working with the united front. Party and government leaders, and officials of united front work should master this approach. We conduct united front work not for window dressing or good name, but for pragmatic reasons, because it plays a role, a big role, and an indispensable role. In the final analysis, the job with the united front is to win over more people; we use the united front to strengthen the forces to achieve our common goal.

Including members of other political parties, prominent individuals without party affiliation, people from ethnic minority groups and religious circles, people from New Social Groups, and people from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and overseas, the united front has hundreds of millions of people. As long as we unite all these people, we will have a stronger force to fight for the realization of the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. In a sense, to evaluate our performance concerning the united front, we need to consider how many friends we have made, whether they meet our expectations, and whether they are close to us. The first is about quantity, and the others are about quality. As the saying goes, “Even one enemy is too many, and one hundred friends are too few.” We should have a wider circle of friends. The more friends we have, the better it is. In particular, we need to make friends with those who speak their mind and offer forthright criticism. To make such friends, we should expend more time and make greater efforts. We should meet more often with prominent non-CPC individuals, talk heart to heart with them, offer more help to them, and treat them with respect, equality and sincerity; we must not patronize them or intimidate them. Of course, officials do have such personal friends, but this friendship is subordinate to the Party’s relationship with them. We should uphold principles, discipline and rules. We should never treat prominent non-CPC individuals as our personal resource. Instead, we should make a large number of sincere friends for the Party.

* Part of the speech at the Central Conference on the United Front.

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OBSERVE DISCIPLINE AND RULES

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OBSERVE DISCIPLINE AND RULES*

January 13, 2015

As our ancestors said, “Nothing can be accomplished without regulations and rules.” Discipline and rules are indispensable for political parties, especially for Marxist parties. In my view, the internal discipline and rules of our Party are the codes of conduct that Party organizations at all levels and all Party members must observe.

In general, what do Party discipline and rules include? First, the Party Constitution, the overriding statute all Party members must observe. Second, mandatory and binding Party discipline, especially the political discipline all Party members must abide by on political direction, stance, words and actions. Third, state laws, from which no Party member or official is exempt. The state laws were formulated by the people under the leadership of our Party, and our Party must set the example in obeying those laws. Fourth, the traditions and working practices developed by our Party over the years.

It is easy to understand that all Party members must observe the Constitution and other rules and regulations, and all state laws. But, why are the traditions and working practices developed by the Party over the decades also important Party rules? This is because as a party with a very large membership, we need to rely not only on the Constitution and discipline of the Party, but also those traditions and working practices. Although they are unwritten, they still represent traditions, norms and requirements that should be observed. There are both written and unwritten rules of discipline. Rules of discipline are binding, and unwritten rules are norms for self-discipline. Many rules are practices that have proven to be effective; they reflect our Party’s insights and are a summary of its experience.

For instance, no factions of self-interest are allowed in the Party, and those who form them actually violate political discipline. To prevent such phenomena from the outset, we need to promote the observance of political rules. Some officials group together as fellow townsmen or alumni. They hold regular gatherings, and rank themselves according to seniority as old-time graduates of the former Whampoa Military Academy did. Such activities, though seemingly casual, are not healthy. In reality, they have ulterior motives – their real intention is to form a kind of fraternity, in which members may support each other and collude when necessary. This is against Party rules. People should avoid such gatherings and dinners. Some officials use their power to create “formal” factions and turn the places they administrate into their fiefdoms, where they meddle and intervene in personnel matters in favor of those in their own faction. Consequently when one goes down, they will take all the others with them.

Another prominent problem is that some officials make careless and groundless remarks. If they were intentionally spreading rumors to create trouble, it would violate Party discipline and even state laws. Actually, they merely make inappropriate jokes, spread hearsay, or engage in gossip. Some like to disseminate falsehoods through the internet, or gather with their “intimates” to make groundless criticisms of the CPC Central Committee’s policies. Others like to poke their noses into affairs that are none of their business. Once they get the “inside information”, they spread it around secretly. While some officials involved in serious cases were being investigated by the Central Committee, some high-ranking officials complained in private that those involved had done a lot of good work and should not be investigated for such tiny mistakes. Is that true? Reading the confessions of those violators, we can conclude none of them was wrongfully accused. Their irresponsible dissemination of rumors and groundless comments, though not made on official occasions, could also severely erode and undermine the unity of our Party.

Another problem is that some officials do not report their absence from their posts to the Party organization without good reason, and argue that everyone has some personal affairs to attend to and therefore is entitled to some free time. When I worked in local offices, I always stayed on duty in the office during holidays and festivals, for fear that something unexpected might happen. Quite a number of leading officials of central departments and local government would disappear on holidays, going on vacations elsewhere. How can they be so neglectful, taking holidays in faraway places? What would happen should an emergency occur in the places under their administration? Officials should have a strong sense of responsibility, and stay on duty during holidays. That does not mean officials cannot take a break; the point is how and where they take vacation and whether they keep in mind the responsibility on their shoulders. Most officials perform well in this regard and can conscientiously remain at their posts even during holidays. That is a rule worth observing, is it not?

In other cases, some violate the regulation regarding officials reporting major personal matters. It is not only life-and-death matters that should be reported. Some officials deliberately conceal their serious illness from others, and the Party organization knows nothing of it even when they are critically ill. In such a physical condition, they are unable to perform their normal duties. Even so, they never report the situation until they die – itself a result of delayed treatment. Some do not report the fact that their children or spouses have stayed abroad for a long time. According to regulations, officials should report to the Party organization if their family members have settled down abroad. They think it unnecessary to report since their family members have not gained residency. Some do not report major changes in their marital status. Even after they have been divorced or remarried for years, the Party organization is still kept in the dark. Some have many passports and even fake ID cards. Should not these things be reported? According to the rules, they should report them. Why do some keep such things unreported? One reason is that they do not know the rules, and the other is that they have ulterior motives.

Leaking confidential information, interceding for others and asking for a favor on their behalf also pose a problem. Some divulge Party organization's internal discussions and decisions, in a covert and implicit manner, to people involved. It is hard to deny the existence of such behavior, but it is done so secretly that investigation to prove such a case is extremely difficult. When the Party organization decides to promote an official, leakers can inform the person simply by saying words like "passed" or "OK". When the Party organization decides to investigate someone, leakers can warn the person simply by saying "be careful". Soliciting support for others in official selection is also a problem. Some people intervene in the appointment of officials at the places where they used to serve as leaders and still have influence. They do not directly advocate a candidate's promotion, but imply their view by saying someone is "good" or "not bad", making it hard to find evidence against them. It is inadvisable for them to still meddle in personnel matters in areas where they no longer serve. Furthermore, some canvass behind the scenes for, solicit votes for, and lend a hand to those they favor in elections. They do not need to give clear instructions, and they may pretend it is unintentional, leaving no clues to trace when the matter is investigated. But should such behavior be allowed? Does all this not violate rules?

A person without rules will become lost, and a party without rules will fall into disorder. The abovementioned problems, if not addressed through stringent measures, will spread like an epidemic and eventually undermine the health of the Party. Some Party rules are written, and others not; nevertheless, a Party official, especially a high-ranking official, should be clear about all of them. If not, that person is not qualified to be an official, especially a high-level one, for lack of political awareness and leadership qualities.

Whether to report on matters that are not clearly stipulated in writing really depends on the degree of one's political awareness and commitment to the Party. Usually, officials who violate Party discipline start by going counter to established practical rules. Problems will emerge if we fail to establish and strictly implement rules. We know this from experience. Obeying the rules is an important test of the commitment and loyalty to the Party from Party members and officials.

To observe political discipline and rules, it is essential to focus on the following five areas:

First, we must uphold the authority of the Central Committee. All Party members, especially officials, must align themselves with the Central Committee in thinking, action and political orientation, and follow its command, at all times and under all conditions. Party members must not feign compliance while acting in opposition and doing things their own way. They must not pass irresponsible comment on the Central Committee's policies or make remarks in public against its guidelines.

Second, we must safeguard the unity of the Party. No one is permitted to build groups to further their own interest within the Party. We need to unite with everyone loyal to the Party regardless of their origin and background. We need to unite with the great majority, rather than differentiate people in light of personal preference and forge any form of factions.

Third, we must abide by organizational procedures. No one is permitted to make a decision without authorization or act arbitrarily. Concerning major issues, one should request instructions or report as required. No one is permitted to act beyond their authority or without prior approval.

Fourth, we must obey the decisions of the Party organization, and no one is permitted to carry out activities it bans or haggle with it. When one is confronted with problems beyond one's capacity to handle, they should seek help from and rely on the Party organization, instead of lying to or opposing it.

Fifth, we must rein in our relatives and immediate staff, and we should never allow them to intervene in official matters, influence policy formulation and personnel matters, meddle in daily work, or use their connections to seek personal gain.

Of all Party discipline and rules, political discipline and rules should be given top priority. Recent years of investigations into serious violations of Party discipline and state laws by high-ranking officials, Zhou Yongkang, Bo Xilai, Xu Caihou, Ling Jihua and Su Rong in particular, show that violations of the Party's political discipline and rules have become a prominent problem and must be treated with the utmost importance. In the case of such people, the greater power and higher position they hold, the less they take the Party's political discipline and rules seriously. Some of them act unbelievably outrageous and without restraint. Driven by their overinflated political ambitions and eagerness to acquire personal gain or the benefit of their inner circle, some resort to political conspiracies against the Party and plot to undermine and divide it. Some officials place themselves above the Party organization and consider themselves the ultimate authority. In an attempt to form factions, cliques and coteries, they treat the places that the Party entrusts them to administrate as their own independent fiefdoms, where they fail to report to the Central Committee issues related to the appointment of officials and the taking of decisions. Their principal aim is to bolster their own image. They search for others to support and to promote and build momentum for themselves, which demonstrates the extent of their political ambitions. Some take egoism and insolence to extremes, ignoring decisions and plans of the Central Committee in a roundabout way, and even wantonly attacking the theories, guidelines, principles and policies of the Party, and spreading malicious slander against central leaders. They also suppress or crack down on those who disagree with them. They persist in their belief that their "great chance is coming", and try to eliminate anyone in their way. How reckless they are! This is absolutely forbidden in our Party. Those who do so will find themselves lifting rocks only to drop them on their own feet. They may be relentless in their scheming, but they only end up bringing about their own destruction.

"Setting up rules beforehand outweighs punishment afterwards." Party organizations at all levels must give top priority to strict obedience to discipline and rules, and create an atmosphere of observing discipline and rules throughout the Party. Political discipline and rules must be clearly emphasized and firmly implemented, without any obscurity or evasion. Officials at all levels, especially high-ranking officials, should have a strong sense of discipline and rules, set the example in obeying them, and consciously enhance their political awareness. In particular, we need to strengthen education and guidance for younger officials and make them aware of the

importance and seriousness of obeying discipline and rules at the very moment they take office. They need to realize they will eventually destroy themselves if they fail to observe Party discipline and rules, ignore Party organizations, seek a higher position through greed for power, or stop at nothing for personal gain. All our Party committees need to strengthen discipline scrutiny and inspection, and ensure violators receive deserved punishments.

* Part of the speech at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

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BE A GOOD COUNTY PARTY SECRETARY

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BE A GOOD COUNTY PARTY SECRETARY*

January 12, 2015

Comrades,

It is a pleasure to be here at this discussion. I have been paying close attention to county-level work. I was told by the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee that you are studying at the Central Party School, and a meeting was proposed. My reply was that we should not only meet, but also sit down and talk, so that I can hear what you have learned and understand what you are thinking. You are all at the forefront of working for reform, development and stability, and you know about the real situation locally – it is helpful to talk with you.

We have just celebrated the New Year. I would like to wish a Happy New Year to you, and also to all secretaries of county Party committees and Party members and officials working at county level. You have done a good job. Thank you.

It was the Party Central Committee's decision to arrange this study program for county Party secretaries. Over the next three years, more than 2,800 secretaries from all counties, county-level cities, districts, and banners will be trained at the Central Party School. This is a strategic move with long-term significance. The goal is to help county Party secretaries better understand and hence better implement the guiding principles presented at our Party's 18th National Congress and the third and fourth plenary sessions of the 18th Central Committee. You will study the theories of Chinese socialism, focus on theoretical and practical problems in social and economic development and Party development in your counties, be armed with and then guided by the Party's latest theories, so that we can have a highly-qualified cohort of county Party secretaries.

I was myself a county Party secretary, with firsthand experience of the functions and operation of a county-level Party committee. Hearing the speeches of six county Party secretaries just now, I was deeply impressed; memories of my office as a county Party secretary came flooding back. It was like going back 30 years in time. I can relate to what you feel. The county Party secretary is an important post. It is not a high office, but it comes with great responsibilities and huge pressure – not an easy job.

Counties are a key link in our Party's set-up and state power, an important basis for developing the economy, ensuring people's wellbeing, and maintaining and promoting the enduring peace and stability of our country. Our ancestors believed that the country would be at peace if all the counties are well governed. In China, counties first appeared in the Spring and Autumn Period

(770-476 BC), and the system of prefectures and counties was consolidated and developed in the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC). For more than 2,000 years counties have been the basic unit of our country's state structure, and have continued to exist until this very day.

All past dynasties made it a priority to select and appoint county-level officials. Ancient Chinese long ago realized that “prime ministers start as local officials, and great generals rise from the ranks”. Looking back, quite a few well-known figures started their political careers at county level. Wang Anshi, a Northern Song (960-1127) statesman, was appointed magistrate of Yinxian County (today's Yinzhou District, Ningbo City) of Zhejiang at the age of 27. During his three-year office, Wang achieved remarkable results in governance and was widely praised by the people, laying a foundation for the reforms he later introduced. In the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911), Zheng Banqiao served long terms as magistrate in Shandong's Fanxian (in today's Henan) and Weixian (in today's Weifang, Shandong) counties. One of his best known poems reads:

*When I hear the rustles of bamboo leaves outside my study,
I feel it is the wails of hungry people;
For petty county officials like us,
Every concern of the people weighs in our heart.*

Tao Yuanming, Di Renjie, Bao Zheng, Hai Rui, and many other officials of integrity were all once county magistrates during different periods in history.

A county is basically a society – it may be small, but it has everything needed. With their responsibilities growing and becoming more diversified, county governments now play an important role in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, in driving reform to a deeper level, in implementing the rule of law, and in strengthening internal Party governance. Though not a high-ranking post, county Party secretaries are special in our system of governance. Deng Xiaoping once said, “To be a good secretary of a county Party committee isn't easy: you must have broad experience as a leader and be able to administer the work all over the county, and in all fields, including Party, government, mass organizations and military, cultural and educational affairs.” He also said, “Special consideration should be given to the selection of the top leadership at the county Party committee level. It is very important to establish strong county Party committees. As a regiment is a level of the army, a county is a level of government. This is why we always talk about county- and regiment-levels.” When Hai Rui said that the most difficult office was that of a magistrate, he was referring to one at the county level.

So what makes a good county Party secretary? In the speeches just now some of you mentioned that one should be clear-minded in one's political convictions, and be a paving stone for green development, a down-to-earth practitioner of close ties with the people, a pioneering leader of the local team, and a blacksmith that hammers hard in observing the Party discipline. Nice analogy. In my opinion, Jiao Yulu set an example for all secretaries of county Party committees. I have visited Lankao County many times – twice last year during the second phase of the education campaign

on the Party's mass line. I am moved every time I set foot on the soil of Lankao. Jiao, through his actions, has set a glorious example for Party members and county Party secretaries. If you are a county Party secretary, be one like Jiao Yulu.

How can you be a county Party secretary like him? There are answers from many angles. Today, I want to talk about it from four angles: be loyal to the Party, be of service to the people, be aware of responsibilities, and be strict with discipline.

I. Be Loyal to the Party.

County Party committees are the “frontline command” of governance for our Party, and the secretaries are the “commanders-in-chief”. Loyalty to the Party is an important criterion for county Party secretaries. There could be many more standards for evaluation, but loyalty is central, as “the greatest virtue is none other than loyalty”.

Our county Party secretaries are by and large good, with the majority being trustworthy. There is no doubt about this. We must see, nonetheless, that you face many daunting tests in the post – the test of a heavy workload to promote reform, development and stability; the test of ensuring people's wellbeing and improving their lives; the test of resisting all kinds of defective thinking and the temptations of power, money and sex; the test of rejecting base and unhealthy practices known as the “clandestine rules”, to name a few. It should be particularly noted that with great power of office, county Party chiefs are an easy target for all kinds of temptation, plots, flattery and excessive praise with an aim to topple you. In many counties far away from the center, when higher-level supervision is distant, Party secretaries tend to have the final say. For those working in remote areas, without loyalty to the Party as an anchor of faith there is a real danger that they fail one of the above-mentioned tests.

A county government must be guarded by someone loyal to the Party. All county Party secretaries must remember that you are the county Party secretaries of the CPC, and that it is the Party that sent you there to be in charge. It is easy enough to say, but not so easy to bear in mind. You must always follow the correct political direction, always remember you are part of the organization, always think of yourself as someone who belongs to the Party, and never forget your obligations and responsibilities towards the Party. You must trust the Party organization, rely on it, follow its orders, and conscientiously safeguard its unity and solidarity.

Only with firm ideals and convictions, and only with loyalty to the Party can one build a sound theoretical foundation. It is not possible for someone with wavering convictions to be loyal to the Party. You should master the theories of Marxism as basic knowledge, diligently study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, the Scientific Outlook on Development, and the theoretical innovations since the Party's 18th National

Congress in 2012. Make a greater effort to understand these theories, and make sure you gain something from your studies. You should focus on forming a sound worldview, outlook on life, and values, and be genuinely committed and faithful to Marxism.

Communism is not as simple as a meal of goulash, and it cannot be attained easily. But we cannot dismiss it as an illusion or choose not to be a loyal Communist just because there is a long way to go. Our revolutionary ideals are of supreme importance. Communism is the ultimate ideal of Communists, and it needs generations of strenuous effort to achieve. If we all see it as no more than an illusion, if we deem it unworthy of hard work and sacrifice, communism will never come. What we do today in upholding and developing Chinese socialism is the real effort towards the ultimate ideal.

It is true that neither our country nor our people are prosperous enough, and that there are many problems challenging our development. As county Party secretaries, you have surely seen many real-life problems and challenges. But no matter what challenges we face, we must stand our ground and remain confident that Chinese socialism will succeed. On key matters of principle, such as the path, theory and system of Chinese socialism, we must be firm in our stance and resolute in action. Only when county Party secretaries – our “frontline commanders-in-chief” – are firm and committed, and strive together towards our ultimate goal, can we hold our ground, achieve success, and turn our ideals into reality.

Always remember you are a member of the Party, and this is not an abstract but a concrete requirement. As officials of the Party, no matter where you work and what post you take, you should maintain your political stance and strengthen commitment to the Party, so as to stand turbulence and tests and avoid taking a wrong path politically. You must strictly abide by our political discipline, follow the correct political direction, position, views and conduct, follow the Party’s leadership, act in unity with the Party Central Committee, and uphold its authority. What the Central Committee advocates, you must act upon; what the Central Committee decides, you must implement; what the Central Committee prohibits, you must not do. You must never allow local policies to trump central policies, never countenance the sidelining of central decrees or prohibitions, never engage in perfunctory enforcement of the central leadership’s decisions and plans. Any of such problems must be resolutely addressed when it arises.

II. Be of Service to the People.

Serving the people wholeheartedly is the basic principle of our Party. County Party secretaries are in direct contact with the people, so you must bear in mind the interests of the people and work for their wellbeing. You should always care for the people, and be the first to worry about county affairs and the last to enjoy yourselves. You must not seek personal gain, and you should selflessly act in the public interest. You should take lightly such things as reputation, position and interests, and never be calculating in pursuit of these. What you should do, instead, is to address the most pressing and relevant problems that are of the utmost concern to the people, especially the problems that the people complain about, and address them promptly.

Now we are only five to six years away from the deadline for achieving our First Centenary Goal, but there are still many people and areas stricken by poverty. We must waste no time in development-oriented poverty alleviation, and never allow these people and areas to fall further behind. Poverty alleviation is a key task for the Party and the state. Officials at all levels in impoverished areas must be fully committed to the task, and lead the people to shake off poverty through hard work. “If an official does not act on the people’s behalf, he would be better going back home and selling sweet potatoes,” a folk saying goes. An example I have mentioned on many occasions is Gu Wenchang, Party committee secretary of Dongshan County, Fujian Province, in the 1950-1960s. He gave his all in service of the people, who respected him so much that they paid tribute to him before worshipping their family ancestors during festivals after his death.

In the post of county Party secretary, many of you are ambitious to succeed. You should be. When I was in Zhengding, I could see that the people led a hard life due to the poor local economy. I was worried, and felt an urge to change the situation as quickly as possible. But firstly one must have a correct understanding of what one can achieve in office, and “choose to do the things that the people want to be done, and avoid doing things that the people disapprove of”. You must be dedicated to your work in a down-to-earth, realistic and pragmatic manner, and make solid and tangible efforts. You should work in the people’s interests, and never indulge in wasteful showcase projects to prop up your own image.

Different counties have different resources and features. We must always research and investigate, go to the villages, go to the people, find out the real situation, and collect ideas from the people. I said this before, a county Party secretary must visit all the villages under his jurisdiction, a city Party secretary all towns and townships under his jurisdiction, and a provincial Party secretary all counties, cities and districts under his jurisdiction. In Zhengding, I often cycled to the villages, pedaling from the north bank of the Hutuo River to a people’s commune on the south bank. I had to carry my bike every time I arrived at the sandy beach. It was not easy, but that way I got to know the real situation, and became close to the villagers and local officials.

With the situation clear, you should proceed to make plans for development, ensuring that the proposed measures and plans are in line with reality and do not aim too high. You must make key decisions and plans, especially important policies and measures in the immediate interests of the people, after widely soliciting their opinions. This is obligatory.

To be of service to the people requires good conduct. At the county level, the Party secretary sets the example for the local Party committee and the government. The people judge our Party by judging the county leadership, particularly the Party secretary. Bad conduct by a Party secretary will tarnish the Party’s image in the eyes of the locals. You must follow the requirements of the Central Committee, continue to improve conduct, consolidate the achievements of the education campaign on the Party’s mass line, be diligent and pragmatic in your work, work for the people’s interests, and fight the Four Forms of Official Misconduct.

III. Be Aware of Responsibilities.

“Avoiding responsibilities is the greatest disgrace for an official.” Being an official requires you to take on responsibilities, because it determines how far you can go and how much you can achieve in your career. You cannot think only of seeking office while avoiding any actual work, only of wielding power while avoiding responsibility, and only of making a show while avoiding any real effort. A county leadership is responsible for promoting reform, development and stability for hundreds of thousands of or even up to a million people, and also for managing a myriad of affairs. This is a large enough stage. As you have just said, this “petty post” comes with great responsibilities. The Party put you in this post because you are trusted with great responsibility, and you should devote yourselves with passion. As long as you are in office, you should work to benefit your people. There must be change for the better in your county during your office, and stagnation must not happen.

Taking on responsibilities means fulfilling one’s office diligently. Decisions and plans must be executed in full, and one must see things through from beginning to end, to ensure that no one simply goes through the motions or treats plans as a temporary measure, like a passing gust of wind. On most occasions a county Party secretary serves only a few years, but you should not see it as a temporary job. Knowing they will not be there long, some officials, once on the job, seek to show their capability with ornate achievements to pave the way to promotion. This is wrong. If plans change every few years, a county will achieve little of substance. Instead, one should be open-minded about achievements – a good plan, as long as it is feasible, pragmatic, and answers to the people’s needs, should be passed down from one term of office to the next. In a windswept location in the Mu Us Desert, Youyu County of Shanxi Province is a barren land battered by sandstorms and with minimal natural resources. In the early days of the People’s Republic, the county’s first Party secretary led the people to initiate an afforestation project to curb encroachment by the sand. For over 60 years, following the same plan, for the same goal, and term after term, the county Party committee has been dedicated to this strenuous effort, elevating the greening rate from just 0.3 percent when the program began to 53 percent today, and turning this once barren land into an oasis. No matter what we do, we must have this kind of patience and endurance in order to reap long-term benefits.

There are many reasons for success, and hard work is the main factor. Most of our officials are able to take on their responsibilities, but we do have a few who are content with the status quo and are perfunctory in their work. To avoid risk, they would rather keep to the status quo and a false sense of stability. This is wrong. In the face of difficulties at work, one must be brave and confront them head-on. We must seek solutions to problems, go all out, and be the vanguard that leads the people in overcoming risks and challenges.

Now, in the face of an economic new normal, to maintain the sustainable and healthy development of our economy and society, we must transform the growth model and adjust the economic structure. We must apply an innovation-driven development strategy, and boost the

synchronized development of new industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernization. The county-level government plays an important role in completing these tasks. How do we start? What specifically is to be done?

We must think hard and act fast. To drive reform to a deeper level, county-level authorities must not wait or hesitate in deciding what to do and what can be done. You should focus on the problems and act accordingly. County-level authorities face social problems at close range, and county Party secretaries stand at the forefront of maintaining social stability. You must fulfill your duties diligently. The incidents in Weng'an, Menglian and Longnan in recent years have shown that behind problems and emergencies are complex clashes of interest, misconduct by officials, and improper handling of affairs. You are the ones responsible for dealing with such problems, and you should act and resolve the problems rather than shrinking from them and shirking your responsibilities. Problems are to be discovered early and addressed before they get bigger. In cases of public emergency, you must not fear, but keep a cool head and take control. You should be there at critical moments, take command on the spot, and act decisively.

IV. Be Strict with Discipline.

Our power is granted by the Party and the people. It is exercised to serve the Party and the people, and must be used in the public interest, to help the Party to govern, to work for the nation, and to benefit the people. We must properly use the power of office in accordance with the law, in a fair manner, and for clean governance. Use power to fulfill your statutory duties, and never abuse power beyond the scope of your responsibility. We must act conscientiously as if we were treading on thin ice or standing on the edge of an abyss. There must be a barrier to limit us in what we say and do, and we must properly handle the relationships between public and private interests, personal favors and the law, and personal gains and the law.

The county Party secretary is the head of the county leadership. You should take the lead in enforcing democratic centralism, and avoid becoming a "monarch". Decision-making should follow the procedures, and key issues involving money, program and personnel should go through the leadership group. Autocracy must be avoided. You should be skilled at pooling the wisdom of the Party committee, other branches of county leadership, and officials at all levels. You should assume overall leadership but not take on every detail, divide duties but not undermine concerted efforts, and delegate duties but not totally let go. You should be open-minded, listen to the opinions of other members of the leadership, and maintain and improve unity of the Party committee. Unity here does not mean keeping on good terms with everybody, and harmony does not mean papering over the cracks. On issues of principle, you must take the correct position, dare to speak your mind, and be clear about your position.

At the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, it was proposed that we will press forward with the rule of law and build a law-based socialist country. The roots of the rule of law go down to the villages and counties. County Party secretaries should be role models in studying, honoring, abiding by, and applying the laws, and should be adept at planning for local

governance with the rule of law. You must always remember that the red line of the law is not to be crossed, and the principles of the law are not to be violated. In decision-making and planning, you must make sure that measures are feasible, that they do not contravene the law, that they are supported by the law, and that they follow statutory procedures. We must think about the consequences of violating the law, so as to conscientiously promote and safeguard the rule of law.

Clean governance and self-discipline are the basic requirements for Communists in official positions. I have often said this: You cannot have your cake and eat it. You must choose between office and riches, and choose only one. Once in office, you must always discipline yourselves, resist the temptations of power, money and sex, and be upright, clean and honest in governance. You should extend your education to your own family and immediate staff, and restrain their conduct, ensuring that they respect the requirements of morality, discipline, and the law.

Jiao Yulu drafted “Ten No’s for Officials”, banning officials from special treatment at all times. Once, when he heard that his son had not paid for a show, he ordered his son to send the money to the theater. Zhang Boxing, hailed as the “No. 1 clean official under Heaven” by Qing Emperor Kangxi, said, “Taking a thread of silk and a grain of rice from the people damages my reputation; every coin comes from their hard labor. A bit of leniency on my side will benefit the people more than one could think; if I take a coin from the people, I am not worth one myself.” These words in support of clean governance are still applicable today, and you should reflect on them.

The county Party secretary, a public figure with power in the county, should uphold morality and integrity, as moral degeneration can do more damage than mistakes at work. In ancient times county magistrates were required to encourage and promote good conduct. You must conscientiously foster and practice the core socialist values, strengthen morality and self-cultivation, develop healthy hobbies, be cautious in the friends you make, and examine your own conduct in life, in order to build healthy social trend in the county. You should further understand and carry forward the fine traditions of our ancestors, as exemplified in these quotations to guide our action:

“When the Great Way rules, the land under Heaven belongs to the people”;

“Fortune and riches obtained through unjust means are like floating clouds for me”;

“A man of virtue has a good knowledge of righteousness”;

“Be true in word and resolute in deed”;

“The virtuous are never left to stand alone”;

“If a man does not keep his word, what is he good for?”

Comrades, you have only a few days left at this class for county Party secretaries. I hope you can apply what you have learned here in your work to good effect, and work harder for the continual development of your counties. And finally, I would like to wish you success with your work, good health, and happy life for your families.

* Speech at a meeting with a class of county Party secretaries at the Central Party School.

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ECONOMIC WORK SHOULD BE ADAPTED TO THE NEW NORMAL

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-03-12

ECONOMIC WORK SHOULD BE ADAPTED TO THE NEW NORMAL*

December 9, 2014

To improve our economic work, first of all, we should have a rational understanding of the current situation and a sound assessment of future trends. Recently, there have been comments both in and outside China: As China's economic growth slows down, is there anything wrong? The growth rate has dropped to below 7.5 percent – why not take stimulus measures? To look at and analyze this question, I think we must understand China's various economic development stages from a historical and dialectical viewpoint.

Last year, the central government decided that China's economic development is at a stage of shifting the growth rate, restructuring the economy, and addressing the impact of previous stimulus policies. In the middle of this year, at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, I further analyzed this complex economic stage, emphasizing that our economic work should be adapted to the new normal. Not long ago, at the 2014 APEC CEO Summit in Beijing, I briefly analyzed the characteristics of the new normal in China's economic development – a slowdown in the rate of growth, optimization of economic structure, and shift of growth engines. Here, through comparison, I would like to talk about several trends brought by the new normal.

First, consumption. Consumption in China used to flow in waves, as large numbers of consumers would follow the latest fad in an attempt to “keep up with the Joneses”. Now this sheep-flock effect has disappeared, and the stage of consumption in waves has ended. Differentiated, individualized and diversified consumption has become the norm. There is more emphasis on product quality and safety, and demand stimulated by innovative supply is growing in importance. Since incomes have improved and the pattern of consumption has changed, adjustments in the supply system are imperative. Moreover, the 1.3 billion Chinese have tremendous potential to improve their overall consumption capacity. We must adopt sound policies to release consumption potential, allowing consumption to continue to drive economic development.

Second, investment. China used to have a huge demand in investment. As long as we had funds and entrepreneurship, we always gained investment returns. Investment was vital to economic growth. Now, through over 30 years of high-intensity and large-scale development and construction, investment in traditional industries and real estate has reached capacity. But infrastructure connectivity, new technologies, new products, new industries, and new business

models present new investment opportunities, and demand new means of investment and financing. China's gross saving rate remains high. We must find the right direction and eliminate barriers for investment, so that investment can continue to boost economic growth.

Third, exports and balance of payments. Before the global financial crisis, international markets were expanding rapidly. As long as there were cost advantages, exports could be expanded. Exports were a major engine for China's rapid economic growth. Now, since global aggregate demand is sluggish, China's comparative low-cost advantage is receding. China is still competitive in exports, and its share in international markets gained through years of effort is an important resource. At one and the same time China is going out on a greater scale, and bringing in products of higher technology. The Renminbi is now well-received and circulated internationally; the current account surplus and capital account surplus are approaching balance between revenues and expenditures. We must foster new comparative edges; we must vigorously participate in revising the rules of international trade and investment, so that our exports can continue to support economic growth.

Fourth, production capacity and industrial structure. China's main problem used to be undersupply. Now the supply capacity of traditional industries has exceeded demand. The industrial capacity of steel, cement and glass industries is approaching a peak, real estate is facing structural and regional overcapacity, and the planned construction area of development zones, industrial parks, and new urban districts has exceeded actual demand. Confronting overcapacity, we must upgrade our industrial structure, merge and reorganize enterprises, and promote concentration of production. IT technology is developing quickly in innovative directions; emerging industries, service industries, small and micro businesses are playing a more prominent role; small-scale, intelligent, and specialized production will become a new feature of industrial structure.

Fifth, the comparative advantages of production factors. China used to have a wealth of new labor and surplus rural labor; our low labor cost was our biggest advantage; imported technology and management were quickly transformed into productivity. Now, due to population aging, the gross working-age population is falling in number; rural surplus labor is decreasing; the level of technology innovation in many fields is lagging behind that of our advanced international competitors. Deprived of key technology for upgrading the economy, we suffer from weakened influence of production factors. As the quality of production factors improves, economic growth will rely more on the quality of human capital and progress in technology, so innovation must become a new growth engine.

Sixth, market competition. Increases in quantity and price competition used to dominate. Now, it is turning to competition in quality and product differentiation. Consumers tend to value quality and individualized products, so we must identify potential demand and meet it through innovative supply. Enterprises acquire competitive edge through preferential policies on taxation and land use; the policy of preferential taxation on foreign-funded enterprises over domestic enterprises can no longer be sustained. Therefore, a single national market and high resource allocation

efficiency are essential to economic development. We must drive deeper reform and opening up, and develop a single, transparent, well-organized, and procedure-based market environment, so as to create favorable conditions for full market competition.

Seventh, resource and environment constraints. China used to have sufficient energy and resources and extensive eco-space, which allowed large-scale and rapid development. Now, the carrying capacity of our environment is approaching or has reached the limit, and there is no longer the potential for high-consuming, extensive development. The people long for clean air and water, a healthy environment, and other ecosystem goods and services, so the eco-environment is becoming increasingly valuable. We must meet the public demand for a good eco-environment, and promote a new eco-friendly and low-carbon development model, and thereby create new growth areas.

Eighth, the accumulation and defusing of risks. China's rapid economic growth has indeed concealed certain conflicts and risks. Now, as the growth rate slows down, hidden risks are becoming evident. Local government risks concerning debt, shadow banking, and real estate are becoming apparent; structural risks also exist in employment. These risks come from excessive government intervention in economic restructuring, from blind investment by market entities during economic prosperity, from excessive promises due to shortsightedness, or from the shock of the global financial crisis. From a holistic view, the risks confronting us are under control, but we need some time to defuse threats in the form of high leverage and economic bubbles. We must find the correct prescriptions to treat both symptoms and root causes, establish and improve the mechanisms to defuse the various risks we face, and mitigate the shock of one-off risks by giving ourselves the time to deal with them. When threatened by systemic risks, we should operate on such risks as if we were carrying out surgery.

Ninth, the resource allocation model and the means of macroeconomic control. China used to have huge growth potential in aggregate demand. Keynesian economics alone were effective in stimulating China's economic development. Our shortcomings in economic growth were quite evident, and following the Flying Geese Paradigm implemented by pioneering countries, our industrial policies were capable of developing comparative advantages. Now, from the perspective of demand, the marginal effects of comprehensive stimulus policies are diminishing; from the perspective of supply, we should resolve overcapacity on the one hand, and use market mechanisms to identify the future direction for industrial development on the other. We must be fully aware of the changes in the demand-supply relationship. We must conduct reasonable macroeconomic control. We must conduct proper and targeted intervention. We must take resolute and moderate measures when necessary. We must balance our efforts to invigorate the market and create a favorable environment. In this way, we can form a new growth model which can balance the roles of market and government intervention.

In this complex economic situation, the above-mentioned changes indicate that China's growth rate will definitely drop but within acceptable limits. Economic restructuring will be painful but is unavoidable. Addressing the impact of previous incentive policies is necessary, and the impact

from various risks can be mitigated and defused through effective guidance. All this confirms that China's economy is evolving to a model that is more advanced, better structured, and with more complicated division of labor. These changes are both the features and the causes of the new normal. Some might be reinforced; others might be amended.

In general, since China entered the new normal of economic development, its growth rate has shifted from 10 percent to about 7 percent – from high speed to medium-to-high speed. The growth model is changing from large-scale and high-speed extensive growth to high-quality and efficient intensive growth. The economic structure is being transformed from quantitative increase and expanding capacity to adjusting the existing capacity while optimizing the use of new capacity. Growth engines are turning from traditional areas to new ones. Entering the new normal manifests the characteristics of China's economic development in the current stage. Understanding the new normal, adapting ourselves to the new normal, and guiding the new normal are major tasks in the present and future stages of our economic development.

“Limitations lead to changes; changes lead to solutions; solutions lead to development.” We should be adaptive as we face the new normal. We should fully understand it, adopt the right measures, and make concrete efforts, so as to keep pace with the times in our economic work.

We must have a deep and shared understanding of the new normal. It is simplistic to regard economic development merely as quantitative change and repetition. We should think and act according to the decisions of the Central Committee, enhancing our awareness and creating the initiative to accelerate the transformation of the economic growth model. If we fail to see the new changes, new situations, and new problems – or even worse, deny them – and if we stick to the old extensive and high-speed development model and launch projects impulsively, that is a sign that we cannot keep up with the new situation. The old way might raise the rate of growth, but it will not work for long; on the contrary, it will simply intensify and ultimately ignite the conflicts and problems accumulated in development.

Facing the new normal, we should take proactive measures to boost development. As I have repeatedly emphasized, taking economic development as the central task is vital to national rejuvenation. Development is the CPC's top priority in governance – the basis and the key to resolving all the problems of our country. Moreover, I have also emphasized repeatedly that what we need is quality, profitability, and sustainable development; what we need is development supported by full employment, high productivity, high investment returns, and high resource allocation efficiency. We cannot measure development simply by GDP growth. Therefore, we will have to carry out our economic work properly, and assess the economic situation correctly. It is not true that if growth speeds up, the economic situation is good, and if growth slows down, the economic situation is bad. Actually, it is normal for the rate of growth to rise and fall – the rules of economic development do not permit zero economic fluctuation. As long as any fluctuation is within an acceptable range, we should remain calm, noting that we have the initiative to take macroeconomic measures. We should stay alert against peril, but we must not overreact.

Note this well: China has entered the new normal of economic development. This does not alter the fact that we have a period of strategic opportunity to accomplish great deeds; what it changes is the content and conditions of this period of strategic opportunity. This does not negate the overall favorable trend in our economic growth; what it changes is our growth model and economic structure. As to the changes in conditions for development, we must have an accurate, in-depth, and thorough understanding, and act when conditions permit. We must improve the quality and the benefits of growth, and accelerate strategic economic restructuring. We must satisfy the people's demands, improve our analysis of market and consumer psychology, and upgrade our guidance of social expectations. We must strengthen the protection of property rights and intellectual property rights, explore the talent of entrepreneurs, and improve education and the quality of our human capital. We must promote ecological progress, advances in science and technology, and all-round innovation. To achieve these, the key lies in our efforts to drive deeper reform, to implement the strategy of innovation-driven development, and to resolve problems in development. Therefore, we must advance reform and innovation, accelerate the transformation of the growth model, and make concrete efforts to foster new growth engines, so as to make new social and economic advances at a new historical threshold.

* Part of the speech at the Central Conference on Economic Work.

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DIRECTIVE FOR THE FIRST NATIONAL CONSTITUTION DAY

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-03-10

DIRECTIVE FOR THE FIRST NATIONAL CONSTITUTION DAY*

December 3, 2014

The Constitution is the fundamental law of the country, the general statute of governance, and the embodiment of the will of the Party and the people. It enjoys the highest legal status, authority and effect. It is a good Constitution that suits China's national conditions and realities, and conforms to the requirements of the times. It is the fundamental legal guarantee for our country and people to overcome difficulties and risks, withstand tests, and continue to advance along the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. To ensure law-based governance of the country, we must first ensure governance based on the Constitution; to ensure law-based exercise of state power, we must first ensure exercise of state power based on the Constitution. We must uphold the unity of Party leadership, the people's status as masters of the country, and law-based governance. We must unswervingly follow the path of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and safeguard the authority of the Constitution and the law. The establishment of National Constitution Day presents an opportunity to strengthen education about the Constitution, uphold its letter and spirit, improve the awareness of the need to abide by it, and promote its full implementation. We should give better play to the important role of the Constitution in building a moderately prosperous society, expanding reform, and advancing the rule of law in an all-round way.

* On December 4, 1982, the current Constitution of the People's Republic of China was adopted at the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress. In October 2014, the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee adopted the Decision on Some Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Advancing the Rule of Law, which proposed the designation of December 4 of each year as National Constitution Day. In November of the same year, the 11th meeting of the Standing Committee of the 12th National People's Congress adopted the Resolution on the Establishment of National Constitution Day, officially declaring December 4 as National Constitution Day.

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MAJOR-COUNTRY DIPLOMACY WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-03-07

MAJOR-COUNTRY DIPLOMACY WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS*

November 28, 2014

We must stand firmly for peace, development, cooperation and win-win outcomes, give overall consideration to domestic development and international situation, and adopt a holistic approach to development and security. We must focus on the overriding goal of peaceful development and national rejuvenation. We must devote ourselves to safeguarding China's sovereignty, security and development interests, foster an international environment that is friendly to our peaceful development, and take advantage of this important period of strategic opportunity for China. These efforts will ensure the realization of the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Since the 18th National Congress of the CPC held in 2012, the central leadership, bearing in mind both domestic development and international situation, has maintained continuity and consistency of China's foreign policy, strengthened overall planning, and taken bold initiatives. And notable results have been achieved in China's diplomatic work. In view of the new tasks for the new era, we have worked creatively and proactively to break new ground in China's diplomatic theories and practice, and enrich the strategic thinking of peaceful development. We have explained to the international community the global implication and impact of the Chinese Dream. We have advocated a new model of international relations underpinned by mutually beneficial cooperation, proposed and implemented a policy of pursuing the greater good and shared interests, and championed a vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security. Moreover, we have endeavored to build a new model of major-country relations, and proposed and practiced a policy of building relations with neighboring countries based on amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness, and a policy of building relations with Africa based on sincerity, real results, amity, and good faith. These accomplishments would not have been possible without the dedication of comrades engaged in China's foreign affairs, especially those posted overseas.

To have a good grasp of global developments and follow the underlying trend of the times is a constant and crucially important task that requires our abiding attention if China is to move forward. It is important to have a global perspective, grasp the pulse of the times, make a sound, accurate and thorough assessment of the changing international environment, and dissect complex phenomena to uncover the essence, and, in particular, have a good understanding of long-term trends. Furthermore, we should be fully mindful of the complexity of the evolving international architecture, and we should also recognize that the growing trend towards a

multipolar world will not change. We should be fully aware that the ongoing global economic adjustment will not be smooth sailing; we also need to recognize that economic globalization will not stop. We should be fully alert to the grave nature of international tensions and conflicts; we also need to recognize that peace and development, the underlying trend of our times, will remain unchanged. We should be keenly aware of the protracted nature of contest over the international order; on the other hand, we need to recognize that reform of the international system will not change its course. We should fully recognize the uncertainties in China's neighboring environment, but we should also realize that the general trend of prosperity and stability in the Asia-Pacific region will not change.

Today, the world is changing. It is a world in which new opportunities and new challenges keep emerging, a world in which the international system and international order are going through a profound adjustment, and a world in which the balance of international forces is shifting steadily in favor of peace and development. In observing the world, we should not allow our views to be blocked by anything intricate or transient. Instead, we should observe the world through the prism of historical laws. All factors considered, we can see that China is still in an important period of strategic opportunity in which much can be accomplished. Our biggest opportunity lies in China's steady development and the growth in its strength. On the other hand, we should be mindful of various risks and challenges and skillfully defuse potential crises and turn them into opportunities.

China has entered a crucial stage of achieving the great renewal of the Chinese nation. Profound changes are taking place in China's relations with the rest of the world, with closer interactions between China and the international community. As China has increased its dependence on the world and its involvement in international affairs, so has the world deepened its dependence on China and had greater impact on China. Therefore, in projecting and adopting plans for reform and development, we must give full consideration to both domestic and international markets, both domestic and foreign resources, and both domestic and international rules, and use them judiciously.

We must develop major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. We should, summing up our past practice and experience, enrich and develop our diplomatic theories and practice, and conduct diplomacy with distinct Chinese characteristics, style and ethos. We should uphold the CPC's leadership and Chinese socialism. We will stick to our development path, social system, cultural tradition and values. We should continue to follow the independent foreign policy of peace, always pursue the development of the country and the nation by relying on ourselves, and follow our own path unswervingly. While pursuing peaceful development, we will never relinquish our legitimate rights and interests, or allow China's core interests to be impaired. We will promote democracy in international relations, and uphold the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We are firm in our position that all countries, regardless of their size, strength and level of development, are equal members of the international community and that the destiny of the world should be decided by people of all countries. We will uphold international justice and, in particular, speak up for developing countries.

We should continue to pursue win-win cooperation, promote a new model of international relations based on such cooperation, follow the mutually beneficial strategy of opening up and adopt the win-win approach to our external relations in the political, economic, security, cultural and other fields. We must pursue the greater good and shared interests. This means we should act in good faith, value friendship, champion moral principles and uphold justice. We will never compromise the principle of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs. We will respect the choices of development path and social system made independently by people of other countries, promote peaceful resolution of differences and disputes between countries through dialogue and consultation, and oppose the willful use or threat of force.

In conducting China's diplomacy in both the current stage and in the time to come, we should take a holistic approach to national security, strengthen the confidence of the Chinese people in the path, theory and system of socialism with distinctive Chinese features, and ensure durable peace and stability in China. We should try to help other countries to understand and support the Chinese Dream, which represents the Chinese people's aspiration for peace, development, cooperation and win-win outcomes. What we pursue is the wellbeing of both the Chinese people and the people of all other countries. We should firmly uphold China's territorial sovereignty, maritime rights and interests, and national unity, and properly handle territorial and island disputes. We should protect China's development opportunities and space, and work hard to form a highly-integrated, mutually beneficial network through extensive economic, trade and technological cooperation. We should make more friends without prejudice to the non-aligned principle and build a global network of partnerships. We should enhance China's soft power and better present China to the world.

We should promote neighborhood diplomacy, and turn China and its neighboring countries into a community of shared future. In this regard, we should continue to implement the principles of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness in our relations with neighboring countries, promote friendship and partnership with our neighbors, foster an amicable, secure and prosperous neighboring environment, and boost win-win cooperation and connectivity with our neighbors. We should manage our relations with other major countries well, build a sound and stable framework of major-country relations, and expand cooperation with other major countries in the developing world. We should strengthen unity and cooperation with other developing countries and closely associate our development with the common development of other developing countries. We should actively engage in multilateral diplomacy, and promote reform of the international system and global governance, so that developing countries, China included, will have greater representation and bigger say. We should step up results-oriented cooperation, actively implement the Belt and Road Initiative, work hard to expand the converging interests of various parties, and promote win-win cooperation through results-oriented cooperation. In processing foreign aid, we should act in good faith, value friendship and pursue shared interests. To protect China's overseas interests, we should continue to improve our capabilities for such protection.

To fully advance China's diplomacy in the new era, we must enhance the centralized, unified leadership of the Party, reform and improve foreign-affairs-related systems and mechanisms, step up inter-sector, inter-department and inter-regional coordination, increase strategic input, regulate foreign affairs management, and improve the training and management of diplomatic officers, so as to provide a strong support for opening new horizons in China's diplomacy.

* Main points of the speech at the Central Conference on Foreign Affairs.

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STRENGTHEN AND IMPROVE POLITICAL WORK IN THE MILITARY

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STRENGTHEN AND IMPROVE POLITICAL WORK IN THE MILITARY*

October 31, 2014

Currently, both China and the world are experiencing a period of dramatic and complex change. Aware of fundamental differences of opinion in the ideological sphere, we must be on the alert against any possibility of a “color revolution”. In addition, we face the arduous task of increasing combat readiness, and the challenge of reforming national defense and the military. We must strengthen our political work in the military and advance proactively, rather than weakening, wavering, or responding passively.

The direction of the Party is the direction of the military’s political work. The military’s political work is determined by the central task of the Party and the military in the current era.

The contemporary theme of our military’s political work is to focus on realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, and provide a solid political guarantee for achieving the Party’s goal of building a strong military.

The military must follow the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development, and implement the Party Central Committee’s requirements of comprehensively promoting the rule of law and strict discipline within the military. Political work in the new era should be strengthened and improved so that it can play its part as the lifeline in building our military.

“When a fishing net is held aloft, all the meshes will fall in place. When the fundamental principles are upheld, all work will fall in place.” What is crucial at this point is to build on the following four fundamentals:

First, the military should foster our shared ideals and convictions. “The essence in leadership is to lead the hearts and minds.” Lofty ideals and firm convictions are the soul of revolutionary forces, the decisive factor to win victories, and the means to ward off any corruption and moral decline. We must take the fostering of ideals and convictions as a strategic project, and take effective measures to consolidate the foundation of our values.

To foster ideals and convictions is to cultivate virtue and morality. We must meet the requirements of building a strong military, and understand the principles governing political and moral education in our efforts to foster a new generation of revolutionary forces dedicated to the Party’s ideals,

following its leadership, capable of winning wars, brave and fearless, and equipped with moral integrity.

The military should equip itself with our Party's theories, uphold and apply the core socialist values, foster the values of contemporary revolutionary forces, and inspire the troops, so that our ideals and convictions and great traditions will go down from generation to generation.

I have always believed that the key to building up ideals and convictions is high-ranking officers. One of the major challenges is a lack of trust by the rank and file in some commanding officers, especially senior officers.

To a certain extent, a crisis of belief reflects a crisis of confidence, a lack of belief on the part of commanding officers. A key factor for the rank and file to have a belief is for the commanding officers to have one and act accordingly. All of us here at this meeting bear a heavy responsibility. All members of the military are looking to us.

As long as all of us present today sincerely believe in Marxism and truly take pride in the Party, the country, the people, and the military, as long as we adopt an unequivocal approach towards major issues of principle, remain dauntless when facing political storms, firmly resist all kinds of temptation, remain pragmatic with firm and sincere aims, are bold in shouldering our responsibilities, and lead by example, we will be able to accomplish our goals in fostering our ideals and convictions in the military.

Second, the military must remain committed to the Party. Commitment to the Party is the fundamental quality of Party members, as well as the fundamental requirement of our political work. In doing our work, we must put the principles and cause of our Party and the interests of our people first. As Party members, we should take pride in the Party, protect the Party, work for the Party, and share weal and woe with the Party.

Criticism and self-criticism serve as an effective instrument for affirming commitment to the Party and resolving intra-Party conflicts and problems. One of the significant outcomes of the education campaign on the Party's mass line is the restoration of this worthy tradition. If no one dares to criticize others and no one is willing to criticize himself, problems and conflicts will pile up and be aggravated. Eventually, an ailment will become incurable.

We should promote best practices, engage in positive, healthy criticism and self-criticism, and unite in confidence with a clear distinction between right and wrong, between merit and fault. Intra-Party activities are political activities with strong principles. Their main purpose is to solve problems. We must be resolute in opposing nice guy syndrome and other such forms of unacceptable conduct.

According to ancient Chinese sayings, "proper execution of orders is the making of a majestic military" and "setting up rules beforehand outweighs punishment afterwards". The key to staying committed to the Party is to set up rules, apply them fairly, and abide by them. There should be

clear rules on what can be done and how, and what cannot be done.

We should enhance our ability to implement rules and make sure that rules and discipline are a deterrent. The routine investigation and prosecution of violations of the law and discipline should be institutionalized, so that our Party members and military officers are prudent in mind, word and deed.

At the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, I emphasized the importance of obeying political discipline and rules. I listed seven major problems. For the military to obey discipline, the priority is political discipline; to obey rules, the priority is political rules – and we must do so to a higher standard and set of requirements.

Nobody is entitled to cross the red lines of political discipline and rules. Those who do will have to pay a price.

Being committed to the Party is the responsibility of each and every Party member and military officer. Commanding officers should hold firmly to truth, adhere to principles, and courageously fight against violators and violations of this commitment. All Party committees should support and protect Party members and officers who speak the truth and fight against misconduct. This way, clandestine rules will give way to a wholesome and favorable political environment.

Third, the military should uphold the standard of combat capability. The essential function of our military is fighting. The standard of combat capability is the sole fundamental standard in building a military. Political work is a tool to guarantee the standard of combat capability in every aspect of military affairs.

The focus should be on the capability to fight and win. We must improve the evaluation of the performance of Party committees and commanding officers, and introduce effective measures and policies to orient public opinion, daily activities, and official promotion towards establishing a rigorous, high standard of combat capability.

For our military, political work itself plays a very important part in the creation and deployment of combat capability. Political work is part and parcel of combat capability; without it combat capability will be diminished. It is wrong to separate the two or regard them as conflicting opposites.

Political work in the military must help us accomplish our central task and serve the overall interests of the country. We must put an end to the abnormal practice of political departments setting the agenda, going through daily routines, and evaluating their own performance behind closed doors, devoid of any consideration for real military needs. According to the overall requirement of winning local wars in the information era, we should put political work at the service of combat capability building, and ensure it can play its part in the whole process of combat readiness.

We should keep pace with deeper reform and carry out targeted political work. We should educate members of the military to have firm ideals and convictions and a strong sense of responsibility and discipline. All should advocate, support and participate in reform, and contribute to its success.

Fourth, the military should uphold the authority of political work. To be frank, due to existing problems, the authority of our military's political work has been damaged, seriously in some cases. As an old saying goes, "An authority that is not strong enough destroys itself; a rule that is not clear enough damages itself."

Now, the pressing task is to rebuild the authority of political work, and restore some fundamental principles, including matching one's words with deeds, playing an exemplary role, and setting good examples.

In the past, the military's political work was carried out mainly through exemplary role models. During the Red Army period (1927-1937), political work was the responsibility of Party representatives, who enjoyed a high reputation.

Luo Ronghuan once recalled, during military marches, "Our Party representatives marched at the end of the file, offering assistance to the soldiers in need. Party representatives had the support of the troops. Any written order had to bear their signature. Otherwise, the troops would doubt its authenticity."

The exemplary role of political work officers is itself the best of political work.

Today, as times change, we have a variety of methods for political work. However, the exemplary role is not outdated. Our troops do not care about what you say. They care about what you do.

Rebuilding the authority of political work starts with the exemplary role, especially that of commanding officers. We should boost the morale of the military with role models, promote officers for their excellent performance and sanction those who have failed. We should encourage officers of all ranks, especially political work officers, to draw on the strength of truth and their character, to be pragmatic, and to be fair and honest. In this regard, the Central Military Commission should set a good example for the military.

* Part of the speech at the Conference on Military Political Work held in Gutian Town, Fujian Province.

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PROMOTE SOCIALIST RULE OF LAW

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PROMOTE SOCIALIST RULE OF LAW*

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Uphold Socialist Rule of Law with Chinese Characteristics

To advance the rule of law in China, it is imperative that we take the right path. A false path will lead us to the very opposite of what we are trying to accomplish, and if that happens, no requirement or measure we introduce will work. There is a theme that runs through the Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Advancing the Rule of Law adopted at this plenary session, which is the necessity of keeping to and expanding the path of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. This path constitutes an overall guideline. That is to say, China has achieved dozens of successes in its efforts to establish the rule of law, some large and some small. But ultimately these achievements boil down to one thing, and that is the path of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics.

Engels once said, “[A] new program is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it.” In any initiative we introduce, the public will stand behind the CPC as long as it has a clear-cut stand and the whole Party is in full action. The worst mistake a ruling party can commit is to show indecisiveness on matters of extreme importance, encouraging arguments to rage and division to grow. Consequently, those with ulterior motives will fan the flames of discontent, lead the public astray, and stir up trouble. In the end there are bound to be problems. So there is no room for ambiguity in the question of our path. We must send a clear and correct signal to the public.

The decision to advance the rule of law reflects the CPC’s will to enhance its governance capacity. It did so not because of pressure. On the fundamental issue of keeping to and expanding our path of socialist rule of law, we must demonstrate both confidence and resolve. This is a major proposition that requires in-depth exploration in many aspects, but the fundamental elements must be upheld in the long term.

First, we must uphold the leadership of the CPC.

Upholding the Party’s leadership is the essential feature of China’s socialism and a fundamental guarantee for socialist rule of law in the country. In keeping to our path of socialist rule of law, the most important thing is that we uphold the leadership of the Party. It was the Party that proposed the rule of law in China and then made it a fundamental principle by which the Party leads the

people in governing the country. In addition, the Party leads the people in advancing the rule of law in practice. Therefore, our comprehensive efforts to advance the rule of law must be conducive to strengthening and improving the Party's leadership, bolstering its position as the governing party, and accomplishing its mission in governing the country. In absolutely no way does this amount to weakening the leadership of the CPC.

Upholding the Party's leadership is fundamental to socialist rule of law, and is integral to our comprehensive efforts to advance the rule of law in China. We must uphold the Party's leadership throughout the whole process and in every aspect of the law-based governance of the country, ensuring that the Party's leadership, the people's position as masters of the country and the rule of law form an inseparable whole. Only when the rule of law is enforced strictly under the leadership of the CPC will the people fully realize their role as masters of the country, and only then will the introduction of the rule of law into national and social affairs take place smoothly.

Upholding the Party's leadership is not an empty slogan, but something that must be manifested in practice through the Party's endeavors to lead legislation, ensure law enforcement, support the administration of justice, and take the lead in abiding by the law. On the one hand, we must give play to the CPC's core role in exercising overall leadership and coordinating efforts from all quarters, bring all aspects of law-based governance under the CPC's overall planning, and ensure that the CPC's propositions are carried out throughout the whole process and in every aspect of law-based governance. On the other hand, we must improve CPC leadership in law-based governance and continue to raise its capacity to lead in this regard. The Party must exercise law-based governance and political power, confining its activities to the boundaries stipulated by the Constitution and the law; at the same time it must also fully employ Party organizations, members and officials as a leading political core and pioneer for enforcing the rule of law.

Second, we must uphold the principal position of the people.

China's socialist system ensures that the people assume the principal position as masters of the country. It also ensures that the people are the primary actors in advancing the rule of law. This is a strength of our system and the fundamental distinction between socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and capitalist rule of law.

To uphold the principal position of the people, we must develop the rule of law for the people and rely on them, and it must benefit and protect them. We must ensure that the people, under the leadership of the CPC, are able to administer state affairs and manage economic, cultural and social affairs through various channels and in various ways as provided by law. Moreover, we must implement the principles of representing the people's interests, reflecting their wishes, protecting their rights, and improving their wellbeing in the whole process of our law-based governance, ensuring that the will of the people is embodied not just in laws themselves but also in their enforcement.

Just as the rights and interests of the people are protected by the law, the authority of the law must be maintained by the people. We need to motivate the public to actively involve themselves in the practice of the rule of law; enable all the people to become devoted advocates, conscientious observers, and resolute defenders of socialist rule of law; and ensure that all share a common aspiration to respect the law, trust the law, observe the law, apply the law, and defend the law.

Third, we must uphold the principle that all are equal before the law.

Equality is a basic attribute of socialist law and a fundamental requirement of socialist rule of law. The principle that all are equal before the law must be reflected in all aspects of legislation, law enforcement, judicial practice, and law observance. All organizations and individuals must respect the authority of the Constitution and the law; confine their activities to the boundaries prescribed by the Constitution and the law; and exercise powers, enjoy rights, perform duties, and fulfill obligations in accordance with the Constitution and the law. No organization or individual will be permitted to enjoy special privileges that place them above the Constitution and the law. Whoever violates the Constitution or the law must face punishment. Under no circumstances can any individual, under any pretext or in any way, be allowed to arbitrarily override the law, place their power above the authority of the law, or bend the law for their personal gain.

Officials at all levels shoulder an important responsibility in advancing the rule of law. Some Party members and officials still think that the country is under rule by man. They consider that they are the ones in charge, and believe that conducting affairs in accordance with the law is overly complicated and unnecessarily restricting. Convinced that they should have the final say in everything, they are totally oblivious to the existence of the law, and are bent on overriding it with their authority at every turn. Not until this practice ends will we stand a chance of genuinely realizing the rule of law.

It is therefore very important to make sure that leading officials, though small in number, play a key role in implementing the rule of law. First of all, we need to make sure that they have the right mindset. We must guide officials at all levels to understand that maintaining the authority of the Constitution and the law means maintaining the authority of the common will of the CPC and the people; that safeguarding the inviolability of the Constitution and the law means safeguarding the inviolability of the common will of the CPC and the people; and that guaranteeing the enforcement of the Constitution and the law means guaranteeing the realization of the common will of the CPC and the people.

It is essential that we are earnest in our efforts to promote and enforce the rule of law. Officials at all levels must have a reverence for the law, lead the way in handling affairs in accordance with the law, and set a good example in observing the law. They must strive to become more adept at using law-based thinking and approaches to carry out reform, promote development, resolve conflicts, and maintain stability. In a short term, it may not appear harmful to simply shout out slogans, put on appearances, and feign support instead of taking real action. But the moment

problems grow beyond our ability to resolve, the consequences of our inaction will be catastrophic. Therefore, no matter who they are or who are involved, officials who break the law must be held legally accountable for their actions. Under no circumstances can we tolerate the existence of a “neutral gear” in our law enforcement and judicial practice. We need to identify progress in law-based governance as an important criterion for evaluating the performance of leadership and officials at all levels. At the same time, we need to include observing the law and acting in accordance with the law as an important part of the performance assessment of individual officials.

Fourth, we must integrate the rule of law with the rule of virtue.

Laws are ethics that have been written down, while ethics are laws that we follow in our hearts. Both function to regulate social behavior and maintain social order. Therefore, in running our country and society, we need to lay emphasis on both the rule of law and the rule of virtue, ensuring both the role of the law in regulating behavior and the role of ethics in shaping the mind, so that law and virtue promote and enhance each other and rule of law and rule of virtue complement each other.

To ensure the role of the law in regulating behavior, we must ensure that the rule of law gives expression to virtues and that the law better promotes the development of civic morality. Ethics constitute the foundation of the law. This means that only laws that conform to ethics and have deep moral foundations will be conscientiously observed by the majority of the people. The law, on the other hand, serves to safeguard ethics. This means that good civic ethics can be fostered through compulsory regulation of people’s behavior and punishment of those who break the law. We should work harder to turn basic ethics and conventions into laws and regulations, ensuring that our laws and regulations are more representative of virtues and humanistic spirit. At the same time, we need to draw upon the mandatory force of the law to reinforce morals and ensure the basic moral standards, so as to enhance the overall moral fabric of our society.

To ensure the role of ethics in shaping the mind, we must nurture the rule of law with ethics and strengthen the role ethics play in fostering a culture of rule of law. No matter how many laws we make, or how good those laws are, people will only genuinely abide by them once they have become ingrained in their subconscious. As the saying goes, “A person without shame knows no limits.” Without the nutrition that virtue provides, the culture of rule of law will have nothing to sustain itself, and we will lack a solid social foundation on which to enforce our laws. As we advance the rule of law in China, we must promote the core socialist values, carry forward traditional Chinese virtues, and cultivate social morality, professional ethics, family values, and the moral integrity of individuals. By raising the moral integrity of our people as a whole, we will create a favorable humanistic environment to underpin the rule of law in China.

Fifth, we must base our work on the prevailing conditions in China.

A country's basic conditions determine the path it will take to promote the rule of law and the system it will establish for the rule of law. In the *Book of Lord Shang (Shang Jun Shu)* it is written: "In governing a country, a wise ruler establishes laws through observing popular customs, thus bringing order. He understands the fundamentals of the land he rules, thus implementing appropriate policies. Where the customs of the times are ignored and the fundamentals of the land neglected, the people will fall into disorder even when laws are made. And the ruler may be kept busy but will achieve little." Therefore, in our efforts to advance the rule of law, we must base our work on the realities of China and in line with our push to modernize the country's governance system and capacity. In this effort, we can neither afford to disregard the conditions that currently prevail in our country and race ahead of ourselves, nor can we afford to simply stick to old ways and guard old conventions.

To base our work in reality, we should lay emphasis on what is practical, what is contemporary, and what is quintessentially Chinese. We need to summarize and apply the successful experience that the CPC has gained in leading the people to promote the rule of law. With a view to addressing major theoretical and practical issues in the development of socialist rule of law, we must work constantly to develop and enrich a theory that conforms to China's conditions, displays Chinese features, and reflects the objective law of social development. Long ago, our ancestors began to think about the question of how the excesses of human behavior could best be reined in. China's first systematically compiled code of written laws appeared as early as the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods (770-221 BC). In the years from the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) to the Tang Dynasty (618-907), China succeeded in establishing what was essentially a fully developed set of written laws. The legal system of ancient China embodied a huge wealth of knowledge and wisdom, allowing it to occupy a unique place among the major legal systems of the world. We should take note of the successes and failures of China's ancient legal traditions; identify, extract, and promote the very finest elements of China's traditional legal culture; and selectively integrate these elements into our present initiatives.

Basing our work on reality does not mean that we can develop the rule of law in isolation from the rest of the world. The rule of law is one of the most important accomplishments of human civilization. Its quintessence and gist have universal significance for the national and social governance of all countries. Therefore, we must learn from the achievements of other countries. However, learning from others does not equate to simply copying them. Putting our own needs first, we must carefully discern between the good and the bad and adopt the practices of others within reason. Under no circumstances can we engage in "all-out Westernization", or a "complete transplant" of the systems of others, or copy from other countries indiscriminately.

Do Solid Work to Carry Out All Tasks Put Forward by the Plenary Session

At this plenary session, we have made comprehensive plans to advance the rule of law in China. In total we have introduced more than 180 important measures, covering all aspects of the rule of law. Now, with a strong sense of urgency and a sound work ethic, the entire Party must do solid work to implement each of the tasks defined at the session.

First, in keeping with our overall objective, we must press ahead with efforts to establish a system of socialist rule of law. Our overall objective is to establish a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and establish China as a socialist country under the rule of law. This objective is a constant theme that runs throughout the resolution we have adopted at this plenary session. It not only defines the nature and direction of our efforts to advance law-based governance, but also highlights the focus and the approach in this effort. This objective can therefore be regarded as an overall guideline directing China's efforts to advance the rule of law.

All work to this end must be planned and carried out in the interest of furthering our overall objective. The system of rule of law that we are building constitutes a core part of our national governance system. To implement the measures adopted at this plenary session, we must establish a complete system of laws, a highly effective enforcement system, a stringent scrutiny system and effective supporting measures, and a sound system of Party regulations.

The Song-dynasty statesman Wang Anshi once wrote, "If good laws are established under Heaven, there will be order under Heaven; if good laws are established in a state, there will be order in that state." Following this spirit, we need to ensure that legislation precedes reform. We must place equal emphasis on making new laws, revising existing ones, abolishing those that are outdated, and interpreting laws that need clarification. We must work harder to improve laws, administrative regulations, and local regulations; and further refine a framework of social norms including codes of conduct for citizens, industry rules and regulations, and charters of organizations. This will enable us to lay down the basic foundations for advancing the rule of law. We must build institutions to implement the Constitution and ensure judicial practice and the enforcement and observance of the law, and we must uphold law-based government administration and judicial impartiality, and ensure that the Constitution and the law are enforced fully and effectively. At the same time, we need to enhance various forms of scrutiny, including internal Party scrutiny, scrutiny by people's congresses, scrutiny by other political parties, administrative scrutiny, judicial scrutiny, scrutiny through auditing, public scrutiny, and scrutiny by the media. We must strive to establish a sound and effective system for checking and overseeing the exercise of power, and increase its synergy and effectiveness.

We also need to improve institutions for formulating Party regulations, coordinate Party regulations with state laws, establish a framework of Party regulations and supporting provisions that is based on the Constitution of the CPC, and ensure effective enforcement of these regulations. The Constitution of the CPC and other Party regulations ask more of Party members than ordinary laws do. Party members are not only required to strictly abide by state laws and regulations, but are also required to strictly observe the Constitution and regulations of the Party.

Second, in keeping with our overall objective, we should pursue coordinated progress in law-based governance, exercise of state power, and government administration, and integrate the rule of law for the country, the government, and society.

The comprehensive advancement of law-based governance in China represents a great systematic endeavor. Therefore, we must take many factors into consideration, identify priorities, and formulate integrated plans. We must focus on pushing forward initiatives in a coordinated way, and take integrated steps to develop the country, the government and society based on the rule of law.

“The greatest challenge for a country lies not in making laws, but in putting those laws into effect.” The rule of law is enshrined in China’s Constitution as the fundamental principle of the country’s governance. However, the crucial factors determining whether or not the rule of law can be realized in practice are whether the CPC can keep its commitment to law-based governance, and whether governments at all levels can administer in accordance with the law. It is therefore necessary that we become more aware of governing in accordance with the law; work in line with law-based ideas, systems and procedures; improve the way the CPC leads and exercises power; and advance law-based governance on the basis of clearly defined systems, standards and procedures. The enforcement of the law represents the primary means by which administrative agencies carry out governmental functions and administer economic and social affairs.

Governments at all levels are required to carry out their functions in full and in accordance with the law, performing those functions that have been prescribed by law while refraining from acting where the law has not authorized them to act. They must improve mechanisms for law-based decision-making; improve law enforcement procedures; strictly define responsibilities in law enforcement; and strive to ensure that law enforcement is carried out in a strict, procedure-based, impartial, and non-abusive manner.

The law-based country, government and society each have their own areas of focus, which allows them to exert a mutually reinforcing effect on one another. The comprehensive advancement of the rule of law requires the involvement of all sectors of society. It requires that we foster a stronger public awareness of the rule of law, spread the spirit of socialist rule of law throughout our society, and build a culture of socialist rule of law. By establishing the authority of the law throughout our society, we will enable the people to understand that the law is both a powerful tool that they can use to protect their rights and a code of conduct that they must follow. We need to foster a sound social environment in which members of society conduct their business in accordance with the law, turn to the law when they need assistance, and rely on the law to solve their problems. In this way, people will consciously choose not to break the law, and consciously uphold the authority of the rule of law.

Third, as our priorities we must ensure that lawmaking is conducted through well-conceived procedures, that the law is enforced strictly, that justice is administered impartially, and that the law is observed by all.

It is essential that we build on our existing efforts, highlight priority tasks, and advance our initiatives in a steady and orderly fashion.

To ensure that lawmaking is conducted through well-conceived procedures, we must improve the legislative system, and work hard to ensure well-considered and democratic lawmaking, with our focus on improving the quality of legislation. We should improve the allocation of legislative functions and powers; give full play to the central role of the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee in legislation; improve mechanisms for drafting, evaluating, coordinating and deliberating legislation; improve procedures for voting on bills; make our legislation more responsive, systematic, targeted and effective; and make laws and regulations more operable and enforceable. We should clearly define the boundaries of legislative power and employ systems, mechanisms and procedures to prevent the enactment of laws that protect departmental interests or encourage local protectionism. At the same time, we should step up legislation in priority areas; promptly reflect in our lawmaking activities the needs that must be met to further the undertakings of the Party and the country and the concerns and expectations of the public; and waste no time in formulating and amending laws pertaining to advancing reform, promoting economic development, improving social governance, ensuring public wellbeing, and safeguarding national security.

To ensure that the law is enforced strictly, we must focus our efforts on resolving serious problems, such as failure to enforce the law in a procedure-based, transparent, and non-abusive manner, as well as nonfeasance and malfeasance in law enforcement. With the goal of building law-based government, we need to establish a mechanism reviewing the legality of major decisions made by government departments and agencies; introduce a system of government legal counsels; codify governmental institutions, functions, powers, procedures and responsibilities into law; and promote the procedure- and law-based exercise of power by governments at all levels. We need to comprehensively promote transparent government; strengthen checks on and scrutiny over the exercise of administrative powers; and put in place a system of law-based administration that balances powers with responsibilities and that is both authoritative and effective. At the same time, we need to impose strict requirements on credentials in law enforcement, make improvements to law enforcement procedures, and establish a set of benchmark standards for administrative discretion, thereby ensuring the impartial and effective enforcement of the law.

To ensure that justice is administered impartially, we must focus on optimizing the allocation of judicial functions and powers and making better institutional arrangements for the exercise of judicial power in which the division of powers is both complementary and mutually restrictive. Party organizations and officials at all levels are required to show unequivocal support for the lawful and independent functioning of judicial authorities, and are under no circumstances permitted to intervene in the administration of justice. Confucius once said, "People will obey you if you promote righteous men and suppress evil men. And they will disobey you if you do the contrary." Judicial officers must be upright and brave enough to assume responsibility. They must have the courage to lawfully reject interference from both inside and outside the judicial system, and stand their ground in defense of judicial impartiality. To achieve this, we must promote judicial

impartiality and credibility through greater openness; establish a judiciary system that is open, dynamic, transparent and accessible to the public; put an end to backroom dealings; and resolutely fight judicial corruption.

To ensure that the law is observed by all, we must raise awareness of the rule of law among the general public. We must view the efforts to spread basic legal knowledge among the people and to encourage them to abide by the law as long-term, fundamental tasks of law-based governance of the country, and take highly effective measures to strengthen publicity and educational initiatives concerning the rule of law. We must start education on the rule of law with the child; incorporate such education into our national education system and our initiatives for cultural and ethical progress; and constantly enhance the awareness of rules among young people, starting out with simple requirements before moving on progressively to more difficult ones. At the same time, we need to keep adequate records regarding compliance with the law on the part of citizens and organizations; improve the mechanism to reward people for good faith when they abide by the law and punish them for bad faith when they break it; and create a social atmosphere in which people feel that it is honorable to abide by the law and disgraceful to break it, so that all people show respect for the law and act consciously to observe it.

Fourth, we should strive to build a strong contingent of professionals devoted to the rule of law. It is of critical importance that they have strong moral integrity and high professional competence. In China, specialists in the enforcement of the rule of law are made up mainly of individuals from people's congresses and the government who are involved in legislative work, those from administrative branches who are involved in law enforcement, and those from judicial branches who are involved in the administration of justice. As we advance the rule of law, we should first build a contingent of such people.

Legislative, law enforcement, and judicial personnel have both similarities and differences. Each has an extremely important role to play. Legislation is a sacred task that aims to lay down the rules of our country and society. Those involved in legislative work must have a high level of political integrity. They must possess the ability to respect objective laws, promote democracy, coordinate more effectively with others, and build consensus. Law enforcement is a crucial process of bringing laws off the page and into the real world. Law enforcement personnel must be loyal to the law and must safeguard the law. With the courage to take responsibility, they must strive to enforce the law strictly. The judiciary is the last line of defense against violations of social norms and justice. Those working in the judiciary must believe in the law and uphold the rule of law. They must keep the scales in balance, hold the gavel firmly in their own hands, and exercise the law justly and impartially. In line with the requirement that our legislative, law enforcement, and judicial personnel are politically upright, professionally competent, highly accountable, and strongly disciplined in their conduct, we must educate and guide these people to firmly embrace socialist rule of law and strictly observe professional ethics, ensuring that they are loyal to the Party, the country, the people, and the law.

Lawyers constitute an important force in our endeavor to develop the rule of law. We must work hard to enhance lawyers' political integrity, and upholding the Party's leadership and upholding socialist rule of law must be essential requirements for people to become legal practitioners.

Fifth, we must resolutely advance reform in the domain of law-based governance, tearing down institutional obstacles. The fundamental solution to problems in this domain is reform. There is no way we will be able to solve major problems if we insist on operating exclusively within the framework of old systems and mechanisms, if we greet new circumstances and issues with old practices, or if we simply make piecemeal changes here and there. When the resolution of this plenary session was being drafted, I said that it would be better to have no resolution at all than have one that was weak. The resolution would have to confront problems and focus on them. It would have to address issues of major concern to officials and the public in the area of law-based governance, and respond to the various concerns of society.

At this plenary session we have studied and laid out plans for comprehensively advancing the rule of law in China. While its scope may not be as extensive as that of the third plenary session last year, this session will nevertheless have a wide-ranging impact on our reform, development and stability; on our domestic affairs, foreign affairs, and national defense; and on our governance of the Party, the state, and the armed forces. In this sense, its implications and scope are by no means limited. At this plenary session we have introduced more than 180 major reform measures. Many of these measures will be hard nuts to crack, as they involve changes to the distribution of interests and powers. But every reform measure that has been written into the Decision represents something that we have set our sights on, and that must be carried out. We must therefore have the courage to bring change to ourselves, solving one problem at a time and putting the reform measures into effect one after another.

Reform in the realm of law-based governance involves primarily agencies of state power and powerful departments, such as public security, prosecution, court and judicial departments. The public attention our reforms have attracted and the high level of difficulty in carrying them out mean that we need to show even greater broad-mindedness in bringing change to ourselves. If we limit ourselves to our own little world, dwelling on the powers and interests of departments and haggling over minor issues, the result will surely be limited progress achieving little or nothing of real import. After all, what reform does not challenge existing roles, powers, or interests? We must have the courage to challenge what needs to be challenged, and all involved must bear the broader picture in mind. It is imperative that departments and interested parties foster a stronger awareness of the overall situation, consciously think and act in line with the overall situation, free themselves from a closed departmental mentality, and support each other in their initiatives. The criteria for gauging the effectiveness of reform should be the number of actual problems we solve and the degree of public satisfaction we engender by solving those problems. Whatever obstruction or interference we come up against, we must resolutely press ahead with any reform measure that is conducive to raising the Party's governance capacity, to bolstering its position as the governing party, to maintaining the authority of the Constitution and the law, to safeguarding

the rights and interests of the people, to upholding fairness and justice, and to preserving national security and stability. We cannot under any circumstances neglect the important while we dwell on the trivial, shirk our responsibilities, or drag our feet.

A feature of reform in the domain of law-based governance is the fact that many issues involve legal provisions. It is true that reform must have a legal basis. But we must not lack the courage to step beyond the limits just because such action is not provided for in our existing laws. If that were the case, reform would be unable to continue. Hence the old saying, “If it is good for the people, there is no need to follow the practices of antiquity; if it serves the matter at hand, there is no need to observe the conventions of old.” Therefore, where reform is required in the future, we can make necessary amendments to our existing laws before advancing the reform. The Leading Group for Further Reform under the CPC Central Committee will be required to carefully study and oversee matters pertaining to reform.

The comprehensive advancement of the rule of law is a systematic undertaking and a profound and far-reaching revolution in the governance of our country. It is imperative that we strengthen the Party’s organizational leadership over initiatives pertaining to the rule of law. On the one hand, Party committees at all levels must improve the systems and work mechanisms by which the CPC exercises guidance over law-based governance, and assume leadership responsibilities in the implementation of the rule of law in their respective regions and departments. Once we have identified the priorities, we must quickly formulate detailed guidelines and plans for putting into effect the guiding principles of this plenary session. On the other hand, we must place the focus for our work at the community level. We need to make full use of the role of community-level Party committees in advancing the rule of law, enhance the competence of community-level organizations and personnel in carrying out the rule of law, educate and guide community-level Party members and officials to strengthen their awareness of the rule of law and raise their ability to act by law, and work hard to carry out at the community level the various tasks and measures put forward at the plenary session.

* Part of the speech at the second full assembly of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

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THE LITERATURE AND ART OF THE PEOPLE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-02-28

THE LITERATURE AND ART OF THE PEOPLE*

October 15, 2014

Socialist literature and art are, in essence, the literature and art of the people. In his speech at the 1942 forum on literature and art in Yan'an, Mao Zedong stressed that "this question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle". Deng Xiaoping made the remarks: "Our literature and art belong to the people," and "it is the people who nurture our writers and artists". Jiang Zemin exhorted cultural workers to "create art in the context of the history created by the people, and create artistic achievements on the basis of the people's achievements". Hu Jintao emphasized, "The tree of art thrives only when our writers and artists place the people above everything else in their minds, always stand by the people, and adhere to the principle of putting people first in their works."

The people are both the creators and the observers of history, and both its protagonists and playwrights. To speak for the people, literature and art must follow the right path of serving the people and serving the socialist cause. This is a basic requirement of the Party, and decides the future of China's literature and art. Literature and art can exert their positive energy to the full only by firmly upholding the Marxist view on literature and art, and truly putting the people first. To put the people first, writers and artists must take meeting the people's cultural needs as their aim and consummation of all work, and the people the central subject of their creation. The people are the best connoisseurs and critics of literary and art works, and serving them is the duty of all writers and artists.

First, people need literature and art, and their needs are multifaceted. To satisfy people's growing material needs, we must increase the aggregate material wealth of society by building a stronger economy. To satisfy their growing cultural needs, we must increase the aggregate intellectual and cultural wealth of society by promoting cultural development. Material needs are primary needs, and the need for food precedes all others. That is why we say "food is the god for the people". But this does not mean that cultural needs are insignificant. The biggest difference between humans and other animals lies in our cultural needs, which exist through the entire course of human life.

As living standards rise, the requirements for cultural products, including literary and art works, grow in terms of quality, taste and style. All fields in the cultural sector, including literature, drama, film, TV, music, dancing, fine arts, photography, calligraphy, acrobatics, ballad singing, storytelling and folk arts, should keep pace with the times, and cater to the current needs of the people. Their practitioners should commit themselves to creating passionate, moving works with touching images and superb lyrics that the people love, so that the public can enjoy a better cultural life.

Today the international community is paying increasing attention to China, with the desire to learn more about us – our outlook, our lifestyle, our values, our views on nature, the universe, the past and future, our joys and sorrows, and our heritage, traditions, norms and temperament. This broad range of knowledge cannot be garnered merely through press releases, official reports, or individual trips to China by foreign citizens. In this regard literature and art have an irreplaceable role to play, and can serve as the ideal channel for communication.

Every novel, essay, poem, painting, photo, film, TV drama or musical piece offers a unique perspective on China for people in other countries, inviting, enticing and impressing them in its own way. Our cultural heritage such as Peking Opera, traditional music, calligraphy and traditional Chinese painting are all important avenues for the outside world to learn about China. You as writers and artists should tell engaging stories of China, make our voice heard, introduce the Chinese ethos, and present China's image, giving foreign audiences a better understanding of China through your works. You are expected to promote splendid Chinese arts globally, introduce foreign audiences to the charm of Chinese culture, and in the course help them develop a better understanding of it.

Second, literature and art need the people, who are the fountain of literary and artistic creations. Works that are divorced from the people are rootless, senseless and soulless. Lenin exhorted: "Art belongs to the people. It must have its deepest roots in the broad mass of workers. It must be understood and loved by them. It must be rooted in and grow with their feelings, thoughts and desires. It must arouse and develop the artists in them." The people and their life are a bonanza for literary and artistic creations, offering inexhaustible inspiration.

The demands of the people are the reason for the very existence of literature and art. Whether an artist can produce excellent works depends on whether he or she can stand for and speak for the people. All literary and art works that caused a sensation in their times and have gone down in history reflect the call of their times and the aspirations of the people.

For instance, all classics of Chinese literature are suffused with compassion and concern for ordinary people, and ingeniously fuse artistic expression with humanistic vision. "The Pellet Song" in *Origin of Ancient Poetry* sketches prehistoric hunting scenes; the *Book of Songs* depicts the toil of farmers in "The Seventh Month", the life of soldiers in "Gathering Vetch", and love between young people in "Crying Ospreys"; "Asking Heaven" explores the mystery of the universe; the *Song of the Chi-Le* is about the life of nomads; The *Ballad of Mulan* lauds the wit and grit of women. They are all based on real life.

The best remembered lines of China's best-known writers invariably reflect people's heartfelt wishes in their times. Examples are "I sigh and cry, how hard life is for my countrymen" by Qu Yuan; "Where to find decent homes? To shelter all poor scholars on earth and bring a smile to their face" and "The rich wine and dine, the poor starve and die" by Du Fu; "Every grain on the plate comes from hard labor" by Li Shen; and "For petty county officials like us, every concern of the people weighs in our heart" by Zheng Banqiao.

It is the same with other cultures. *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the oldest full-length literary work in the world, records the quest for the law of nature and mystery of life by inhabitants in the Tigris-Euphrates area. The epics of Homer sing praise of such virtues as bravery, justice, unselfishness and diligence. *The Divine Comedy*, *Decameron*, and *The Life of Gargantua and Pantagruel* protest against medieval asceticism and obscurantism, and voice a yearning for emancipation of the mind.

These all point to the fact: Literature and art thrive only when they are firmly grounded in reality, and closely keep pace with the times. Their vitality lies in their conformity with the people's will and reflection of the people's concerns.

The people are not an abstract symbol but individuals of flesh and blood who have emotions, dreams, and inner struggles. How a writer or an artist feels and thinks does not necessarily represent how the majority of the people feel and think. Writers and artists therefore must humbly learn from the people and their life, their great endeavors and the colorful world they create, all of which provide nourishment for the artist's life and career, enabling them to constantly discover and create beauty. Writers and artists must keep the people's wellbeing in their minds, convey the people's joys and sorrows in their works, extol the people's endeavors, and cover the most beautiful souls among them, so as to strengthen their audience's expectations for and confidence in a better future.

Here I would like to share with you a story of mine. Before I headed for Zhengding County of Hebei Province in 1982 for a new appointment, many friends came to bid farewell. One of them was the writer and playwright of August First Film Studio Wang Yuanjian. He urged me to follow the example of Liu Qing – being close to local farmers and becoming one of them. In order to immerse himself in rural life, Liu Qing first went to work as deputy Party secretary of Chang'an County, Shaanxi Province in 1952, and soon resigned. While remaining a member of the standing committee of the county Party committee, he moved to Huangfu Village. There he lived for 14 years, and wrote his novel *Builders of A New Life*. His immersion in rural life in the Guanzhong area of Shaanxi explains the lifelike characters in his books. Being so well acquainted with farmers, he immediately knew whether they would approve of any new policy concerning agriculture or rural residents.

Third, writers and artists must have genuine love for the people. The results of their creations are decided by their attitude and stance. Those who feel no affection for the people will not work for them. Lu Xun was devoted to the people, as is testified by his famous lines "holding my head high in defiance of the enemy's attacks, bowing my head low in obedience to the people". Jia Dashan, a writer I got to know when working in Zhengding of Hebei Province, is another writer who loves the people. After his death I wrote a commemorative article. What impressed me most was his concern for the country and his countrymen wherever and whatever he was. "Though living at grassroots level, one is concerned for his state." Writers and artists should be aware that they will

achieve nothing unless they are of the same mind with the people, share their fate, joys and sorrows, and willingly serve their interests. This is the sole path that writers and artists should follow, and it should also be their greatest joy.

Love for the people should not be lip service. It demands deep, rational convictions and concrete actions. Absolute, genuine, lasting love for the people is based on an acknowledgment that it is the people who create history, and on a willingness to dive deep into their lives and humbly learn from them. I stress “deep” here, because certain people only do it in a cursory manner, without putting their hearts into it. Our writers and artists must answer these questions: Who do we serve? Who do we rely on? Who am I? To bring down any invisible wall between you and the people, you should not only approach them physically, but also empathize with them emotionally.

The people are the source of all innovations in literature and art, directly or indirectly. “A grasp of mundane affairs is genuine knowledge, understanding of worldly wisdom is true learning.” Arts can fly on the wings of imagination high in the sky, but artists must keep their feet firmly on the ground. There are hundreds or thousands of ways of creating art, but the most important and reliable is the one that is people-centered and reality-based. Without his panoramic and microscopic observation of the society of his time, Cao Xueqin could not have produced the encyclopedic classic *A Dream of Red Mansions*. Similarly, without his intimacy with and empathy for the underclass immediately before and after the Revolution of 1911, Lu Xun could not have created such memorable characters as Sister Xianglin, Runtu, Ah Q and Kong Yiji.

There is no sustained inspiration or passion for art to be found in an ivory tower. As a Soviet poet put it, homebound writers vainly rack their brains to the point of wringing water out of nails. We must dive deep into life, and discover the essence of it amid the people. Only after fully and thoroughly ruminating on and digesting life can we reconstruct it in fascinating works with thoughtful plots and compelling characters. “Meditating behind closed doors is no good approach to writing, going out and traveling spontaneously leads to good poems.” All techniques and means of artistic creation must serve the content and the purpose of providing ingenious, incisive and engaging coverage of certain persons and events, or making strong arguments. Otherwise the techniques and means are worthless, and can even have an adverse impact on the results desired.

Life of course does not always run smoothly. It does not always meet our expectations, and evil phenomena exist. We should not shun these problems, but instead find the right approach to addressing them. Our ancestors warned that neither grief nor joy must go to excess, and that all human feelings are subject to the constraints of propriety and morality. Literature and art will not hearten people to press on if they simply expose the darkness and give an account of the status quo without extolling brightness and ideals and offering moral guidance. They should observe life from the perspectives of both realism and romanticism, dissipating darkness with light, and defeating evil with goodness and justice, so that people can see the better side of life, hopes and dreams ahead of them.

A good work of literature and art can stand the test of the audiences, critics and market as well. It puts social benefits before everything else, but also yields decent economic returns. Under the socialist market economy, many cultural products have to realize their values on the market. Economic result is therefore a factor that cannot be overlooked. It nevertheless comes second to social benefits. When the two collide, economic results must submit to social benefits, and market values must give way to social values.

Literature and art should not be slaves of the market or bear the stench of money. A good work is ideologically and artistically successful and well received by the market as well. To defend the aesthetic ideals and independent values of literature and art, we must set quantitative indexes at reasonable levels, including circulation, audience figures, click rate, and box office revenue. We should not overlook or negate these indexes, but neither can we be obsessed with them to the extent of blindly following the market trend wherever it takes us.

As some people put it, we should keep our eyes on the horizon of the wider world while keeping our feet on the ground of China, following the most advanced globally, and meanwhile facing the reality domestically. Only through this approach can we share the Chinese experience with all humankind, and make our unique contribution to world literature and art. These people are right. The Chinese people have built a civilization of more than 5,000 years, have pulled through wars to win independence and liberation, and under the leadership of the CPC have achieved notable successes in the course of revolution, construction and reform. The profound changes in this ancient country and the rich work and life experiences of its 1.3 billion people offer fertile soil for literary and artistic creation. There is so much to be written about them. We can find infinite strength from the motherland and the people as long as we firmly stay with them.

* Part of the speech at a meeting on literature and art.

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BUILD A CULTURAL HOME SHARED BY ALL ETHNIC GROUPS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-02-26

BUILD A CULTURAL HOME SHARED BY ALL ETHNIC GROUPS*

September 28, 2014

In carrying out ethnic work, we should focus not only on material aspects, but more importantly, on people and their non-material needs. Ultimately, ethnic work is all about the people. Humans are distinguished by their ability to think. Whether they behave properly or not all depends on how they think. Without proper theoretical guidance, it is impossible to effectively implement the Party's policies on ethnic affairs and promote reform, development and stability in ethnic minority areas.

Two forces – material and non-material forces – should be brought into play to do our ethnic work well. We should acknowledge that, for some time, we have placed more emphasis on the material rather than the non-material factors. Both history and reality have taught us that ethnic affairs can only be effectively managed by meeting both their material and non-material needs. Failure to meet either can only result in even more problems.

We should also realize that material and non-material factors have their own distinct roles to play and, to a large extent, they are not interchangeable. Material insufficiencies should be made up by bolstering material strength, and non-material inadequacies by bolstering non-material strength. Economic development and a better life may not necessarily result in improvement in political awareness.

It is important to prioritize economic growth for ethnic minorities and ethnic minority areas in our effort to maintain ethnic solidarity and fight separatists, but that alone is not enough. It should be said that ethnic problems go well beyond material insufficiencies. Just as one key opens only one lock, we should make good use of the “development key” to address the problem of material insufficiencies and the “political and moral education key” to address non-material problems.

We must win the political education battleground with a sound political philosophy and high moral standards in the realm of ethnic affairs, just as in all other sectors. Failing to do that, we stand to lose. The political struggle involving ethnic affairs, an outpost battle against hostile forces both at home and abroad, remains tense and complex. We must see the severity and complexity of the political struggle involving ethnic affairs, unequivocally oppose erroneous ideas, and enable officials and people of various ethnic groups to tell right from wrong on major issues and guard against ideological infiltration by hostile forces at home and abroad.

To strengthen the great unity of the Chinese nation, it is all the more fundamental and imperative, over the long run, to strengthen cultural identity, build a common cultural home shared by people of all ethnic groups, and heighten the sense of the Chinese nation as a single community. The cultural identity, powerful and profound, is the root and soul of ethnic unity and harmony. Only when we all subscribe to our cultural identity can we truly identify ourselves with our great country, with the Chinese nation, and with the path to socialism with Chinese characteristics.

It is a strategic task to build a cultural home shared by people of all ethnic groups. The Chinese culture epitomizes the riches of cultures of all ethnic groups. You may find a large number of depictions of the life and work of ethnic minority people in such classical works as the *Book of Songs*, *fu* poetry of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), poetry of the Tang (618-907) and Song (960-1279) dynasties, operas of the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368), and the novels of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1616-1911) dynasties, which are gems of the Chinese culture; many of them were created by minority people. The Tibetan epic *King Gesar*, the Mongolian *Jangar*, and the Kirgiz *Manas* are collectively known as the “three heroic epics” created by minority people in China. In fact, a third of the Chinese items on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity are items created by China’s ethnic minorities.

We should emphatically tell our people that all ethnic groups have contributed to the formation and development of the Chinese culture, and all should appreciate and learn from each other. It is not right to equate Han culture with Chinese culture to the neglect of the cultures of ethnic minorities; nor is it right to divorce one’s ethnic culture from the Chinese culture and refuse to identify with the latter. Both tendencies should be rejected.

Small virtues nurture us like an endless stream, while the great virtue nurtures everything between Heaven and earth. Why have the Chinese people been able to live and grow for thousands of years? A very important reason is that we have a national spirit with patriotism at its core and that we have pursued the same core values. Therefore, the core socialist values should serve as the very basis on which to build the cultural home shared by people of all ethnic groups. We should vigorously promote and practice these values across the whole society and among all ethnic groups.

In doing so, it is important to draw on the cultural wealth of ethnic minorities. For example, they revere Mother Nature, care about living beings, cherish life, work hard, practice economy, pursue harmony, respect the elderly, show hospitality, ready to help, uphold moral standards, defy difficulties, fulfill commitments, refuse to gain anything improperly, have self-esteem and self-respect, value friendship, and talk sense. We should refine, elaborate and promote these fine qualities, which may provide cultural nourishment to enrich the core socialist values.

Youth is a crucial period during which people form their values, outlook on life, national identity, and views on ethnic groups. As education helps shape the mind and the soul, we should educate people when young, ideally from kindergarten. We must conduct vigorous and effective education on patriotism so that the seeds of love for China will be planted deep in the heart of every child

and the core socialist values will take root deep in the hearts of our next generation. We should educate children of all ethnic groups on national identity so that our children will, first and foremost, know they are members of the Chinese nation, not just members of their own ethnic group. Education on national identity must be carried out with vigor and on a long-term basis.

In TV programs such as the *Avenue of Stars* and *Sing My Song*, performances given by minority artists are unique and unadulterated with the natural appeal of ethnic cultures, and they are therefore very popular. It is wrong to look down upon a minority culture, dismiss it as backward, or suggest that it should be allowed to die out on its own. There is a line in an ancient Chinese poem, which reads: “Northern steeds yearn for the winds from the north; southern birds nest on south-facing branches.” We should not deny anyone their right to embrace their ethnic culture. We can embrace both the broader Chinese culture and our own ethnic culture without interfering with each other. Of course, ethnic cultures should be developed on the basis of strengthening Chinese cultural identity and maintaining a proper view of the history of one’s ethnic group. We should never see things in reverse. Minority cultures are often too small and weak to resist the impact of the market. Some parts of their intangible cultural heritage have already disappeared, to the great loss of ethnic groups. We must not wait to recognize their unique value only after they are lost. However, to promote and conserve traditional ethnic culture does not mean to leave it all intact, preserving everything including the sub-standard. Rather, we should refine the crude and draw out the essence, shed the outdated and bring forth the new, so that we will be able to achieve a creative transformation and development of traditional ethnic culture.

* Part of the speech at the Central Conference on Ethnic Affairs.

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CARRY ON OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE IN A CREATIVE WAY

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-02-24

CARRY ON OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE IN A CREATIVE WAY*

September 24, 2014

This year marks the 2565th anniversary of Confucius' birth. The school of thought he founded and the Confucian doctrines are an integral part of traditional Chinese culture, and have had an immense impact on the Chinese civilization. Along with other schools of thought that emerged during the creation and evolution of the Chinese nation, Confucianism encapsulates the inner feelings, rational thinking, and cultural achievements of the Chinese people over many millennia. It shows the intellectual leanings of our people, and is one of the main sources of strength that have enabled our nation to survive and thrive. The Chinese civilization has profoundly shaped China's development and has made a tremendous contribution to human civilization and progress.

The gestation and evolution of traditional Chinese culture, especially its core components, can be roughly divided into the following phases: the pre-Qin period prior to 221 BC when a constellation of prominent thinkers founded numerous schools of thought that contended with each other; the Western and Eastern Han dynasties (206 BC-AD 220) when study of Confucian classics blossomed; the period (220-589) from the Three Kingdoms to the Southern and Northern Dynasties when the Chinese metaphysical philosophy *Xuanxue* prevailed; the Sui and Tang dynasties (581-907) when Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism all flourished; and the period (960-1644) from the Song to Ming dynasties when neo-Confucianism emerged and grew.

From this process, spanning over 2,000 years, we can draw three conclusions. First, Confucianism is both antithetical to and compatible with other schools of thought in Chinese history. They competed with but also learned from each other. Despite its long predominance, Confucianism always coexisted with other doctrines, maintaining harmony in diversity. Second, Confucianism and other schools of thought have evolved with the times and adapted to new circumstances. This continuous development and self-renewal in response to social progress and changing times is the reason for their enduring vitality. Third, Confucianism and other schools of thought all emphasize practicality, and are dedicated to edifying the people with their teachings. The goal is to ensure that the education of individuals and the general public goes hand in hand and in mutual reinforcement with the governance of the state.

Looking back in history, we can see that the finest components of traditional Chinese philosophy and culture, including Confucianism, have played a critical role in the formation and uninterrupted development of the Chinese civilization. They have been critical in attaining and maintaining political unity and solidarity, in keeping all ethnic groups in China together as one close family, in fostering and enriching the national ethos, and in rallying the people to defend national independence and resist foreign aggression. They also play a critical role in social progress, balancing interests, and social equilibrium.

Human civilization today has come to a point of great material and cultural progress. In particular the material abundance we enjoy is beyond the wildest imagination of our ancestors. At the same time humanity is facing a number of prominent problems, including a widening wealth gap, an insatiable desire for luxury and extravagance, expanding egotism, declining public integrity, moral degradation, and growing tension between humanity and nature. To solve these problems, we need to apply not only the knowledge and resources of today, but also those garnered in the past.

Some visionary people around the world believe that Confucianism and other aspects of China's traditional culture offer perspectives that can help solve the tough issues of our time. They include the following ideas:

- Human beings are an integral part of nature and should follow the laws of nature.
- One should pursue the common good and worldwide harmony.
- One should seek perpetual self-improvement and embrace the world with virtue.
- The people are the foundation of a state, and ensuring them a life of peace, prosperity and fulfillment is of paramount importance.
- The state should be governed by virtue and integrity.
- One should seek self-renewal each and every day, discard the outdated to make room for the new, and keep pace with the times.
- One should stay grounded in reality and seek truth from facts.
- One should acquire practical knowledge and combine knowledge with action and practice.
- A mission should be accomplished by soliciting opinions extensively, pooling ideas and efforts, and benefiting all.
- The benevolent person loves others, and virtue makes decent people.
- One should treat others with sincerity, honor one's commitments, and promote amity.
- Officials must be clean and diligent in their work.
- One should practice economy and restraint and abstain from extravagance.
- Humanity should live by the principles of pursuing balance and peace, seeking common ground while reserving differences, and maintaining harmony in diversity and peaceful coexistence.
- Even in time of peace and stability, a state should always be prepared for potential threats that may cause disorder or even social collapse.

In this abundance of humanistic, philosophical, educational and moral principles in traditional Chinese culture, we can find inspiration for better understanding and transforming the world, managing state affairs, and promoting ethical progress. Some elements of traditional Chinese

culture lubricate social relations and motivate people to become better selves. They should be carried forward in today's world while taking on new meanings in the new circumstances. I hope that scholars all over the world will carry out fruitful studies and extensive exchanges on this subject, so that humanity can benefit from China's traditional culture as well as the cultures of all other countries.

Over the millennia of human civilization, all countries and peoples have come to where they are today by building on the past and paving the way for the future. It is intercultural communication and integration that has created the world as we know it. Exchanges, integration, and mutual learning between civilizations are therefore the essential way to build a better world and create a happier life for people in all countries.

Having the right attitude towards different civilizations and towards the relationship between traditional and contemporary cultures is an issue of great importance. We must observe the following principles in this respect:

First, safeguarding the diversity of civilizations. "It is only natural for things to be different." Harmony in diversity is the law governing the creation and evolution of all beings. All things in the universe are different, in a million ways, and splendid in their own right. If they were all the same, the entire world would be stagnant. As the civilization of every country and every people is rooted in its national reality, it of course has distinctive features and strengths. All countries and peoples should maintain this diversity of civilizations by increasing exchanges and mutual learning, rather than being estranged from, excluding, or trying to take over each other. Only in doing so can we build a world with an exuberance of color and vigor like a garden in full bloom.

All civilizations have their value. We should show good sense in addressing the differences between our own and other civilizations, with the understanding that they are all special in their own way. We should focus on commonality while respecting differences, learn from others' merits to make up for our deficiencies, and never disparage or attack other civilizations. That a civilization is dissimilar from one's own is no justification for others to think ill of it, conspire to change it to their liking, or even attempt to replace it with theirs. History has made it clear time and again that any coercive method to handle the differences between civilizations will fail, and to make things worse, cause catastrophe for human civilization as a whole.

Second, respecting the civilizations of all countries and peoples. The soul of a country and a people resides in its civilization, and especially in its philosophy and culture. If they are not fully cherished or well preserved, the country or people cannot stand tall. All countries and peoples should cherish and uphold their philosophies and cultures, and at the same time recognize and respect those of others. The philosophies and cultures in our world are as varied as the colors of flowers. Each has its own merits, and none is superior to others. All deserve due recognition and respect – those of nations that are large and powerful or those of nations that are not.

Honoring the fruits of one's own civilization nevertheless does not mean retreating into isolation, seeking superiority, or becoming complacent and arrogant. All countries and peoples should be humble enough to learn from each other and draw on the best of other philosophies and cultures. This is key to building intellectual and cultural self-respect, self-confidence, and self-reliance.

Third, taking the right approach to mutual learning between civilizations. Civilizations are enriched by exchanges and mutual learning. All civilizations, born under whatever social conditions, are open and fluid. This is a crucial rule underlying their dissemination and evolution. During its long history, the Chinese civilization has obtained rich nourishment from its exchanges with other civilizations, and in return made significant contributions to human progress. Cases in point include the ancient Silk Road, the large number of international delegations to China during the Sui and Tang dynasties, the westbound pilgrimages of Faxian and Xuanzang in search of Buddhist scriptures, and the seven maritime expeditions by Zheng He. Confucianism – a body of knowledge indigenous to China – has long been shared by the entire world to become part of human civilization.

There is a Chinese maxim: "Learning alone without exchanges with others will lead to ignorance." We should learn from all civilizations, both of old times – those of ancient China, Greece, Rome, Egypt, Mesopotamia and India, and of present times – those of Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Oceania. We should imbibe the wholesome ingredients in them, adapt the fine elements of all civilizations to today's cultures and societies, and promote the cultures and ethos of perpetual worth and contemporary relevance that transcend temporal limits and national boundaries. When learning from other civilizations, a country or a people must stay grounded in its own realities, draw on others' strengths to mend its weaknesses, and choose good qualities to emulate. This learning must be inclusive. But inclusiveness does not mean indiscriminate acceptance; we should separate the wheat from the chaff and sift the true from the false.

Fourth, adopting a balanced view of cultural traditions. We must never forget our history; only then can we open up a new era. We should know how to inherit before we become good at innovation. Outstanding traditional culture is the root of the heritage and development of a nation. Renouncing it is tantamount to severing our cultural lifeline. We should learn how to best carry forward our cultural traditions, and at the same time promote contemporary culture. We should put emphasis on both inheriting and development.

During its formation and progress, traditional culture is inevitably subjected to restraint and influence by the limitations in people's mindset, in the conditions of the times, and in social systems. Consequently, it is natural that it contains things outdated or even undesirable. This requires us to adhere to the principle of making the past serve the present, weeding through the old to bring forth the new when learning, studying and applying traditional culture. We must make judgments in accordance with today's reality and the requirements of our time, instead of putting things into practice mechanically without thinking.

We should make the past serve the present and take the past as a mirror for today, distinguishing what can be used and what cannot, and choosing wisely what to inherit; we should not value the past over the present and use the past to negate the present. We should try to transform and boost traditional culture in a creative way, to integrate the old and the new, and let both of them serve our current mission of cultivating the people.

Fine culture conveys great truths and cultivates high character. Contemporary China has developed out of ancient China; contemporary Chinese philosophy and culture are built out of traditional Chinese philosophy and culture. To understand present-day China and the Chinese people, one needs a good knowledge of the cultural traditions that have sustained our growth as a nation.

Studying Confucius and Confucianism is an important avenue to understanding the character of the Chinese people and the provenance of our national psyche. In the Spring and Autumn and Warring States period (770-221 BC), many schools of thought – including Confucianism, Legalism, Taoism, Mohism, Agrarianism, and Military Strategy – learned from and contended with each other, creating a vibrant culture that broadened the vision of the people of that time. Although Confucianism later rose to dominance and remained so for much of Chinese history, Chinese philosophy and culture have continued to diversify in many directions, conveying the worldview, outlook on life, values and aesthetics that the Chinese people have developed and passed on from generation to generation. Their core elements have become the fundamental cultural heritage of the Chinese nation, and shaped our unique identity as we strive to achieve self-improvement, family harmony, good national governance, and universal peace, perform our duties in accordance with the needs of the times, adapt to specific conditions while observing general rules, identify the underlying laws of development and act accordingly, and secure ever more achievements.

The ideal, pursuit, values and ethos of the Chinese people are deeply rooted in traditional Chinese culture. At the same time they have advanced with the times to provide new context.

The Chinese Communists are Marxists who uphold the scientific doctrine of Marxism in developing Chinese socialism. But we are not historical or cultural nihilists. It is our long-held belief that China must integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with its specific realities, adopt the right approach to both its traditional culture and cultures of other countries, and gain strength by imbibing the best of intellectual and cultural achievements of humanity. Over the many decades of leading the Chinese people in revolution, construction and reform, China's Communists have remained faithful inheritors and advocates of fine traditional Chinese culture, drawing on the wisdom of an array of luminaries in history ranging from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen.

Today the Chinese people are working towards our Two Centenary Goals, the first to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects. Moderate prosperity is a concept raised in the Confucian classic Book of Rites 2,000 years ago, which has since been pursued by the Chinese

people as an ideal state of society. A national development goal framed in this concept conforms to the reality of China's development. It is well accepted and supported by the people.

To sum up, we must stay rooted in our history as we embrace the future, and carry on our cultural heritage as we press ahead. Only by doing so can we succeed in the missions of our time.

* Part of the speech at the opening ceremony of the International Conference Commemorating the 2565th Anniversary of Confucius' Birth and the Fifth Congress of the International Confucian Association.

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BROAD, MULTILEVEL AND INSTITUTIONALIZED CONSULTATIVE DEMOCRACY

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-02-21

BROAD, MULTILEVEL AND INSTITUTIONALIZED CONSULTATIVE DEMOCRACY*

September 21, 2014

Consultative democracy is a unique form and a distinctive strength of Chinese socialist democracy. It is an important embodiment of the Party's mass line. It was stated at the 18th National Congress of the CPC in 2012 that as China's socialist democracy progresses, we need to improve the systems and mechanisms for consultative democracy and promote its broad-based, multilevel and institutionalized development. It was emphasized at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee held in 2013 that with a focus on the major issues concerning economic and social development and the practical issues that affect people's immediate interests, the Party should lead extensive consultations throughout the whole of society and ensure that they take place both before decisions are made and during their implementation. These important statements and plans have shown what the way forward will be for China's socialist consultative democracy.

– We should have a full understanding of the nature of socialist consultative democracy as mentioned above. The very purpose of the CPC's leadership in developing people's democracy is to guarantee and support the position of the people as masters of the country. This is not simply a slogan or a few hollow words; we must ensure its place in the country's political and social activities, and guarantee the people's right to effectively manage state affairs, economic and cultural undertakings, and social affairs in accordance with the law.

"A name is not born with the thing it represents; it is defined by its actualities." There are many diverse ways to realize democracy, so we must not be confined just to one rigid model, nor shall we stick to one set of criteria for all. Further, there is no such thing as one single set of standard criteria that are universally acceptable. Whether people enjoy democratic rights or not depends on whether they have the right to vote in elections, as well as whether they have the right to constantly participate in everyday political activities. Apart from having the right to democratic elections, it also depends on whether they have the right to democratic decision-making, democratic management, and democratic supervision. Socialist democracy requires not just a

complete set of institutions and procedures, but also full participation. The position of the people as masters of the country must be manifested in the concrete and practical exercise of state power by the CPC and its governance of the country, in all aspects of the work of Party and state agencies at all levels, and through the realization and development of the people's own interests.

Putting people's democracy into practice and ensuring the people's position as masters of the country demand that we initiate extensive discussions throughout the whole of society while governing the country. Mao Zedong once said, "The relations between all aspects of the state need deliberations." "You are all familiar with the nature of our government – to do things through consultations with the people.... We may call it a consultative government." Zhou Enlai once said, "The spirit of deliberation of New Democracy is not in the final voting; it is mainly in the deliberations and repeated discussions that happen before a decision is made."

Under China's socialist system, whenever a problem crops up, we should resort to deliberations first. Matters involving many people are discussed by all those involved; to reach consensus on the wishes and needs of the whole of society is the essence of people's democracy. On matters that concern the people's interests, deliberations should be held with the people; without deliberation or with insufficient deliberation, it is difficult to handle these matters well.

We should always hold deliberations when we raise and address issues: the more numerous and in-depth, the better. On matters that have a bearing on the interests of everyone, deliberations will be held extensively throughout the whole of society; on matters that concern the interests of people in one specific area, deliberations will be held locally; on matters that affect the interests of certain groups of people, deliberations will be held among those groups; and on matters that concern the interests of a community, deliberations will be held within the community.

The process of holding extensive deliberations among the people is the process of promoting democracy and drawing on collective wisdom, the process of unifying people's thinking and building consensus, the process of rational and democratic decision-making, and the process of ensuring the position of the people as masters of the country. It is only in this way that we can have solid foundations for our country's governance and for social governance; it is only in this way that we are able to draw together strength.

In both ancient and modern times, in China and abroad, experience has shown that to guarantee and support the people's position as masters of the country, it is essential that their lawfully elected representatives participate in the management of state affairs and social activities, and it is equally important that they participate in such activities through systems and methods that go farther than simple election. If the people merely have the right to vote but no right of extensive participation, in other words, if they are awakened only at election time but go into hibernation afterwards, this is token democracy. Reviewing our experience with people's democracy since the founding of the PRC, we have made it clear that in such a vast and populous socialist country, extensive deliberation under the leadership of the CPC on major issues affecting the economy and the people's quality of life embodies the unity of democracy and centralism. Chinese socialist

democracy takes two important forms: In one the people exercise their right to vote in elections, and in the other, people from all sectors of society undertake extensive deliberations before major decisions are made. In China, these two forms do not cancel one another out, nor are they contradictory; they are complementary. They constitute institutional features and strengths of Chinese socialist democracy.

Consultative democracy is a unique form of Chinese socialist democracy. It derives from our nation's long-established inclusive political culture, including such ideas as all under Heaven belonging to the people, mutual learning and inclusiveness, and seeking common ground while putting aside differences. It springs from China's political evolution in modern times; from the long-term practical experience as the CPC led the people through the course of revolution, construction and reform; from the political system created by all political parties, people's organizations, ethnic groups, and people from all social strata and different backgrounds after the founding of the PRC; and from the continuous innovations in China's political institutions since the adoption of reform and opening up. It has firm cultural, theoretical, practical and institutional foundations.

Consultative democracy has been integrated into the whole process of Chinese socialist democracy. Chinese socialist consultative democracy not only upholds the leadership of the CPC, but also gives expression to the positive roles of all participants; it not only upholds the people's principal position in the country, but also implements the leadership system and organizational principle of democratic centralism; it not only adheres to the principle of people's democracy, but also promotes unity and harmony. So China's socialist consultative democracy diversifies the forms and widens the channels of democracy and gives it new meaning.

– We should thoroughly understand the fundamental nature of socialist consultative democracy as an important manifestation of the Party's mass line in the political sphere. The CPC comes from the people and serves the people. This makes it essential that the PRC, which was established by the people under the leadership of the CPC, should rely on the people in governing the country and managing society. The CPC carries out its mass line in its work, that is to say, it stays committed to doing everything for the people and relying on them, following the principle of “from the people, to the people”, and translating its sound proposals into people's conscious actions. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China stipulates that all power of the state belongs to the people, and that all state agencies and public servants must rely on their support, keep in close contact with them, listen to their opinions and suggestions, accept their scrutiny, and work hard to serve them. Both the CPC and state agencies must follow the mass line and rely heavily on the people in their exercise of state power.

“A government thrives as it complies with the wishes of the people; a government fails as it goes against the wishes of the people.” The future of a political party or government ultimately rests on public support. The development course of the CPC and the PRC reveals that the reason that we have made progress in our cause is that we have always maintained close ties with the people and represented their fundamental interests. Should we become detached from the people and lose their support, that cause will fail. We must put the people's interests first. Under no

circumstances can we ever alter our standpoint of breathing the same air as the people and sharing a common future with them, nor can we forget our purpose which is to serve the people wholeheartedly, nor can we discard the view of historical materialism that the people are the real heroes.

Serving the people wholeheartedly and always representing their fundamental interests are the important preconditions and foundation for the implementation and development of consultative democracy. It is stipulated in the Constitution of the CPC that the Party has no special interests of its own apart from the interests of the working class and all the Chinese people. The CPC and the state it leads represent the fundamental interests of all the Chinese people, and all of their theories, guidelines, principles, policies, and work plans should come from the people and should be formulated and implemented in the best interests of the people. With this as our basic political premise, we have the obligation and ability to listen extensively to comments and suggestions from all sectors of society.

By extensively listening to suggestions and recommendations and accepting criticism and scrutiny through various forms of consultation, we will, under the CPC's unified leadership, be able to reach the broadest possible consensus on all decisions we make and on all our work, and in doing so, ensure that factional strife and bitter disagreement between parties and between interest groups can be avoided. We will be able to have all demands heard on matters affecting the interests of all sides before decisions are made so that political forces do not remain fixed in their own opinions or reject others with different views for the sake of their own interests. We will be able to put in place broad-based mechanisms for identifying and correcting errors so that decisions are not made unless there is a clear understanding of the circumstances, nor are they made on the basis of a belief in one's own infallibility. We will be able to form mechanisms for ensuring people's participation in administration and governance at all levels in order to guarantee that the people will be able to voice their opinions and will find it easy to take an active part in the country's political activities and social governance. We will also be able to pool the wisdom and strength of the whole of society to advance reform and development, effectively overcoming any problems with our decisions and ensuring that essential work is not impeded by lack of consensus. This is where the unique strength of our socialist consultative democracy lies.

Democracy is not an ornament to be used for decoration; it is to be used to solve the problems that the people want to solve. In all the activities of the Party as it exercises state power, and in all of the PRC's activities related to governance, we must respect the people's principal position in the country and respect their creativity. We should look to them as our teachers, and ensure that increased political wisdom and stronger governance capability are deeply rooted in the people's innovative practice. We should incorporate constructive advice and opinions from all sides of society into the governance of the country.

"Heaven sees as the people see; Heaven hears as the people hear." The realization, protection and development of the fundamental interests of all the people should be taken as the ultimate goal of all work. And in carrying out major tasks and making major decisions we must always take

into account the conditions of the people and their opinions, and general public sentiment. We must put the people's interests first, bear in mind their expectations, pay heed to their aspirations, work to genuinely reflect their wishes, and show true concern for their difficulties. We need to be more community-focused in our work, regularly visit communities, and stay close to the people so that we can become empathetic to their actual conditions, ease their concerns, address their discontent, and enable them to feel that we do care about them. We must do more for the people and offer them practical benefits so as to spark their enthusiasm, initiative and creativity.

– We should work hard to ensure the broad-based, multilevel and institutionalized development of consultative democracy. Looking forward, we must adhere to the principle of democratic centralism, encourage the free airing of views, gather advice from all sides, and get every member of society to think and work for a common cause. This will allow us to achieve success in all our social programs, consolidate political stability and unity, and harmonize the relations between political parties, between ethnic groups, between religions, between social strata, and between our compatriots at home and overseas. This is what is meant by the words, “If you use the eyes of all those under Heaven to see, there is nothing you cannot see. If you use the ears of all those under Heaven to hear, there is nothing you cannot hear. If you use the minds of all those under Heaven to think, there is nothing you cannot understand.”

Socialist consultative democracy is not a matter of doing things for the sake of appearances; it must be carried out in a down-to-earth manner. And it must be put into practice in all respects, rather than just in a particular respect, and across the country at all levels, rather than just at a certain level. Therefore, we must establish a system of socialist consultative democracy that has rational procedures and is all-inclusive, so as to ensure that it is carried out on the basis of proper institutions, rules, regulations and procedures.

When we talk about consultation, we mean real consultation. Real consultation requires consultation both before and during the process of decision-making. It requires that decisions are made and actions are modified on the basis of opinions and suggestions from all sectors. It also requires that institutions are in place to ensure that the results of consultations are implemented, so that our decisions and work better reflect public will and are better adapted to real-life conditions.

We should take advantage of every mechanism, every channel, and every method to conduct extensive consultations on the major issues of reform, development and stability, and especially on the issues that have a bearing on people's immediate interests. We should respect the wishes of the majority of the people, and at the same time take into account the reasonable demands of those who are in the minority. We should extensively solicit opinions and pool wisdom from society, expand consensus, and bolster integrated strength.

We should expand the consultative channels for the CPC, people's congresses, people's governments, the CPPCC, other political parties, people's organizations, community organizations, enterprises, public institutions, social organizations, and think-tanks. We should

conduct far-reaching consultation on political affairs, lawmaking, government administration, democracy, social issues, and community-level issues. And we should improve consultation through proposals, conferences, informal discussions, seminars, hearings, public notices, assessments, the internet, and other means. Through all this, we can make our consultative democracy more rational and effective.

The key element of socialist consultative democracy lies with the people. A great number of decisions and work affecting people's interests happen mainly at the community level. In line with the principle of consultation among the people and for the people, we must redouble our efforts in developing consultative democracy at the community level, with a focus on conducting consultations among community members. All decisions that affect the people's immediate interests must be made on the basis of soliciting their opinions and through consultations by various means, on different levels, and with different sectors. We should improve the system by which community-level organizations maintain contact with the people, strengthen consultation on community affairs, do a sound job of two-way communication of information from the top down and the bottom up, and make sure the people manage their own affairs well in accordance with the law. We must make the exercise of power more open and standardized, and increase transparency in the operations of the Party, the government, and the judiciary, as well as in the administration of other areas. We must ensure that the people oversee the exercise of power and that power is exercised in ways that are open to scrutiny.

* Part of the speech at the meeting to mark the 65th anniversary of the CPPCC.

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CONFIDENCE IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF CHINESE SOCIALISM

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CONFIDENCE IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF CHINESE SOCIALISM*

September 5, 2014

People's democracy is a banner that the CPC has always held high. On our way forward, we should keep to the path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics and continue to develop socialist democracy and promote socialist political progress.

The way we plan and accelerate China's socialist democracy plays a decisive, comprehensive, and far-reaching role in our national political life.

At all times and almost everywhere in the world, evidence can be found showing that the wrong choice in the path for political development leads to social unrest, national disruption, and the fall of the government. China is a large developing country. Choosing the right path for its political progress is therefore a fundamental and vital issue.

Designing and developing the national political system, we must ensure the unity of history and reality, theory and practice, and form and content.

We must take into account the realities and the prevailing conditions in China, focusing on current issues to respond to actual demands rather than copying from other models.

We must keep to the long-established track of historical heritage, cherishing the path of past development, accumulated political experience, and established political principles rather than breaking with history.

A political system works to adjust political relations, establish political order, accelerate national development, and maintain national stability. This is why it cannot be judged without reference to its specific social and political conditions. It can never be all in the same key and follow the same pattern. In our political system, we should not simply imitate others when we see things that we do not have, or get rid of what we believe to be surplus because others do not have it. Neither of these views is correct because they are superficial and reductive.

As an old Chinese saying goes, “To the south of the Huaihe River grow oranges, while to the north grow bitter oranges.” The purpose of the saying is to highlight the influence of the environment. We should draw on the achievements of other political civilizations, but we should never let them outweigh the foundations of China’s own political system.

China is a country with a land area of over 9.6 million square kilometers inhabited by 56 ethnic groups. Whose model should we copy? And who is qualified to throw their weight around and tell us what to do?

Living in a colorful world, we should uphold the approach of inclusiveness, modestly learn from the best of other civilizations, and digest and absorb them on an independent basis, so as to turn them into part of the best of our own. Never follow others without trying to understand them properly. In attempting to walk like a swan, the crow loses its own gait.

Blindly copying the political systems of other countries will never work in China. They will never adapt to our country. Such a course of action will “turn the tiger you are trying to draw into a dog”. It could even spell an end to the independent destiny of our country. Only a system deeply-rooted and fully nourished in our own soil is trustworthy and will serve our purposes.

No two political systems on earth are exactly alike, and no model can fit the political systems of all countries.

The Chinese people recognize that “it is only natural for things to be different”. All countries differ in their realities. Each country is unique in its political system, which is determined by its people and has been developed and gradually refined over a long period of time on the basis of its historical heritage, cultural traditions, and social and economic development.

The strength of China’s unique socialist political system – workable, full of vigor and vitality, and efficient – is that, past and present, it has grown on the Chinese soil. In the future, it will continue to thrive and to be deeply rooted in this soil.

The best way to evaluate whether a country’s political system is democratic and efficient is to observe whether the succession of its leading body is orderly and in line with the law, whether all people can manage state affairs and social, economic and cultural affairs in conformity with legal provisions, whether the public can express their requirements without hindrance, whether all sectors can efficiently participate in the country’s political affairs, whether national decisions can be made in a rational, democratic way, whether professionals in all fields can be part of the team of the leadership and administrative systems of the state through fair competition, whether the ruling party can serve as a leader in state affairs in accordance with the Constitution and the law, and whether the exercise of power can be kept under effective restraint and supervision.

Thanks to a long-term effort, we have made decisive progress in addressing such major issues.

We have replaced the life-long tenure of officials with limited terms. Today, all officials serving in government agencies are replaced in an orderly manner.

We have offered greater opportunities for the people to participate in political affairs, so that they are able to play their role as the masters of the country, on a wide range, at all levels.

We have promoted the broadest possible patriotic united front and developed a unique socialist consultative democracy, which has brought together the wisdom and strength of all political parties, organizations, ethnic groups, social groups, and people from all walks of life.

We have striven to establish a decision-making system that tells us the people's needs, reflects public opinion, pools general wisdom, and values social strengths. We have also maximized the transparency of decision-making and provided further opportunities for the public to take part in the process, so as to ensure that all of our decisions serve the interests and aspirations of the people.

We have established and improved a system for the selection and appointment of exemplary talent, so that outstanding people from all sectors can be drawn to the undertakings of the Party and the state.

We have coordinated progress in law-based governance, exercise of state power, and government administration, and have integrated the rule of law for the country, the government, and society, raising the rule of law in China to a higher level.

We have established and refined a multilevel system for scrutiny and a system for transparent administration in various areas so as to guarantee that leadership bodies of both the Party and the government, as well as their staff, exercise their power in accordance with proper authorization and procedures.

China is a people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on an alliance of workers and peasants, and the people's congresses are the foundation of its governing system. It also implements the system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and the system of community-level self-governance, featuring distinctive Chinese characteristics.

This institutional arrangement has demonstrated the following strengths:

- It performs well in allowing the people to enjoy more extensive and more substantial rights and freedoms, and share more opportunities to participate in national and social governance.
- It can effectively regulate the country's political relations, promote a vigorous and vital relationship among political parties, ethnic groups, religions, social groups, and compatriots at home and abroad, strengthen national cohesion, and form political stability.
- It can pool our resources to accomplish major tasks, successfully accelerate the liberation and development of social productivity, incentivize all sectors during socialist modernization, and

upgrade quality of life and standards of living.

- It can effectively safeguard state independence, sovereignty, security, and the benefits of development, and maintain the wellbeing of both the nation and its people.

Over the three decades since the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy, China has overcome rarely-seen difficulties and removed barriers to progress. As a result it has reached new heights in economic strength and overall national strength, and in people's standard of living. All ethnic groups have worked together for common prosperity and development, leading to long-term social harmony and stability in the country. Facts prove that China's socialist democracy is bestowed with enormous vitality and the country has made the right choice for its path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics, which suits China's national conditions and reinforces the position of the people as masters of the country.

A country's political system is determined by its economic and social foundations, but the former also affects the latter, and can even exert a decisive influence. It is a key link connecting other systems. Therefore, to stay confident in the system of Chinese socialism, we must first of all increase confidence in our country's political system and strengthen our faith and determination to follow our chosen path of political progress.

Socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics is something new, and good. This does not necessarily mean that China's political system is flawless, beyond improvement, and not in need of development.

Having confidence in our political system does not mean being smug or complacent, nor does it mean we know best and we can ignore the outside world. Instead, we should fuse growing confidence in the system with continuous reform and innovation, and be unstinting in our efforts to improve and develop the institutional framework, while maintaining the fundamental and basic political systems.

As we have always believed, the progress of our democracy and legal system is not quick enough in responding to the requirements of expanding people's democracy and promoting social and economic development. When it comes to socialist democracy, there remain further improvements to be made in its system, mechanisms, procedures, regulations, and specific operations. We should therefore double our efforts to safeguard the people's right to democracy and give full play to their creativity.

While promoting reform in all respects, we should actively and steadily advance political reform, take the people's position as masters of the country as a fundamental principle, enhance the vitality of the Party and the country, and keep the people fully motivated.

Socialist political progress means modernizing the state governance system and capacity.

The general goal of continuing reform, set at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, consists of two phrases: “improving and developing the socialist system with Chinese characteristics”, and “modernizing our national governance system and capacity”. The former defines our fundamental orientation – Chinese socialism, rather than anything else. The latter points the distinctive direction to achieve development and progress under the fundamental orientation. Each of the two is essential, and they are interdependent.

The key to socialist democracy lies in maximizing and expanding our strengths and traits.

We should give better play to the Party’s core function as a leader that commands the overall situation and coordinates with all other stakeholders. We should improve the CPC’s capability for sound, democratic and law-based governance, ensure that the Party leads the people to govern the country effectively, and guarantee that our country moves forward under unified leadership.

We must uphold the principle that all power of the state belongs to the people, which guarantees not only democratic elections in accordance with the law but also democratic decision-making, democratic management, and democratic supervision, and avoids any risk that pre-election promises will not be kept.

We must uphold and improve the system of CPC-led multiparty cooperation and political consultation, and intensify cooperation and coordination between all social forces, so as to avoid conflicts, disputes, and internal strife among the various parties involved.

We must uphold and improve the system of regional ethnic autonomy, consolidate ethnic relations based on equality, unity, mutual assistance, and harmony, and achieve harmonious development of all ethnic groups, so as to guard against ethnic conflicts and misunderstandings.

We must uphold and improve the system of community-level self-governance by improving local democracy, and see that the people directly exercise their democratic rights in line with the law, and that their rights are genuine.

We must uphold and improve the system and principle of democratic centralism by enhancing the capacity and efficiency of all government agencies and stepping up their coordination and collaboration, to form a strong force for managing our state affairs and avoid internal friction.

In short, we should double our efforts in institutionalizing and standardizing socialist democracy to give free rein to the strengths of the socialist political system with Chinese characteristics, so that our Party and nation can thrive and enjoy lasting stability.

* Part of the speech at the meeting to mark the 60th anniversary of the National People’s Congress.

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A BRIGHT FUTURE FOR SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-02-17

A BRIGHT FUTURE FOR SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS*

August 20, 2014

Great times make great people. Deng Xiaoping was a great and beloved man who arose from the historic struggles of the Chinese nation. His noble character remains fresh in the memories of many people who worked under his leadership and guidance. His lofty revolutionary ideals and charisma will always be an inspiration to us on our path towards the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

– We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his unshakable belief in communist ideals and socialism with Chinese characteristics. His entire political career was marked by this firm faith, which is an everlasting source of integrity for all Chinese Communists.

As early as 1926 when he studied in the Soviet Union, Deng Xiaoping had “made up my mind to devote myself completely to our Party and the working class”. In the next 70 years of his political career, despite all the hardships he experienced and the setbacks the revolution went through, he never faltered in his faith in the scientific nature and truth of Marxism or in the bright future of socialism and communism. Deng said in 1984 that “faith in Marxism was the motive force that enabled us to achieve victory in the revolution”. In revolutionary wars, he fought dauntlessly, fearing no death, while in building the war-worn country into a new China, he made painstaking and sustained efforts. During the 10-year turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, he remained steadfast in his convictions and never surrendered to setbacks. He observed domestic and international political turbulence with calm and composure, and drove China’s modernization along the socialist path with a firm faith in Marxism and his communist ideals.

In 1992, the 88-year-old Deng said during his southern China tour, “I am convinced that more and more people will come to believe in Marxism, because it is a science. Using historical materialism, it has uncovered the laws governing the development of human society.... So don’t panic, don’t think that Marxism has disappeared, that it’s not useful any more and that it has been defeated. Nothing of the sort!”

With a profound understanding of the importance of ideals and convictions, Deng commented, “From my long political and military experience I have learned that unity is of prime importance and that to achieve unity people must have common ideals and firm convictions. Over the past several decades we have united the people on the basis of firm convictions that enabled them to struggle for their own interests.”

We have lofty revolutionary ideals. The founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the progress we have made today would have been impossible without large numbers of Party members committed to communist ideals. Sound national development is inseparable from the support of firm ideals and convictions. To forge a strong commitment to the Party, we Communists should, above all, dedicate ourselves to the long-term goal of communism and the common ideal of Chinese socialism. Deng had set us an excellent example of devotion to socialism and communism, inspiring us to forge ahead with utter determination and full confidence in the path, theory and system of Chinese socialism.

– We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his immense love for the Chinese people. His entire life is an expression of love for the people, which is an inexhaustible source of strength for Chinese Communists.

He once said, “I am a son of the Chinese people. I have a deep love for my people and my country.” It was his love for the people that fostered his love for the Party and the country. That is why he said, “My life belongs to the Party and the country.” These simple words are a condensed expression of his infinite love for the Party, the country and the people.

Deng gave priority to the status and role of the people. He once emphasized: “The masses are the source of our strength and the mass viewpoint and the mass line are our cherished traditions. The Party’s organizations, its rank-and-file members and cadres must be one with the masses and never stand against them. Any Party organization that deplorably loses touch with the masses and does not mend its ways is forfeiting the source of its strength and will invariably fail and be rejected by the people.” Whether in high official position or adversity, Deng always stood together with the people through thick and thin, doing everything he could for the Party and the country.

The people’s wellbeing was his lifelong pursuit. He stressed on many occasions: “... poverty is not socialism ... socialism means eliminating poverty. Unless you are developing the productive forces and raising people’s living standards, you cannot say that you are building socialism.” He designed and led the reform and opening-up initiative and the modernization drive with a view to improving the wellbeing of the Chinese people.

Deng drew insight and strength from the historical achievements of the people to enrich his thinking and embolden him to move forward. He said, “Many brilliant ideas for reform and opening up are created by the people in practice.... They are not conjured out of one single person’s mind.” “They are the results of wisdom of the people and collective.” Deng repeatedly emphasized that it

is of paramount importance to take the support, approval, satisfaction, and consent of the people as the prime purpose and ultimate goal of all policies and decisions. He always regarded serving the interests of the people as the fundamental principle in his work.

Deng Xiaoping's love for the people and the country demonstrates one of the deepest and strongest emotions of humanity. We should model ourselves on him and work hard for the interests of the people, remain loyal to the country and the people under any circumstances, and make practical efforts to fulfil the Party's fundamental purpose. We must dedicate ourselves to the cause of the Party and the people, and serve the people all our life.

– We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his firm belief in the theory of seeking truth from facts. It is a crucial theory that underpins his thoughts and an approach that should always be followed by all Chinese Communists.

Deng adhered to the Party's guiding principle of taking facts as the basis of our work. He said on several occasions that he believed in seeking truth from facts. He repeatedly emphasized the need to let the facts speak for themselves. He pointed out, "The essence of Marxism is seeking truth from facts. That's what we should advocate, not book worship. The reform and the open policy have been successful not because we relied on books, but because we relied on practice and sought truth from facts." He urged leaders to "win the trust of the people and bring about tangible results", and "do more real work". His life's work shows that he was a farsighted thinker, statesman and strategist as well as a pragmatic doer.

In the early 1960s when our country was in economic difficulties, Deng stressed to officials the importance of being truthful. To better develop agriculture under the difficult conditions of those days, he said, "As to what kind of relations of production is the best mode, I'm afraid we shall have to leave the matter to the discretion of local authorities, allowing them to adopt whatever mode of production that can facilitate quickest recovery and growth of agricultural production. The masses should also be allowed to adopt whatever mode they see fit, legalizing illegal practices as necessary."

Once China entered the reform and opening-up period in 1978, Deng Xiaoping put even more emphasis on the principle of seeking truth from facts. He said, "I haven't read too many books, but there is one thing I believe in: Chairman Mao's principle of seeking truth from facts. That is the principle we relied on when we were fighting wars, and we continue to rely on it in construction and reform." The chief criterion he put forward for judging any action is whether it promotes the growth of the productive forces in a socialist society, increases the overall strength of the socialist state, and raises living standards. Firmly based on the principle of seeking truth from facts, Deng resolutely solved a series of major issues confronting the Party and the country, leading the Party and the Chinese people to blaze a trail and reach a new stage of development.

Facts are the basis of truth, and hard work is the only path to success. Therefore, we emphasize that empty talk harms the country, while hard work makes it flourish. China's experiences in revolution, construction and reform have more than once proved that only policies, measures and working methods in line with reality can put the cause of the Party and the people on the right track and deliver practical results benefiting the people. Deng set us an excellent example of using dialectical and historical materialism to observe the world and address issues. This way of thinking and his art of leadership help us acquire a thorough understanding of reality and objective laws, develop a pragmatic work style of high efficiency, and fully implement the Party's basic theories, guidelines, principles, experience and requirements through solid work.

– We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his political courage in pioneering and innovative work. His leadership was noted for a pioneering and innovative spirit, which should be forever carried forward by Chinese Communists with a strong sense of responsibility.

Throughout his 70-year political career, he exhibited the indomitable courage to forge ahead with reform and an innovative spirit to think ahead and lead the way forward.

In 1975 when Deng Xiaoping was pushing ahead with nationwide rectification, he remarked decisively, "At present, there are a good many problems which we cannot solve without great effort. We must be daring and resolute." After returning to leading positions in the Party and the government in 1977, he spoke incisively about the rigid thinking that had long fettered people's minds: "Those who suffer from it dare not say a word or take a step that isn't mentioned in books, documents or the speeches of leaders: everything has to be copied." He also pointed out in 1989, "The world changes every day, and modern science and technology in particular develop rapidly. A year today is the equivalent of several decades, a century or even a longer period in ancient times. Anyone who fails to carry Marxism forward with new thinking and a new viewpoint is not a true Marxist." He warned us, "When everything has to be done by the book, when thinking turns rigid and blind faith is the fashion, it is impossible for a party or a nation to make progress. Its life will cease and that party or nation will perish."

Deng Xiaoping encouraged us, "We should be bolder than before in conducting reform and opening up to the outside and have the courage to experiment. We must not act like women with bound feet. Once we are sure that something should be done, we should dare to experiment and break a new path. ... If we don't have the pioneering spirit, if we're afraid to take risks, if we have no energy and drive, we cannot break a new path, a good path, or accomplish anything new." His theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics provided the first systematic explanation of how to build, consolidate and develop socialism in a socially and economically underdeveloped country like China as it was back then, revealed the essence of socialism, and marked another historic step in integrating Marxism with China's realities after Mao Zedong Thought. His talks during his southern China inspection tour resolved many major questions that had long puzzled and fettered people's minds, ushering in a new stage of reform and opening up and socialist modernization. Under his leadership and support, reform came in waves and became the trend of the times, generating historic change to people's lives, the country, and the Party.

All great causes involve a process of overcoming formidable difficulties and exploring pioneering and innovative paths. In advancing the unprecedented cause of Chinese socialism, we still have a long way to go in completing our reform, opening up and modernization. The road ahead will be full of new challenges. We should learn from Deng Xiaoping's political courage shown in his pioneering and innovative work to observe new experiences and developments, respect the pioneering spirit of local areas, grassroots units and the people, and be resolute in decision-making. In this way, we can integrate innovative experimentation into our regular activities, apply dynamic Marxism to our practice – which gives rise to new findings and theories to enrich Marxism – and advance reform and opening up with indomitable courage and the determination to eliminate the outdated and blaze new trails.

– We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his farsighted, strategic thinking. He demonstrated a breadth of vision through his strategic thinking, with which all Chinese Communists should be equipped.

Deng was noted for his broad vision, resourcefulness, sagacity, and incisive mind because he always observed domestic and international developments with the interconnection between China and the world in mind, and had the ability to make smart strategic decisions at crucial moments by taking the broader picture into consideration. After China entered the new stage of reform and opening up, Deng made a series of major decisions of strategic importance to the long-term development of the country, the Party, and socialism, based on his insight into the trends of domestic and global developments.

In his incisive analyses of the features and developing trends of today's world, Deng said, "The present world is open", and further pointed out "Reviewing our history, we have concluded that one of the most important reasons for China's long years of stagnation and backwardness was its policy of closing the country to outside contact. Our experiences show that China cannot rebuild itself behind closed doors and that it cannot develop in isolation from the rest of the world." On the other hand, he cherished and championed China's national sovereignty and the independence won by the Chinese people through countless struggles. Therefore, he asserted, "China's affairs should be run according to China's specific conditions and by the Chinese people themselves. Independence and self-reliance have always been and will always be their basic stand. ... No foreign country should expect China to be its vassal or to accept anything that is damaging to China's own interests."

Paying great attention to global peace and development, he emphasized the need to "regard the problem of development as one that concerns all humanity, and study and solve it on that level". Showing concern for other developing countries, he emphasized that "the socialism we are building is a socialism ... that favours peace" and China "shares a common destiny with all Third World countries. China will never seek hegemony or bully others, but will always side with the Third World". He pledged that China will oppose any forms of hegemony and safeguard world peace.

Strategic issues are fundamental to a political party and a country. Accurate judgment and sensible planning help us gain the strategic initiative crucial to the success of the cause of the Party and the people. We should learn from him his global vision and strategic thinking of “bearing in mind the overall interests, keeping in view the world, the future, the present and all other factors” in analyzing questions. We should learn from his keen awareness of the key issues and his highly logical and sharp mind that was able to think ahead and lead the way into the future. He had a broad vision of history and the world in planning the cause of the Party and the people, and his quick perception and foresight helped him solve key strategic issues and advance all aspects of his work with a broad strategic picture in mind.

– We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his broad mind and selfless devotion. His charismatic leadership came from such qualities that remained all his life. These are qualities that Chinese Communists should cultivate and retain.

Deng always considered himself a member of the working people while practicing strict self-discipline according to the rules for Party members. He never flinched in the face of difficulties, and he always cared for his comrades and remained modest and prudent. Deng set a good example for us how a Communist should strive to cultivate himself and strengthen his commitment to the Party.

Deng Xiaoping always gave priority to the development of the Party and the country regardless of his own personal interests. He said, “I joined the revolutionary ranks at 18, and all I wanted was to make the revolution succeed.” The three falls and three rises in his political career were all the results of his firm stance in upholding truth and correcting mistakes and his magnanimity, optimism, composure, and tenacity in the face of wrongful criticism and unjust removal from office. Every time he resumed his posts, he worked dauntlessly to overcome all obstacles and dedicated himself to ensuring that the right guidelines and policies were formulated and implemented. Returning to leading positions after the Cultural Revolution, Deng spoke frankly about his attitude towards work, “Now I’ve come back to work. I could take two different attitudes. One, be a bureaucrat; two, do some solid work. I said to myself, after all it is my own choice to join the Communist Party. Now that I’ve resumed office, I must never be a bureaucrat, never work for personal gains. There is no other alternative.” He was truly a selfless and broad-minded Communist.

Deng took a fair and objective attitude towards history, his comrades, and himself. He was modest, amiable, and easy to work with. He knew how to work together with his colleagues. After fighting countless battles side by side with Liu Bocheng for 13 years in the revolutionary wars, they formed a strong friendship. Deng knew how to work with people who had opinions different from his own and gave full play to their abilities, regardless of personal feelings. “When selecting the right person for the right job, you should forget about settling old scores and may choose from among those who were once against you,” he observed. He opposed corruption and privileges of any kind and set strict rules for his relatives and his immediate staff.

Deng remained modest despite his great merit. He said on several occasions, “I hope they will never give me too much prominence. What I have done represents the aspirations of the Chinese people and the Chinese Communists, that’s all.” As a materialist, he regarded death with an open mind and told his family, “Sooner or later, I will leave this world. When I leave is nothing important. No one can bend the law of nature. You’ve got to understand this.” After his death, in accordance with his wishes, his corneas were given to the hospital and his body was donated for medical research before his ashes were scattered on the sea.

To live up to the name of Communists, and be loved by the people, Party members should be of noble character. We should learn from Deng’s selfless devotion to public interests and his dauntless spirit and broad mind. To this end, we should strengthen our commitment to the Party, practice strict self-discipline while being inclusive towards others, take an appropriate attitude towards Party organizations, our colleagues and ourselves, and exercise power in the right way. It is important to practice the core socialist values, dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly to the cause of the Party and the people, and take the lead in establishing upright conduct within the Party and the government and among the general public.

The essence of the theoretical and political legacy bequeathed to us by Deng Xiaoping is Chinese socialism that the Party and the people created under his leadership, and the Deng Xiaoping Theory. Karl Marx observed, “Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.” Deng’s theory and practice are prominently marked by a firm belief in the principle of proceeding from reality in everything we do, taking the national and international situation into consideration, and by adherence to the CPC’s principles of seeking truth from facts, independence, and the mass line.

Chinese socialism is a path that suits China’s national conditions and reality and the requirements of the times in both theory and practice. Therefore, it has yielded and will continue to yield practical results. Deng emphasized that “if the developing countries of the Third World, like China, have no national self-respect and do not cherish their independence, they will not enjoy that independence for long”. Independence in our development path, theory and system is key to our national sovereignty, independence, and dignity.

The Chinese nation has created a splendid civilization that can be traced back over 5,000 years. Under CPC leadership, the Chinese people have achieved new successes on the socialist path, paving the road for further progress. We must improve our weaknesses and change backward things, and learn from the strengths of other countries. We must not blindly copy things foreign, not to say accepting bad things. We must not underestimate ourselves and should cherish the best of our traditions and culture.

When talking about the founding of the People’s Republic, Deng stated, “China has achieved status: People dare not look down upon us.” Therefore, we must not renounce the achievements made during the New Democratic Revolution (1919-1949), deny our accomplishments in socialist

revolution and construction, and waver in our direction of reform, opening up and socialist modernization. This is why our Party and our people are qualified to stand tall in the international community. History of modern times tells us that China's affairs must be handled in accordance with China's national conditions and reality. This is the only correct way to address all our problems.

During the 17 years since Deng Xiaoping passed away, the world has witnessed tremendous changes. Our tasks to carry out reform and development at home are arduous and heavy. Following the guidelines, principles, and policies set forth at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the third generation of CPC central collective leadership with Jiang Zemin at the core and the Central Committee led by General Secretary Hu Jintao rallied all Chinese people to achieve continuous progress in the undertakings of the Party and the country. Since the 18th CPC National Congress convened in 2012, the CPC Central Committee has led the Chinese people in implementing the guiding principles of the 18th CPC National Congress and the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee held in 2013. We uphold socialism with Chinese characteristics and follow the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development. Taking China's overall domestic and international interests into consideration, we have furthered reform to promote the sustained and healthy development of the economy, and improved our style of work, striving to create a bright future for the cause of Chinese socialism.

Step by step, the blueprint laid out by Deng Xiaoping for socialist modernization is becoming a reality. Our country is becoming stronger and more prosperous and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation is coming closer. We have every reason to be proud of our achievements.

At this point, however, it is imperative to remember Deng Xiaoping's exhortations, "We have been building socialism for only a few decades and are still in the primary stage. It will take a very long historical period to consolidate and develop the socialist system, and it will require persistent struggle by many generations, a dozen or even several dozen." He pointed out, "The essence of socialism is liberation and development of the productive forces, elimination of exploitation and polarization, and the ultimate achievement of prosperity for all." Socialist modernization, complete reunification of our country, and the great national rejuvenation, which are dreams long pursued by the older generations of Chinese revolutionaries, including Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, are the common aspirations of all Chinese people.

Deng Xiaoping once reminded members of our Party, "The period from now to the middle of the next century will be crucial. We must immerse ourselves in hard work: We have difficult tasks to accomplish and bear a heavy responsibility." Now we are taking on these tasks and weighty responsibilities. All Party members must unite closely and work hard to fulfill our duties, and rally and lead the Chinese people to keep up with the times and achieve new successes in developing and strengthening Chinese socialism, making an increasing contribution to peace and development for all of humanity.

We are convinced that the CPC and the Chinese people, who won historic victories in the 20th century, will achieve greater successes in the 21st century.

* Part of the speech at a meeting to mark the 110th anniversary of the birth of Deng Xiaoping.

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CULTIVATE AND PRACTICE THE CORE SOCIALIST VALUES

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-02-14

CULTIVATE AND PRACTICE THE CORE SOCIALIST VALUES*

May 4, 2014

University is a place not just for academic studies but for seeking truth. Today, I'd like to take this opportunity to share with you my insights into the core socialist values.

I was inspired by the spirit of the May 4th Movement, which embodies the values the Chinese people and nation have pursued since the mid-19th century. Today, we should still adhere to and carry out these core values, highlighted by patriotism, progress, democracy and science. Young people, as well as everyone else in the country, should uphold and carry out these core values.

Looking at human history and social development, we find that the most lasting and profound power for a nation and country is the core values acknowledged by all. Core values carry the spiritual aspiration of a nation and country, and represent the standard for judging right and wrong.

An ancient book says, "The way to great learning is to manifest bright virtue and to treat the people as one's own family, thereby arriving at supreme goodness." Core values are in fact individual virtues, as well as public, social and national virtues. A country cannot prosper without virtues, nor can anyone succeed without virtues. Without shared core values, a nation and country will be at a loss to know what is right and what is wrong, and its people will have no code of conduct to follow, the result being that the nation and country can never progress. It has commonly occurred in our history and still happens across the globe.

China is a huge country with over 1.3 billion people and 56 ethnic groups. Recognition of the values most shared by the people of all ethnic groups enables them to work with one heart and one mind for greater progress. This is essential to our nation's future and destiny as well as our people's happiness and wellbeing.

Every era has its spirit, and likewise its values. In ancient China our ancestors developed core values highlighted by "propriety, righteousness, honesty, and a sense of shame – the four anchors of our moral foundation and a question of life and death for the country". This was our ancestors' understanding of their core values.

What are the core values for our people and country today? This is both a theoretical and a practical question. We have eventually agreed upon this after sorting out opinions and understandings from all walks of life. The core socialist values that we should cultivate and practice are prosperity, democracy, civility, harmony, freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law, patriotism, dedication, good faith and amity.

Prosperity, democracy, civility and harmony are values that underpin our nation; freedom, equality, justice and the rule of law are values that buttress our society; patriotism, dedication, good faith and amity are values that underlie individual conduct. They explain what sort of country and society we are striving for and what kind of citizens we are cultivating.

Since ancient times the Chinese people have developed their country through studying the nature of things to acquire knowledge, correcting thoughts with sincerity, cultivating the moral self, managing the family, governing the state, and safeguarding peace under Heaven. As we see it today, the principles of “studying the nature of things, correcting thoughts with sincerity, and cultivating the moral self” are for individuals; the principle of “managing the family” is for the society; and those of “governing the state and safeguarding peace under Heaven” are for the country.

What we put forward for the core socialist values is a combination of requirements for the country, society and citizens, which represent the nature of socialism, carry forward the best of traditional Chinese culture, draw on the fine elements of world civilizations, and reflect the spirit of the times.

Prosperity, democracy, civility, harmony, freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law, patriotism, dedication, good faith and amity are all ideas that inherit the essence of traditional Chinese culture, embody the ideals and convictions formed by Chinese people since the 1840s through unrelenting and painstaking efforts, and reflect the wishes and vision of every Chinese citizen.

We should foster the core socialist values throughout society. The people should join hands and work persistently to make China stronger, more prosperous, more democratic, more culturally advanced, more harmonious and more beautiful, so that our country can be confident enough to stand tall and proud among the nations of the world.

Since the Opium War of 1840 the Chinese people have long cherished a dream of realizing national rejuvenation and building China into a prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious modern socialist country – the highest and most fundamental interests of the nation. And that’s what our 1.3 billion people are striving for.

China used to be a world economic power. However, it missed its chance in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and the consequent dramatic changes, and thus was left behind and suffered humiliation under foreign invasion. Things got worse especially after the Opium War of 1840, when the nation was plagued by poverty and weakness, allowing others to trample upon and manipulate us. We must not let this tragic history repeat itself.

Building a prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious modern socialist country is our goal and responsibility – for our nation, for our forefathers, and for our future generations. Therefore, we should maintain strategic resolve, intensify our faith, and walk unswervingly along the road towards our destination.

China has stood up. It will never again tolerate being abused by any nation. Yet it will never follow in the footsteps of the big powers, which seek hegemony once they grow strong. Our country is following a path of peaceful development.

Why are we so confident? Because we have developed and become stronger. China has won worldwide respect with its century-long efforts. Its prestige keeps rising, and its influence keeps expanding. Today's China forms a sharp contrast to China in the 19th century when the country was humiliated, its sovereignty was infringed upon, and its people were abused by foreign invaders.

Chinese civilization has nurtured a unique value system over several millennia. The best of traditional Chinese culture is part of our heritage and has deep roots in the Chinese people's mentality, subconsciously influencing our way of thinking and behavior.

Today, we advocate and carry forward the core socialist values through absorbing the rich nourishment of Chinese culture, so as to boost its vitality and expand its influence.

Here are some quotations from ancient classics that I'd like to share with you today:

"The people are the foundation of a state";

"Harmony between humanity and nature";

"Harmony without uniformity";

"Just as Heaven maintains vigor through movement, a gentleman makes unremitting efforts to perfect himself";

"When the Great Way rules, the land under Heaven belongs to the people";

"Everyone must hold himself responsible for the defense of his country";

"Govern the country with virtue and educate the people with culture";

"A man of virtue has a good knowledge of righteousness";

"A gentleman is open and aboveboard";

"A gentleman takes morality as his bedrock";

"Be true in word and resolute in deed";

"If a man does not keep his word, what is he good for?";

"The virtuous are never left to stand alone";

"The benevolent loves others";

"Do things for the good of others";

"Do not do unto others what you do not want others to do unto you";

"Keep each other company and reach out to help one another";

"Respect others' elders as one respects one's own, and care for others' children as one cares for

one's own";

"Help the poor and assist those in difficulty";

"Inequality rather than scarcity is the cause of trouble".

These thoughts and ideas all displayed and still demonstrate distinctive national features and the indelible values of the times. We have updated them in keeping abreast of the times, while carrying them forward in an unbroken line.

What makes us Chinese, fundamentally, is the unique cultural identity we share and the long-held values we practice unremarked every day. The core socialist values we advocate today represent the inheritance and upgrading of the best of traditional Chinese culture.

Values appear and develop in the process of human beings getting to know and shaping nature and society. Core values vary in different nations and countries due to different natural conditions and courses of development. The core values of a nation and country are closely related to its history and culture, as well as to what its people are striving for and to the present issues it needs to resolve.

There are no two leaves exactly alike on earth. A nation, or people of a country, must know who they are, where they came from and where they are heading. They should keep on going when they have made their choice.

On December 26 last year, I said at the meeting marking the 120th birthday of Mao Zedong:

Boasting a vast land of 9.6 million square kilometers, a rich cultural legacy, and a strong bond among the 1.3 billion people, we are resolved to go our own way. We have a big stage to display our advantages on, a long and rich history to draw benefit from, and a powerful impetus to push us ahead. We Chinese people – every single one of us – should draw confidence from this.

We should modestly learn from the best of other civilizations, but never forget our own origin. We must not blindly copy the development models of other countries nor accept their dictation.

What I mean here is that we should strengthen our confidence in the path we have chosen, in the theories we have devised, and in the system we have established to reach our goal of development and make the Chinese Dream come true. "In the face of all blows, not bending low, it still stands fast. Whether from east, west, south or north the wind doth blast." Our confidence is supported by our core values.

Why am I talking about the core socialist values with you young people? Because your value orientation will decide the values of the whole of society in the years to come. Besides, you young people are at the time of life when you are forming and establishing your values. It is therefore very important to offer some guidance. That reminds me of something that happens in our daily life. When we button up our coat, we may inadvertently put the first button in the wrong button hole, and that will result in all the other buttons being put in the wrong holes. That's why we say

that young people should “button right” in the early days of their life. “A deep well is dug starting with a shallow pit.” Every young person should learn about the core socialist values starting right now, take them as your basic rules, and disseminate them throughout society.

* Part of the speech at a meeting with faculty and students of Peking University.

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A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO NATIONAL SECURITY

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-02-12

A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO NATIONAL SECURITY*

April 15, 2014 and February 17, 2017

I

We need to acquire an accurate understanding of new developments and trends of the changing national security landscape, adhere to a holistic approach and develop a national security system with Chinese characteristics.

In running the Party and the country, one of our basic principles is to remain keenly alert to potential dangers and on guard against adversity in times of peace. To secure its leadership role and unite the country in upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, our Party should make national security its top priority.

The Party's 18th Central Committee decided at its Third Plenary Session to establish the Commission for National Security. This is a pressing requirement for modernizing the state governance system and capacity, and for achieving long-term political stability. This will provide a strong guarantee for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and for fulfilling the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. The aim of the establishment of the commission is to better handle new developments and new tasks in the realm of national security, and build a national security system which is centralized, integrated, highly efficient, and authoritative, so as to improve leadership over the work of national security.

At present, the national security issues facing China encompass far more subjects, extend over a greater range and cover a longer time scale than at any time in the country's history. Internally and externally, the factors at play are more complex than ever before. Therefore, we must pursue a holistic approach to national security, take the people's security as our ultimate goal, make political security our fundamental task, regard economic security as our foundation, develop military, cultural and public security as our means of guarantee, and promote international security, so as to establish a national security system with Chinese characteristics.

To implement a holistic approach to national security, we should attach equal importance to internal and external security – promoting development, reform and stability and building China into a safe country domestically, while seeking peace, cooperation and mutual benefits and building a harmonious world internationally. Territorial security and the people's security are

equally important. We must follow the principle of people first, do everything in the interest of the people, rely on the people, and consolidate national security with the support of the people. We must pay close attention to both traditional and non-traditional security, and build a national security system that integrates such elements as political, territorial, military, economic, cultural, social, science and technology, information, ecological, resource and nuclear security. We should pay close attention to both development and security. The former is the foundation of the latter while the latter is a precondition for the former. Only by building a prosperous country can we build a strong army, and only by building a strong army can we safeguard the country. While paying close attention to our own security, we must also pay attention to the common security of the world, and contribute our effort to turning the world into a secure place for all nations. We should urge all parties to work hard for the goals of mutual benefit and common security.

The Commission for National Security should uphold centralized leadership, make sound plans, implement work mechanisms that provide for centralization and delegated responsibilities, take coordinated actions, and operate efficiently with a capable team. It should focus its efforts, follow the key guidelines, and vigorously implement the overall strategy of China's national security.

II

We should have an accurate understanding of the situation of our national security, and pursue a holistic approach to national security. We must take protecting our people's security as our mission, and adhere to a path of national security with Chinese characteristics. We must strive for new progress in our endeavor to ensure our national security and to provide a security guarantee for the realization of the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

We called this meeting to hear your ideas and suggestions, analyze the national security situation, and make a plan for national security for the coming period.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the CPC Central Committee has paid great attention to national security work, establishing the Commission for National Security, adopting a holistic approach to this issue, and laying out strategies, guidelines and plans for it, which have resulted in remarkable achievements in national security initiatives.

National security covers a wide range of fields and has growing importance in the work of the CPC and the government. We face many unprecedented risks and challenges in advancing the great struggle with many new features, the great new project of strengthening the Party, and the great cause of Chinese socialism. This creates new requirements as well as provides opportunities for improving national security. In the final analysis, the purpose of national security is to protect our people's interests. In doing our job in this field, we must do everything possible for the people, rely on the people, and secure a peaceful and happy life for the people.

To have an accurate assessment of China's security situation and maintain our national security, we need to follow the laws of development in light of tremendous changes in the international landscape, and make overall plans for national security on the basis of guarding against risks and

by taking advantage of the current period of strategic opportunity. The overall global trend towards multipolarity, economic globalization, and democracy in international relations remains unchanged. We should help guide the international community to establish a truly fair and equitable world order. We must strengthen national security so as to bolster our efforts in leveraging this important period of strategic opportunity. No matter how the world changes and develops, we must maintain our strategic resolve, confidence, and patience. We should adopt a global vision on national security, coordinate development and security, have plans in place for worst-case scenarios, combine principles with tactics, and always keep hold of the strategic initiative for national security.

Great efforts should be devoted to political, economic, territorial, social, and cyberspace security. We need to improve the integrated system for maintenance of law and order, and strengthen our overall capability in public security management. We need to identify and address problems and disputes at their source. We should strengthen industrial safety in such key fields as transport, fire prevention and hazardous chemicals, guarding against any serious accidents. We must consolidate our lines of defense for cybersecurity, and better protect key information infrastructure. Moreover, we should facilitate the market-oriented development of core technologies for cybersecurity, reinforce early warning and monitoring, ensure big data safety, and achieve comprehensive detection of risks and effective protection at all times. It is vital for China to proactively create a favorable international security environment, and we must urge the international community to intensify cooperation for global security. It is also imperative to enhance our capacity to provide the materials, technologies, equipment, expertise, legal guarantees, and mechanisms required for safeguarding national security.

Upholding CPC leadership is fundamental to national security. All regions must establish and improve a national security responsibility system under the leadership of Party committees, stress the roles and duties of all participants, and support people working for national security and provide necessary conditions and policies.

* Main points of the speeches at two meetings on a holistic approach to national security – the first meeting of the Commission for National Security under the CPC Central Committee on April 15, 2014 and a meeting on national security on February 17, 2017.

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EXCHANGES AND MUTUAL LEARNING MAKE CIVILIZATIONS MORE COLORFUL

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-02-10

EXCHANGES AND MUTUAL LEARNING MAKE CIVILIZATIONS MORE COLORFUL *

March 27, 2014

Civilizations become richer and more colorful through exchanges and mutual learning, which form an important driver for human progress and global peace and development.

To promote exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations, we must adopt a correct approach with some important principles. They, in my view, contain the following:

First, civilizations come in different colors, and such diversity has made exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations relevant and valuable. Just as the sunlight has seven colors, our world is a place of dazzling colors. A civilization is the collective memory of a country or a nation. Throughout history, humanity has created and developed many colorful civilizations, from the earliest days of primitive hunting to the period of agriculture, and from booming industrial revolution to the information society. Together, they present a magnificent genetic map of the exciting march of human civilizations.

A single flower does not make spring, while one hundred flowers in full blossom bring spring to the garden. If there were only one kind of flower in the world, people would find it boring no matter how beautiful it was. Be it Chinese civilization or other civilizations in the world, they are all fruits of human progress.

I have visited the Louvre Museum in France and the Palace Museum in China, both of which house millions of art treasures. They are attractive because they present the richness of diverse civilizations. Exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations must not be built on the exclusive praise or belittling of one particular civilization. As early as over 2,000 years ago, the Chinese people came to recognize that “it is only natural for things to be different”. Greater exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations can further enrich the colors of various civilizations and the cultural life of people and open up still greater alternatives in the future.

Second, civilizations are equal, and such equality has made exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations possible. All human civilizations are equal in value, and they all have their respective strengths and weaknesses. No civilization is perfect on the planet. Nor is it devoid of

merit. No single civilization can be judged superior to another.

I have visited many places in the world. What interested me most during the trips was to learn about differing civilizations across the five continents, what makes them different and unique, how their people think about the world and life, and what they hold dear. I have visited Chichen Itza, a window on the ancient Maya civilization, and the Central Asian city of Samarkand, an icon of the ancient Islamic civilization. It is my conviction that an attitude of equality and modesty is required if one wants to truly understand various civilizations. Taking a condescending attitude towards a civilization cannot help anyone to appreciate its essence, and may risk antagonizing it. Both history and reality show that pride and prejudice are the biggest obstacles to exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations.

Third, civilizations are inclusive, and such inclusiveness has given exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations the impetus to move forward. The ocean is vast because it refuses no rivers. All civilizations are crystallizations of humanity's diligence and wisdom. Every civilization is unique. Copying other civilizations blindly or mechanically is like cutting one's toes to fit one's shoes – impossible and highly detrimental. All achievements of civilizations deserve our respect and must be cherished.

History proves that only by interacting with and learning from others can a civilization enjoy full vitality. If all civilizations are inclusive, the so-called “clash of civilizations” can be avoided and the harmony of civilizations will become a reality; as a Chinese saying goes, “Radish or cabbage, each to his own delight.”

Having gone through over 5,000 years of vicissitudes, the Chinese civilization has always kept to its original root. As an icon, it contains the most profound pursuits of the Chinese nation and provides it with abundant nourishment for existence and development. Deriving from Chinese soil, it has come to its present form through constant exchanges with and learning from other civilizations.

In the 2nd century BC, China started the Silk Road leading to the Western Regions. In 138 BC and 119 BC, Envoy Zhang Qian of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) made two trips to those regions, disseminating Chinese culture and bringing into China grapes, alfalfa, pomegranates, flax, sesame and other products.

During the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 25), China's merchant fleets sailed as far as India and Sri Lanka where they traded China's silk for colored glaze, pearls and other products.

The Tang Dynasty (618-907) saw dynamic interactions between China and other countries. Historical records reveal that China exchanged envoys with more than 70 countries, and Chang'an, the capital of Tang, bustled with envoys, merchants and students from other countries. Exchanges of such a magnitude helped spread Chinese culture to the rest of the world and introduce other cultures and products to China.

During the early 15th century, Zheng He, a famous navigator of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), made seven maritime expeditions, reaching many Southeast Asian countries and even Kenya on the eastern coast of Africa, leaving behind many stories of friendly exchanges between China and countries along the route.

During the late Ming and early Qing (1616-1911) dynasties, the Chinese people began to access modern science and technology through the introduction of European knowledge in the realms of astronomy, medicine, mathematics, geometry and geography, which helped broaden the horizon of Chinese people. Thereafter, exchanges and mutual learning between Chinese civilization and other civilizations became more frequent. Naturally, there were conflicts, frictions, bewilderment and denial, but the more dominant features of the period were learning, digestion, integration and innovation.

Buddhism originated in ancient India. After it was brought to China, the religion went through an extended period of integrated development with the indigenous Confucianism and Taoism, and finally became Buddhism with Chinese features, thus greatly impacting the religious beliefs, philosophy, literature, art, etiquette and customs of China. Xuanzang, an eminent monk of the Tang Dynasty, who endured untold sufferings as he went on a pilgrimage to ancient India for Buddhist scriptures, gave full expression to the determination and fortitude of the Chinese people to learn from other cultures. I am sure you have heard of the Chinese mythological classical novel *Journey to the West* based on his stories.

The Chinese people enriched Buddhism and developed some special Buddhist thoughts in light of Chinese culture, and helped it spread from China to Japan, Korea, Southeast Asia and beyond.

Over the last 2,000 years religions such as Buddhism, Islam and Christianity have been introduced into China, nurturing the country's music, painting and literature. China's freehand oil painting, for instance, is an innovative combination of its own traditional painting and Western oil painting, and the works by Xu Beihong and other master painters have been widely acclaimed. China's Four Great Inventions – papermaking, gunpowder, printing and the compass – brought significant changes to the whole world, giving a boost to the European Renaissance. Its philosophy, literature, medicine, silk, porcelain and tea have been shared by the West and become part of its people's life. The book *The Travels of Marco Polo* provoked widespread interest in China.

I think some of you might be familiar with the terracotta warriors and horses of the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC), one of the eight wonders in the world. After his visit to the site, President Chirac of France remarked that a visit to Egypt would not be complete without seeing the pyramids, and that a visit to China would not be complete without seeing the terracotta warriors and horses.

In 1987 this national treasure was listed as one of UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage Sites. Many Chinese legacies are named World Cultural Heritage Sites and World Intangible Cultural Heritage Sites and are listed on the Memory of the World Register. Here, I'd like to express my heartfelt

thanks to UNESCO for its contribution to the preservation and dissemination of Chinese civilization.

Today, we live in a world with different cultures, ethnic groups, skin colors, religions and social systems, and all people on the planet have become members of an intimate community of shared future.

The Chinese people have long come to appreciate the concept of “harmony without uniformity”. Zuoqiu Ming, a Chinese historian who lived 2,500 years ago, recorded a few lines by Yan Zi, prime minister of the State of Qi during the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 BC) in *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*: “Harmony is like cooking thick soup. You need water, fire, vinegar, meat sauce, salt and plum to go with the fish or meat. It is the same with music. Only by combining the texture, length, rhythm, mood, tone, pitch and style adequately and executing them properly can you produce an excellent melody. Who can tolerate soup with nothing but water in it? Who can tolerate the same tone played again and again with one instrument?”

On the planet, there are more than 200 countries and regions inhabited by over 2,500 ethnic groups with a multitude of religions. Can we imagine a world with only one lifestyle, one language, one kind of music and one style of costume?

Victor Hugo once said that there was a prospect greater than the sea – the sky; there was a prospect greater than the sky – the human soul. Indeed, we need a mind that is broader than the sky as we approach different civilizations, which serve as water, moistening everything silently. We should encourage different civilizations to respect each other and live in harmony, so as to turn exchanges and mutual learning between civilizations into a bridge promoting friendship between peoples around the world, an engine driving human society, and a bond cementing world peace. We should draw wisdom and nourishment and seek spiritual support and psychological consolation from various civilizations, and work together to face down the challenges around the globe.

In 1987, 20 exquisite pieces of colored glaze were brought to light from an underground tomb of Famen Temple in Shaanxi, China. They proved to be Byzantine and Islamic relics brought to China during the Tang Dynasty. Marveling at these exotic relics, I was struck by the thought that we should appreciate their cultural significance rather than simply admiring their exquisiteness, and bring their inherent spirit to life instead of merely appreciating the artistic presentation of life in the past.

* Part of the speech at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris, France.

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PROMOTE THE THREE GUIDELINES FOR ETHICAL BEHAVIOR AND THREE BASIC RULES OF CONDUCT

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-02-07

PROMOTE THE THREE GUIDELINES FOR ETHICAL BEHAVIOR AND THREE BASIC RULES OF CONDUCT*

March 9, 2014

Since the Party's 18th National Congress in 2012, the new Central Committee has set improving Party conduct as the immediate target of its work. It has committed to addressing the practices of form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance. This will enable us to earn the people's trust with action, so as to better lead them in striving towards the Two Centenary Goals. At the ongoing NPC and CPPCC National Committee sessions, many colleagues have talked about the gratifying improvement in conduct they have noticed. I believe they spoke from the heart.

Yet we must be sober-minded and realize that these are only preliminary results and that there is much more to do to further consolidate and extend those results. We should devote continuous efforts to preventing any resurgence of malpractices in old forms or new, and allow no interference with our efforts. As I have said, there is no end to improving conduct. We will fall short of our aims if this program tails off and we become lax in the later stages, and all our efforts will be in vain if we cannot stay committed to this task. Taking advantage of the ongoing education campaign on the Party's mass line, we should continue to expose deep-rooted problems of conduct and find remedies, ceaselessly encourage healthy trends and conduct, and curb malign influences.

The ultimate goal of these efforts is to ensure that officials at all levels enforce standards of good conduct on themselves and others, which can be summed up as being strict with themselves in self-cultivation, in the exercise of power, and in self-discipline, and being earnest in their work when performing their duties, launching new initiatives, and interacting with others.

Being strict in self-cultivation means that officials should strengthen their commitment to the Party, stand firm in support of the ideals and principles of the Party, cultivate integrity, pursue lofty goals, make a point of distancing themselves from base pursuits, and resist unhealthy practices and evil influences.

Being strict in the exercise of power means that officials should exercise power in the interests of the people, exercise power in accordance with rules and regulations, confine power in an institutional cage, and neither seek privileges at any time nor abuse power for personal gain.

Being strict in self-discipline means that officials should respect discipline and always keep it in mind, guard against all temptations when alone, be prudent, engage in diligent self-examination, abide by Party discipline and state laws, and uphold integrity in governance.

Being earnest when performing duties means that officials should take facts as the basis for work planning, ensure that all ideas, policies and plans are in line with actual conditions, objective laws and scientific principle, and avoid being overly ambitious and divorced from reality.

Being earnest when launching new initiatives means that officials should be down-to-earth in their approach to their duties, be pragmatic and do solid work, be bold in taking on responsibilities and facing problems squarely, and be adept at solving problems. They should strive to deliver results that will stand up when measured against the tests of practice, of the people, and of time.

Being earnest when interacting with others means that officials should remain loyal to the Party, to the organization, to the people, and to their colleagues. They should be honest in thought, words and deeds, be aboveboard, and be just and upright.

The Three Guidelines for Ethical Behavior and Three Basic Rules of Conduct mentioned above are essential requirements for officials to improve their conduct. They must be reflected in all efforts to improve Party conduct and in the action of officials at all levels, especially leading officials.

I have heard people say that being too strict in conduct could make life difficult for officials. How should we respond to this? We should be unequivocal in addressing this view. Our Party's stance on the matter is firm – we will apply rigorous standards to officials and place them under close scrutiny, while offering them sincere care and encouragement. We have emphasized the importance of improving Party conduct over the past year, which has raised the political awareness of many officials, as well as relieving them of the burden of writing endless documents and attending endless meetings, social engagements and receptions. They feel much better physically and mentally as they can apply more energy to work and study, and have more time with their families. The reason why some officials feel uneasy or find it painful to adapt is because they remain trapped in outmoded ideas and bad habits. We need to increase education and guide them with patience.

Every occupation has its own rules. Our officials should know that when you choose to be officials, you must conscientiously observe the rules for officials. Without rules, nothing can be done properly. It is only right that the Party's officials abide by the Party Constitution and other Party regulations, conform to the standards the Party sets for officials, and submit to Party discipline. Such demands are not excessive. Imposing strict requirements on officials is essential to the cause of the Party and the people. It is a fundamental aspect of our efforts to improve Party conduct and supervise our officials. We should stick to what is right and never relax our efforts.

“Virtue uplifts, while vice debases.” If we relent at all, problems of misconduct are bound to recur. Like driving a nail, we should sustain the intensity and tenacity of our campaign to improve Party conduct until we reach the intended goals, so as to achieve new successes.

* Part of the speech at the deliberation session of the Anhui delegation to the Second Session of the 12th National People’s Congress.

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AN INTERVIEW WITH RUSSIAN REPORTER SERGEI BRILYOV

AN INTERVIEW WITH RUSSIAN REPORTER SERGEI BRILYOV*

February 7, 2014

Sergei Brilyov: What is your impression of Sochi? How would you rate Russia's hosting of the Olympic Winter Games? What are your expectations for the Chinese delegation's performance?

Xi Jinping: It is a great pleasure to be here in Sochi at President Vladimir Putin's invitation for the opening ceremony of the 22nd Olympic Winter Games. I have dedicated this trip to the event to show the support of the Chinese government and people as well as my personal support for Russia as host of the Games. First of all, please convey my sincere greetings to the Russian people.

This is my first visit to Sochi, a city that I have long known of. I read the novel *How the Steel Was Tempered* several times when I was young. Sochi is the place where Ostrovsky completed the book. Legend has it that Prometheus was chained in the mountains here. Sochi, home to many ruins of the Roman Empire and the Byzantine Empire, is renowned for its rich cultural heritage and time-honored history.

Sochi is also known for its special geographic location. It lies in the only subtropical region in the northernmost part of earth. What I have seen and heard here testifies to its reputation. It is green all year round. It has azure skies, a blue sea, and excellent natural alpine snowfields. People here are hospitable. The city, charming and full of dynamism, is an ideal venue for the Olympic Winter Games. After the Games, its fame will only grow, attracting more visitors, including those from China.

Sochi has done a first-rate job of hosting the Games. President Putin attaches such great importance to the Games that he leads the preparations himself, with full support from the Russian people. I am sure that the Games will be an unforgettable international sports extravaganza and make a great new contribution to the Olympic movement.

I would like to express three wishes: First, I wish for the opening ceremony tonight to be a wonderful event. Second, I wish athletes from around the world every success. Third, I wish for a better future for Sochi, for the city to become even more beautiful and develop closer ties with Chinese cities.

China's century-long Olympic dream came true when it hosted the Beijing 2008 Olympic Summer Games. China has continued to make progress in sports. The Chinese government highly values this undertaking. Our goal is to make China a strong sporting nation. In the early 20th century

when China was plagued by poverty and weakness, the Chinese asked three questions: “When will China be able to send athletes to the Olympics? When will a Chinese athlete be able to win an Olympic gold medal? When will China be able to host the Olympics?” The last of these ambitions was realized in 2008, when China successfully staged the Beijing Olympic Summer Games, leaving the Chinese people overjoyed. So we fully understand and share your joy in hosting the Sochi Olympic Winter Games.

In winter sports – especially skiing – China lacks competitive edge compared to the countries leading the pack in ice and snow games. In recent years, we have made great strides in skating and are relatively good at certain disciplines such as freestyle skiing aerials.

I met with some of the athletes and coaches in the Chinese delegation this morning. The Chinese athletes have trained hard for the Sochi Olympic Winter Games. In keeping with the Olympic spirit, they will try their best to conquer themselves and surpass their limits.

I would like to mention that Beijing has submitted a formal application to the International Olympic Committee for the right to host the 2022 Olympic Winter Games in collaboration with Zhangjiakou City. We are here to learn from you, especially the Russian athletes. We would like to learn what makes Russia excel at sports and understand your best practices in hosting the Olympic Winter Games.

Brilyov: Russia was the first country you visited after taking office as Chinese president last year. You chose Russia as your first overseas destination again this year. The Russian people feel excited about this. Could you please share with us your considerations? How would you assess current China-Russia relations and their prospects?

Xi: In March last year, only a few days after I was elected president of China, I paid a state visit to Russia at the invitation of President Putin, making it the first country I visited after my election. During the visit, President Putin and I had a frank and in-depth exchange of views on a wide range of issues for long hours. We reached an important agreement on strengthening China-Russia comprehensive strategic coordination and made an overall plan. Since then we have met four times. During our meeting yesterday, President Putin and I conducted a review. We have jointly called on the two countries to firmly support each other on major issues involving our core interests and translate the political strengths of our relations into advantages for further cooperation. Cooperation in areas such as trade, energy, high technology, sub-national programs, culture, and international affairs has borne abundant fruit, giving a boost to our two countries’ development and prosperity and safeguarding international fairness and justice as well as world peace and stability. I am very satisfied with the achievements in China-Russia relations. Now is a period when our relations enjoy a more solid foundation, a higher level of mutual trust, and greater regional and international influence than ever before.

The more visits we pay to our relatives and friends, the closer our relations become. Hosting the Olympic Winter Games is a jubilant occasion for Russia as well as a major event in the international Olympic movement. China and Russia are good neighbors, friends and partners. President Putin and I are old friends. According to Chinese tradition, one is obliged to attend the festivities of neighbors and friends to extend congratulations. That is why I am here to join you at this historic moment.

President Putin and I held cordial and friendly talks again yesterday. We decided to ensure that China-Russia relations continue to develop at a high level, to strengthen mutual political support, and to expand both results-oriented cooperation and strategic coordination in international affairs. My trip to Sochi signals that our relations are off to a good start this year.

Brilyov: The Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee adopted the Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Major Issues Concerning Further Comprehensive Reform, and you have been made head of the Central Leading Group for Further Reform. What I want to know is how you will govern. What will China's reform focus on? What do you think of the prospects for China's development?

Xi: These are important questions concerning China's development. It has been more than 35 years since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee launched China's reform and opening up in 1978. We have achieved remarkable successes, but we should continue to make progress. We have set the Two Centenary Goals. At present economic globalization is progressing rapidly, competition between countries in overall national strength is intensifying, and the international situation is complex and volatile. We have concluded from this that we must seize every opportunity for development, meet challenges head-on, strive to make greater progress, and fundamentally persevere with reform and opening up. Caught in this fierce international competition, we are like a boat traveling upstream: we must press ahead or the current will push us back.

Reform in China is much broader and deeper. Stronger top-level design is needed to advance reform. Last November, the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee made overall plans for advancing comprehensive reform and formulated a road map and schedule for reform. The plan includes over 330 reform measures for 15 areas, including the economy, politics, culture, society, eco-environmental progress and Party development. So we have sounded the bugle to advance reform. Our general objective is to improve and develop the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, and modernize our national governance system and capacity.

To concentrate our efforts on advancing reform, we founded the Central Leading Group for Further Reform, which I head. The group is tasked with overall planning and coordination of major issues, and assignment of tasks to be implemented. I call it "10 percent planning and 90 percent implementation".

It is no easy job to advance reform in China, which has a population of over 1.3 billion. After more than 30 years, China's reform has entered uncharted waters. It can be said that the easy part of the job has been done to the satisfaction of all. We are now left with tough bones that are hard to chew. This requires us to act boldly and progress steadily. To act boldly means to advance reform despite difficulties and be ready to take on challenges, and wade through dangerous shoals. To progress steadily means to stay on course and proceed in safety, and, more importantly, make no fatal mistakes.

I have full confidence in the prospects for China's development. Why? The underlying reason is that after much exploration we have found a development path suited to China's actual conditions. As long as we rely closely on the 1.3 billion Chinese people and stay firmly on our own path we will overcome all difficulties and obstacles, make new progress, and finally reach our goal.

The CPC exercises state power for the people. The people's expectation for a better life is our goal. To put it briefly, I will govern by serving the people and fulfilling all my responsibilities.

Brilyov: You have been the president of China for almost a year. How do you feel as the leader of such a big country? What hobbies do you have? What are your favorite sports?

Xi: China covers a land of 9.6 million square kilometers and has 56 ethnic groups and a population of over 1.3 billion. China's social and economic development level and its people's living standards are not high. It is not easy to govern such a country, so I must climb high to achieve a distant view while planting my feet on solid ground. I worked in different regions in China for a long time, so I am fully aware that the differences are great between the country's east and west, between central and local government, between different localities, and between different levels of local government. Therefore, as a Chinese leader, I must take all factors into consideration based on a correct understanding of China's conditions, maintain an overall balance, and concentrate on priorities to promote overall development. I alternate my attention between major and minor issues, and, to put it figuratively, it is like playing the piano with all ten fingers.

Since the people have put me in the position of head of state, I must put them above everything else, bear in mind my responsibilities that are as weighty as Mount Tai, always concern myself with the people's security and wellbeing, work conscientiously day and night, share the same feelings with the people, share weal and woe with them, and work together with them.

Speaking of hobbies, I like reading, watching movies, traveling and walking. As you know, I almost have no private time in the position I am in. A song titled *Where Did the Time Go* became popular in China during this Spring Festival. For me, the question is where my private time goes. I spend all of it on my work. Now, the only thing I have managed to keep as a hobby is reading, which has become my way of life. Reading invigorates my mind, gives me inspiration and cultivates my moral strength. I have read many works by Russian writers, including Ivan Krylov, Alexander

Pushkin, Nikolai Gogol, Mikhail Lermontov, Ivan Turgenev, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Nikolay Nekrasov, Nikolay Chernyshevsky, Leo Tolstoy, Anton Chekhov and Mikhail Sholokhov. I remember clearly many extracts from their excellent stories.

Speaking of sports, I like swimming and mountaineering. I learned to swim at the age of four or five. I also like football, volleyball, basketball, tennis and martial arts. Among snow and ice sports, I like to watch ice hockey, speed skating, figure skating and freestyle skiing. Ice hockey is my favorite. It requires not only individual strength and skill but also teamwork and collaboration. It is indeed a good sport.

* An exclusive interview with Sergei Brilyov, a reporter with the All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company, in Sochi, Russia.

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CARRY ON THE ENDURING SPIRIT OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

CARRY ON THE ENDURING SPIRIT OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT*

December 26, 2013

The enduring spirit of Mao Zedong Thought refers to the stand, viewpoint and method crystalized in the Thought, which features three basic tenets – seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence. In the new conditions, we should uphold and apply the enduring spirit of Mao Zedong Thought in building our Party and advancing the great cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

As a fundamental tenet of Marxism, seeking truth from facts is a basic requirement for Chinese Communists to understand and transform the world. It is also our Party's basic thinking, working and leading approach. We have upheld and should continue to uphold the principle of proceeding from reality in everything we do, integrating theory with practice, and testing and developing truth in practice.

Mao Zedong once said, "'Facts' are all the things that exist objectively, 'truth' means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and 'to seek' means to study." He also used the metaphor "shooting the arrow at the target", that is, we should shoot the "arrow" of Marxism at the "target" of China's revolution, construction and reform.

To seek truth from facts, we must acquire a deep understanding of a matter as it is, see through the surface into the heart of the matter, and discover the intricate link between matters amidst fragmented phenomena. We should follow objective laws on the basis that we recognize the existence of a matter and its development laws.

Upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts is not done once and for all. You may succeed by following the principle at a certain place and at a certain time, but that does not mean that you may succeed again by following the principle at another place and at another time. The conclusion or experience drawn at a certain place and at a certain time does not necessarily apply at another place and at another time. We should conscientiously strengthen our conviction in seeking truth from facts and enhance our ability to apply it. We should always bear it in mind and implement it in our work.

As we stand now, seeking truth from facts means that we should clearly understand our basic national condition, that is, our country is still in the primary stage of socialism, and will remain so for a long time to come. When advancing reform and development, and formulating guidelines and policies, we should do everything in line with this basic national condition. Any tendency to pursue

quick success regardless of objective conditions and timing should be avoided, and any outdated or complacent ideas and actions which do not conform to reality, or which neglect fundamental changes of reality, should be corrected without exception.

While seeking truth from facts, we should always uphold the truth and correct mistakes for the sake of the people's interests. We should be frank, selfless and fearless, courageously speak out truth based on facts, discover and correct ideological deviations and mistakes in decision-making and work as soon as they arise, and discover and solve all kinds of conflicts and problems when they come up so as to make our thoughts and acts conform to objective laws, the requirement of the times and the wishes of the people.

In seeking truth from facts, we should promote theoretical innovation based on practice. The basic tenets of Marxism are universal truth with eternal ideological value. Nevertheless, the classical Marxist authors did not exhaust truth but blazed a trail to seek and develop truth. Today, new problems will arise while we adhere to and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics, drive reform to a deeper level, and deal effectively with foreseeable and unpredictable difficulties and risks on our way ahead. All these things are crying out for new and appropriate theoretical solutions. We should review the fresh experience gained by the people under the leadership of the Party, constantly adapt Marxism to the Chinese context and make contemporary Marxism shine brighter in China.

The mass line is the Party's lifeline and fundamental work principle. It is a cherished tradition that enables our Party to maintain its vitality and combat capability. We have always been and will always be obligated to do everything in the interests of the people and rely on their strength, and carry out the principle of "from the people, to the people", translating the Party's policies into the people's conscious action and implementing the mass line in all government activities.

The mass line in essence encapsulates the basic tenet of Marxism that the people are the creators of history. We must adhere to this principle in order to grasp the basic laws governing the advance of history. We must observe these laws so that we can be invincible. History has time and again proved that the people are the major force behind historical development and social progress. As Mao Zedong said, "Once China's destiny is in the hands of the people, China, like the sun rising in the east, will illuminate every corner of the land with a brilliant flame."

Adhering to the mass line is recognizing that the people are the fundamental force in deciding our future and destiny. The strong foundation keeping the Party invincible lies in our adhering to the people's principal position in the country, and bringing their initiative into full play. Before the people, we are always students. Therefore we must seek advice from them. We must fully respect their wishes, experience, rights and role. We should cherish the power conferred on us by the people and exercise it discreetly, and welcome their supervision. We should rely closely on them to create historic achievements, so as to make the foundation of our Party rock-solid.

Adhering to the mass line means following the fundamental tenet of serving the people wholeheartedly.

“A government thrives as it complies with the wishes of the people; a government fails as it goes against the wishes of the people.” Serving the people wholeheartedly is the fundamental purpose of all the work of the Party, and a symbol that distinguishes our Party from all other parties. The supreme criterion for all Party actions is that it serves the interests of the great majority of the people. The effectiveness of all our work should ultimately be measured by the real benefits the people have reaped, by the improvement in their lives and by how well their rights and interests are protected. Their expectation for a better life does not allow us to be complacent or slack, but requires us to work harder to enable everyone to share more fruits of development in a fair way and move steadily towards common prosperity.

Adhering to the mass line means maintaining close ties between the Party and the people. The supreme political advantage of our Party is its close ties with the people, and the biggest danger for a ruling party is for it to become divorced from the people. Mao Zedong said, “We Communists are like seeds, and the people are like the soil. Wherever we go, we must unite with the people, take root and blossom among them.” All Party members should bear in mind the concept of people first and the mass line, and put them into practice. We should do our utmost to solve problems within the Party and especially those the people are particularly dissatisfied with, so that our Party can always have their trust and support.

Adhering to the mass line means asking the people to judge our work. “It is the people who know whether a decree is good or not.” The future and destiny of any political party is determined by the popular support for it. “Popular support is what we draw our strength from.” The number of Party members is small compared to that of the people. The grand goal of our Party can never be realized without popular support. It is not up to us to judge our Party’s governance capacity or performance; they must and can only be judged by the people, the supreme and ultimate judge of the Party’s work. If we are pretentious and divorce ourselves from the people or put ourselves above them, we will surely be abandoned by them. This is the case for any party, and is an iron law which admits of no exception.

Independence is an inevitable conclusion drawn by our Party from China’s reality, after going through the stages of revolution, construction and reform by relying on the strength of the Party and the people. We should always rely on ourselves when seeking our national development and defending our national pride and confidence, and resolutely follow our own road now and in the future as we did in the past.

Independence is a fine tradition of the Chinese nation and an essential principle for building the Party and the PRC. The reality and the mission to carry out revolution and development in China, an Eastern country with a large population and backward economy, have determined that we have no other choice but to follow our own path.

Boasting a vast land of 9.6 million square kilometers, a rich cultural heritage and a strong bond among the 1.3 billion Chinese people, we are resolved to go our own way. We have a big stage to display our advantages on, a long and rich history to draw benefit from, and a powerful impetus to push us ahead. We Chinese people – every single one of us – should draw confidence from this.

Adhering to independence means that Chinese affairs must be dealt with and decided by the Chinese people themselves. There is no such thing in the world as a development model that can be applied universally, nor is there any development path that remains carved in stone. The diversity of historical conditions determines the diversity of the development paths chosen by various countries. In the whole history of humanity, no nation or state has ever been able to rise to power and rejuvenate itself by relying solely on external forces or blindly following others; doing so inevitably leads to failure or subservience.

Our Party has always independently explored its own development path while leading revolution, construction and reform. This spirit of independent exploration and practice, and the confidence and determination to stick to its own road is the bedrock of all the theories and practice of our Party, and the guarantee that our Party and people will go from victory to victory.

Adhering to independence means that we will firmly take the socialist path with Chinese characteristics. We will not take the old path of a rigid closed-door policy, nor an erroneous path by abandoning socialism. We should enhance our political faith and our confidence in the path, theory and system of Chinese socialism. We should expand this path, enrich the theory and improve the system through comprehensive reform and in response to changing conditions and tasks. We should modestly draw on the achievements of all other cultures, but never forget our own origin. We must not blindly copy the development models of other countries nor accept their dictation.

Adhering to independence requires us to uphold our independent foreign policy of peace, and follow the path of peaceful development. We should hold high the banner of peace, development, cooperation and benefit for all, maintain friendly relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, conduct exchanges and cooperation with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, staunchly safeguard world peace, and promote common development. We should take our positions and make our policies on issues on their own merits, uphold fairness and justice, respect the right of each people in deciding its own development path independently, and never force our will upon others nor allow anyone to impose theirs upon us. We stand for peaceful resolutions to international disputes, oppose all forms of hegemony and power politics, and never seek hegemonism nor engage in expansion. We will resolutely defend our sovereignty, security and development interests. No country should assume that we will trade away our core interests, nor will we accept anything that harms our sovereignty, security or development interests.

* Part of the speech at a meeting to mark the 120th anniversary of the birth of Mao Zedong.

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ENSURE CHINA'S FOOD SECURITY

ENSURE CHINA'S FOOD SECURITY*

December 23, 2013

Food is the paramount necessity of the people. “Of the eight aspects of governance, food stands atop.” In our large, populous country, feeding the people has always mattered most in national governance. Just as Mao Zedong said, “Food is the top priority.” As long as we have food in our hands, we will never panic.

In our country, we have more than 1.3 billion mouths to feed. In China, stability is ensured as long as there is no major problem in food supply. Everyone knows this, but in practice, particularly when the agricultural situation is good, it is easy to become complacent. For this reason, I want to start by emphasizing the importance of ensuring food security in our country.

Talking about food security reminds me of food stamps. This year marks the 20th anniversary of the abolition of food stamps in our country. The NPC and CPPCC annual sessions in 1993 marked the first time that the deputies did not need food stamps for meals. In May of the same year, Beijing announced the formal cancellation of food stamps. Other provinces and equivalent administrative units followed suit, making food stamps a thing of the past. This was a landmark event in our reform and development.

Having said that, I am not going to talk about the achievements we can see with our own eyes. Instead, I want to say that we must keep history in mind, beware of amnesia when it comes to food supply, and take care not to forget the pain after the scar has healed. There was a time when a tiny scrap of paper had a direct impact on people's right to food. There was a time when having something to eat was the most difficult thing for us.

For people of my age, the use of food stamps seems like something that happened only yesterday. Our generation has, to varying extents, memories of never feeling fully fed, or even of going hungry. During the three years of natural disasters from 1959 to 1961, I was studying at a boarding school, and the food there was far from sufficient. We made do by having soup for the evening, a situation which we called “eating to 70 percent full”. During the Cultural Revolution, I was sent to work in the countryside. At one point, I did not see a droplet of cooking oil or any meat in my bowl for three months. That winter, my family managed to send me some money, and together with the classmate who lived in the same cave dwelling as me, I bought some frozen pork that had been stored in a stone trough. As soon as we got back, we cut the meat into slices and started eating without even cooking it. It tasted so delicious! But soon we stopped eating or we'd have none left for cooking. We have all been through days of such poverty.

Those who do not plan well ahead will find trouble at their doors. Now, we cannot assert with certainty that this kind of problem will never recur in future. Have we solved the issue of food security in our country? We cannot come to this conclusion yet. Let us not be naive. How many big famines have happened in our history? The bodies of people who starved to death littered the wilderness, and desperate people even ate their own kind. Those tragedies of the past must never be repeated under any circumstances.

Ensuring national food security is a constant challenge, and we should never let our guard down. It is imperative to adhere to the national food security strategy of self-sufficiency by relying on domestic food production, ensuring food production capacity, encouraging moderate imports, and boosting technological support. Food production should always be the top agenda in addressing issues related to agriculture and rural areas.

First, we in China must always have control over our own food supply. Our hard work over the years has resulted in remarkable progress in food production. This year, our total food output exceeded 600 million tonnes. Our per capita food output has remained above the world average for many years in a row and we have achieved basic and consistent self-sufficiency in food supply. This is a notable achievement.

Although we have achieved a full decade of increases in food production, we are still unable to keep up with the rapid growth in demand and the constant structural changes. The gap between production and demand has continued to widen; imports have continued to climb significantly. This year, our food output was higher by 171.25 million tonnes than in 2003. Even so, in the first 10 months of this year we imported 9.85 million tonnes of grain and 49.75 million tonnes of soybean. Only a little over ten years ago we were a soybean exporter.

With our growing population, ongoing urbanization, and improving living standards, the demand for food is bound to trend upwards. China currently has about 6.5 million more people every year and an annual increase in the urban population of about 21 million. Every year, population growth pushes up the demand for food by some 5 million tonnes. In addition, with changing patterns of food consumption and rural people moving into cities and towns, the demand for food will be even greater. By 2020, the demand for food is expected to approach 700 million tonnes. We can envision the pressure of meeting such a colossal demand. The rapid growth in the consumption of food and other agricultural products will continue, and the trend will not reverse for a long time. On the food issue we have a tight balance. We have to achieve a basic equilibrium between food supply and demand on the one hand, and prevent a drop in food prices that results from an easing of supply on the other, as the latter would reduce the incentive for growing grain. This is a dilemma. Maintaining this balance is like walking on a tightrope; it requires fine-tuning of both sides. An improper adjustment would throw us out of balance. We want to achieve an ideal state, but getting it right depends on our aptitude as well as the overall environment.

On the whole, we do not have a rock-solid foundation for ensuring food security and the situation is still serious. At no time should we claim complacently that we have secured the food supply. On this question, we cannot bet on luck or act recklessly. Should a serious problem arise, we might struggle for many years and no one will be able to come to our rescue. We must always have control over our own food supply, and keep the initiative in food security firmly in our own hands.

Second, we should mainly rely on domestic food supplies. Feeding our people by relying on domestic food supplies is a major policy dictated by our national conditions from which we do not deviate. Only when a country has firmly established basic self-sufficiency can it hold the initiative in food security, and thereby keep overall socio-economic development under control. Counting on others for food will never work; it will only leave us at their mercy.

Look at the truly powerful countries in the world – countries without a soft underbelly. They are all able to feed their own people. The United States is the world's No. 1 food exporter and its strength in agriculture is unmatched. Russia, Canada and major countries of the European Union are also grain powerhouses. The overall strength of these countries is tied to their strong food production capacity. This is why the food issue should be viewed not only as an economic issue, but also as a political issue. Guaranteed national food security is an important foundation for economic development, social stability, and national security.

The world has 7 billion people. Under normal circumstances, total annual grain production is about 2.5 billion tonnes, and the amount available for international trade is around 300 million tonnes; 250 million tonnes of soybeans are produced annually, of which no more than 100 million tonnes are available for international trade. Currently, annual global trade in food is approximately 300 million tonnes, which is equivalent to only half of our country's requirements; trade in rice is about 35 million tonnes, just about a quarter of our rice consumption. How much more can we import from the world grain market? And even if we could buy all the grain on the international market, it would not even meet our needs for six months. Therefore, our rice bowl must mainly be filled with grain produced by ourselves; this is the bedrock that underpins our food policy: free of dependence on buying or even begging for food.

How can we ensure national food security? In the past, we put the emphasis on ensuring all food supplies of all types. This was the only option available considering the situation at the time and we by and large managed to do it. Now, with the rapid increase in domestic demand for food, if we were to rely on ourselves for all our food supplies, there would not be enough land or water, and the eco-environment could not sustain it either. In such circumstances, we must be even clearer about the priority of food security in our work. We have to allocate resources rationally, and focus on the most fundamental and the most important aspects first – to ensure basic self-sufficiency in grain and absolute security in staples. The whole Party must be clear about this need. We must never think that we can lower our guard for a moment on food production as it is no easy task to achieve the necessary quantity and quality of both.

Third, we must hold fast to the cultivated land red line. I explored this issue in depth at the Central Conference on Urbanization, and I want to emphasize it again here. There is nothing to lose in sounding the alarm bell repeatedly concerning the issue. The foundations of national food security lie in cultivated land, which is the lifeblood of food production. While farmers may leave agriculture, cropland cannot be used for any purpose other than farming. Should our cultivated land be used for something other than food production, we will lose the foundation that we rely on for food.

Cultivated land is a limited resource in our country. Although the acreage of cultivated land has risen somewhat as detailed in the second national land survey, it is a change in book figures only, with the actual area remaining the same. These arable lands are all under cultivation and have not been left idle. The increased acreage as shown in the land survey does not translate into greater production capacity. The total area of farmland must stay above the red line of 120 million hectares, and the acreage of existing cultivated land must remain stable. To put it in extreme terms, the cultivated land should be protected in the same way as cultural relics are protected, or even as giant pandas. You have all made a firm pledge to keep the farmland red line and you must honor it. There is no room for maneuver whatsoever.

Over the years, industrialization and urbanization have taken over vast swathes of cultivated land. Despite the legal provisions on balancing the occupation and replenishment of arable land, there are cases in which more land has been occupied than replenished, superior land has been taken and replenished with inferior land, nearby land has been taken and replenished with land in remote areas, and paddy fields have been taken and replenished with arid land. In particular, whole swathes of high-standard farmland that had been built at a high cost, with ensured good harvests come drought or flood, have been occupied as well.

The red line for cultivated land was drawn not only in quantitative terms, but in qualitative terms as well. If you take away one patch of high-yield land on the outskirts of a city and then level a piece of land in a ravine to replenish the appropriated land, can the two pieces of land yield the same crop? They are worlds apart in quality. Even double the size, low-yield land such as this cannot compensate for high-yield land – it would be a total deception. Such practices are very dangerous and will end in disaster sooner or later.

According to the figures of the second national land survey, China has only 33 million hectares of paddy fields and 28 million hectares of irrigated land which, put together, account for less than half of the total cultivated land area but provide over 70 percent of the grain and over 80 percent of the main cash crops. They are our life-savers. Over the past dozen years or so, the acreage of paddy fields in the five southeastern coastal provinces alone has declined by 1.2 million hectares, the equivalent of all the paddy fields in Fujian Province. Such “balancing” must be rectified.

“When you have fertilizer but no water, you can do nothing but cry to the sky; when you have water but no fertilizer, you will harvest only half the grain.” To solve the problem of living at the mercy of the elements, one fundamental step is to develop farmland water conservancy. Irrigation

and drainage systems remain a marked deficiency in China, with many localities still relying on the facilities built in the 1960s and 1970s. We therefore must be determined to make up the deficiency. It is imperative to pay attention not only to the “main arteries” such as large-scale water conservancy projects, but also to the “capillaries” – “last-mile” facilities that pipe water to the fields. We should designate permanent basic cropland and step up the construction of high-standard farmland with assured high yields whether in times of drought or flood.

As farmers put it, “A good mother raises a good child, and good seed makes a good crop”; “if you don’t select seeds when planting, you will end up empty-handed even if you toil to your death.” We must develop our national seed industry, and step up the cultivation of fine strains with our own intellectual property rights, to ensure national food security by addressing the problem at source. One seed can change the world and one piece of technology can create a miracle. We must invest a great effort, increase input, focus on innovative mechanisms, stimulate vitality, and place a premium on combining scientific research and production so that agriculture can truly be equipped with the wings of science and technology.

Fourth, we must cultivate and arouse the enthusiasm of both farmers and local governments in food production. To bring about steady growth in food production, we must make it profitable for farmers to grow grain crops, and incentivize food-producing areas. To this end, we should leverage the role of market mechanisms and provide firm government support.

Food prices concern both producers and consumers. In the Warring States Period, Li Kui said, “If rice is too expensive, it hurts the people; if it is too cheap, it hurts the farmers. If the people are hurt, they will be displaced; if the farmers are hurt, the country will be impoverished.” Food prices therefore should be kept at a reasonable level to balance the interests of both producers and consumers. Whether farmers are willing to grow grain crops and how much they are willing to grow depend on how much they can earn. I have made field trips to some localities where the officials and people told me that the prices of agricultural supplies such as chemical fertilizers and seeds had gone up faster than the price of grain crops, that the comparative efficiency of growing grain crops was getting ever lower, and that the income from tilling a whole patch of cropland was less than that from working for a wage for a few days. How can we synchronize the growth of farmers’ incomes and food production? This is a matter that warrants particular consideration.

The current agricultural subsidy policy has a positive impact and is welcomed by farmers, but there exists to a certain extent the egalitarian practice of “everybody eating from the same big pot”. In future, the general direction cannot be changed, the total amount of subsidies cannot be reduced and should be increased as best we can, but the specific implementation measures must be improved by optimizing support so that subsidies can be used in a more precise and targeted way. We must explore and put in place a mechanism linking agricultural subsidies with food production to increase subsidies to those who produce more food and direct our limited funds to where they matter the most. We must continue to operate a minimum purchase price for grain and increase it as appropriate to keep the prices of agricultural products at a reasonable level.

In the long run, we need to follow the principle of pricing by market and separating pricing from subsidies when we explore and implement a target price policy. We need to improve the grain price formation mechanism, and gradually establish a mechanism that subsidizes producers when prices are low and compensates low-income consumers when prices are high.

Fifth, we will regulate the food market with grain reserves. It is a tradition in our country to establish Changping granaries which play an important role in stabilizing the market, preparing for shortfalls, and compensating farmers. As our country has a vast territory, it is necessary to store more national grain reserves as appropriate and spend more money on this. While it is essential to have a higher security factor, we must also pay attention to value for money, efficiency, and effectiveness. And the government cannot do it all. We must give market players the incentive to purchase and store grain, and effectively utilize storage facilities available in society to stockpile grain.

We must manage and use the grain reserves well as they are what keep the people's rice bowls full. We cannot always say that the stockpile is full and then fail to have grain available in times of urgent need. There have been too many lessons in this regard both in the past and present, at home and abroad. The *Book of Songs* contains these words: "Big mice, big mice, eat no more millet we grow." In recent years, many cases of wrongdoing have been investigated concerning the national grain depots. Violations of law and discipline must be investigated and dealt with. We will never allow the "grain rats" to wreak havoc and squander the grain at will.

Sixth, central and local governments should share responsibility. In ensuring national food security, the central government is duty-bound to assume the primary responsibility. It should bolster support for food production in these areas: construction of major water conservancy infrastructure projects, transformation of low- and medium-yield farmland, promotion of scientific and technological innovation, development of IT services, improvement of the market system, assurance of the quality and safety of agricultural products, and payment transfers to major production areas. Local governments at all levels must have an awareness of the overall picture, increase input in food production, and consciously assume the responsibility for maintaining national food security rather than dumping all the burdens onto the central government.

Why must we insist on the practice of provincial governors assuming responsibility for the "rice bag"? It is because all localities must act and work together to strengthen capacity in food production, storage, and distribution, and effectively protect cultivated land. We will boost local motivation by increasing financial subsidies and rewards for major producing provinces and counties. We need to progressively establish and improve a mechanism under which the main producing areas are properly compensated, so that the major producing counties can reap real benefits and develop. We cannot let those who produce more grain suffer greater losses.

In recent years the geographic pattern of food production in China has undergone significant changes with shifting trends in food production and sales. Some previously important food-producing areas in south China have gradually become major consuming areas and are now on

the receiving end of food supplies from the north, reversing the flow. At present, more than 75 percent of our total food output, more than 80 percent of commercial grain, and about 90 percent of the grain outflow come from 13 major producing provinces and autonomous regions. Among these, the contribution of the main producing areas in north China has continued to climb. This change challenges food production and security and restrains the former as the north is very dry. On the other hand, the share of food production in the major consuming areas and the production-consumption balance areas has continued to fall, with the self-sufficiency rate of the latter declining, and the production-demand gap of the former widening.

Concentration of food production in major producing areas is conducive to fully leveraging the comparative advantages of different regions. However, it should also be noted that risks in food production and allocation are also concentrating. We all know that we cannot put all our eggs in one basket, a type of reasoning also applicable to the issue of food security. All provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government, regardless of the amount of their cultivated land, must take up the responsibility for food production. Any locality that has done away with food production has abandoned its responsibility. The departments concerned should come up with hard constraints so that local governments, especially those in the major grain consuming areas, can effectively fulfill their responsibilities.

Seventh, we should make good use of international and domestic markets and resources. Conditional on domestic production ensuring basic self-sufficiency of grain and absolute security of staple food, it is necessary to increase imports, as appropriate, and accelerate the pace of agricultural businesses going global in order to lessen the pressure on domestic agricultural resources and the environment, and make up for the shortage of some domestic agricultural products. But the scale and tempo of imports must be properly controlled to prevent shocks to domestic production which could cause significant damage to farmers' employment and income growth.

Active and prudent utilization of the international agricultural product market and external agricultural resources is a long-term strategy which China has been implementing consistently. Statistics show that through international trade and cooperation we have used the equivalent of 46.67 million hectares of planted land for grain, soybean, cotton, sugar and other crops. Now, we need to make active and prudent efforts to expand the scope of this strategy, but we must plan well before making the move.

With the supply and demand of global grain and other major agricultural products largely unchanged, if we suddenly increase imports substantially and cross the tipping point, this will inevitably cause global food prices to skyrocket, making China an easy target of attacks, and the losses, therefore, would outweigh the gains in political, diplomatic, and trade terms. Also, it is by no means an easy task to lease or buy land, or to engage in cooperative development in other countries. South America and Africa, among others, have a large amount of arable land that can be cultivated, but it will be a lengthy process that involves a lot of investment before we can see results. Land is a sensitive issue for any country. It is easy to trigger nationalist sentiments.

Therefore, when boosting agricultural outbound investment, we need to have a comprehensive analysis of the economic, technological, and even political risks, and improve our preparedness and response capabilities.

To start with, we need to figure out which agricultural products must be guaranteed at home before ascertaining what, how much, from where, and how to import. With respect to outbound investment, we must carry out detailed research into questions like where to go, how to do, and how to use the agricultural products thus produced. In imports, safety should be the focus of our attention. One is species safety, and the other is the risk of monopoly that might grant any other party a stranglehold over us. We should draw on the experience of major international grain merchants by building storage and logistical facilities in grain producing countries across the world, with others producing and us procuring. With the sources of grain in hand, we have trade under control and thus control overpricing as well. It is no easy task to compete with century-old, well-established global businesses. It calls for real finesse, but we must enter the competition. With a large domestic market, we should have the confidence to cultivate our own large grain traders. For state-owned enterprises to go global, we must improve relevant systems and mechanisms to prevent corporate management misusing state resources for their private gains, which would be a waste of state investment.

One thing must be made clear: When we talk about expanding the import of agricultural products in short supply at home, and about accelerating the pace of agriculture going global, this in no way means any change in our major policy of depending on domestic production to ensure food security. It must not in any way be misconstrued as permission to relax efforts in domestic food production, which would threaten the overall situation.

Eighth, we must pay careful attention to the need to save food. There is a huge amount of waste in food production, processing, distribution, and consumption, with wastage on the dining table particularly alarming. This stems from too much emphasis on face and an extravagant lifestyle. A survey has estimated that the food wasted on dining tables in China costs as much as RMB200 billion a year, which is equivalent to the annual staple food requirements for more than 200 million people. A few days ago, there was a media report that a janitor who hated waste ate the steamed buns and rice scavenged from dumpsters in a university canteen. Examples of waste are not rare. The fact that some university canteens have become the epicenter of wasted food is most shocking. Even if life is getting better, we have no right whatsoever to waste food. This negative trend must be stopped.

Education on saving food should start with children. We all received a strict upbringing in this when we were young. Our parents did not allow so much as a single grain of rice to be wasted, far less allow leftovers.

*Hoeing in the field at high noon,
Our sweat drips into the soil.
Who knows the meal in our bowl,*

Every grain is from toil.

There is plenty of material about food saving in Chinese culture, which should be instilled in children from an early age to promote good social norms of thrift and saving. It is essential to strengthen the practice of saving food, starting with the dining table, the canteens of universities and other institutions, and the catering industry, starting with kindergartens, nurseries, and schools at all levels and of all types, and starting with every family, to make food saving the norm throughout society. At the same time, we must pay attention to tackling waste in the process of food purchasing, storage, processing, and sales. The problems in this area are also serious.

* Part of the speech at the Central Conference on Rural Work.

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UPHOLD PARTY LEADERSHIP IN ALL AREAS

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UPHOLD PARTY LEADERSHIP IN ALL AREAS*

December 2013-October 2017

I

Chinese socialism has many characteristics, and the defining one is Party leadership. Strengthening and improving Party leadership over economic work is essential to democratic centralism and is a strength of our political system. Our Party exercises overall leadership and coordinates work in all areas. Economic work is our central task, which must fully reflect the Party's leadership. Taking this central task as our top priority, we can work better in other areas.

(from the speech at the Central Conference on Economic Work, December 10, 2013)

II

We emphasize that Party leadership, the people's position as masters of the country, and law-based governance of the country form an indivisible whole. Of these, Party leadership is of paramount importance. In upholding Party leadership, we must uphold the people's position as masters of the country and implement law-based governance which is the Party's basic strategy in leading the people to run the country. Party leadership and law-based governance are consistent. Only by upholding Party leadership will the people fully realize their role as masters of the country. Only then will the rule of law in national affairs and social activities be institutionalized and enforced in an orderly manner. Party leadership should not be opposed to the people's position as masters of the country or to law-based governance, nor shall we use the two to destabilize or challenge Party leadership. That is ideologically wrong and politically dangerous.

(from the speech at the Central Conference on Law and Order, January 7, 2014)

III

The Party is the leadership core of all our undertakings. As an old Chinese saying goes: "Customs and moral education are uniform throughout the country, and same decrees are implemented nationally." This would not happen in contemporary China without Party leadership. The Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee constitute the leadership and decision-making core of the Party.

The decisions and plans made by the Central Committee must be implemented by the departments of the Party responsible for organization, public communication, the united front, and judicial, prosecuting, and public security issues; by Party organizations of people's congresses, governments, CPPCC committees, courts and procuratorates; and by Party organizations of public institutions and people's organizations. All Party organizations must play their role.

Party organizations in all sectors are accountable to Party committees and must report on their work. Some officials believe their work is a matter for themselves. They do not think they need to report on their work, and they do not want other people to be involved. Some do not even want Party committees to inquire about their work; otherwise, they will claim that there is no separation between Party and government affairs. This is a misconception.

Party committees act as the core of leadership. All sectors must consciously report to them on major programs and situations, and under their leadership make every effort to do the work within the scope of their functions and duties. Reporting serves a useful purpose as it facilitates brainstorming to pool and share wisdom for getting things done better. It is also a rule for Party committees and Party leadership groups in all provincial authorities and central departments to continue the practice of reporting to the Central Committee.

*(from the speech at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th
CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection,
January 14, 2014)*

IV

We must be fully aware that Party leadership is what characterizes contemporary China. It is what "Chinese characteristics" means. The system of CPC leadership was our own design; we did not clone or copy it from others. All the good things we have introduced from the outside will finally be adapted to the Chinese context. Russia's October Revolution in 1917 influenced China, but our Party did not turn to Soviet socialism. After the Cold War, the Soviet Union disintegrated and Eastern Europe experienced dramatic change. But we continued on our own way, which is why we achieved what we have today.

*(from the speech at a criticism and self-criticism meeting among
members of the Standing Committee of the Party Committee
of Lankao County, Henan Province, May 9, 2014)*

V

The leadership of the CPC is essential to socialism with Chinese characteristics. The People's Republic of China is prosperous and strong. It would not exist without the CPC. To uphold the CPC as the core of the leadership is essential to the future of the Chinese nation. The leadership of the CPC guarantees the position of the people as masters of the country. We must uphold the Party's core role in exercising overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all, ensuring that

the Party's guidelines, principles, policies, decisions and plans are carried out comprehensively and effectively through the system of people's congresses. We must support and safeguard the agencies of state power in carrying out their work separately yet concertedly, in accordance with the Constitution and the law. We must strengthen and improve the Party's leadership, turn the Party's views into the will of the state, train candidates recommended by Party organizations to become leaders of agencies of state power through legal procedures, and exercise the Party's leadership over the country and society through agencies of state power. We must maintain the authority of both the Party and the state and the unity and solidarity of the Party and the country under the principle of democratic centralism.

*(from the speech at the meeting to mark the 60th anniversary
of the National People's Congress, September 5, 2014)*

VI

CPC leadership is the common choice of the Chinese people from all political parties, people's organizations, ethnic groups, and social strata, and from all walks of life. It is the primary feature of Chinese socialism and the fundamental guarantee for the progress of the CPPCC. To stay on the right course, the CPPCC must uphold CPC leadership.

*(from the speech at the meeting to mark the 65th anniversary
of the CPPCC, September 21, 2014)*

VII

The CPC is the leadership core of China's socialist undertakings, exercising overall leadership and a coordination role in all areas. In China today, no political or any other force is stronger than the CPC. The Party is the leading political force and exercises leadership over all areas of endeavor in every part of the country. It is the ruling party, and its leadership is the fundamental guarantee for us to accomplish all the undertakings of the Party and country. It is also the essential guarantee that ensures political stability, economic development, ethnic unity and social stability. We should uphold this principle with no vacillation.

An outstanding strength of our socialist political system is that the Party is at the core, exercising overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all. Figuratively speaking, the Party is the moon surrounded by stars. If state governance is compared to a Chinese chess game, the Party Central Committee is the commander-in-chief, and the other parties give full play to their respective strengths – it is critical to see the big picture. If China fell into a state of disunity in which every party acted of their own volition, we would not be able to achieve the goals we have set, and we might well suffer catastrophic consequences. This was fully proved in China in the century of history from the Opium War of 1840 to the founding of the PRC.

(from the speech at a study session on implementing the decisions of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee and advancing the rule of law, attended by principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level, February 2, 2015)

VIII

At its Third Plenary Session, the 18th CPC Central Committee set a general goal: to improve and develop the Chinese socialist system and modernize China's system and capacity for governance. The state governance system is a complex one composed of many subsystems. At its heart is the CPC, which exercises leadership over all areas of endeavor. People's congresses, government departments, CPPCC committees, courts and procuratorates, the military, other political parties and prominent individuals without party affiliation, enterprises and public institutions, and people's organizations such as trade unions, the Communist Youth League and women's federations, perform their respective functions and cooperate with each other.

(from the speech at the Central Conference on the Party's Work with People's Organizations, July 6, 2015)

IX

It is a great blessing for China, the Chinese people and the Chinese nation to have the CPC as the ruling party. As we read and understand the history of modern China and that of its revolution, it is readily apparent that without the leadership of the CPC, our country and our nation would not have made such great progress, nor would we have achieved such high international standing. In maintaining the fundamental principle of upholding the Party's leadership, we should be particularly sober-minded and keen-sighted and take a firm stance, allowing no ambiguity or wavering.

(from the speech at the National Conference on Party Schools, December 11, 2015)

X

China's success hinges on the Party. The most essential feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the CPC. The greatest strength of the socialist system of China is also the leadership of the CPC. The foundation and lifeblood of the CPC and the country and the interests and wellbeing of all Chinese people rely entirely on upholding and improving the leadership of the CPC.

(from the speech at the ceremony marking the 95th anniversary of the founding of the CPC, July 1, 2016)

XI

An ancient Chinese said, “If decrees are not obeyed, government affairs will be mismanaged.” The Party exercises overall leadership over all areas of endeavor in every part of the country. The theories, guidelines and policies defined by the CPC Central Committee are the foundations to ensure that all Party members and people of all ethnic groups in China are united in mindset, determination and action. Only with authority can the CPC Central Committee pool the strength of all Party members and unite the whole Party and the whole nation, bringing into being an invincible force sharing common goals. If the CPC Central Committee had no authority, the Party’s theories, guidelines and policies would not be implemented, and different departments would act in disunity. The Party would become fragmented and become a “private club”, turning the Party’s leadership into empty voices.

All Party members must follow the Central Committee in political orientation, guidelines, stance and views. Any organization, member and official of the Party, whatever their level or field, no matter what department and unit they belong to, must follow the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee to ensure full and strict implementation of its decisions. No one shall be allowed to act as they please without the knowledge of the Central Committee.

(from the speech at a study session on implementing the decisions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, attended by principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level, February 13, 2017)

XII

To safeguard the authority of the Central Committee and the unity and solidarity of the Party, I think we should act on the following:

First, the whole Party must be deeply conscious of the need to maintain political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and act in accordance with its requirements. We must uphold the authority of the Central Committee and its centralized, unified leadership to ensure unity in thought and deed. At no time and in no situation will anyone challenge or undermine the authority of the Central Committee. No one should engage in activities that contravene political discipline or rules of the Party, or that detract from the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee.

Second, we must uphold Party leadership, uphold and improve democratic centralism, and follow the systems and mechanisms that ensure Party leadership in all areas. All provincial authorities, central departments and all walks of life must consciously implement the decisions and plans of the Central Committee to ensure that the Party exercises overall leadership and coordinates work in all areas.

Third, we must faithfully follow the Party’s theories, guidelines, principles and policies, and implement the decisions and plans of the Central Committee to the letter. In doing their work, all localities and departments must first and foremost implement the decisions and plans of the

Central Committee. They are not allowed to act on their own, disobey orders, or engage in or continue with expressly prohibited acts, or implement the decisions and plans of the central leadership in a perfunctory manner.

Fourth, leading officials at all levels of the Party, especially the most senior ones, must be loyal to the Party, be of service to the people, be aware of their responsibilities, and be strict in discipline. They must maintain their political commitment, increase their awareness of the need to observe discipline, maintain their moral integrity, and improve their will to resist corruption. They must consciously safeguard the authority of the Central Committee and the unity and solidarity of the Party, and play an exemplary role for all Party members.

(from the speech at the second full assembly of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 14, 2017)

* Excerpts from speeches made between December 2013 and October 2017.

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ALIGN OUR THINKING WITH THE GUIDELINES OF THE THIRD PLENARY SESSION OF THE 18TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-01-20

ALIGN OUR THINKING WITH THE GUIDELINES OF THE THIRD PLENARY SESSION OF THE 18TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE*

November 12, 2013

We have to unify the thinking and will of the whole Party first in order to unify the thinking and will of the people of all ethnic groups so that everyone works together to advance our reform.

Here, I need to make a few points on how we should implement the guidelines of the plenary session, with the focus on the guiding principles, overall plans, objectives and tasks it has set forth.

First, we must take improving and developing the socialist system with Chinese characteristics and modernizing our state governance system and capacity as the general goal of furthering comprehensive reform. Deng Xiaoping said in 1992, “It will probably take another thirty years for us to develop a more mature and well-defined system in every field.” Based on his strategic thought, the plenary session proposed modernizing our state governance system and capacity. This is something that must be done to improve and develop the socialist system and to achieve socialist modernization. We decided to focus on the question of furthering comprehensive reform at the plenary session – not the reform of one or several fields, but of all areas. We made this decision out of the overall consideration of improving our state governance system and capacity.

The state governance system and capacity of a country epitomize not only its many systems but also how well it can enforce them. Our state governance system is a system of institutions within which the country is governed under the leadership of the Party. It comprises economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental as well as Party development systems and mechanisms, laws and regulations. This is a complete set of closely connected and coordinated systems of the state. Our state governance capacity is the ability to use these systems to manage social affairs, including reform, development and stability, domestic and foreign affairs, national defense, and the running of the Party, the state and the military. Our state governance system and capacity complement each other and form an organic whole. An effective governance system will lead to greater governance capacity, while greater governance capacity can make the governance system more effective.

Actually, how to govern a socialist society, a completely new society, has not been clearly addressed by world socialism so far. Marx and Engels had no practical experience in the comprehensive governance of a socialist country, as their theories about a future society were mostly predictive. Lenin, who passed away a few years after the October Revolution (1917) in Russia, was unable to explore this question in depth. The Soviet Union tackled this question and gained some experience, but it made serious mistakes and failed to resolve the problem. Our Party has worked on the same question steadily ever since it came to national power, and, in spite of serious setbacks, has accumulated rich experience and achieved great success in improving our governance system and enhancing our governance capacity. The success has been particularly resounding since we adopted the policy of reform and opening up. Enjoying political stability, economic growth, social harmony and ethnic unity, today's China poses a striking contrast to many regions and countries that suffer constant chaos. This shows that our state governance system and capacity are on the whole quite sound and suited to our national conditions and development needs.

At the same time, we should also realize that, considering China's needs for social and economic development, our people's expectations, today's increasingly intense international competition, and the need to ensure prolonged stability at home, we still have many shortcomings to overcome in improving our state governance system and capacity. To realize genuine social harmony and stability, and lasting peace and security, we must rely on our effective institutions, our high capacity in governance and our high-caliber personnel. To give free rein to the advantages of Chinese socialism, we must promote the modernization of our state governance system and capacity in all fields.

To modernize our state governance system and capacity we should adapt properly to the changing times, and reform outdated systems, mechanisms, laws and regulations, while building new ones to make our institutions in all respects more appropriate and complete and the governance of Party, state and social affairs more institutionalized, standardized and procedure-based. We should pay more attention to building our governance capacity, enhancing our awareness of the need to act in accordance with institutions and the law, and our skills in running the country with institutions and the law, transforming our institutional advantages into greater governance effectiveness, and enhancing the Party's capacity to govern in a sound and democratic way, and in accordance with the law.

Second, we must further free our mind, further release and develop the productive forces, and further stimulate and strengthen the vigor of society. The "three furthers" put forward at the plenary session are both objectives and conditions of our reform. Freeing our mind is a prerequisite or the ultimate switch for releasing and developing the productive forces, and strengthening the vigor of our society. Without freeing our mind, our Party would not have been able to make the historic decision to shift the focus of the work of the Party and the country to economic development and launch reform and opening up shortly after the ten-year turmoil of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), ushering in a new era in China's development. Without freeing our mind, our Party would

not have been able to promote theoretical and practical innovation, remove risks and challenges effectively to advance reform and opening up steadily, and remain at the forefront of the times. Releasing and developing the productive forces, and stimulating and strengthening the vigor of our society are an inevitable outcome as well as an important basis for freeing the mind.

To build a moderately prosperous society in all respects, achieve socialist modernization and rejuvenate the Chinese nation, the most essential and urgent task is to further release and develop the productive forces. The purpose of freeing our mind, and stimulating and strengthening the vigor of society is to better release and develop the productive forces. Deng Xiaoping said, "Revolution means the emancipation of the productive forces, and so does reform. After the basic socialist system has been established it will be necessary to fundamentally change the economic structure that has hampered the development of the productive forces and to establish a vigorous socialist economic structure that will promote their development." By furthering reform, we will unleash the vitality of labor, knowledge, technology, management, capital and other factors to open an abundance of social wealth. In addition, we must keep vitality and order in proper balance, as society needs vitality to progress, but such vitality should be accompanied by order. Neither a pool of stagnant water nor a surging undercurrent is what we want.

We stress the need to have confidence in the path, theory and system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. In other words, we need to have strong will power and faith. At the same time, we also need a strong material power that bolsters such will power and faith. This requires constant reforms and innovations to ensure that Chinese socialism is more efficient than capitalism in releasing and developing the productive forces, stimulating and strengthening the vigor of society and promoting well-rounded development of the individual, and can arouse greater enthusiasm, initiative and creativity among the people, create more favorable conditions for social development, and show a better edge in competition, thus fully displaying its advantages.

Third, we must keep our focus on economic reforms, and give full play to their catalytic role. The plenary session presented a road map for furthering reform comprehensively, with "six centering-ons", stressing the need to focus on economic reforms and their leading role. The basic fact that China is still in the primary stage of socialism and will long remain so has not changed; nor has the principal challenge facing our society, namely, inadequacy in meeting the growing material and cultural needs of the people, because of backward social production; nor has China's international position as the world's largest developing country. All this dictates that economic development will remain the focus of the work of the whole Party.

Currently, most structural and institutional barriers hindering China's proper development are found in the economy. Our economic reforms have not been completed, nor has the potential of such reforms been fully released. To keep economic development as our central task we must continue to focus on economic reforms without the slightest hesitation.

The economic base determines the superstructure. Economic reforms have a significant and pervasive bearing on the reform of other fields. And the tempo of progress in major economic reforms determines that of a host of other reforms, playing a critical part in the overall situation. In the “Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*”, Karl Marx observed that “In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness.” As we continue to reform comprehensively, we should keep our focus on economic reforms, and strive to make breakthroughs in the reform of key fields, so that such breakthroughs will drive and stimulate reforms in other areas, and ensure that these reforms can work together and progress in concert. We should not take a fragmented and uncoordinated approach in this regard.

Fourth, we must uphold the direction of reform towards a socialist market economy. Identifying our reform as aiming to establish a socialist market economy is a significant theoretical and practical innovation our Party made in the course of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This resolved a major problem that other socialist countries had long failed to resolve.

Over the past two decades or so we have advanced economic and other reforms centering on the goal of establishing a socialist market economy, and realized a great historic transition from a highly centralized planned economy to a robust socialist market economy, from seclusion and semi-seclusion to all-dimensional opening up, and from a life of subsistence to one of initial prosperity. The historic leap forward by which China’s economy rose to the second place in the world has greatly increased the enthusiasm of the Chinese people, greatly boosted the development of China’s productive forces, and added great vigor to the Party and the country.

At the same time, we should also be aware that although our socialist market economy has taken shape initially, it is not complete as a system, and it is not yet mature. In particular, a balance between the role of the government and that of the market in effectively and unrestrictedly allocating resources is yet to be established. So we have to make strenuous efforts to fulfill the strategic task of quickly improving our socialist market economy set by the 18th CPC National Congress.

The key to establishing a sound socialist market economy lies in striking a proper balance between the role of the government and that of the market, so that the market can play the decisive role in allocating resources and the government can play its own role more effectively. This represents another major step forward in our Party’s theoretical and practical exploration.

Establishing a sound socialist market economy is not only the basic need for the economic reforms, but also the core requirement for furthering comprehensive reform. Letting the market play the decisive role in allocating resources will mainly require economic reforms, but it will also inevitably affect political, cultural, social, eco-environmental progress and Party development.

Institutional reforms of all areas should be promoted in concert with establishing a sound socialist market economy, while ensuring that their related links better meet the demands of a growing socialist market economy.

Fifth, we must make the promotion of social fairness and justice and the improvement of wellbeing our fundamental goal. Since the beginning of reform and opening up, China has made remarkable achievements in economic and social development, which provide a solid material foundation and favorable conditions for social fairness and justice. Nevertheless, given the current level of development, injustice and inequality are still quite common in our society. As China develops further and the people's living standards improve, public awareness of equality and democracy, and of rights and interests has been steadily enhanced, and hence people's resentment at injustice becomes more pronounced.

After a comprehensive review and rational analysis of China's current social and economic development, the CPC Central Committee has concluded that this problem, if not resolved in good time, will reduce public confidence in our reform and opening up, and undermine social harmony and stability. As the 18th CPC National Congress pointed out, fairness and justice are inherent requirements of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must, relying on the concerted efforts of all the Chinese people and based on economic and social development, step up efforts to develop institutions that are vital to ensuring social fairness and justice; establish in due course a system for ensuring fairness in society featuring, among other things, equal rights, equal opportunities and fair rules for all; and foster a fair social environment and ensure the people's equal right to participation in governance and to development.

This plenary session stressed that to further comprehensive reform we must make the promotion of social fairness and justice, and improvement of the people's lives our ultimate goal. This is a necessary requirement of the fundamental purpose of our Party, which is to serve the people wholeheartedly. Comprehensively furthering the reform must be the guarantee of building a more equitable and just social environment, addressing breaches of fairness and justice, and bringing more of the benefits of development to all the people in a fair way. If we cannot deliver tangible benefits to the people, and create a fairer social environment, and, worse still, if we cause more inequality, then our reform will lose its meaning and cannot be sustained.

Realizing social fairness and justice requires multiple factors, a higher level of social and economic development being the most crucial one. Understanding of and desires for social fairness and justice may differ when there are differences in development levels, historical periods, and people's outlook and social background. To promote social fairness and justice, we need to proceed from the fundamental interests of the people, and view and address this problem from the larger picture of social development, social harmony and the people as a whole. The violations of social fairness and justice in the country are mainly problems in the course of development, which can be resolved by institutional, legal and policy arrangements in tandem with

continued development. We must take economic development as the central task, promote sustained and sound growth, and “make the cake bigger”, thereby laying a more solid material foundation for greater social fairness and justice.

This does not mean that we should wait to address the problem of social fairness and justice until the economy is developed. The nature of the problems may differ from period to period, bearing the features of society – developed or not so developed – in which they are found. Even when the “cake” has indeed become bigger, we must cut it fairly. The Chinese people have always had a perception that “inequality rather than scarcity is the cause of trouble”. Based on continued development, we should do a better job of promoting fairness and justice, trying our best while being mindful of our limitations so that we can keep making progress in ensuring people’s access to education, remunerable employment, health care, old-age care and housing.

No matter what development level a society is at, institutions are always an indispensable guarantee of social fairness and justice. We should strive to overcome injustice and inequality caused by man-made factors through innovative institutional arrangements, and ensure our people’s rights to equal participation and development. We should take social fairness and justice and the living standards of the people as a mirror to examine our systems, mechanisms, policies and regulations in all respects, and introduce reforms accordingly by focusing on areas where the problems of injustice and inequality are most prevalent. As for problems caused by unsound institutional arrangements, timely measures should be taken to reflect better the principle of fairness and justice in our socialist society and better realize, protect and develop the fundamental interests of our people.

Sixth, we must rely on the people to promote reform. The people are the creators of history and the source of our strength. The fundamental reason why our reform and opening up has won the people’s wholehearted support and vigorous participation all along lies in the fact that from the very beginning we let the cause strike deep roots among the people. The Decision of this plenary session reviewed the valuable experience of our reform and opening up, one of which highlighted the importance of putting people first, respecting their principal position in the country, giving free rein to their creativity, and promoting reform with the close support of the people. In the absence of the people’s support and participation, no reform can possibly succeed. No matter what difficulties and challenges we may encounter, we will prevail as long as we have the people’s support and participation. We must implement the Party’s mass line and rally closely with the people, sharing weal and woe with them, and working vigorously by their side.

To push forward any key reform we must have the major issues concerning the reform examined and addressed from the people’s standpoint, while formulating guidelines and measures based on the people’s interests. Wang Fu of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220) said, “The roc soars lithely not merely because of the lightness of one of its feathers; the steed runs fast not merely because of the strength of one of its legs.” If China wants to fly high and run fast, it must rely on the strength of its 1.3 billion people.

When we encounter complicated problems hard to weigh and balance in the course of comprehensively promoting reform, we should think of the actual conditions of the people. What are they expecting? How can their interests be safeguarded? Are they satisfied with our reform? To make our decisions on reform more appropriate, the most important thing is to listen extensively to the opinions and proposals of the people, promptly review their fresh experience, fully mobilize their enthusiasm, initiative and creativity, bring their wisdom and strength to the cause of reform, and work with them to move the cause forward.

* Part of the speech at the second full assembly of the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

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EXPLANATION OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECISION ON ISSUES CONCERNING FURTHER COMPREHENSIVE REFORM

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EXPLANATION OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE DECISION ON ISSUES CONCERNING FURTHER COMPREHENSIVE REFORM*

November 9, 2013

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I will now brief you on the Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Some Major Issues Concerning Further Comprehensive Reform.

I. The Drafting Process

Since the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, each of the third plenary sessions of past CPC central committees has provided the public with important information on the governance policies and focus of the new Party leadership. The agenda, decisions, planned measures, and signals released are always of great significance to the Party's work in the subsequent five to ten years.

After the Party's 18th National Congress, the Central Committee set out to define the agenda of the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee. The congress set the goals of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects and furthering reform and opening up, and emphasized that the Party must use all its abilities, lose no time in continuing reform in key sectors, and resolutely discard all ideas and mechanisms that hinder efforts to pursue sustainable development. It also pointed out that the Party should set up well-developed, standardized and effective systems, and ensure that institutions in all sectors are fully functioning. To achieve these strategic goals and carry out the plans, we must press ahead in promoting comprehensive reform.

Thirty-five years have passed since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, when the Party made the historic decision to shift the focus of the Party and the state to economic development, reform and opening up. The force that has propelled the improvements in Chinese people's lives, the advances in our socialist country, the progress of our Party, and China's growing international status, is none other than our perseverance in driving forward reform and opening up.

During his inspection tour of southern China in 1992, Deng Xiaoping said, “If we did not adhere to socialism, implement the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, develop the economy and raise living standards, we will find ourselves in a blind alley.” Today, in retrospect, we have a better understanding of his views. This is why, as we are well aware, only socialism can save China, and only reform and opening up can develop China, socialism, and Marxism.

Considering the historical lessons we have learned and the demands of the current times, the Party Central Committee has emphasized since the 18th National Congress that reform and opening up will be decisive in determining the future of contemporary China. It is also the key to realizing the Two Centenary Goals and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. No limits should be placed on action, development, freeing our minds, or the reform and opening-up effort. We must not stall or go into reverse; reform and opening up is a constant and ongoing process. Facing the new situation and new tasks, comprehensive reform must drive solutions to the major problems challenging China’s development, and we must work tirelessly to make improvements and advance socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In view of the extensive and profound changes on the domestic and international fronts, China faces a series of prominent problems and challenges. Our development remains imbalanced, uncoordinated, and unsustainable. Our scientific and technological innovation is weak. The industrial structure is imbalanced and our growth model is inefficient. The development gaps between urban and rural areas and between regions are still large, as are income disparities. Social problems are on the rise. Many problems affect the people’s immediate interests, for example in education, employment, social security, health care, housing, the eco-environment, food and drug safety, workplace safety, public security, law enforcement, and administration of justice. Some people still lead hard lives. Form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance are serious problems. Some sectors are prone to corruption and other types of misconduct, and the fight against corruption in particular poses a serious challenge. The key to solving these problems lies in further reform.

In April this year, after profound reflection and research, and after extensively soliciting opinions both inside and outside the Party, the CPC Central Committee’s Political Bureau decided that further comprehensive reform would be the central topic for discussion at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, and that the session would formulate a Decision.

On April 20 the CPC Central Committee issued the Circular on Soliciting Opinions on the Agenda of the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee on Furthering Comprehensive Reform. It was unanimously agreed by all provincial authorities and central departments that the selection of this topic answered the calls of the Party members, officials, and the people to address the issues that are of most concern to society as a whole. The public also showed widespread support.

All the third plenary sessions of the CPC central committees convened since reform and opening up began have discussed how to continue reform, which has signaled our Party's unswerving commitment to reform and opening up, and to the theories, guidelines and policies defined since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. In sum, this answers the question of what banner to brandish and what path to take in the new era.

The decision to choose further comprehensive reform as the central topic at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee was an important one, as it perfectly reflects the CPC's continuing commitment to the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents and the Scientific Outlook on Development. The Party is implementing its basic guidelines and political program, learning from its past experiences, meeting its fundamental requirements, and firmly upholding reform and opening up.

After the agenda was set, the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee set up a group to draft the Decision. I served as the head of the group, with Liu Yunshan and Zhang Gaoli as deputy heads. Officials in charge of related departments and the leaders of some provinces and municipalities also took part. The work was carried out under the auspices of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

Over a period of some seven months, the drafting group solicited extensive opinions, carried out appraisals of important topics, conducted analyses and research, and held numerous discussions. The document was revised many times. During this period, three meetings of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and two meetings of the Political Bureau were held to review the draft Decision. The draft was also circulated among certain Party members and retired Party officials for their suggestions. Opinions were also heard from the central committees of other political parties, from heads of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, and from prominent individuals without party affiliation.

The feedback showed that all those groups and individuals agreed that the Decision provides an in-depth analysis of the key theoretical and practical challenges to China's reform, development and stability, and expounds on the significance and the future of reform. It sets forth the guidelines, goals, tasks and underlying principles; it defines a new blueprint for reform; it vigorously envisions new targets; it includes ideas, assessments, and measures; it reflects the calls, appeals and aspirations of society; it epitomizes the consensus and wisdom of the Party and the general public.

The groups and individuals consulted agreed that the Decision lays out a balanced plan for strategic areas, with prioritized goals and focal points. It also introduces the working mechanism, the methods of implementation, and the timetable and road map for the plan. It makes a series of major breakthroughs in the theories and policies guiding the reform effort. It once again sets overall plans and serves as a general rallying cry for the nation to take action. The Decision will exert a significant and far-reaching influence on the development of the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics.

In the course of soliciting opinions, people from all sides offered many valuable ideas and suggestions. Following careful study and discussion of these ideas and suggestions within the drafting group, as instructed by the Party Central Committee, important revisions were made to the Decision.

II. The General Framework and Key Content of the Decision

The Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee believes that, facing new situations, new tasks, and new requirements, China must take further comprehensive reform measures. The key to this lies in further developing an environment for fair competition, further invigorating economic and social growth, further boosting the efficiency of the government, further achieving social equality and justice, further promoting social harmony and stability, and further improving the Party's leadership and governance.

To meet these challenges, it must be emphasized that we should be fully aware of our problems, focus on the key issues for further study and research, and strive to solve the prominent conflicts and problems hindering our development. In fighting its way through revolution, construction and reform, the CPC's sole aim has always been to solve the country's problems. It is fair to say that existing problems force us to continue to reform, and deeper reform is the key to tackling and solving problems.

In the past 35 years we have overcome many problems hindering the development of the Party and the state through reform. But new problems always replace old ones during our course of exploration and transformation. This is why our system needs to be constantly improved, why reform cannot be accomplished in one stroke, and why we cannot rest on our laurels once existing problems are solved.

The draft Decision addressed five major considerations. One, in line with the new requirements for developing the Party and the state, it had to carry out the strategic task of furthering comprehensive reform set forth at the Party's 18th National Congress. Two, it had to center on reform with new measures to the fore, setting aside general and existing measures and measures solely for promoting development. Three, it had to address key issues, properly deal with the pressing concerns of the people, respond to their calls and aspirations, focus on important areas and crucial sectors, and highlight the leading role of economic reform in promoting development. Four, it had to take an active yet prudent attitude when designing reform measures. Five, it had to plan the related tasks according to a timetable, which required that by 2020 decisive results would have been achieved in the reform of important areas and crucial sectors.

The plenary session established as the framework of the Decision the important issues that China needs to deal with, and defined the structure of the Decision according to its various points. In addition to the Foreword and Conclusion, there are 16 parts divided into three main sections. Section one contains the first part – the General Principles – which mainly elaborate on the

significance of the Decision, and its guiding thoughts and overall direction. Section two contains Parts 2-15, introducing the main tasks and important measures in six fields – the economy, politics, culture, society, the eco-environment, and national defense and the armed forces. The different fields are arranged as follows: the economy from Part 2 to Part 7, politics from Part 8 to Part 10, culture in Part 11, society from Part 12 to Part 13, the eco-environment in Part 14, and national defense and the armed forces in Part 15. The third section contains Part 16 – Organizational Leadership – which mainly elaborates on strengthening and improving the Party’s leadership in terms of the overall goal.

Here, I would like to explain the considerations of the CPC Central Committee on the major issues and key measures documented in the Decision.

First, allowing the market to play the decisive role in allocating resources and letting the government perform its functions better. This is a major proposal, because reform of the economic system is still the focus, and appropriate handling of the relationship between the government and the market is still the core issue in economic reform.

In 1992 the Party’s 14th National Congress stipulated that the aim of China’s economic reform was to establish a socialist market economy, allowing the market to play the basic role in allocating resources under macroeconomic regulation of the state. This key theoretical breakthrough played an extremely important role in guiding China’s reform and opening up and its economic and social development. It also illustrated that innovations in theory pave the way for innovations in practice. To further comprehensive reform we must first renew our theory.

After 20 years of effort a basic socialist market economy has been established in China. But there are still many problems. The market lacks order, and many people seek economic benefits through unjustified means; the underdeveloped market for production factors is unable to meet the effective demand; the lack of unified market rules has resulted in rampant protectionism initiated by central departments or local governments; market competition is not good enough to select the superior and eliminate the inferior, and thus slows down economic restructuring. If left unsolved, these problems will hinder the development of a sound socialist market economy.

Over the past two decades since the Party’s 14th National Congress we have continued the search for a new positioning of the relationship between the government and the market through theoretical research and practical efforts. The Party’s 15th National Congress proposed that “the market plays a basic role in allocating resources under macroeconomic regulation of the state”. The Party’s 16th National Congress proposed to “give fuller play to the basic role of the market in allocating resources”. The Party’s 17th National Congress sought to “introduce institutions to give better play to the basic role of the market in allocating resources”, and the Party’s 18th National Congress stipulated that the Party should “leverage to a greater extent and in a wider scope the basic role of the market in allocating resources”. The above progression demonstrates that our understanding of the government-market relationship has steadily expanded.

During the discussion and consultation sessions regarding the Decision, many people suggested that the Party should further define the government-market relationship from a theoretical perspective, which would have great significance for further reform. With due consideration to these opinions and the current circumstances, and after much discussion and analysis, the Party Central Committee agreed that it was time to introduce a new theoretical expression concerning this matter, and that the “basic role” of the market in allocating resources should be revised to a “decisive role”.

We have now established a basic socialist market economy, with a much higher level of marketization. We have gained a better understanding of the market rules, expanded our capacity to use them to our benefit, and improved macroeconomic regulation. With both the subjective and objective conditions in place, we should take new steps forward and improve our socialist market economy.

To further balance the relationship between the government and the market we need to decide which of the two is to play the decisive role in allocating resources. To boost the economy we must improve the efficiency of the allocation of resources, especially that of scarce resources, so that we can use fewer resources to make more products and benefit accordingly. Both theory and practice have proved that the allocation of resources by the market is the most effective means to this end. It is a general rule of the market economy that the market decides the allocation of resources, and a market economy in essence is one in which the market determines resource allocation. We have to follow this rule as we improve our socialist market economy. We should work harder to address the problems of market deficiencies, too much government interference and lack of oversight. Positioning the market as playing the “decisive role” in resource allocation will help to build the correct understanding of the government-market relationship in the whole Party and society as a whole, to transform the economic growth pattern and government functions, and to rein in corruption and other forms of misconduct.

Our market economy is socialist, of course. We need to give leverage to the superiority of our socialist system, and let the Party and the government play a positive role. The market plays a decisive but not all the role in allocating resources.

To develop the socialist market economy, leverage should be given to both the market and the government, with differentiated functions. The Decision sets clear requirements for improving the functions of the government, emphasizing that appropriate macroeconomic regulation and effective governance are the intrinsic requirements for better leveraging the strengths of the socialist market economy. The Decision also presents plans for improving macroeconomic regulation, correctly performing government functions in all areas, and improving the organization of government. It emphasizes that the main responsibilities of the government are to maintain the stability of the macro economy, strengthen and improve public services, ensure fair competition, strengthen market oversight, maintain market order, promote sustainable development and common prosperity, and intervene in situations where the market fails.

Second, adhering to and improving the basic economic system. The basic economic system with public ownership playing a leading role and other forms of ownership growing side by side is an important pillar of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics.

Since the introduction of reform and opening up the structure of ownership has undergone gradual adjustment, with the contribution of the public and non-public sectors to the economy and employment undergoing a steady shift. The economy and society have grown more vigorous during this process. In these conditions, we must answer two major questions: How do we better recognize the leading role of public ownership and maintain this position? And how do we further explore effective forms for materializing the basic economic system?

It is emphasized in the Decision that we must remain firmly committed to consolidating and developing the public sector and to the leading role of public ownership and the state-owned sector. We must continue to increase the vitality, leveraging power, and impact of the state-owned sector.

As a means of advancing the Party's deliberations since the 15th National Congress, the Decision proposes to vigorously develop the mixed-ownership economy. It emphasizes that cross-shareholding by and integration of state-owned capital, collective capital, and non-public capital is essential to materializing the basic economic system of China. It will help to improve the functions and maintain and increase the value of state-owned capital, and make the state-owned sector more competitive. Capitalizing on the leading role of public ownership, and improving the vitality, leveraging power, and impact of the state-owned economy, represent an effective strategy in the new era, and it is essential that we choose to follow this path.

The Decision states that China will improve the state assets management system, strengthen oversight of state assets with capital management at the core, and reform the authorized operating mechanism for state capital. State-owned capital investment must serve the strategic goals of the state, focus more on key industries and areas that are vital to national security and the lifeblood of the economy, prioritize public services, develop important and future-oriented strategic industries, protect the eco-environment, support scientific and technological progress, and guarantee national security. The government will transfer part of China's state-owned capital to social security funds. We will increase the proportion of state-owned capital gains that are turned over to the public account, to be used to support and improve the people's lives.

State-owned enterprises (SOEs) constitute an important force for advancing modernization and protecting the common interests of the people. Through many years of reform, SOEs have by and large assimilated themselves into the market economy. At the same time, however, they have encountered problems and drawbacks which call for further reform. The Decision proposes a series of targeted reform measures. We must ensure that state-owned capital increases its input into public-service-oriented enterprises. In natural monopoly industries in which state-owned capital continues to hold controlling interests, we must carry out reform to separate government administration from enterprise management and state assets management, allow franchise

operation, and implement government oversight. We must take into consideration the conditions of different industries, separate network ownership from operation, and deregulate control over competitive businesses. We must improve the corporate governance structure to ensure smooth operation and effective checks and balances. We must establish a system of professional managers, and give better play to the role of business executives. We must establish a long-term incentive and restraint mechanism, strengthen investigations into the accountability of SOE operations and investment, and explore ways to publicize important information, including SOE financial budgets. Finally, SOEs should increase the proportion of market-based recruitment as appropriate, and properly determine and strictly regulate the salary level, post-related benefits and expenses, and business spending of SOE managerial personnel. These measures will encourage SOEs to modernize their corporate systems, raise their operating efficiency, better fulfill their social obligations, and play a more effective role in the economy.

In order to continue and improve our basic economic system, we must work unswervingly both to consolidate and develop the public sector and to encourage, support and guide development of the non-public sector. The Decision proposes reform measures on multiple levels to encourage, support and guide the development of the non-public sector of the economy, and to stimulate its vigor and creativity. On functional positioning, the Decision points out that both the public and non-public sectors are important components of the socialist market economy, and an important base for China's economic and social development. On the protection of property rights, the Decision points out that the rights of both the public and non-public sectors are inviolable. On policy treatment, the Decision emphasizes equal rights, equal opportunities, identical rules, and a unified market access system. The Decision encourages non-public enterprises to participate in the reform of SOEs, encourages the development of mixed-ownership enterprises in which private capital holds majority shares, and encourages qualified private enterprises to establish modern corporate systems. All these will contribute to the healthy development of the non-public sector of the economy.

Third, furthering the reform of the fiscal and taxation systems. Finance is the foundation and an important pillar of national governance. Good fiscal and taxation systems are the institutional guarantee for improving resource allocation, maintaining market unity, promoting social equity, and realizing enduring peace and stability. Developed on the basis of the tax distribution system reform initiated in 1994, the current fiscal and taxation systems have played an important role in increasing the government's financial strength and promoting the rapid growth of the economy.

As the situation changes, the current fiscal and taxation systems are no longer fully adapted to the division of administrative responsibilities between the central and local governments, and to improving national governance. They have lagged behind our effort to transform the economic growth pattern and promote the sustained and healthy development of the economy and society, and are causing problems that hinder economic and social development.

Reform of the fiscal and taxation systems is one of the key points in further reform. The reform mainly includes improvement of the budgeting and taxation systems, and establishment of a system in which responsibility for administration tallies with responsibility for expenditure.

The Decision stipulates that we will adopt a complete, standardized, open and transparent budget system, and increase as appropriate both the administrative and expenditure responsibilities of the central government, including those for national defense, foreign affairs, national security, and unified national market rules and management. The responsibilities for some social security programs, and the construction and maintenance of major trans-regional projects will be jointly shouldered by the central and local governments, before they are gradually defined. The central government can delegate some expenditure responsibilities to local governments through transfer payments. In terms of trans-regional public services with great impact on other regions, the central government will shoulder some of the expenditure responsibilities of the local governments concerned through transfer payments.

The main aims of the reform are to clearly define administrative responsibility, reform the taxation system, make tax burdens stable and budgets transparent, and increase efficiency. There are three further aims: to accelerate the development of a modern fiscal system that is conducive to the transformation of the economic growth pattern, the establishment of a fair market under unified rules, and the promotion of equal access to basic public services; to develop fiscal and taxation systems that are compatible with the financial resources and administrative responsibilities of the central and local governments; to mobilize the initiative of both the central and local governments.

Reform of the fiscal and taxation systems is a step-by-step process, and will take some time to complete. The Party Central Committee has clearly stated that we must maintain the stability of the current finances of the central and local governments, and further rationalize the division of revenues between them.

Fourth, improving mechanisms and institutions for the integrated development of urban and rural areas. The imbalance between urban and rural areas is a serious problem hindering social and economic development – it is a major problem we must solve in order to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects and accelerate socialist modernization. Tremendous changes have taken place in China's rural areas since the launch of reform and opening up. However, there has been no fundamental change to the structure of the urban-rural divide, and the widening gap between urban and rural development has not been reversed. To solve these problems, we must press ahead with the integrated development of urban and rural areas.

The Decision states that we must improve the mechanisms and institutions to form new relations between industry and agriculture and between urban and rural areas in which industry promotes agriculture, urban areas support rural development, agriculture and industry operate for each other's benefit, and there is integrated urban and rural development, so that the overwhelming majority of rural people can participate in the modernization process on an equal basis and share the fruits of modernization.

The Decision proposes reform measures to improve the mechanisms and institutions for the integrated development of urban and rural areas:

One, accelerating the building of new agricultural operation systems. Among other measures, we will maintain the fundamental status of the household operation in agriculture; encourage the transfer of the rights to contract and utilize farmland to large, specialized operators, family farms, farmers' cooperatives and agribusinesses; encourage rural areas to develop cooperative economies; encourage and guide industrial and commercial capital to invest in rural areas to develop modern planting and breeding industries suited to commercialized management; encourage farmers to develop commercialized operations by becoming shareholders using their rights to contract and utilize farmland.

Two, endowing farmers with more property rights. We will protect farmers' rights to contract and utilize farmland by law, safeguard the rights and interests of farmers as members of collective economic organizations, ensure rural households' usufruct of their residential plots, and select several pilot areas to steadily and prudently press ahead with measures addressing the mortgage, guarantee, and transfer of farmers' residential property rights.

Three, promoting equal exchanges of factors of production and balanced allocation of public resources between urban and rural areas. We will: ensure that migrant workers receive equal pay for equal work, and that farmers have an equal share in the gains from added value of land; improve the agricultural insurance system; encourage investment in rural development, and permit enterprises and social organizations to start all kinds of undertakings in rural areas; make a balanced allocation of compulsory education resources between urban and rural areas, integrate the basic old-age pension and basic medical insurance systems of rural and non-working urban residents, and improve the balanced development of the minimum living allowance system in both urban and rural areas; steadily make basic urban public services available to all permanent residents in cities, and incorporate farmers who have settled in urban areas into the urban housing and social security network.

Fifth, promoting wide, multitiered and institutionalized consultative democracy. Consultative democracy is a unique form and distinctive strength of China's socialist democracy, and an important embodiment of the Party's mass line in the political field. Promoting consultative democracy is essential to improving the people's orderly participation in political affairs, strengthening the ties between the Party and the people, and promoting sound and democratic decision-making.

Promoting wide, multitiered and institutionalized consultative democracy is an important issue of political restructuring as stipulated in the Decision. The Decision emphasizes that under the leadership of the Party, China will promote consultation throughout society with regard to major issues of economic and social development and practical issues closely related to the interests of the people, and will sustain the principle of consultation before policy-making and during policy implementation. We will build a consultative democracy featuring appropriate procedures and

complete mechanisms to expand the consultation channels covering agencies of state power, committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), political parties, and community-level and social organizations. We will conduct intensive consultations on issues relating to legislation, administration, democracy, political participation, and social problems. We will capitalize on the important role of the united front in consultative democracy, have the CPPCC serve as a major channel for conducting consultative democracy, and improve the operating systems of the CPPCC. We will specify the content and procedures for consultation, establish diverse forms of consultative democracy, and carry out more active and orderly consultations on particular issues with those working on these issues, with representatives from all sectors of society, and with the relevant government departments on the handling of proposals. And finally, we will increase the frequency of consultations to improve their effectiveness.

Sixth, reforming the judiciary and its operating mechanisms. The judiciary is an important component of the political system. Miscarriages of justice have been a major public concern in recent years, and the judiciary suffers from a lack of credibility largely due to the defects in its current systems and operating mechanisms.

Judicial reform is one of the key aspects of further reform. The Decision proposes a series of new and related measures: reforming the judicial management system, unification of the management of staff, funds and properties of courts and procuratorates at and below the provincial level; investigating means to establish a judicial jurisdiction system that is appropriately separated from the administrative divisions; improving the mechanism for the use of judicial power; strengthening the responsibility system for handling cases by the presiding judge and the collegiate bench, under which the judges will hand down verdicts and the collegiate bench will be held accountable for the verdicts; strictly regulating the procedures of sentence commutation, release on parole and medical parole; improving the accountability system and the mechanism for preventing and correcting erroneous judgments, and strict implementation of the rule banning illegal evidence; establishing a system for settling complaints involving law violations and lawsuits made in the form of letters and visits in accordance with the law; abolishing the re-education through labor system, and improving laws for the punishment and correction of unlawful and criminal acts.

These measures are of vital importance in ensuring that judicial departments independently exercise their judicial and procuratorial powers in accordance with the law, in improving the operating mechanism of judicial power by clarifying rights and responsibilities, in improving judicial transparency and credibility, and in safeguarding human rights.

Seventh, improving leading and working mechanisms in the battle against corruption. Fighting corruption has always been a widely discussed topic inside and outside the Party. We now face three main challenges: decentralized anti-corruption agencies make it difficult to build up synergy; some cases are not dealt with resolutely; the accountability system is too lax to handle reoccurring cases of corruption.

The Decision lays out plans for innovation in our anti-corruption mechanisms and institutions, and for strengthening institutional guarantees. The main points are: strengthening the Party's unified leadership to improve Party conduct, build clean government, and combat corruption; ensuring that Party committees bear primary responsibility and the commissions for discipline inspection take the responsibility for oversight, and working out and implementing a feasible accountability system; improving the leading and working mechanisms for anti-corruption efforts, reforming and improving the functions of anti-corruption coordination groups at all levels, and placing the investigation of corruption cases mainly under the leadership of commissions for discipline inspection at the next level up; strengthening the leadership role of the higher levels over the lower levels of discipline inspection commissions, and the simultaneous reporting of the related investigation process to the Party committee at the same level and the commission for discipline inspection at the next level up; ensuring that the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection dispatches resident discipline inspection agencies to the central-level departments of the Party and the government; improving the discipline inspection system at both central and local levels, so that it covers all regions, all sectors, all enterprises and all public institutions.

All these measures are based on past experience and the suggestions of various groups and individuals.

Eighth, improving the leadership over internet management. Cybersecurity and information security bear on national security and social stability, and pose many new challenges for us.

Falling behind the rapid development of internet technology and applications, our current management of the internet is seriously flawed and cannot function properly. Different administrative bodies engaged in multi-channel management of the internet, overlapping functions and mismatch between powers and responsibilities – all these have led to inefficient management. Also, as the internet fulfils more and more media functions, the management of online media and the industry is lagging far behind the changing circumstances. With rapid growth in the number of users of micro-blogs, WeChat and other social network services, and instant communication tools, which spread information quickly over wide areas and can mobilize large numbers of users, we face two pressing problems: How do we strengthen oversight within a legal framework and guide public opinion? And how do we ensure the orderly dissemination of online information, while at the same time safeguarding national security and social stability?

The Decision stipulates that we must adhere to the principles of proactive usage, well-planned development, ensuring safety while strengthening management, and accelerating the improvement of the leadership over internet management. Our goals are to integrate the functions of the related departments, form joint forces in the management over the internet covering both technology and content, and ensure correct and safe internet usage in fields ranging from daily security to combating crimes.

Ninth, establishing the Commission for National Security. National security and social stability form the basis for further reform and progress. Currently we are challenged by pressure from two sources. On the international front we must safeguard sovereignty, security, and development interests, and on the domestic front we must maintain political and social stability. All manner of foreseeable and unforeseeable risks are increasing significantly, and our security system is not strong enough to respond. We must establish a strong platform to coordinate our national security work. Establishing the Commission for National Security to strengthen unified leadership over national security at the central level has become an urgent means to this end.

The main responsibilities of the Commission for National Security are to formulate and implement national security strategies, promote national security legislation, design principles and policies for national security work, and study and resolve key issues concerning national security.

Tenth, improving the country's management and oversight systems for natural resources. Developing the property rights system for natural resources is an important reform. It is also an intrinsic requirement for building an eco-friendly country with complete support systems.

Some of our major frustrations in eco-environmental protection are caused in part by problems in the eco-environmental management system. One problem lies in the vague concept of ownership of natural resources by the whole people, which leads to problems in ensuring the rights and interests of the owners. To solve this problem, the Decision proposes measures for improving the natural resource management system. The guiding thoughts are ensuring people's property rights to natural resources in accordance with the principle of separation between ownership and management, assigning one issue to one department, and establishing a unified responsibility mechanism for people who manage public natural resource assets on behalf of the public.

The state's exercise of power and management over the natural resource assets owned by the whole people is distinct from the state's supervision and management of the natural resources within its territory. The former is the owner's right, while the latter is the manager's right. This requires us to improve the system of oversight of natural resources, and fulfill our duties as the managers of our territorial space. The owners of state-owned natural resource assets and the managers of state natural resources must act independently, while cooperating with and supervising each other.

We need to realize that our mountains, waters, forests and farmlands form a community of life. The lifeline of the people comes from the farmland, that of the farmland comes from the water, that of the water comes from the mountain, that of the mountain comes from the earth, and that of the earth comes from the tree. To control the exploitation of natural resources and restore ecosystems, we must follow the laws of nature. If people tend only to their own individual responsibilities, for example, growing trees, regulating rivers, or protecting farmland in isolation, there is a risk of gaining in one area and losing in another, which eventually leads to systemic

destruction of the eco-environment. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to put one department in charge of the usage of the entire territory of the country, and carry out unified protection and restoration programs for its natural resources.

Eleventh, establishing the Leading Group for Further Reform under the CPC Central Committee. Making comprehensive progress towards further reform is a complex undertaking, which requires the participation of more than one, or even several departments. Therefore, leadership at a higher level should be established for this purpose.

The Decision stipulates that the Party Central Committee will set up a Leading Group for Further Reform. This is designed to make better use of the Party's core function as a leader with a picture of the overall situation, and as chief coordinator of different elements, so as to ensure that reform progresses smoothly and that the assigned tasks are implemented as planned. The main responsibilities of this leading group are planning key national reforms, coordinating reforms in various fields, mobilizing various forces into a combined force for reform, strengthening supervision and oversight, and ensuring full implementation of the reform's tasks and achievement of its goals.

III. Matters That Require Attention in Discussion

The task of this plenary session is to discuss the guiding thoughts and plans for further comprehensive reform as proposed in the Decision. For the discussion, please bear the following in mind:

First, we must be more confident and courageous in pressing ahead with reform. Reform and opening up is a great new revolution of the Chinese people led by our Party in the new era. It is the most outstanding characteristic of contemporary China, and the distinguishing characteristic of our Party. What has helped our Party inspire the people, build a consensus, and pool their strengths over the past 35 years? What have we been relying on to stimulate the creativity and vitality of our people, realize rapid economic and social development and gain competitive advantage over capitalism? The answer has always been reform and opening up.

Looking to the future, there is no alternative to further reform and opening up if we are to defuse risks, respond to challenges, resolve all manner of difficult problems hindering our development, capitalize on the strengths of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and promote steady and healthy social and economic development.

At the current stage, close attention to our drive for reform and opening up comes from inside and outside the Party, and from inside and outside the country as well. The entire Party and all sectors of society have built high expectations. Our reform has come to a critical juncture. We must not waver in the slightest degree, and we must continue to uphold our firm commitment to the correct

path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The whole Party must reaffirm our conviction to advance reform with greater political courage and wisdom, applying stronger measures and methods.

Second, we must continue to free our minds and seek truth from facts. To keep our banner of reform and opening up flying high, we must follow strong convictions with pragmatic measures. Actions speak louder than words. The decision to make overall plans for further comprehensive reform at its Third Plenary Session was a strategic choice for the 18th CPC Central Committee. We must take this opportunity to make new breakthroughs in our reform. For this to happen, we need to further free our minds.

In breaking down the barriers of outdated thinking and vested interests, freeing the mind is the first and most important step. Often, the roadblocks in our minds that hinder reform do not come from outside the system, but from within. If our minds are not freed we will struggle to see the crux of our problems with vested interests, or pinpoint the direction of our effort to break down barriers. We will also find it difficult to come up with innovative reform measures. Therefore, we must have the courage and breadth of vision to seek self-improvement. We need to throw off the trammels of outdated ideas, overcome the constraints put in place by various departments to further their own interests, conduct proactive research, and propose effective reform measures.

Before proposing a measure, we must research and discuss it carefully, but this does not mean being overcautious, or hesitating to try anything new. It is not possible to carry out reform while keeping our current work patterns and operation systems intact, nor is it possible to do it in a rock-steady or risk-free manner. As long as we have done thorough research and appraisal, and are sure that our actions are necessary and address the actual conditions, we can forge ahead without looking back.

Third, we must put the interests of the state first in our deliberations. Further comprehensive reform is a major strategy that impacts on the overall development of the Party and the state, rather than a single program to reform a certain aspect of an individual sector. “One who fails to plan for the whole situation is incapable of planning for a part.” You come from different departments and units, and you must see things from the broadest perspective. For major decisions, first we should judge whether a proposed reform measure meets the needs of the country, and whether it is conducive to the long-term development of the cause of the Party and the state. We must think beyond the times, strive to look forward into the future, and draw up proactive plans. This will enable us to drive through reform measures that will genuinely promote the cause of the Party and the people.

We should strengthen top-level planning and adopt a holistic approach. We should study more intensively the cohesion, consistency, and feasibility of our reform measures. As we say, “We must push reform forward boldly and steadily.” Here “steadily” means adopting a holistic approach in planning, conducting overall research, and making rational decisions. Reforms in the economy, politics, culture, society and the eco-environment are closely connected to and integrated with

reform of the Party. Reform in one sector will always affect other sectors and require other sectors to reform accordingly. If reforms in different areas do not support each other, and the measures taken in some sectors turn out to check the progress of other sectors, we will find it difficult to further our comprehensive reform; disregard these factors, and we will find ourselves in disarray.

* Speech at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

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DIPLOMACY WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES – AMITY, SINCERITY, MUTUAL BENEFIT, AND INCLUSIVENESS

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DIPLOMACY WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES – AMITY, SINCERITY, MUTUAL BENEFIT, AND INCLUSIVENESS*

October 24, 2013

Good diplomacy with neighboring countries is a requirement for realizing the Two Centenary Goals, and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. We need to work harder to promote our diplomacy with neighboring countries, strive for a sound regional environment for our development, employ our own development for the benefit of neighboring countries, and achieve common development with them.

Following the founding of the PRC in 1949, the Party's first generation of central collective leadership with Mao Zedong at its core, the second generation with Deng Xiaoping at its core, the third generation with Jiang Zemin at its core, and the CPC Central Committee with Hu Jintao as general secretary, all attached high importance to diplomacy with neighboring countries. They developed important strategic ideas and guiding policies, created a sound environment, and laid a solid foundation for future diplomatic work. After the 18th National Congress in 2012, committed to ensuring continuity and stability in China's foreign policy, the CPC Central Committee defined, planned, and carried out a series of major diplomatic initiatives, paying particular attention to neighboring countries which are important to our development and diplomatic strategy.

Regions around our borders are strategically significant to our country in terms of geography, the environment, and relationships. When dealing with neighboring countries and related issues, we need a multidimensional perspective that extends beyond the immediate confines of time and space. Reviewing the situation, we can see that great changes have taken place in the general environment and in relationships with our neighbors. Our economic and trade ties with neighboring countries are closer, with unprecedented levels of exchange. Current circumstances demand that we keep pace with the times and be ever more active in formulating diplomatic strategies and undertaking diplomatic work with our neighbors.

China and its neighbors are full of vigor and vitality, and show obvious strengths in development and high growth potential. The region is stable on the whole, and most of our neighbors maintain an amicable relationship geared towards mutual benefit and cooperation with China. We must appreciate the situation to the full, devise appropriate strategies, and plan carefully, to perform better in our diplomatic exchanges with our neighbors.

China's diplomacy in this region is driven by and must serve the Two Centenary Goals and our national rejuvenation. To achieve these strategic aims, we must create and cement friendly relations and further mutually beneficial cooperation with neighboring countries, maintain and make the best use of the strategic opportunities we now enjoy, and safeguard China's state sovereignty, national security, and development interests. Together we must strive to build more amicable political relationships and closer economic ties, to further security cooperation and to encourage more cultural and people-to-people exchanges with neighboring countries.

China's basic policy of diplomacy with neighboring countries is to treat them as friends and partners, to foster an amicable, secure and prosperous neighboring environment. This policy is characterized by amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness. Amity is a consistent principle of China's diplomacy with its neighbors. In adherence to this principle, we need to help our neighbors in times of crisis, treat them as equals, visit them frequently, and take actions that will win their heart and support, so that they will stay closer, be more friendly and show more respect to us, and our appeal and our influence will grow. We must treat neighbors with sincerity and cultivate them as friends and partners. We should cooperate with our neighbors on the basis of mutual benefit, create a closer network of common interests, and better integrate China's interests with theirs, so that they can benefit from China's development and China can benefit and gain support from theirs. We should advocate inclusiveness, stressing that there is enough room in the Asia Pacific region for all countries to develop, and promoting regional cooperation with an open mind and enthusiasm. We must embrace and practice these ideas, so that they will become the shared beliefs and norms of conduct for the whole region.

As circumstances evolve, diplomacy with neighboring countries requires us to analyze and deal with issues strategically, improve our capabilities in planning and implementation, and promote every aspect of this diplomacy. We must also do everything possible to safeguard peace and stability in the region. The path of peaceful development is the Party's strategic choice, in line with the times and aligned with the fundamental interests of the country. A major aim of this diplomacy is peace and stability in the region.

We must make every effort to achieve mutual benefits. We have to make overall plans for the use of our resources in the areas of the economy, trade, science and technology, and finance. We must take advantage of our comparative strengths, accurately identify strategic points of convergence for mutually beneficial cooperation with neighbors, and take an active part in regional economic cooperation. We should work with our neighbors to speed up connection of infrastructure between China and our neighboring countries, and establish a Silk Road Economic Belt and a 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. We should accelerate implementation of the free trade area strategy with our neighboring countries as the base, expand cooperation in trade and investment, and create a new model of regional economic integration. We need to further advance regional financial cooperation, prepare for and establish the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank,

and improve the regional financial security network. We should open the border areas more quickly and reinforce mutually beneficial cooperation between the border areas of China and neighboring countries.

We must make efforts to promote regional security cooperation, which is needed by both China and our neighboring countries. A new outlook on security is required that features mutual trust and mutual benefit, based on equality and coordination. We should advocate comprehensive, common and cooperative security, and work for security cooperation with neighboring countries, actively participate in regional and sub-regional security initiatives, push forward cooperation, and increase mutual trust.

We must strengthen communication, public diplomacy, and people-to-people and cultural exchanges with neighboring countries, and consolidate and expand the social and public basis for the long-term development of our relationships with them. Diplomatic relations rely on the bonds between peoples. We should promote exchanges in all fields, including tourism, science, education and sub-national cooperation, to make friends in a broad range of sectors. We should clearly present our domestic and foreign policies to the outside world, tell accurate and engaging stories of China, make our voice heard, interpret the Chinese Dream from the perspective of our neighbors and their aspirations for a better life and regional prosperity, and let a sense of shared future take root.

Policies and strategies are the lifelines of the Party, and of our diplomatic work as well. To do good diplomatic work, we must keep our eye on the situation both at home and abroad. Our domestic focus is to realize the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream; our international objectives are to strive for favorable external conditions for China's reform, development and stability, to safeguard state sovereignty, national security and development interests, and to maintain world peace and stability and promote common development. We should seek common ground and find converging interests, pursue the greater good and shared interests, hold to principles that we can act upon, cherish friendship and righteousness, and offer any assistance to developing countries that is within our means. For best results we need to promote reform and innovation in diplomatic work and strengthen the planning of our diplomatic activities. To achieve greater progress we should build a general framework to coordinate diplomatic work, weigh every relevant factor, and give full play to every department involved.

Diplomatic work with neighboring countries is arduous and demanding. Those charged with this responsibility must have a sense of mission and urgency. They must bear in mind the purpose of this work, improve their competence and working practices, devote themselves to the task, be bold in assuming responsibilities and making innovations, and engage in this work with drive and enthusiasm.

* Main points of the speech at a meeting on neighborhood diplomacy.

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STRENGTHEN PUBLIC COMMUNICATION

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-01-13

STRENGTHEN PUBLIC COMMUNICATION*

August 19, 2013

Our public communication must help us accomplish the central task of economic development and serve the overall interests of the country. Therefore, we must bear the big picture in mind and keep in line with the trends. We should map out plans with focus on priorities and carry them out in accordance with the situation.

Economic development is the Party's central task, and ideological progress is one of its top priorities.

Since the convocation of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978 the Party has made economic development its central task, devoting itself to accelerating the economy and improving the people's lives. This central task will not and should not change as long as the domestic or international situation does not change dramatically. It is a basic requirement for the Party to adhere to its basic line for 100 years and to solve all the problems of contemporary China.

Moreover, to push forward the cause of Chinese socialism we must promote material, cultural and ethical progress, strengthen the nation materially, culturally and ethically, and improve the material, cultural and ethical lives of the people of all ethnic groups.

Our public communication aims to consolidate Marxism as the guiding ideology in China, and cement the shared ideological basis of the whole Party and the people. Both Party members and officials must hold a firm belief in Marxism and communism, make unremitting and pragmatic efforts to realize the Party's basic program at the present stage, take every step needed for progress and pass the baton dutifully to our successors.

Officials, especially high-ranking ones, should master the basic theories of Marxism as their special skill and diligently study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and especially Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents and the Scientific Outlook on Development.

Marxism must be a required course in Party schools, executive leadership academies, academies of social sciences, institutes of higher learning and groups for theoretical studies. These places should serve as the centers for studying, researching and disseminating Marxism.

New and younger officials in particular should work hard to study Marxist theory, learn to observe and solve problems from the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method, and become firm in their ideals and convictions.

More efforts should be made to enhance the awareness of socialism with Chinese characteristics among people of all ethnic groups, so as to inspire the people to strive for Chinese socialism.

We should intensify the recognition of the core socialist values, foster and practice these values, improve civic morality, and cultivate the social trends of recognizing honor and disgrace, practicing integrity, encouraging dedication and promoting harmony.

Our commitment to the Party has always been consistent with our commitment to the people. Commitment to the Party means keeping a correct political direction, taking a committed political stand and disseminating the Party's theories, guidelines, principles and policies, in addition to the major work plans of the CPC Central Committee and its major analyses and judgments on the country's situation. It also means keeping in line with the Party Central Committee and upholding its authority. All departments, institutions and all Party members and officials specializing in public communication must maintain their commitment to the Party without fail.

Commitment to the people means putting the people first and making realizing, safeguarding and developing the fundamental interests of the people our starting point and goal. Our work should be people-centered. We should serve the people while educating and guiding them, satisfy their demands while raising their ethical and cultural standards, disseminate and report more on their great endeavors and vigorous lives, role models and their moving stories. This way, we can enrich the people culturally and ethically, enhance their moral strength, and meet their cultural and intellectual demands.

An important principle for public communication is to emphasize unity, stability and encouragement, and put the focus on sending out positive messages. We are new to the great struggle with many new features. We are facing unprecedented challenges and difficulties. Therefore, we must continue to promote constructive thoughts and opinion, advocate the underlying values, popularize positive energy, and encourage the whole country to strive as one for progress.

The key to success lies in raising the quality and level of our public communication. We should have the proper timing, tempo and efficiency, make this work more attractive and influential, inform the people about what they love to hear, read and watch, and let positive publicity play its role in encouraging and inspiring the people.

When it comes to major issues, including those of political principle, we must take the initiative in helping officials and the people draw a line between right and wrong and acquire a clear understanding in this regard.

Over the years, our Party has accumulated abundant experience in public communication. Hard-earned and extremely precious, this experience serves as major guidance for our future work, and should be thoroughly reviewed and carried forward on a long-term basis, and continuously enriched and developed.

As an ancient Chinese official observed, “A smart man changes his approach as circumstances change; a wise person alters his means as times evolve.” As for public communication, we should pay close attention to innovation in the fields of ideas, methodologies and grassroots work, and move forward with new ideas to tackle difficulties, with emphasis on work in local communities. We should step up cultural reforms, push forward the culture industry, and build China into a country with a thriving socialist culture.

At this time when China is opening its door wider to the outside world, it has become an important task for those engaged in public communication to help guide the people to a better understanding of present-day China while learning about the rest of the world more comprehensively and objectively.

To explain Chinese characteristics well, we need to make it clear that 1) because different countries and nations have different historical traditions, cultural accomplishments and basic conditions, their development paths are different; 2) Chinese culture encompasses the deepest cultural and ethical pursuits of the Chinese nation, nourishing the people for generations; 3) the best of traditional Chinese culture is a great strength of the Chinese nation and its most profound cultural soft power; 4) rooted in Chinese culture, socialism with Chinese characteristics represents the Chinese people's aspirations, suits the times and facilitates the development of the country, and is based on a long history and solid reality. The time-honored Chinese culture is capable of adding glory to it today and in the days to come.

It is essential for China, a country with a unique culture, history and basic conditions, to choose a development path featuring its own characteristics. As for Chinese culture, we should make the past serve the present and foreign experience serve China; discard the dross and keep the essential; eliminate the false and retain the true, and maintain traditional Chinese culture and allow foreign influences only after a thorough and well-considered review of both.

We should intensify public communication on global changes and developments, and new thoughts, ideas and discoveries in other countries, so as to help draw on the achievements of other civilizations.

We should strengthen international communication through trying new methods with new concepts, domains and expressions that are accessible to an international audience, telling accurate and engaging stories of China and making our voice heard.

The departments concerned with public communication have an extremely important task. They should fulfill their responsibilities with dedication. They should improve their work starting from their leaders and leading bodies, and those leaders should intensify their study and practice in

order to become real experts.

Successful public communication requires joint efforts by the whole Party. Party committees at all levels should take political and leading responsibilities. They should redouble their efforts to study and address major issues, and to coordinate and guide major strategic campaigns. They should steadily upgrade their leadership skills. With a grand blueprint, we should mobilize as many departments as possible and better integrate public communication with administrative, industrial and social governance in all areas.

* Main points of the speech at the National Conference on Public Communication.

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CARRY OUT THE GREAT STRUGGLE WITH MANY NEW FEATURES

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-01-10

CARRY OUT THE GREAT STRUGGLE WITH MANY NEW FEATURES*

July 2013-December 2016

I

When I was leading the work of drafting the report to the 18th CPC National Congress, I required the following addition: “Developing socialism with Chinese characteristics will be a long and arduous task, which requires us to carry out the great struggle with many new features.” The sentence speaks volumes about today’s realities. It lays special emphasis on the new characteristics of our times, which include challenges and opportunities we are going to meet.

(from the speech at a criticism and self-criticism meeting among members of the Central Military Commission, July 8, 2013)

II

Today, while carrying out the great struggle with many new features, the whole Party must bear in mind the admonition of Comrade Mao Zedong – “We must never follow the example of Li Zicheng.” We must adhere to the Two Musts, and remember the wisdom of our forebears that “one survives in hardship and adversity, and perishes in ease and comfort” so as to avoid the historical cycle of rise and fall. We must practice effective self-supervision and rigorous discipline, improve the Party’s ability to govern and lead, and strengthen its ability to cleanse, improve, renew and temper itself.

(from the speech at a meeting to mark the 120th anniversary of the birth of Mao Zedong, December 26, 2013)

III

“A lie told a thousand times becomes the truth.” The hostile forces are using this logic to smear our Party and country and entice people to follow suit. They are definitely not willing to see China realize its national rejuvenation smoothly. That is why we have to remind the whole Party in earnest to get ready for the great struggle with many new features. This is a trial of strength over both hard power and soft power.

(from the speech at the second full assembly of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 23, 2014)

IV

The cause that we are advancing – socialism with Chinese characteristics – is a pioneering endeavor, and our voyage forward will not be plain sailing. We must prepare ourselves for the great struggle with many new features. “A promising cause may seem simple at the beginning, yet proves great on completion.” We must always be sober-minded, maintain the spirit of enterprise and perseverance, and remember that empty talk harms the country, while hard work makes it flourish. We must continue to confront and overcome all difficulties and challenges headon on our journey forward, making the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics the way for our nation to achieve glory, to realize national rejuvenation, and to make new and greater contribution to humanity.

(from the speech at a Spring Festival gathering, February 17, 2015)

V

At present, we are pushing forward the great struggle with many new features. Launching deeper reform of national defense and the armed forces is one important aspect of this struggle.

(from the speech at the Central Military Commission Conference on Reforming the Armed Forces, November 24, 2015)

VI

Developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is an enduring and arduous task, and we must be prepared to fight the great struggle with many new features. Faced by many domestic and international problems, risks, and challenges now and in the future, we must not lower our guard. Potential problems, risks and challenges are interlinked and reinforce each other. If we do not take preventative measures or address them properly, they will add up, escalate and evolve, from minor ones to major ones, from regional ones to systemic ones, and from international ones to domestic ones. Problems in the economy, society, culture and the environment will transform into political challenges, eventually threatening the Party’s governance and state security.

China’s national and social security is the precondition for development that is innovation-driven, coordinated, green, oriented towards global progress, and beneficial to all. Without security and stability nothing will be accomplished. “Wise men take precautionary measures when disaster is brewing; intelligent people make estimations about imminent catastrophe.” We must be alert and cautious, and keep track of small changes that could lead to heavy losses. We should take the

initiative and be prepared for risks and challenges in any form. This requires us to be ready for challenges in the fields of economy, politics, culture, society, diplomacy and the military. Every official at every level must take on the responsibility.

(from the speech at a study session on implementing the decisions of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, attended by principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level, January 18, 2016)

VII

In the new historic context, to better carry out the great struggle with many new features and advance the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must invest even more effort in the great new project of strengthening the Party. We must exercise full and rigorous governance over the Party to keep it competent and well-organized, preserve its progressive and wholesome nature, increase its creativity, cohesiveness and capabilities, improve its ability to lead and govern, and ensure the Party always exercises strong leadership in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

(from the “Explanation of the ‘Guidelines for Internal Party Activities Under New Circumstances’ and the ‘Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Internal Scrutiny’” delivered at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 24, 2016)

VIII

It will never be easy to realize the Two Centenary Goals in such a big country with a population of over 1.3 billion. As an ancient Chinese observed, “As you move on, the road ahead is bound to be strewn with difficulties and obstacles.” When we look back at the past, we can see that the Party and the people have followed a rough road during each of those periods over the past 95 years since the birth of the Party, 67 years since the founding of the PRC, and 38 years since the launch of reform and opening up. They have achieved successes by applying tremendous efforts and engaging in tenacious struggles. That is why I have emphasized that we should never indulge ourselves in the fantasy at any time that the modernization of China can be achieved by simply beating drums and gongs. In fact, every generation has to finish its leg of a journey on which it must overcome its share of difficulties and carry out the great struggle with many new features.

(from the speech at the Central Conference on Economic Work, December 14, 2016)

* Excerpts from speeches made between July 2013 and December 2016.

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TRAIN AND SELECT GOOD OFFICIALS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-01-08

TRAIN AND SELECT GOOD OFFICIALS*

June 28, 2013

At present, all Party members and people of all ethnic groups in China are making concerted efforts to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects and realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. Confronted with the present complex and unpredictable international situation and arduous domestic tasks of continuing reform and development and maintaining stability, we must “be prepared to carry out a great struggle with many new features” – this is quoted from the report to the 18th National Congress of the CPC in 2012. With its profound meaning, this idea represents an important conclusion that has been made after thoroughly reviewing and analyzing the development trends both at home and abroad.

To carry out a great struggle with many new features, and to accomplish the goals and tasks set forth at the 18th CPC National Congress, the emphasis should be laid on our Party and our officials. This means we must ensure that the Party always serves as the strong leadership core in the historic process of developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, and we must build a large contingent of high-caliber officials.

Our Party has always attached great importance to the selection and appointment of the upright and competent, and has always regarded the selection and appointment of officials as an issue of crucial and fundamental significance to the cause of the Party and the people. Employing suitable officials represents the key to governance. As our ancestors said, “Exaltation of the virtuous is fundamental to governance,” and “Employing capable officials represents the top priority of governance.”

In recent years, Party committees and organization departments at all levels have implemented the Party policy on personnel management, and have done a good job of selecting and appointing officials. However, there are still some problems which, if not properly resolved, will demoralize both the Party members and the general public.

At present, there are three questions that are of great concern: what a good official is, how to become a good official, and how to use the right officials for the right job. Good answers and appropriate solutions to the three questions will be a proof of good management of personnel.

First, what is a good official? This should be a question with a clear and ready answer, for there are clear requirements specified in the Party Constitution. However, some people are confused when they see misconduct in the selection and appointment of officials, when unqualified officials are selected at some localities, and when unqualified officials are still promoted, even against

regulations. This shows that we need to improve our work in the organization departments. If our selection of officials leads only to confusion over the criteria for good officials, it is obvious that those selected will only be bad examples for the public. We must think more about this issue.

Generally speaking, good officials should be of moral integrity and professional competence. However, there were different criteria in different historical periods. During the revolutionary wars, good officials needed to be loyal to the Party, brave and skillful in battle, and ready to sacrifice their lives. During the socialist revolution and construction period, good officials needed to be politically and professionally competent. In the early years of reform and opening up, good officials had to uphold the guidelines, principles and policies set forth at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978, have professional knowledge and be determined to carry out reforms. At the current stage, we require that good officials be politically reliable, professionally competent and morally upright, and are trusted by the people.

In summary, good officials must be firm in their ideals and convictions, willing to serve the people, diligent in work, ready to take on responsibilities, honest, and upright.

To be firm in their ideals and convictions means that Party officials must cherish the lofty ideal of communism, sincerely believe in Marxism, strive ceaselessly for socialism with Chinese characteristics, and unswervingly uphold the basic theories, guidelines, principles, experience and requirements of the Party.

To be willing to serve the people means that Party officials must act as servants of the people, be loyal to the people, and serve them wholeheartedly.

To be diligent in work means that Party officials must be dedicated to their work in a down-to-earth, realistic and pragmatic manner, and take solid and tangible measures to make achievements that can prove their worth in practice, survive the scrutiny of the people and stand the test of time.

To be ready to take on responsibilities means that Party officials must adhere to principles with a responsible attitude, and have the courage to take resolute actions in the face of major issues of principle, to tackle difficulties head-on in the face of conflicts, to step forward in the face of crises, to admit their share of mistakes, and to resolutely fight against misconduct.

To be honest and upright means that Party officials must adopt a cautious attitude towards the exercise of power by holding it in respect and keeping it under control in a bid to sustain their political life, and make constant efforts to maintain their political integrity against corruption.

These requirements might be easy to understand, but they are not so easy to fulfill.

They are also important requirements that I have emphasized on various occasions for some time now. Here I would like to lay special emphasis on two aspects: ideals and convictions, and readiness to take on responsibilities, which are outstanding issues facing our officials at the

current stage.

To be firm in their ideals and convictions is the supreme criterion for good officials. No matter how competent an official is, he cannot be regarded as the sort of good official that we need if he is not firm in his ideals and convictions, does not believe in Marxism and socialism with Chinese characteristics, is unqualified politically, and cannot weather political storms. Only those who are firm in their ideals and convictions will adopt an unequivocal approach towards major issues of principle, build “diamond-hard bodies” to withstand any corrosion, remain dauntless when facing political storms, firmly resist all kinds of temptations, and act in a reliable and trustworthy manner at any critical moment.

Ideals and convictions refer to people’s aspirations. As a Qing-dynasty scholar said, “Aspirations can reach any place however far it is, even over mountains and seas; and it can break through any defense however tough it is, even as strong as the best armor and shield.” This shows how strong and invincible people can be if they have lofty aspirations. During China’s revolution, construction and reform, innumerable Party members laid down their lives for the cause of the Party and the people. What supported them was the moral strength gained from the utmost importance they attached to their revolutionary ideals.

It should be fully admitted that most of our officials are firm in their ideals and convictions, and are politically reliable. Nevertheless, there are some Party officials who fail to meet these qualifications. Some are skeptical about communism, considering it a fantasy that will never come true; some do not believe in Marxism-Leninism but in ghosts and gods, and seek spiritual solace in feudal superstitions, showing intense interest in fortune-telling, worship of Buddha and “god’s advice” for solving their problems; some have little sense of principle, justice, or right and wrong, and perform their duties in a muddle-headed manner; some even yearn for Western social systems and values, losing their confidence in the future of socialism; and others adopt an equivocal attitude towards political provocations against the leadership of the CPC, the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics and other matters of principle, passively avoid relevant arguments without the courage to express their opinions, or even deliberately deliver ambiguous messages. Is it not a monstrous absurdity that Party officials, especially high-ranking ones, take no position in the face of major issues of principle, political incidents and sensitive issues?

Some say that officials need to cherish their reputation. This depends on what kind of reputation they are cherishing. Is it a reputation which will be applauded by people with ulterior motives, or is it a reputation for acting in the interests of the Party and the people? A Party member should only cherish the latter reputation, and it would be calamitous if he were bent on gaining the former.

Why are the Four Forms of Official Misconduct prevalent nowadays? Why are some officials becoming corrupt, ending up as criminals? In the final analysis, it is because they are not firm in their ideals or convictions. I have often said that ideals and convictions are as essential for a

Communist as calcium is for bones. To be firm in our ideals and convictions will harden our bones, while an absence of ideals and convictions or wavering in our ideals and convictions will lead to fatal moral weakness.

Facts have repeatedly proved that the most dangerous moment is when one wavers in or begins to show doubt about one's ideals and convictions. I have long been wondering if we were confronted with a complex situation such as a color revolution, would all our officials act resolutely to safeguard the leadership of the Party and the socialist system? I believe most Party members and officials are capable of doing so.

During the revolutionary wars, whether officials were firm in their ideals and convictions was judged by whether they would risk their lives for the cause of the Party and the people, and whether they would charge ahead as soon as the bugle sounded. This was a most direct test. There are still tests of life and death at our current stage of peaceful development, but there is a much smaller number of them. As a result, it is really difficult to test whether officials are firm in their ideals and convictions. Even X-rays, CT scans and MRIs will not help.

Nevertheless, there are still ways to test our officials. We need to find out whether they have the political determination in the face of major political challenges, bear in mind the fundamental purpose of the Party, perform their duties in an extremely responsible manner, are the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, are ready to take on responsibilities in the face of urgent, difficult and dangerous tasks, and resist the temptations of power, money and sex. Such a test cannot be accomplished overnight based on a few tasks that officials fulfill or a few pledges that they make; it is a process that depends on the officials' behavior over a long period, even throughout their lives.

It is essential that Party officials uphold principles and readily take on responsibilities. "Avoiding responsibilities is the greatest disgrace for an official." The responsibilities officials take on demonstrate their breadth of vision, courage and competence. The greater responsibilities one takes on, the greater undertaking one can accomplish.

With nice guy syndrome currently prevailing among some officials, it has become commonplace that many officials dare not criticize errors or take on responsibilities, or are unwilling to do so. Some officials keep on good terms with everybody at the expense of principles, for they are afraid of alienating people and losing votes, more fearful of causing offense than of sacrificing their fundamental values. They mind nothing but their own business and will do nothing unless their personal interests are affected, being satisfied with muddling along and accomplishing nothing at all. Some officials are not fulfilling their duties properly. They sidestep difficult problems and matters of public concern, argue and pass the buck, and tackle their responsibilities in a perfunctory manner, with their delay turning small problems into big ones and big problems into dreadful troubles. Some officials are smooth characters who handle matters in an overly "clever" manner, pick easy jobs and posts while shirking hard ones, think of nothing but self-preservation in the face of challenges, rush to claim credit for success, and evade responsibility when any

problem crops up. What is more frightening is that some of these officials are popular, even getting on well in official circles, gaining more than others while contributing less. How can the cause of the Party and the people advance if there are too many “nice guys” and sycophants, and too many who always pass the buck or those who trim their sails with every changing breeze? These problems are extremely dangerous, and major efforts must be made to solve them.

Ultimately, selflessness leads to fearlessness and the courage to take on responsibilities. Selflessness gives us peace of mind. Good officials must attach the utmost importance to their responsibilities, put the principles and cause of the Party and the interests of the people first, take an unequivocal and tough stance when addressing problems, perform their duties in an uncomplaining and diligent manner, and see their efforts through to the final result. “Sturdy grass withstands high winds; true gold stands the test of fire.” For the cause of the Party and the people, our officials should be bold enough to think, to carry out initiatives and to take the consequences, serving as the “sturdy grass” and “true gold” of our times.

Of course, being ready to take on responsibilities is for the cause of the Party and the people, not for personal fame. Being arrogant and overbearing is not being courageous to take on responsibilities. During the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 BC), there was a senior official named Zheng Kaofu, who served several dukes of the State of Song. He had a reputation for being highly self-disciplined. He had a motto engraved on a *ding* in his family ancestral temple, which read, “Head down when I was promoted the first time, back hunched when promoted the second time, and waist bent when promoted the third time. No one insults me if I keep close to the wall when walking along the street. What I need is only this vessel to cook porridge in.” I am deeply impressed by this story. Our officials are officials of the Party, and their power is granted by the Party and the people. Thus, they should make ever-bolder efforts and show ever-greater determination in their work, and conduct themselves in a modest and prudent manner free from arrogance and rashness.

Second, how can one become a good official? Good officials do not emerge spontaneously. To become a good official, both personal effort and training by Party organizations are necessary. For officials, their personal effort is essential, because this is the decisive internal factor in their personal development.

The commitment to the Party’s cause, theoretical consciousness and moral standards of an official are not enhanced automatically alongside a longer Party standing or a higher post. Rather, the enhancement requires lifelong endeavors. To become a good official, one needs to constantly remold one’s subjective world, and strengthen one’s commitment to the Party and moral refinement. One needs to stringently comply with the Party Constitution and the requirements for Party members, “being strict with oneself and lenient with others”. Party members must always behave in a proper manner, scrutinize themselves, keep alert to resist the myriad temptations of the dazzling world, and be honest and hardworking, clean and upright.

Learning is the ladder of progress. Officials need to be good at learning and thinking, conscientiously study Marxist theories, especially the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, focus on the standpoints, viewpoints and methods of these theories, and improve their capacity for strategic, innovative, dialectical, and principled thinking, so that they are able to correctly judge contemporary situations, and remain clear-headed and determined politically. They also need to enrich and structure their knowledge of various subjects and accumulate experiences, so as to lay a solid foundation for the performance of their duties.

In addition to learning, good officials also need to focus on practice. “Hearing is not as good as seeing, and seeing is not as good as experiencing.” Knowledge and experience are like the two wings of an eagle, which can fly high and far only if it wants to see the outside world and braves storms. The harsher the conditions and the more the difficulties, the more an official will be tempered. Officials should go to the grassroots to see the real situation and communicate with the people, and then they will be able to refine themselves and improve their abilities in their part of the work for reform and opening up, stability, and serving the people.

Good officials need to be trained by Party organizations. We need to focus more on the training of officials along with the changes of the circumstances and the development of the cause of the Party and the people. In this training, we must pay more attention to education on commitment to the Party, virtue and morality, awareness of the Party’s ultimate goal, and sense of serving the people. We also need to strengthen the training of officials in practical circumstances to facilitate their progress. Training in practical circumstances is not a way to get “gilded”, nor is it a routine process before promotion. If this is the case, officials will not devote themselves wholeheartedly to the training and will not keep in close touch with the people. The training will only be a show.

Moreover, we need to enhance supervision of officials’ conduct on a regular basis. The exercise of power without supervision will definitely lead to corruption. This is an axiomatic law. It is not an easy process to train an official, so necessary measures should be adopted to better manage and supervise officials to keep them on the alert as if they were treading on thin ice or standing on the edge of an abyss. Heart-to-heart talks with officials are needed, so that their shortcomings are pointed out in time, and their enthusiasm is encouraged. This is a good tradition that we need to carry on.

Third, how can we ensure officials’ good performance? To employ good officials after they are adequately trained is the key. What is the purpose of training if we do not employ good officials or do not let them play their role? Employment of a competent person will attract more competent people, and all the others will take them as examples. The kind of officials we employ is a political weathervane which determines the conduct of our officials and even the conduct of the whole Party.

It must be noted that some localities and departments are not adopting a correct approach to appointing officials. Some opportunistic officials with doubtful integrity and insufficient professional competence get promoted frequently, while those who devote themselves to work and do not build

social connections for promotion do not have such chances. This has given rise to strong discontent among officials and the general public. Party committees and organization departments at all levels need to adhere to the principle that the Party should supervise the performance of officials, adopt the correct approach to official appointment, select officials on the basis of both moral integrity and professional competence with priority given to the former, try to select and appoint virtuous and competent people in a timely manner, and place them in suitable posts according to their abilities. Only in this way can good and competent officials be selected and employed.

To employ officials, the most important thing is to know them. If we do not know them thoroughly and accurately we may employ them in an inappropriate way. "Having no idea of a person's weakness and strength, the weak part of the strength or the strong part of the weakness, we have no ground for appointing or even training that person." We cannot judge an official by impression or personal feeling. We must have a good system and proper methods to evaluate officials, with reflections through various channels, at various levels and from various perspectives.

We need to keep a close watch on officials and observe their approach to major issues, their concern for the people, their moral conduct, their attitude towards fame and fortune, their realm of thought, their ways of handling matters and results, and their work competence. The evaluation and observation of officials are done in day-to-day work, but the best time is at major events and critical moments. "To understand good music only after singing a thousand songs; to find a fine sword only after appreciating a thousand swords." The performance of officials is reflected in their work, and their reputation is gained from the public. So we need to go to the grassroots to hear opinions from the people, and judge officials' moral conduct in big events as well as in small matters.

To employ good officials, we must observe their performance on an overall, long-term and logical basis. Those who are competent, have distinctive personalities, are ready to take on responsibilities, and dare to offend some people for the sake of upholding principles may receive different comments. Party organizations must give them a correct evaluation. It is also difficult to accurately assess the performance of officials. We need to improve the methods and means of assessment. In the performance appraisal of officials, we should pay equal attention to economic growth and the original economic basis, and to both tangible and intangible achievements, and integrate indicators and achievements with regard to the improvement of people's living standards, social progress and the eco-environmental protection. We must no longer judge the performance of officials merely by GDP growth rates. Some officials tend to make abrupt decisions, start projects without second thoughts, and finally leave a mess behind, but they still get promoted without being held accountable. We cannot let it happen any more. I have said that we need to implement responsibility systems to address such issues, and hold the relevant officials accountable throughout their lifetime. The Organization Department of the Party Central Committee should see to this immediately.

To employ good officials we need to take a scientific approach and appoint the right person, at the right time and for the right position. Currently, some localities tend to appoint officials according to seniority or for seeking balance rather than in accordance with their merits, suitability or professional abilities. As a result, the appointed officials find it difficult to perform their duties, thus leaving problems unsolved and work unaccomplished.

What kind of officials should we appoint? What positions are suitable for them? These should be based on the work requirements. We should not appoint an official simply because there is a post, or take it as a means of reward. “A good horse can run along dangerous paths but cannot plow the fields like an ox; a strong cart can carry heavy loads but cannot cross rivers like a boat.” We should have a good sense of acquiring competent people through different channels and by different methods, treat them as treasures, and let them fully display their abilities. Only by so doing will large numbers of good officials emerge to contribute their wisdom and knowledge.

There is a phenomenon that we must notice. To judge an official on his work performance in a locality or a unit, people have their own comments, practice has its proof, and leaders are clear in mind, but the final appointment is often not according to the actual needs, and usually disappoints people. The reason is the selfishness of some leading officials, “relationship-ism” or some “hidden rules” that people dodge behind. Influenced by these unhealthy factors, officials are no longer appointed on their merits but by favoritism or by seeking personal gain. Officials and the public abhor this practice very much, so we should make resolute efforts to change it and make it a clean process.

* Part of the speech at the CPC’s National Conference on Organizational Work.

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THE MASS LINE – FUNDAMENTAL TO THE CPC

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-01-06

THE MASS LINE – FUNDAMENTAL TO THE CPC*

June 18, 2013

The mass line is the life of our Party and the fundamental approach to the Party's work. Launching an education campaign on the Party's mass line is a significant decision taken by the Party to supervise its own conduct and enforce strict discipline. It is an important measure to respond to public demand, to strengthen the Party as a Marxist party that learns, innovates and serves the people, and to advance socialism with Chinese characteristics. It has far-reaching significance for the Party to maintain its progressive and wholesome nature, consolidate its governing base and status, and build a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

First, the education campaign on the Party's mass line is an essential requirement for the Party to realize the objectives set by the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012. The congress proposed to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects when the CPC celebrates its centenary in 2021, and build China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious when the PRC marks its centenary in 2049. After the congress the CPC Central Committee proposed the Chinese Dream of the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. To realize the Chinese Dream and the objectives set by the congress, all Party members must follow the fine tradition of the Party.

What does this mean? It means respecting the Party's long-held traditions of combining theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the people, engaging in criticism and self-criticism, cultivating tenacity in work, pursuing the truth and being pragmatic. All through the Party's long period of revolution, construction and reform, the Party has always demanded that all its members maintain its fine tradition, and this is what has underpinned one victory after another for the Party and the people.

We must be cognizant, especially during this new era of reform and opening up, that the Party will be exposed to unprecedented risks and challenges as China drives reform and opening up to a deeper level. The task of improving the Party's conduct will never be more important or urgent. Not for one moment should we be lax or suspend our efforts in this regard.

"In the present period of historical change, when problems have piled up and a thousand things wait to be done, it is crucial for us to strengthen the leadership of the Party and correct its work style," said Deng Xiaoping at the initial launch of reform and opening up. The second generation of central collective leadership with Deng Xiaoping at its core, the third generation of central collective leadership with Jiang Zemin at its core, and the CPC Central Committee with Hu Jintao as general secretary all made it one of their top priorities to improve the Party's conduct, and

carried out a succession of education campaigns to consolidate the Party, to highlight the importance of study, political awareness, and integrity, to maintain the pioneering role of Party members, and to further study and apply the Scientific Outlook on Development.

The Party has always emphasized that Party conduct has a direct impact on its image, on its prospects of winning or losing public support, and on the very survival or extinction of the Party and the state. Maintaining close ties with the people is essential to improving the Party's conduct. Losing contact with the people would pose the gravest threat to the Party.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978, the Party has reestablished the guiding principles of freeing the mind and seeking truth from facts, attaching more importance to the Party's conduct, and maintaining close ties with the people. The whole Party has burnished its image and improved its conduct, guaranteeing the smooth progress of reform and opening up and the drive for socialist modernization.

As has been the case throughout the Party's history, its close ties with the people are the embodiment of its nature and purpose, the hallmark that distinguishes the CPC from other political parties, and an important factor enabling the CPC to grow strong. The future of the Party's undertakings relies on whether it can maintain its ties with the people.

Our Party comes from the people, is rooted in the people, and serves the people. Without popular support, none of the Party's achievements or aspirations would be possible. We must always keep close ties with the people, so that the Party can continue to respond to the challenges of governance, reform and opening up, the market economy, and the external environment. Under no circumstances will we ever forsake our commitment to sharing weal and woe with the people. We will never forget the Party's purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly. We will never forgo the historical materialist viewpoint which regards the people as the true heroes. The Party will always serve the public good, and govern for the benefit of the people.

In this new era, in order to realize the Chinese Dream and the objectives set by the 18th CPC National Congress, we must remain close to the people, rely on them, and fully mobilize their initiative, enthusiasm and creativity. We have launched the education campaign on the Party's mass line with the aim of reminding all Party members that their fundamental purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly, unite the people through the Party's fine tradition, and work hard with them to realize the objectives set by the congress and the Chinese Dream.

Second, launching the education campaign on the Party's mass line is an essential requirement for the Party to maintain its progressive and wholesome nature, and consolidate its governing base and status. This is an issue fundamental to the Party and its future development.

As we have so often repeated, the Party's pioneering role and its role of governance do not remain unchanged once acquired. Even if you had played a pioneering role in the past, there is no guarantee that you will always do so; the fact that you are playing the role now does not mean that

you will be progressive forever. Just because you possessed it in the past does not mean that you will own it forever. This is the conclusion of our analysis based on dialectical and historical materialism.

How can we maintain the Party's progressive and wholesome nature, and consolidate its governing role and status? The key is to keep to the Party's mass line and maintain close ties with the people.

As an old Chinese saying goes, "Those who win the people's hearts win the country, and those who lose the people's hearts lose the country." Likewise, the people's support is the most solid foundation for the Party's governance. Winning or losing public support is vital to the Party's survival or extinction. The Party must dedicate its soul and mind to the people, share their weal and woe, and rely on them to continue to make progress. Only then can we steadfastly "stand our ground" against "ominous storms that threaten to engulf us".

We have launched the education campaign on the Party's mass line so that the values of honesty, serving the people and remaining down-to-earth can take root in the hearts and actions of all Party members. In this way we can consolidate the Party's governing status, increase the Party's creativity, cohesiveness and professional capabilities, maintain its progressive and wholesome nature, and consolidate its position through broad, profound and reliable public support.

Third, launching the education campaign on the Party's mass line is essential if we are to address the people's pressing concerns. In general, Party organizations, members and officials are practicing the Party's mass line well at present. Party members and officials have set a good example, dedicating themselves to promoting reform, development and stability. They have maintained good relations with the people and won their approval and support. Most of them have done a good job, for which we must give them full credit.

Nevertheless, we must realize that as the world, the country, and the Party undergo profound changes, the threats from a lack of drive, incompetence, disengagement from the people, inaction, and corruption have become increasingly serious. Many Party officials are losing touch with the people, and some problems are very serious, especially the Four Forms of Official Misconduct of form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance.

Form over substance means doing things for form's sake – the separation of action from knowledge, neglecting what is truly effective, hiding behind piles of documents, and immersing oneself in meetings, the pursuit of vanity and a resort to falsehood.

Some Party officials stop studying Party theory or learning information which they need in performing their duties, while others content themselves with the most superficial understanding, which they can use as window-dressing instead of applying it in real work. They have no intention of studying, nor have they the ability to put what they do know into practice. Some "implement" the decisions made at meetings and in guiding documents by convening more meetings and drafting more documents. Some love to put on a show and seek the limelight, making every effort to

ensure satisfactory arrangements for leaders to speak at events and get reported in newspapers and on TV, while neglecting practical work. Some have no interest in achieving actual results or solving genuine problems – their only aim is to ingratiate themselves with their superiors, generate headlines or decorate their work reports through one ceremony after another, one summary after another, and one award after another. We call this Krikun style.

For some officials, a grassroots survey is no more than a comfortable ride in a car, a hurried glance through the window, an affable wave to the cameras, and a casual glance at events outside, rather than a proper investigation into shadows, nooks and crannies. Some turn a blind eye to fake reports, data and models, or even go out of their way to gloss over the truth with lies. No wonder people say that paperwork keeps officials well clear of real life, and pointless formalities detach policies from their implementation.

Bureaucratism means departure from reality, losing touch with the people, arrogance, indifference to facts, conceit, and inflated egos. Some Party officials do not understand or concern themselves with reality. They are reluctant to go to areas experiencing harsh conditions, or help grassroots organizations and people solve problems; they prefer to having nothing to do with them lest there should be more trouble. Their duties are a game to them – they pass the buck or muddle through. Some Party officials, heedless of the people's wishes and the circumstances that apply in their locality, make arbitrary decisions and empty promises. They blindly launch expensive projects, walk away when they fail, and leave behind an unresolved mess; some curry favor with their superiors, and rudely order their subordinates around. People in need of their services find it difficult to reach or talk to them, far less get them to act. They even demand bribes before doing things that are part of their duties, and abuse their power; some follow plans and directions from their superiors without trying to understand them properly. Some implement the decisions of superiors to a superficial degree, while others awkwardly imitate – doing things according to the old way or following others without considering the particular circumstances that apply to them. Some are “empire-builders”, high-handed and arbitrary in their approach, intolerant of any alternative view. They reject criticism and offers of help, and refuse to listen to different voices.

The main features of hedonism are mental laxity, resting on one's laurels, vanity, coveting pleasure, pursuing ostentation, and seeking to keep oneself amused. Some Party officials have become demoralized, and their faith has been shaken. Their philosophy of life is to indulge themselves in pleasure seeking – “drinking your fill as long as you have wine to drink” and “seizing the moments of contentment in life and making the most of them”. Some have abandoned their ideals in favor of material comforts, vulgar amusements, revelry, drinking, and a life of luxury. Some take on easy tasks and shirk hard work because they have no taste for hardship or effort. They lack motivation and new goals because they are happy with the status quo, satisfied with their limited knowledge and understanding, and content with their past achievements. They idle through the day flipping through newspapers, drinking tea and chatting, their gaze wandering abstractedly because they have no purpose.

Extravagance means waste, resource squandering, expensive building programs, endless festivals and ceremonies, a luxurious and dissolute lifestyle, and abuse of power that can extend to actual corruption. Some Party officials spend hundreds of millions of Renminbi on construction of a luxury office building that occupies acres of land and contains facilities for feasting, drinking and amusement. Some are devotees of festivals and ceremonies, sometimes squandering millions of Renminbi or more on a single event. It is the blood and sweat of the people they are tossing away! For some who seek comfort and pleasure their homes can never be too many nor too grand, their cars can never be too luxurious, their banquets can never be too exquisite, and the brands of clothes they wear can never be too famous. Their excesses show disdain for the rules; they take things for granted and always want more. Some demand excessive receptions, stay at expensive hotels, eat all sorts of delicacies, drink fine wines and then take bribes. Some hold membership cards and consumption cards of great value, and indulge themselves in luxury clubs, high-end sports complexes, free travel at home and abroad, and even foreign casinos, where they spend money like water. Some even glory in their misconduct, moral corruption and dissolute lifestyle, instead of feeling shame.

I give these examples to warn all Party members. If we allow these problems to spread like weeds, the consequences will be disastrous, and the tragedy of *Farewell My Concubine*, which Mao Zedong used as a metaphor for losing power, may come true. Some of our colleagues have become accustomed to such problems, and take them for granted. This is even more dangerous. As a saying goes, “Stay in a fish market long enough, and one will get used to the stink.”

We should keep in mind the ancient warning that “self-indulgence and extravagance lead to decline and demise,” and launch full-scale examinations, overhauls and clean-ups to eliminate defects and misconduct from the Party, and address the people’s most pressing concerns.

* Part of the speech at a meeting on the education campaign on the Party’s mass line held by the CPC Central Committee.

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HARD WORK MAKES DREAMS COME TRUE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2025-01-03

HARD WORK MAKES DREAMS COME TRUE*

April 28, 2013

We have set the goals of achieving moderate prosperity in all respects by the centenary of the CPC in 2021 and building China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the centenary of the PRC in 2049 so as to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Although the way ahead is rugged and the tasks of achieving reform, development and stability are arduous, we are confident in our future. The working class of our country must play an exemplary and leading role in taking the Chinese path, fostering the Chinese spirit and building up China's strength, and make concerted efforts to realize the Chinese Dream.

People make history; hard work creates the future. Work is the fundamental force driving the progress of human society. Happiness does not fall from the sky, nor do dreams come true automatically. To achieve our goals and create a bright future we must rely closely on the people, always act in their interests, and work in an industrious, honest and creative way. We often say, "Empty talk harms the country, while hard work makes it flourish." This means we must first get down to work.

As we forge ahead, we must give full rein to the vital role of the working class, encouraging it to act on its own initiative and increasing its motivation for work and creation.

First, we must make sure that the working class is our main force. The working class is China's leading class; it represents China's advanced productive forces and relations of production; it is our Party's most steadfast and reliable class foundation; and it is the main force for realizing a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and upholding and building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Since the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy more than 30 years ago, our working class has been growing and improving, and its structure becoming better. It has taken on a new look, and its advanced nature has been strengthened. To uphold and build Chinese socialism in the future, we must rely wholeheartedly on the working class, strengthen its position as China's leading class, and give full play to its role as our main force. Relying fully on the working class is not just a slogan or label; rather, we should rely on it in the whole process of formulating Party and government policies, and implement it in our work, as well as in all aspects of production and operation of enterprises.

Second, we must rely firmly on the working class to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. Chinese socialism is what we must pursue if we are to achieve development and make progress in contemporary China, realize the Chinese Dream, and create a bright future for China's working class. Chinese workers should increase their sense of mission and responsibility, do their jobs well, and keep the country's overall interests in mind. They should pursue their ideals of life and work for the wellbeing of their families while working to make the country prosperous and strong, and rejuvenate the nation. They should pursue both their personal aspirations and the Chinese Dream, and, as the masters of the country, contribute to upholding and developing Chinese socialism.

The working class should have a firm belief in the vision of Chinese socialism, closely follow the Party, resolutely support the socialist system, reform and opening up, and be the mainstay of upholding the Chinese path. The working class should practice the core socialist values, give full play to its own great strengths, influence and lead the whole of society with its vision and exemplary actions, infuse new energy into the Chinese spirit, and serve as a model of the Chinese spirit. The Chinese working class should take it as its mission to rejuvenate the nation, unleash its great creativity, carry forward its glorious tradition of acting in the overall interests of the country, maintain political stability and unity, and remain the core force for building up China's strength.

Third, we must continue to respect work and make all those who work enjoy happiness. Work is the source of wealth and happiness. To realize beautiful dreams, solve difficulties hampering development, and be successful in life, one must do honest work. Work has shaped the Chinese nation and its glorious history, and it is work that will shape its bright future. "There is nothing that cannot be accomplished through hard work." We must be firm in the belief that work is what is most honorable, most sublime, most magnificent and most beautiful; and we should spur the enthusiasm for work of all the people and release their creative potential to create a better life through work.

The whole of society should follow the important policy of respecting work, knowledge, talent and creation, uphold and develop the interests of people who work, and protect their rights. We should uphold social fairness and justice, remove obstacles that prevent workers from participating in development and sharing the benefits of development, and ensure that workers have decent working conditions and achieve all-round development. The whole of society should relish hard work, take pride in diligence, and guard against indolence.

Fourth, we must emulate model workers. The power of a good example is enormous. Model workers are the cream of the country and role models for the people. Over the years, model workers have made extraordinary achievements out of ordinary work. They have nurtured the ethos of the model workers, namely, dedication to work, striving for excellence, working hard, being bold in innovating, not being lured by fame and wealth, and being ready to make sacrifices. This has enriched the ethos of our nation and the times, and become an invaluable source of inspiration.

To meet our development goals, we must enrich ourselves not only materially but culturally and ethically as well. All our people should learn from model workers, follow their examples and, with a sense of urgency, strive to realize national rejuvenation. Model workers and other role models should cherish the honor conferred upon them and deliver an even better performance. They should be dedicated and selfless in their work, and firm in their ideals and convictions, and they should promote the spirit of hard work and unity. Workers in China today should have not only strength, but also vision, expertise, and the capability to invent and innovate, so that they can create with action a splendid China. Party committees, governments and trade unions at all levels should value the role of model workers, care for them, support them in playing their key role, help them to solve all the difficulties they encounter in work and life, and widely publicize their exemplary deeds, so as to promote the ethos of model workers.

Both the Party and workers place high hopes on the trade unions. The Chinese trade unions are workers' organizations under the leadership of the CPC, and they serve as bridges through which the Party maintains contact with workers. They are an important social pillar supporting the government in our socialist country. The path for developing trade unions with Chinese characteristics is an important part of Chinese socialism; it represents the nature and features of trade unions, and is an important guarantee for the trade unions to stay on the right track of development. We should keep to this path and steadily widen it.

Times keep changing, and innovation is a regular feature of our mission. Likewise, the trade unions should keep developing themselves and make innovations in their work. We should, adapting to the times and social changes, develop good and effective working methods to make workers feel that the trade unions are their homes and trade union officials are their family members whom they can turn to for help. We should make providing dedicated services to people the fundamental purpose of all the work of the trade unions, work for them heart and soul, heed their views, uphold the legitimate rights and interests of workers, including rural migrant workers, help solve problems they face in a down-to-earth manner, and promote harmonious socialist work relations. We should pay close attention to the diversified demands of people who work, unleash the potential for their career development, and strive to train large numbers of high-caliber people who are knowledgeable, have a good command of technical expertise, and are innovative. Party committees and governments at all levels should strengthen and improve their leadership over the trade unions, support them in their work, and provide more resources and means to them so that they are better able to perform their functions.

A journey of one thousand miles begins with a single step. There is a bright future for our country, but reaching it will not be easy. We cannot accomplish our goal with one single effort, nor can we realize our dream overnight. Every accomplishment in the world is hard-won. The more beautiful the future, the harder we must work for it.

Hard work will overcome difficulties and make one's dream come true. We should endeavor to foster throughout society the work ethic of being down-to earth and diligent. Leading officials at all levels should foster the ethos of model workers. They should pursue realistic policies, boost

morale, and handle things in a pragmatic way. They should not pursue unearned prestige or worthless outcomes, and they should firmly oppose the Four Forms of Official Misconduct of form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance, which both government officials and the public detest. They should lead the people by example and deliver a good performance in all their work.

I firmly believe that under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and with the concerted efforts of the Chinese working class and all other working people and the people of all ethnic groups in China, we can certainly create an even brighter future and realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

* Part of the speech at a meeting with national model workers.

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A GOOD ECO-ENVIRONMENT IS THE MOST INCLUSIVE CONTRIBUTOR TO PUBLIC WELLBEING

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-30

A GOOD ECO-ENVIRONMENT IS THE MOST INCLUSIVE CONTRIBUTOR TO PUBLIC WELLBEING*

April 10, 2013

Clear waters, green mountains, blue seas, and azure skies are Hainan's greatest strengths and principal assets in the process of building the island into a tourist resort of international renown. They are treasures that cannot be bought or borrowed from others. We must cherish and take good care of them. Some 900 years ago, when Su Dongpo was ousted and exiled to Danzhou in Hainan, he wrote a number of poems depicting the scenery of the island, including the following verses:

*Who adorns the glowing moon after the clouds dissolve?
The sky and sea are translucent by nature.*

*A flying spring plummets ten thousand meters;
Dancing cranes rise and fall in pairs.*

*Red lychees crack to reveal jade white flesh;
The juice of yellow mandarins overflows.*

Protecting Hainan's eco-environment is a requirement for Hainan's own development and for the country as a whole. China's 1.3 billion people should have the opportunity to spend their holidays in such picturesque locations. People in Hainan bear a great and glorious responsibility in protecting the island's ecosystem and conserving its environment.

Reviewing the world's history of development teaches us that protecting and improving the eco-environment means preserving and expanding productive forces. A good eco-environment is the fairest social good and the most inclusive contributor to public wellbeing. Material wealth is important for survival, but a flourishing environment is also essential and irreplaceable for happiness. If people have to live in a place where the air and drinking water are of inferior quality, how can they feel happy even though they are earning money? At the 18th National Congress of the Party in 2012, eco-environmental progress was included in the overall plan for building Chinese socialism, with an emphasis on the importance of creating a beautiful China. In the plan to build Hainan into a national model of eco-environmental progress, the central authorities expect you to pioneer a new development path featuring harmonious coexistence between humanity and

nature, and set an example for other regions. You should set yourselves higher requirements and adopt more effective measures on the basis of past work, so as to create a beautiful Hainan as soon as possible.

Success in protecting the eco-environment is fundamentally determined by the economic structure and the economic growth model. Economic development should not exhaust resources or destroy the eco-environment, nor should eco-environmental protection be at odds with economic development. On the contrary, we should coordinate the two, and strike a balance between economic and social development and our population, our resources, and the environment. We should increase the efficient utilization of resources, accelerate the building of a green production model, and raise the public's consciousness of the need to conserve resources, the environment and the ecosystems.

As a developing region, Hainan must correctly handle the relationship between protection and development. We must fully understand that the eco-environment is the foundation stone of the province and development is the top priority in our work, and always lay equal emphasis on both aspects. We should address both symptoms and root causes, devote constant and unremitting efforts to our most prominent current problems – starting from those that most affect the people's lives – and at the same time explore institutions and mechanisms that are effective in the long run and can unleash the enthusiasm of all parties. In so doing, we will improve the environment, protect the people's health, and make both urban and rural areas more livable to ensure a better life for the people.

We should focus our efforts on increasing green coverage and protecting blue oceans.

Forests are the pillar of natural ecosystems. Local people often say that a wooden pole sunk into the ground in Hainan will sprout. We should fully use that strength, focus on the Island Afforestation project, and consolidate and expand the results in protecting natural forests and building coastal protection forests and other non-commercial forests.

The sea is a treasure house of resources and a strategically important area that underpins our country's future development. We must insist on coordinated development of land, sea and rivers, and adopt comprehensive policies to prevent and control marine pollution, conserve biodiversity in key ecosystems like mangrove forests, and curb soil erosion. All our efforts today that give us cleaner air and more beautiful beaches, and add green to the mountains and blue to the sea, will bequeath to our future generations a green bank for sustainable development.

* Part of the speech made at the end of a visit to Hainan Province.

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PROMOTE GLOBAL PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-27

PROMOTE GLOBAL PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT*

March 23, 2013

Distinguished Mr Anatoly Vasilyevich Torkunov, Rector of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, The Honorable Olga Golodets, Deputy Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, Dear faculty members and students,

I am very pleased to come to the beautiful Moscow State Institute of International Relations today and meet so many faculty members and students here.

The Moscow State Institute of International Relations is a prestigious school of world renown, boasting an outstanding faculty and distinguished alumni. I wish to express my warm congratulations on the remarkable successes you have achieved in various fields.

Russia is a friendly neighbor to China. My current visit to Russia is the first leg of my first overseas trip since becoming China's president. It is also my second visit to your beautiful and richly endowed country in three years. Yesterday, I had fruitful talks with President Putin, and together we attended the launch of the Tourism Year of China in Russia.

The month of March marks the return of spring, a season of sowing and great renewal. As a popular Chinese saying goes, "He who hopes for a good year starts planning in spring." China and Russia, having taken advantage of this season to plough and hoe not only for our bilateral relations but also for peace and development in the world, will surely reap a bumper harvest to the benefit of our two peoples and those of other countries.

Dear faculty members and students,

The Institute of International Relations, as an institution of higher learning specialized in the study of international issues, pays close attention to the international landscape and can appreciate especially keenly the enormous changes the world has gone through over the past decades. Indeed, we live in a time of kaleidoscopic changes that make the world constantly different.

– It is a world where peace, development, cooperation and mutual benefit have become the trend of the times. The old colonial system has long since disintegrated, and confrontations between blocs as during the Cold War have long gone. No country or group of countries can dominate world affairs single-handedly.

– It is a world where emerging markets and developing countries in large numbers have embarked on the track of fast development. Billions of people are moving towards modernization at an accelerating pace. Multiple growth engines have emerged in regions across the world. And the international balance of power continues to evolve in a direction favorable for peace and development.

– It is a world where countries are linked with and dependent on one another at a level never seen before. Humankind, by living in the same global village in the same era where history and reality meet, has increasingly emerged as a community of shared future in which everyone has in themselves a little bit of others.

– And it is a world where humanity is beset with numerous difficulties and challenges. They range from the continued underlying impact of the global financial crisis, an apparent upsurge of all kinds of protectionism, incessant regional flashpoints, rising hegemonism, power politics and neo-interventionism, to a web of conventional and non-conventional security threats, such as the arms race, terrorism and cybersecurity. Upholding world peace and promoting common development remain a long and uphill battle.

We hope that the world will become a better place. We have every reason to believe that it will. At the same time, we are soberly aware that while the future is bright, the path leading to it can be tortuous. Chernyshevsky once wrote, “The path of history is not paved like Nevsky Prospekt; it runs across fields, either dusty or muddy, and cuts across swamps or forest thickets.” Yet as shown by humanity’s progress, history always moves forward according to its own laws despite twists and turns, and no force can hold back its rolling wheels.

The tide of the times is surging forward. Those who follow it will prosper and those who resist it will perish. Keeping up with the times, one cannot live in the 21st century while thinking in the old fashion, lingering in the age of colonial expansion or with the zero-sum mentality of the Cold War.

In the face of the profoundly changed international landscape and the objective need for the world to rally together like passengers in the same boat, all countries should join hands in building a new model of international relations featuring win-win cooperation, and all peoples should work together to safeguard world peace and promote common development.

We stand for the sharing of dignity by all countries and peoples in the world. All countries, irrespective of size, strength and wealth, are equal. The right of the people to independently choose their development paths should be respected, interference in the internal affairs of other countries opposed, and international fairness and justice maintained. Only the wearer of the shoes knows if they fit or not. Only the people can best tell if the development path they have chosen for their country suits or not.

We stand for the sharing of the fruits of development by all countries and peoples. Every country, while pursuing its own development, should actively facilitate the common development of all countries. There cannot be sustainable development in the world when some countries are getting

richer and richer while others languish in prolonged poverty and backwardness. Only when all countries achieve common development can there be better worldwide development. Such practices as beggar-thy-neighbor, shifting crises onto others and feathering one's nest at the expense of others are both immoral and unsustainable.

We stand for the sharing of security by all countries and peoples. Countries should make concerted efforts to properly address the issues and challenges they face. As challenges often take on global dimensions, there is all the more need for countries to take them on cooperatively, turning pressure into motivation and crises into opportunities. Confronted with complex threats to international security, fighting alone or fighting with a blind faith in the use of force will not get one anywhere. The only solution lies in cooperative, collective and common security.

As the trends of world multipolarity and economic globalization grow and those of upholding cultural diversity and applying information technology in social life continue to make progress, humanity has never been better blessed with opportunities for taking strides towards peace and development. And mutually beneficial cooperation provides the only practical way to achieving such a goal.

The destiny of the world must be left in the hands of the peoples of all countries. Matters that fall within the sovereign rights of a country should be managed only by the government and people of that country. And affairs of the world should be addressed by the governments and peoples of all countries through consultation. Herein lies the democratic principle for the handling of international affairs which should be universally observed.

Dear faculty members and students,

Last November, the CPC held its 18th National Congress. According to the blueprint it mapped out for the country's development in the near future, China will double its 2010 GDP and per capita income for both urban and rural residents by 2020, complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects when the Party celebrates its centenary in 2021, and turn itself into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious when the PRC marks its centenary in 2049. At the same time, we are soberly aware that, as a large developing country with over 1.3 billion people, China will encounter still greater and more testing challenges on the road to progress, which calls for continuous and strenuous efforts on our part if the goals as identified are to be reached.

The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation has become the grandest dream of the Chinese people in modern times. We call it the Chinese Dream, with prosperity for the country, renewal for the nation and happiness for the people as its fundamental elements. China has always been a peace-loving nation. But it was subjected to a century of untold sufferings as a result of repeated foreign aggression and domestic turmoil. We know too well the value of peace, and the need to build the country and improve the people's wellbeing in a peaceful environment. China is committed to the path of peaceful development, dedicating itself to open, cooperative and mutually beneficial

development, while calling on all countries to follow this path. China always pursues a defense policy that is defensive in nature, not engaging in any arms race nor posing a military threat to any country. By growing stronger through development, China will bring more opportunities, rather than threats, to the rest of the world. The Chinese Dream which we cherish will not only serve the Chinese people but benefit people throughout the world.

It is heartening to see that, each as the other's largest neighbor, China and Russia implement similar development strategy. Russia has set the goal of reaching or approaching the level of the developed countries by 2020 in terms of per capita GDP and is accelerating its advance in material development. We sincerely wish you success in achieving your goals as soon as possible. A strong and prosperous Russia is in the interests of China, and conducive to peace and stability in the Asia Pacific and the world at large.

The relationship between China and Russia is one of the most important bilateral relationships in the world. It is also the best relationship between major countries. A strong and high-performance relationship like this not only serves the interests of our two countries but also provides an important safeguard for maintaining the international strategic balance as well as peace and stability in the world. With our consistent efforts over the past 20 years and more, we have established a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination. This relationship fully accommodates each other's interests and concerns and delivers tangible benefits to the two peoples. We have resolved historical boundary issues once and for all and signed the Treaty of Good-neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation Between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation, thus laying a solid foundation for the long-term growth of China-Russia relations.

At present, both China and Russia are at a crucial stage of national renewal, as their relations have entered a new period characterized by provision of vital mutual development opportunities and serving as primary mutual cooperation partners. To ensure continued growth of China-Russia relations, we need to work still harder in the following areas:

First, stay firmly committed to building a forward-looking relationship. That China and Russia should live in everlasting amity and never be enemies is the shared aspiration of the two peoples. We need to stand tall and look far, working on our bilateral relations with a holistic approach. President Putin once said "Russia needs a prosperous and stable China, and China needs a strong and successful Russia." I could not agree more. By achieving common development, we will give ever broader space to our comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination and provide positive energy to the international order and global systems in their movement towards greater fairness and rationality. China and Russia will forever be good neighbors, good friends and good partners, taking concrete actions to firmly support each other on respective core interests, on respective development and renewal, on following the development paths suited to our national conditions and on success in our affairs and endeavors.

Second, stay firmly committed to cultivating a cooperative and mutually beneficial relationship. China and Russia differ in realities and national conditions. By engaging in close cooperation and drawing on each other's strengths to make up for respective shortcomings, we can show to the world that one plus one can be greater than two. Last year, our two-way trade reached US\$88.2 billion-worth and there were 3.3 million visits exchanged between our peoples. These figures give full expression to the enormous potential and broad prospects of China-Russia relations. Bilateral cooperation in energy has advanced steadily. The China-Russia oil and gas pipelines have long since replaced the "Ten Thousand *Li* Tea Route" of the 17th century as the new "arteries of the century" connecting the two countries. Right now, we are looking actively to bridge the development strategies of our respective countries and regions in an effort to create still more converging interests and growth areas in bilateral cooperation. We will expand the scope of bilateral cooperation from the energy and resources sector to investment, infrastructure, hi-tech, finance and other areas, and from trade in goods to joint R&D and joint production so as to elevate the results-oriented cooperation between the two countries.

Third, stay firmly committed to cementing the friendship between the two peoples. Amity between peoples holds the key to relations between countries. It is the people's deep friendship that drives state-to-state relations forward. Here, I want to share a couple of stories about the mutual support and mutual help between our peoples. During the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, Captain Gregory Kurishenko of the air force of the Soviet Union came to China and fought side by side with the Chinese people. He once said, "I feel the Chinese people's sufferings as if I were feeling the sufferings of my own motherland." He died heroically on Chinese soil. The Chinese people did not forget him. An ordinary Chinese mother and her son have kept vigil at his tomb for more than half a century. In 2004, China invited some of the children traumatized in the Beslan school hostage incident to China for rehabilitation treatment. The children received meticulous care. The head doctor from the Russian side said to the Chinese side, "Your doctors have given our children such great help, and they will always remember you." When Wenchuan was hit by a devastating earthquake in 2008 Russia raced against time to extend a helping hand, and invited the children from disaster areas to Russia's Far East for rehabilitation. Three years ago, I saw with my own eyes at the Ocean Children's Center in Vladivostok the loving care Russian teachers showered on our children. As we Chinese often say, love knows no borders. These Chinese children have learned for themselves the love, friendship and kindness of the Russian people. There are many more touching stories like these, and together they keep the tree of our friendship nourished, strong and evergreen.

Russia and China each has a time-honored history and splendid culture, and cultural exchanges between us play an irreplaceable role in advancing the friendship between the two peoples. Ancient Chinese philosophers such as Confucius and Lao Zi are well known in Russia while Russian culture left a deep mark on the older generations of Chinese revolutionaries. Even people of my age have read many Russian classic masterpieces. In my youth, I read the works of such

Russian literary giants as Pushkin, Lermontov, Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy and Chekhov, and savored the powerful charm of Russian literature. It is no wonder that cultural exchanges between China and Russia enjoy fertile ground.

The youth are the future of a country and the future of the world. They also hold in their hands the future of China-Russia friendship. During this visit of mine, President Putin and I jointly announced that China and Russia would host the Year of Youth Friendship and Exchanges in 2014 and 2015, respectively. On the Chinese side, we will invite a delegation of Russian university students, including students of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, to China. I see in you some of the best and brightest of the young generation in Russia. I hope that more and more young people from both countries will take over the baton of China-Russia friendship by actively involving themselves in the cause of friendship.

Dear faculty members and students,

As a Russian proverb goes, "Big ships sail far." We also have lines of an ancient poem which read, "Forging ahead like a gigantic ship breaking through strong winds and heavy waves, I'll set my towering sail to cross the sea which raves." I am convinced that with the joint efforts of the governments and peoples of our two countries, China-Russia relations will continue to press ahead, overcoming difficulties, bringing greater benefits to the two peoples, and making an ever-greater contribution to global peace and development.

Thank you.

* Speech at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in Moscow, Russia.

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ADDRESS TO THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 12TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-25

ADDRESS TO THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 12TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

March 17, 2013

Fellow deputies,

This session has elected me president of the People's Republic of China, and I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to you and the people of all ethnic groups for your trust in me.

I am keenly aware that the presidency entails both a glorious mission and important responsibilities. I will faithfully perform the duties vested in me by the Constitution, be loyal to the country and the people, fulfill all my duties, dedicate myself to public service, advance the interests of the people and the country, subject myself to public oversight, and live up to the trust you and the people of all ethnic groups in China have placed in me.

Fellow deputies,

The People's Republic of China has a splendid history. Led by the first generation of the Party's central collective leadership with Mao Zedong at the core, the second generation of central collective leadership with Deng Xiaoping at the core, the third generation of central collective leadership with Jiang Zemin at the core, and the CPC Central Committee with Hu Jintao as general secretary, the Chinese people of all ethnic groups have, making unremitting efforts one generation after another, surmounted all difficulties and obstacles on our way ahead and made world-renowned achievements.

Today, our People's Republic stands proud and firm in the East.

With his political wisdom, outstanding leadership and dedication, Comrade Hu Jintao made remarkable achievements in upholding and building socialism with Chinese characteristics during his ten years in office as Chinese president, and he won the heartfelt love of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and wide acclaim from all over the world. We express our sincere gratitude and great respect to him.

Fellow deputies,

The Chinese nation has an unbroken history of more than 5,000 years of civilization. It has created a rich and profound culture and has made an unforgettable contribution to the progress of human civilization. Over the course of several thousand years, what have closely bound us together, the 56 ethnic groups of China's 1.3-billion-plus people, are our indomitable struggles, the

beautiful homeland we have built together, and the national spirit we have nurtured together. Running through this history, most importantly, are the ideals and convictions that we share and hold dear.

Realizing the goals of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious, and achieving the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, will make China prosperous and strong, rejuvenate the nation, and bring happiness to the people. They both embody the ideals of the Chinese people today and represent our forefathers' glorious tradition of untiring pursuit of progress.

Facing the mighty tide of the times and the great expectations of the people for a better life, we must not become complacent or slacken off in the slightest. We must redouble our efforts and forge ahead relentlessly to advance the cause of building Chinese socialism and endeavor to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

– To realize the Chinese Dream, we must take our own path, which is the path of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. It is not an easy path. We are able to embark on this path thanks to the great endeavors of reform and opening up made in the past 30 years and more, the continuous quest made in the 60-plus years of the PRC, a thorough review of the evolution of the Chinese nation in its 170-plus years of modern history, and carrying forward the 5,000-plus years of Chinese civilization. This path is deeply rooted in history and broadly based on China's present realities. The Chinese nation has extraordinary capabilities, with which it has built the great Chinese civilization and with which we can expand and stay on the development path suited to China's national conditions. The people of all ethnic groups in China should have full confidence in the path, theory and system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and steadfastly forge ahead along the correct Chinese path.

– To realize the Chinese Dream, we must foster the Chinese spirit. It is the national spirit with patriotism at its core, and it is the spirit of the times with reform and innovation at its core. This spirit unites the people and pools their strength, and it is the source for rejuvenating and strengthening the country. Patriotism has always been the inner force that binds the Chinese nation together, and reform and innovation have always been the inner force that spurs us to keep abreast of the times in the course of reform and opening up. Our people of all ethnic groups must foster the great national spirit and follow the call of the times, strengthen our inner bond of unity and perseverance, and vigorously march towards the future.

– To realize the Chinese Dream, we must pool China's strength, that is, the strength of great unity among the people of all ethnic groups. The Chinese Dream is the dream of our nation and every Chinese. As long as we close ranks and pursue this common dream with great determination, we can create enormous strength to achieve it and enjoy vast space for each and every one of us to fulfill our own dreams. All the Chinese who live in our great country in this great age share the opportunity to pursue excellence, realize our dreams, and develop ourselves along with our

country. With a dream, opportunities and efforts, all beautiful things can be created. We the people of all ethnic groups in China should bear our mission in mind and make concerted efforts to turn the wisdom and strength of our 1.3 billion people into an invincible force.

The Chinese Dream is, in the final analysis, the dream of the people; so we must rely firmly on them to realize it, and we must steadily deliver benefits to them.

We must uphold the unity of Party leadership, the people's status as masters of the country, and the rule of law, maintain the principal position of the people, expand people's democracy, and promote law-based governance. We should uphold and improve the system of people's congresses as China's fundamental political system and the basic political systems of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, of regional ethnic autonomy, and of community-level self-governance. We should build a service-oriented, accountable, law-based and clean government, and fully motivate the people.

We should be guided by the strategic thinking that only development will make a difference, and steadfastly take economic development as the central task. We should comprehensively promote socialist economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental progress, further reform and opening up, boost balanced development, and continue to lay a solid material and cultural foundation for realizing the Chinese Dream.

We should always bear the people's aspirations in mind and be responsive to their expectations, ensure their equal rights to participate in governance and develop themselves, and uphold social fairness and justice. We should make steady progress in ensuring that all the people enjoy the rights to education, employment, medical services, elderly care, and housing; and we should continue to fulfill, uphold and develop the fundamental interests of all the people. All these efforts will enable our people to share fully and fairly the benefits of development and move steadily towards common prosperity on the basis of continued economic and social development.

We should consolidate and develop the broadest possible patriotic united front, strengthen our Party's unity and cooperation with other political parties and prominent individuals without party affiliation, consolidate and develop socialist ethnic relations based on equality, unity, mutual assistance and harmony, give full play to the positive role that religious leaders and believers play in promoting economic and social development, and do our utmost to rally all the possible forces around us.

Fellow deputies,

"One must both have great ambition and make tireless efforts to achieve great exploits." China is still in the primary stage of socialism and will remain so for a long time to come. There is still much to do and a long way to go before we can realize the Chinese Dream and create a better life for all our people, so every one of us should continue working towards this goal as hard as possible.

Workers, farmers and intellectuals throughout the country should give full rein to their talents, work diligently, and play a key role in promoting economic and social development. All employees of state agencies should selflessly act in the public interest, be honest and industrious, show concern for problems encountered by the people, and deliver practical services to them. All officers and men of the People's Liberation Army and the People's Armed Police Force should strive to build powerful armed forces that obey the Party's command, can fight and win, and maintain exemplary conduct. They should become better able to perform their mission, steadfastly uphold China's sovereignty, security and development interests, and resolutely protect the lives and property of the people. All the people working in the non-public sector of the economy and from New Social Groups should promote creativity and entrepreneurship through hard work, give back to society, bring benefits to the people, and become actively involved in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Young people should aim high, acquire more knowledge, temper their will, and make their formative years richly rewarding ones in an era of progress.

Our compatriots in the special administrative regions of Hong Kong and Macao should put the overall interests of the country and their regions first, and maintain and promote lasting prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao. Our compatriots in Taiwan and on the mainland should join hands in supporting, maintaining and promoting the peaceful growth of cross-Straits relations, improving the people's lives on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, and creating a new future for the Chinese nation. Overseas Chinese should carry forward the Chinese nation's fine traditions of diligence and kindness, and contribute to the development of the country and friendship between the Chinese people and the people in their host countries.

We Chinese are peace-loving people. We will uphold the principle of peace, development, cooperation and mutual benefit, stay firm in pursuing peaceful development, resolutely follow a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up, and continue to promote friendship and cooperation with other countries. We will fulfill our international responsibilities and obligations, and continue to work with the peoples of all other countries to advance humanity's lofty cause of peace and development.

Fellow deputies,

The CPC is the central force for leading and bringing together people of all ethnic groups in advancing the great cause of building Chinese socialism. It shoulders a historic mission and faces the tests of our times. We must uphold the principles that the Party should serve the public good and exercise power in the interests of the people, and that it should supervise its own conduct and operate under strict discipline. We must strengthen the Party in all respects, steadily improve the Party's leadership and governance, and make it better able to fight corruption, prevent degeneration and ward off risks. All our Party members, leading officials in particular, should be firm in our belief, always place the people above all else in our hearts, and carry forward the Party's fine traditions and conduct. We should firmly oppose form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance, resolutely combat corruption and other misconduct, preserve Communists' political integrity, and dedicate ourselves to the cause of the Party and the people.

Fellow deputies,

Achieving great goals requires perseverance. All political parties, people's organizations, ethnic groups, social strata, and people from all walks of life in China should rally more closely around the CPC Central Committee, comprehensively implement the guiding principles of the Party's 18th National Congress, follow the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development. We should remain modest and prudent, work hard, and forge ahead with determination to achieve new and greater victories in realizing a moderately prosperous society in all respects and accelerating socialist modernization, and thus make new and greater contribution to humanity.

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BUILD A STRONG MILITARY

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-23

BUILD A STRONG MILITARY*

March 11, 2013

Building a strong military is an ongoing quest of our Party. In every historical period, our Party set clear goals and targets to guide military development in a timely manner in response to the changing situation and evolving needs.

After extensive consultation and in-depth reflection, I proposed at an enlarged meeting of the Central Military Commission at the end of last year that we should strive to build people's armed forces that obey the Party's command, can fight and win, and maintain exemplary conduct. This is a summary of our Party's successful experience in building and running the armed forces in response to developments and changes in the international strategic situation and our national security environment, aimed to solve prominent problems in military development. Developing such forces is our Party's goal of building a strong military in the new era. This goal makes clear the priorities in military development. It is fundamental for the military to follow the Party's command, which determines the military's political orientation. It is vital for the military to be capable of fighting to win, which is the basic function of the military as well as the fundamental objective of its development. It is essential for the military to display exemplary conduct that demonstrates its nature, aspiration and character. Interrelated and inseparable, the three are consistent with the guiding philosophy and principles for building and running the military and consistent with the principle of building modern, revolutionary, and standardized armed forces. Our armed forces must understand this goal, bear it in mind in their efforts to promote military development, reform and preparation for military struggle, and bring national defense and military development to a new level.

As the armed forces that carry out the Party's political tasks, the military must follow the Party's command as the top priority to ensure that it is loyal, untarnished, and reliable. The military was founded by the Party. It has always been closely connected with the Party and has always acted and fought under its absolute leadership. Our Party is a Marxist party that serves the people wholeheartedly. Only by upholding the Party's absolute leadership over the military can we guarantee the nature of the military.

Over the past 80 years and more, our armed forces have maintained strong unity, cohesion, and combat effectiveness, withstood various tests, and won one victory after another. Fundamental to this is the strong leadership of the Party. Without it, the military will betray its duty. At any time and under any circumstances, we must ensure the absolute leadership of the Party over the military, which obeys the command of the Party, serves the people, follows the Party's theories, guidelines,

principles and policies, remains loyal to the Party, socialism, the country and the people, and acts upon the command of the Party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission in all its actions.

Hostile forces dream of breaching the “great wall” of our military. They use every means to infiltrate it ideologically, advocating that the military should be freed from Party control and its political influence, and come under the exclusive command of the government. In the final analysis, it is an attempt to drive a wedge between our armed forces and Party leadership. In addition, there have been changes in the composition of the armed forces, and some service personnel are unaware of the paramount importance of the principle – the Party must command the gun. We must take it seriously.

We must give priority to developing and managing the military ideologically and politically. The military should take the lead in studying and implementing the decisions of the 18th National Congress of the Party, further the education campaign on socialism with Chinese characteristics, and continue to foster core values among contemporary revolutionary service personnel. The military should develop an advanced military culture, carry out educational activities on convictions and principles, and organize officers and soldiers to study the history of the Party and the armed forces. The military should thereby be more confident and proactive in following the Party’s absolute leadership, which is the solid ideological and political foundation for officers and soldiers to follow the Party’s command. It is imperative to strengthen the Party’s role in the military, maintain the progressive and wholesome nature of Party members, and develop Party organizations at all levels to act as leadership core and play a decisive role in our work. In selecting and appointing officers, we must adopt the right approach. We should apply political convictions as a measure when reviewing and appointing officers to ensure that our weaponry is always in the hands of those who are reliable and loyal to the Party.

Since the military is first of all a fighting force, we must focus all our efforts on improving its ability to win battles. We are committed to the path of peaceful development; we will never seek hegemony or expansion or engage in aggression. But if anyone attempts to impose war on us, we must be able to secure a decisive victory. We long for peace, but will never sacrifice our legitimate rights or interests. Under no circumstances will we trade off the core interests of the country.

Only those who are able to fight can stop war; only when we are prepared for war can we prevent it; war will be upon us if we are weak – this is the dialectic of war and peace. No one would ever dare claim to be the greatest of all writers, but in battle, only one can emerge victorious. Our military is known for its high combat capabilities, and has achieved many glorious exploits.

At the same time, we must be aware that the standards of combat capability constantly evolve in practice. Therefore, our past success does not necessarily mean we are able to win battles now. We face two problems: Our military is not yet fully prepared to fight a modern war, and our military officers have potential for improvement in commanding a modern war.

We must focus on the key task of building a strong military which is able to fight to win, make sure that soldiers are capable of fighting, officers are capable of commanding, and troops are well trained. We must uphold combat capability as the sole and fundamental standard for military development. We should promote our military development and preparedness to meet the needs of war, being ready to fight and win at all times and in all circumstances.

We should improve strategic military guidance to keep pace with the times, raise combat readiness of our forces, focus on improving core military capabilities, make overall plans for developing our capacity in non-war military activities, and take effective measures to complete preparations as early as possible. We should accelerate informatization and make solid efforts to develop new combat forces and new and high-tech weapons and equipment. We will move faster to build modern logistics, train high-caliber military personnel, further reform national defense and the armed forces, and build a system of modern military forces with Chinese characteristics.

Military training is a rehearsal for possible wars which may break out in the future. It should be a clear direction of our armed forces. We will train our forces against strict and demanding standards to meet actual war needs, and strengthen military training under combat conditions, so that our military will be competent and strong enough to win battles.

In a relatively peaceful environment, our armed forces face a risk of mental laxity, and some officers and soldiers may slacken their efforts or drop their guard. Therefore, we must strengthen education on cultivating an indomitable fighting spirit, encouraging aspiration to heroism and tenacity in our armed forces, and maintain enthusiasm for revolution and a strong will to combat.

Exemplary conduct is a unique feature and the political strength of our military. Improving conduct must be a fundamental and long-term task to ensure solid political foundations for our people's armed forces. At all times, exemplary conduct can help build a heroic troop while slackness will lead to the destruction of previously victorious forces. Over the years, our armed forces have cultivated fine traditions and exemplary conduct. To pass down this invaluable legacy from generation to generation is of paramount importance for military development.

With the changes in the social environment, the military does not and cannot exist in a vacuum. Therefore, negative social practices inevitably manifest themselves in the military, and some vices constantly undermine our troops. Whether serious or mild, any illness must be treated in a timely manner. If concealed for fear of medical treatment, a mild illness will eventually become a serious one, or even a chronic one difficult to cure. Should this be allowed to happen, our army will lose its combat capability, let alone win battles. "Wood disintegrates if it becomes worm-ridden; a wall will collapse if the mortar perishes." If we fail to take timely action and adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude towards our problems, we will end up destroying the "great wall" of our forces. This is no exaggeration.

In accordance with the overall plans and decisions of the Central Military Commission, our armed forces are now working hard to improve their conduct, and have achieved preliminary results. However, this is just a start. It is always necessary to see things through from beginning to end, to ensure that no one treats these plans as a temporary measure, like a passing gust of wind. Now, the regulations and requirements that we have developed touch on some of the problems in our military, but some deep-seated problems have not yet been addressed.

Next, we must step up efforts to improve our working style, ensure good conduct in every aspect of military development and management, and stay realistic, grounded, and results-oriented. Our military must reinforce the basic principle of running the military strictly and in accordance with the law, and focus on enforcing discipline. We should resolutely fight against corruption and privileges, and combat and rectify the practices of form over substance, bureaucratism, falsification, extravagance, and waste. In doing this, we will merit our long-established reputation as the armed forces of the people. We must carry out a campaign on studying the Party Constitution and promoting exemplary conduct, follow the legacy of the Rectification Movement, and endeavor to solve major problems of great concern to officers and soldiers, especially unhealthy tendencies among soldiers.

The grassroots are the foundation of all our work and combat capability of our armed forces. Departments at all levels should be more aware of the importance of strengthening and consolidating the grassroots. They should focus their work on the grassroots and investigate and resolve prominent conflicts and problems at this level, so as to promote overall progress.

* Part of the speech at the plenary meeting of the People's Liberation Army delegation during the First Session of the 12th National People's Congress.

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THE EIGHT RULES – A CALL TO IMPROVE OUR WORK PRACTICES

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-20

THE EIGHT RULES – A CALL TO IMPROVE OUR WORK PRACTICES*

January 22, 2013

The challenge we face in improving our work practices is demanding. The Eight Rules provide us with a starting point and a call to improve them. These rules are not the highest standards nor our ultimate goal, but the first step and the basic requirements for Communists. “He who is good at governing through restraint should first restrain himself then others.” We officials at all levels must conduct ourselves in an exemplary fashion, take the lead in improving our work practices, and live up to our commitments, starting from myself and other members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. The people witness and remember every word and action of officials. They praise, support and follow those officials who show concern for them and work hard, but disparage, oppose and reject those who are slothful, dissipated and extravagant. Our financial strength is increasing, but we should never be extravagant or wasteful. We must practice frugality in all aspects of our work, and resolutely oppose waste, extravagance and hedonism. All officials should always keep in mind the interests of our people, pay more attention to people in need and in poverty-stricken areas, and be quick to offer them timely assistance. We should not waste resources by providing them with superfluous add-ons. In feudal society, “the rich wine and dine, the poor starve and die”. This will never be allowed to happen in our socialist country.

On January 15, I read a report submitted by Xinhua News Agency entitled “Netizens Urging the Elimination of Waste at the Dinner Table”. Every year more than RMB200 billion worth of food is wasted, equivalent to the annual food consumption for more than 200 million people. A research team from China Agricultural University analyzed leftovers from 2,700 tables of different sizes in three types of city – big, medium and small – and made this conservative estimate: In the catering industry alone, wasted protein in our country amounts to 8 million tonnes a year, equivalent to the needs of 260 million people, and wasted fat is 3 million tonnes, equivalent to the needs of 130 million people. In addition to the huge waste in catering, food waste is also very serious in daily life.

I think we may need further study to determine whether these figures are accurate, but the report did reveal a shocking and distressing waste of food and other things in our country. The main causes of the growing waste of food in wining and dining using public funds, business banquets and households are lack of supervision over the use of public funds and incorrect notions such as the richer the meal, the more hospitable the host.

All officials and the public have responded strongly to various forms of wasted food, particularly wining and dining using public funds. “With frugality comes restraint and good things; with luxury comes indulgence and bad things.” Thrift is our legacy and we shall never neglect it. We should carry forward the nation’s fine traditions of diligence and frugality, and advocate that economy is a matter of pride and waste a matter of shame. We should further promote these ideas, so that a healthy environment will develop to reduce waste. Party, government and military bodies at all levels, public institutions, people’s organizations and state-owned enterprises, and officials at all levels must set an example in strictly obeying the rules for official receptions, and in implementing all measures concerning thrift so as to completely eradicate waste in any activity that is paid for with public funds. In addition, supervisory measures should be strengthened, so that thrift is encouraged and waste is penalized. For this, the General Office of the CPC Central Committee has issued a notice. Party committees and governments at all levels should take effective measures to stop waste and must never relax their efforts in this regard. At present, we should pay special attention to such matters during the coming Spring Festival and the Two Sessions – the annual plenary sessions of the National People’s Congress and of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference.

All localities and departments must fully implement regulations on improving Party conduct, and implement these regulations in every aspect of our work. Higher-level departments must assume leadership and management responsibilities, and order their subordinates to rectify behaviors and practices that do not conform to regulations. Party committees and governments at all levels should implement all requirements, perform all duties in their daily work, and focus on solving the most prominent problems every year. The people’s satisfaction is the standard for measuring progress in improving our work practices. We must solicit extensive public views and suggestions, accept public assessment and scrutiny by the whole of society, and make improvements in areas where people have expressed dissatisfaction. The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the Party, the Ministry of Supervision and local Party discipline inspection commissions and government supervision departments at all levels must strengthen inspection and supervision to ensure that Party discipline is respected, accountability is maintained, and performance is ensured. We should tighten the accountability system, strictly implement regulations on disciplinary violations, and urge leadership bodies and leading officials at all levels to improve their way of work with strict discipline.

Problems relating to our work practices will persist or recur. Things will turn for the better if we make further efforts, otherwise problems will spread. Some people worry the Eight Rules may be temporary or merely a formality. There are reasons for this worry. Whether we are able to dispel this worry among officials and the public depends on what we do. The release of the Eight Rules is just a start. We need to make further efforts. In this regard, we should continue to work hard in the spirit of “leaving our mark in the steel we grasp and our print on the stone we tread”, and persevere in our actions till we achieve final success, rather than starting off full of sound and fury

and then tapering off in a whimper. We must encourage all Party members and the people to scrutinize power, and demonstrate to the people continuous and genuine results and changes to our work practices.

* Part of the speech at the Second Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

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ISSUES CONCERNING SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-18

ISSUES CONCERNING SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS*

January 5, 2013

First, socialism with Chinese characteristics is socialism and nothing else. The basic principles of scientific socialism must not be abandoned; otherwise, it is not socialism.

Our Party always emphasizes that Chinese socialism follows the basic principles of scientific socialism while incorporating Chinese characteristics adapted to the changing times. This demonstrates that socialism with Chinese characteristics is socialism and nothing else.

A country chooses its political system based on whether the system can resolve the critical challenges it faces. When the Chinese nation was plagued by poverty, debility and foreign abuse, it tried out various doctrines and ideas. The capitalist path failed, while reformism, liberalism, social Darwinism, anarchism, pragmatism, populism and syndicalism “took it in turns to enter the stage”. None of them resolved the problems of China’s future and destiny. It was Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought that helped the Chinese people to emerge from misery and to found the People’s Republic of China. It was socialism with Chinese characteristics that enabled China to achieve rapid development. Looking no further than the start of our reform and opening up, and especially after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the dramatic change in Eastern Europe, the world has seen endless dire predictions about China and regular assertions have been made foretelling “the collapse of China”. However, China has not collapsed; on the contrary, its overall strength has grown and the people’s living standards have improved. “The landscape here is beyond compare.” Both history and reality have shown us that only socialism could save China and only socialism with Chinese characteristics could bring development to China. This is a historical fact and the choice of the people.

In recent years there have been some voices, both in China and abroad, questioning the nature of Chinese socialism. Some define it as “capitalist socialism”, and some simply call it “state capitalism” or “new bureaucratic capitalism”. These are completely wrong. When we say that Chinese socialism is socialism, we mean that no matter how reform and opening up proceeds, we must pursue the path, theory and system of Chinese socialism and work to achieve new victories for Chinese socialism, as the Party made clear at its 18th National Congress. This means that under the leadership of the CPC and based on China’s realities, we must take economic development as the central task while adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles – keeping to the socialist path, upholding the people’s democratic dictatorship, upholding the leadership of the CPC, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the policy of reform and

opening up. It means that we must release and develop the productive forces, and develop socialist democracy, the socialist market economy, an advanced socialist culture, a harmonious socialist society, and a socialist eco-civilization. It means that we must promote well-rounded development of the individual, achieve prosperity for all, and make China a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious. It also means that we must uphold the fundamental political system – the system of people’s congresses; the basic political systems – the system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and the system of community-level self-governance; the socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics; and the basic economic system with public ownership playing the dominant role while developing together with other forms of ownership. This is Chinese socialism, embodying the basic principles of scientific socialism in the new era. If we abandoned these, our system would no longer be socialist in nature.

Deng Xiaoping once made the point clearly, “In carrying out our modernization programme we must proceed from Chinese realities. Both in revolution and in construction we should also learn from foreign countries and draw on their experience, but mechanical application of foreign experience and copying of foreign models will get us nowhere. We have had many lessons in this respect.” We did not fully copy the Soviet model in the past, nor can we now blindly copy the model of the West or of any other country. After the Cold War, many developing countries were forced to adopt the Western model, which led to political conflict, social unrest, and shattered livelihoods. These countries are still struggling to restore order. *Zhuang Zi* says, “Haven’t you heard the story of a young man from Shouling in the state of Yan learning the Handan walk in the state of Zhao? He failed to learn how to walk as do the people in Handan, and forgot how to walk in his own way. He had to go home on his hands and knees.” Never shall we forget how to develop in our way even if we learn from others. Our way is to adapt Marxism to the Chinese context and develop socialism in the Chinese way.

In recent years, with our growing national strength and international status, more discussions and studies have appeared on the Beijing Consensus, the Chinese model, and the Chinese path. Among them, we hear approval and appreciation. Some foreign scholars believe that China’s rapid development has challenged certain Western theories, and that a new Marxist theory is overturning the traditional Western theory. We always maintain that it is up to the people to choose the development path of their country. The Chinese model represents the path of Chinese socialism created by the Chinese people through their own endeavors. We are confident that as Chinese socialism progresses, our institutions will undoubtedly mature, the strengths of our system will become self-evident, and our development path will assuredly become wider and have greater impact on the world. We must have confidence in our path, our theory and our system. We must be as tenacious as bamboo, as described by Zheng Xie: “In the face of all blows, not bending low, it still stands fast. Whether from east, west, south or north the wind doth blast.”

Second, the process by which the people build socialism under the leadership of the Party can be divided into two phases – one that preceded the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, and a second thereafter. The two phases – at once related to and distinct from each other – both mark endeavors of the Chinese people to build socialism under the Party's leadership. Chinese socialism was initiated after the launch of reform and opening up and based on more than 20 years of experience after the socialist system was established in the 1950s. There are three aspects to this issue.

One, if our Party had not taken a resolute decision to launch the policy of reform and opening up in 1978, or had failed to implement it in full, or had failed to steer it in the correct direction, socialist China would not have made the progress we can see today and would have experienced serious crises like those that afflicted the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. It would also have been difficult to advance reform and opening up if we had not founded the PRC in 1949 and then launched socialist revolution and construction, which created favorable theoretical, material and institutional conditions and left us with both positive and negative experiences to draw on.

Two, although the two phases are very different in their guiding thoughts, principles, policies, and practical work, they are by no means separated from or opposed to each other. During socialist construction our Party put forward many sound proposals, which were not implemented at that time but have been carried out since the launch of reform and opening up. We must follow and develop them in the future. Karl Marx said a long time ago, "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."

Three, we should conduct a proper assessment of the phase preceding the launch of reform and opening up. We should neither negate the pre-1978 phase in comparison with the post-1978 phase, nor the converse. In the pre-1978 phase we accumulated the experience and know-how that created the conditions necessary for the post-1978 phase, and our experience since then is a continuation, adjustment and development of the former. In our assessment of the period leading up to 1978 we should adhere to the principles of seeking truth from facts and distinguishing the trunk from the branches. We should uphold truth, rectify our errors, and draw on our successes and failures. These are the foundations that will allow us to advance the cause of the Party and the people.

The reason I have highlighted this major political issue is that if not properly addressed, it will have serious consequences. A Qing Dynasty scholar said, "To destroy a country, you must first obliterate its history." Hostile forces inside and outside our country often cast aspersions on the history of our revolution and the PRC, trying every means to attack, denigrate and vilify us. Their ultimate aim is to confuse our people and encourage their followers to overthrow CPC leadership and our socialist system.

One important reason for the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the downfall of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was that the ferocity of their ideological struggle resulted in total negation of the history of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, repudiation of Vladimir Lenin and Joseph Stalin, and the embracing of historical nihilism. Due to the resulting ideological confusion, CPSU organizations at all levels no longer played their role, and the troops no longer followed CPSU leadership. Ultimately the CPSU fell apart, and the socialist Soviet Union disintegrated. Their failure must serve as a lesson to us.

Deng Xiaoping pointed out, “On no account can we discard the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. To do so would, in fact, be to negate the glorious history of our Party. On the whole, the Party’s history is glorious. Our Party has also made big mistakes in the course of its history, including some in the three decades since the founding of New China, not least, so gross a mistake as the ‘Cultural Revolution’. But after all, we did triumph in the revolution. It is since the birth of the People’s Republic that China’s status in the world has been so greatly enhanced. It is since the founding of the People’s Republic that our great country, with nearly a quarter of the world’s population, has stood up – and stood firm – in the community of nations.” He further emphasized, “The appraisal of Comrade Mao Zedong and the exposition of Mao Zedong Thought relate not only to Comrade Mao personally but also to the entire history of our Party and our country. We must keep this overall judgment in mind. ... It’s not merely a theoretical question that is involved but also and especially a political question of great domestic and international significance.” These remarks reveal the broad mind and vision of this Marxist statesman. Imagine what would have happened if Mao Zedong had been completely repudiated. Could our Party have stood firm? Could our socialist system have stood firm? The answers are no and no. And it would cause unrest in our country. For this reason, it is not only a historic matter but more importantly a political issue to properly assess the relationship between our experience before 1978 and after. I suggest that you re-read the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China.

Third, Marxism will not remain stagnant, and it will certainly keep up with the times, practical experience, and the advance of science. Socialism too always advances through practice. Developing Chinese socialism is a great cause. Deng Xiaoping defined some basic thoughts and principles on the subject. The third generation of the Party’s central collective leadership with Jiang Zemin at its core, and later the Central Committee with Hu Jintao as general secretary, also added outstanding chapters to it. Now, the job of the Communists of our generation is to continue with this mission.

Over the past three decades, we made enormous progress in developing Chinese socialism. Together with the conditions we created in the earlier years of the PRC, this forms the foundations for Chinese socialism to stand firm and develop sustainably. We have reached a new and profound level in our understanding of socialism and the development dynamics of Chinese socialism. There is no doubt about this. At the same time, we must be aware that we are still in the primary stage of socialism, that we face many problems that must be understood and solved, and

that we need to expand our understanding of major issues and find better solutions to them. There is no doubt about this either. Understanding is a process. Our understanding of socialism, which we have practiced for only some decades, is still limited and needs to be extended and broadened.

To uphold Marxism and socialism and apply Marxist theory in analyzing new developments and solving practical problems, we must adopt a developmental perspective and focus on reform, opening up, modernization, and our current undertakings. We have said that there is no development path or model that can be applied universally or remains carved in stone. The progress we have made in theory and practice will help us better face and tackle the problems arising on our way forward, but they should not be a reason for complacency, far less an obstacle to future progress.

The further our cause advances, the more questions and problems will arise, the more risks and challenges will emerge, and the more unexpected events will occur. We must remain vigilant and guard against all risks, even in times of peace. Freeing our minds, seeking truth from facts, and advancing with the times constitute the enduring spirit of Marxism and the fundamental theoretical tool for us to adapt to new circumstances, understand new things, and fulfill new tasks. With officials taking the lead, all Party members must remain committed to the Marxist view on development, treat practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, and apply their initiative and creativity. We must be clearly aware of what is changing and what remains constant inside and outside China and in the Party. Never should we hesitate to blaze new trails, bridge rivers, forge ahead with determination, and audaciously explore new territory. We should have the courage and ability to address pressing issues in our work and remove doubts in people's minds. We should drive reform and opening up to a deeper level, make new discoveries, create new ideas, achieve new progress, and promote theoretical, practical and institutional innovation.

Fourth, our Party remains committed to communism as our ultimate goal. Party members, particularly leading officials, should maintain a firm belief in the high ideal of communism and the common ideal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and pursue them with dedication. Belief in Marxism and faith in socialism and communism are the political soul of Communists and the source of our strength, enabling us to withstand all tests. The Constitution of the Communist Party of China stipulates that the Party's highest ideal and ultimate goal is the realization of communism. It also states that the highest ideal of communism can be realized only when socialist society is fully developed and highly advanced. It is unrealistic to dream of realizing communism overnight.

Deng Xiaoping noted, "It will take a very long historical period to consolidate and develop the socialist system, and it will require persistent struggle by many generations, a dozen or even several dozens." Several dozens of generations – what a long time! It is but 70-plus generations from Confucius to the present day. This conclusion eloquently proves how sober-minded Chinese Communists are. We must understand that our efforts and those of future generations are all aimed at the realization of communism as the ultimate goal. At the same time, we must be aware

that the realization of communism is a long process, which requires us to achieve the Party's targets for the present stage and advance our cause with pragmatism. If we abandon the ideal of communism, we will lose our way and get obsessed with immediate results and benefits.

Chinese socialism unifies the Party's ultimate goal and basic program. The basic program of Chinese socialism is, in short, to build China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious. It is based on the fact that our country is still in the primary stage of socialism and will remain so for a long time to come. It does not deviate from our Party's highest ideal. We must have a firm conviction in the path of Chinese socialism and uphold the lofty ideal of communism. We must be rigorous in implementing the Party's basic program and guidelines in the primary stage of socialism, and do all our work well.

Our revolutionary ideals are of the greatest importance. A Party member devoid of ideals lacks an essential quality – as does one who engages in empty talk about lofty ideals without doing anything. Throughout the history of our Party, generations of Party members, inspired by their ideals and convictions, have sacrificed themselves for national independence and the people's liberation. They were fully aware that the ideals they were pursuing would not be realized by their generation, but they were convinced that these ideals would be realized through the continuous efforts and sacrifices of generation after generation. As Xia Minghan wrote, "I will hold to my beliefs even at the cost of my life."

There are objective criteria to measure the commitment of Party members and officials to the ideal of communism. Do they uphold the Party's fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly? Are they the first to bear hardship and the last to enjoy comfort? Do they work hard and remain honest? And can they make every possible effort and even lay down their lives for the ideal of communism? Dubious ideas, hedonistic desires, self-serving acts, and passive attitudes – all are at odds with this goal.

Some people think that communism is beyond our reach and even that it is illusory. This opinion involves a choice between historical materialism and historical idealism. Some of our colleagues think our ideal is unattainable and thus waver in their conviction. The fundamental reason is their lack of faith in historical materialism. We must educate and guide Party members and officials to work towards both the common ideal of Chinese socialism and the high ideal of communism with faith and dedication. With firm ideals and convictions, they will have a clearer perspective, broader vision, and a more open mind. Thus they can maintain the right political direction and avoid complacency or imprudence in times of success, and despondency or wavering in times of adversity. They can emerge victorious from trials of risk and difficulty, resist the corrosive influence of corrupt ideas, and forever preserve the political character of Communists.

Reality has proved again and again that Karl Marx and Frederick Engels' analysis of the fundamental contradiction in capitalist society is not obsolete, nor is the viewpoint of historical materialism that capitalism is doomed to failure and socialism will prevail. It is an irreversible trend of social development, but the process will be tortuous. It will be a long process that leads to the

demise of capitalism and the victory of socialism. We must understand in depth the self-regulating capacity of capitalist society and fully recognize the objective reality that developed Western countries will dominate the economic, scientific, technological and military fields for a long time. We must prepare ourselves for long-term cooperation and rivalry between the two social systems.

For a long time to come, China as a developing country in the primary stage of socialism must cooperate and contend with capitalist countries that possess more developed productive forces, and learn thoroughly and draw inspiration from the achievements of their civilizations. We must even face criticism of the weaknesses in our socialist development in comparison with the strengths of developed Western countries. We must have full confidence in our strategies, resolutely resist all demands to abandon socialism, and actively correct erroneous ideas that go beyond our current stage. The most important thing is that we focus on our own development to increase our national strength, improve our people's lives, and develop socialism that has more strengths than capitalism, so as to lay a solid foundation for us to seize the initiative, win the competitive edge, and secure our future.

Through the foregoing analyses, we are more aware that the path of development is the paramount question for the future of the Party and the success of its cause. Mao Zedong observed, "A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the revolutionary party leads them astray." Throughout the years of revolution, construction and reform, our Party proceeded from reality to explore new paths, achieved successes through the New Democratic Revolution (1919-1949), socialist transformation and socialist construction, and eventually opened up the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This spirit of independence and self-reliance and this resolve to pursue our own path have enabled our Party to recover from setbacks and go from strength to strength. As Lu Xun said, "The earth had no roads to begin with, but when many people pass one way, a road is made."

Chinese socialism integrates the theory of scientific socialism with the long-term dynamics of China's social development. It has taken root in China. It reflects the wishes of the people and meets the needs of the country and the times. It is a sure route to success in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, in accelerating socialist modernization, and in rejuvenating the Chinese nation. As long as we pursue our own independent path and firmly uphold and develop Chinese socialism, we will succeed in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the centenary of the CPC in 2021 and in building China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the centenary of the PRC in 2049.

* Part of the speech at a study session on implementing the guiding principles of the 18th CPC National Congress, attended by members and alternate members of the newly elected 18th CPC Central Committee.

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POVERTY ELIMINATION IN POOR AREAS – KEY TO PROSPERITY

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POVERTY ELIMINATION IN POOR AREAS – KEY TO PROSPERITY*

December 29, 2012

The purpose of my current tour is to visit the people of this old revolutionary base area. Located in the heart of the Taihang Mountains, Fuping County is a renowned old revolutionary base area and part of the Yanshan-Taihang contiguous impoverished area. It is thus very representative of its type. I have long looked forward to coming here and visiting local folks, learning about the work and life of those in need, and consulting with you on ways out of poverty and into prosperity. In making an inspection tour, we should inform ourselves about deep poverty and understand the true conditions in poverty-stricken areas through typical cases, that is, to see the whole picture from a look at a part. This is the basis for correct policy-making. Any attempt to gloss over destitution and showcase phony prosperity will undermine our efforts against poverty. Some places are poor for multiple reasons. This does not mean you have underperformed in your work. Do not worry about this.

From the documents that I read before setting out and from your work report just now, I have built a comprehensive understanding of Fuping's history, basic conditions, and social and economic development. In recent years, you have made further progress in economic development, improving people's wellbeing, social governance, eco-tourism, development-driven poverty alleviation, grassroots Party development, and many other areas. Living and working here for years and fearing no hardships, you have done a great deal to make the county a better place. Here, I would like to extend my sincere greetings to you, and via you, to all the 210,000 people across the county.

Fuping is a place with a glorious history of revolution. It was the capital of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei base area – the first anti-Japanese aggression base area established by our Party and armed forces in enemy-occupied territory – and the political, military and cultural center of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei border area. Marshal Nie Rongzhen (1899-1992) and some other veteran revolutionaries fought and lived here for 11 years. In April 1948, Chairman Mao led the Party's central departments to Chengnan Village of Fuping from northern Shaanxi. Here, an enlarged meeting of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee was held, at which the strategy for the southern front was adjusted, laying solid foundations for the victory of the People's Liberation Army over the Kuomintang forces in the three major campaigns during the War of Liberation (1946-1950). The Party and the nation will never forget the enormous contribution made by Fuping and its people to victory in the Chinese revolution.

I harbor a deep affection towards Marshal Nie. The primary school I attended – Beijing Bayi Primary School – was formerly Rongzhen Primary School in Chengnan Village. It was later relocated from Fuping to Beijing. Marshal Nie cared for Fuping very much. He once said that he would die with everlasting regret if the county remained in poverty. Speaking of the straitened circumstances of the local people, he shed tears. I heard of this when I worked in Fuzhou City, Fujian Province. Therefore, Fuping made a deep impression on me from a young age. This is the source of my affection for the county.

In recent years, Hebei Province, Baoding City, and Fuping County have all made great efforts and achieved great progress in development-driven poverty alleviation. This is praiseworthy. However, due to unfavorable natural conditions, underdeveloped transport infrastructure, and the difficult work and living conditions here as compared with those of the areas on the plain, Fuping is still quite poor. The documents provided by your county show that among the 210,000 people of the entire county, 90,000 are living below the poverty line, a considerable proportion. Thus the task of development-driven poverty alleviation is still daunting. Needless to say, the moderate prosperity in all respects that we aim to achieve by 2020 entails all-round moderate prosperity in rural areas, particularly in old revolutionary base areas and poverty-stricken areas. Thus the Central Committee of the Party is particularly concerned about the development of such areas.

Since reform and opening up was introduced over 30 years ago, great achievements have been secured in the economic and social development of our country, and the people's overall living conditions have substantially improved. We are now much better off than any time in the past. However, we must be clear that China, a vast country with imbalanced development between different regions, is still in the primary stage of socialism, so the population living in poverty is still quite large. More than 120 million rural people in our country are still living below the national poverty line – an annual per capita income of RMB2,300. That is why we believe that China remains a developing country in the international community and that it should only take on international commitments commensurate with its status. There are also a large number of poor urban residents in our country. A question on my mind is how to support them and help them to lead a better life.

Eradicating poverty, improving the people's lives, and achieving common prosperity are essential tasks of socialism. Currently, a majority of people in our country are living a much better life than in the past. Middle- and high-income groups have emerged, but there are still large numbers of low-income people. Those we must help are those on a low income. Disparities tend to be masked by averages. In 2006, the year before I left office in Zhejiang Province, the per capita disposable income of urban residents exceeded RMB18,200, and the per capita net income of rural residents surpassed RMB7,300, but people with an income below the average accounted for more than 40 percent of the total population, a large number indeed.

We should pay close attention to people in straitened circumstances and extend our concern to them with respect and care. We should keep their needs and sufferings in mind and do our best to solve their problems. One of the poems by Zheng Banqiao goes:

*When I hear the rustle of bamboo leaves outside my study,
I feel it is the wails of hungry people;
For petty county officials like us,
Every concern of the people weighs in our heart.*

We CPC members, more than anyone else, should share this kind of concern about the people's difficulties. We must have a heart of compassion and love, show greater care for people in want, and continue to improve the lives of all the people.

In building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, the most arduous tasks are in rural areas, particularly in impoverished rural areas. This goal cannot be considered complete unless these areas have reached moderate prosperity. We should have a thorough understanding of this. Therefore we must be clearer about the importance of doing a successful job in development-driven poverty alleviation, and strengthen our sense of responsibility and mission in this regard.

The CPC Central Committee attaches great importance to development-driven poverty alleviation. Specific requirements were set out for this work at the Party's 18th National Congress and the recent Central Conference on Economic Work and Central Conference on Rural Work. At the Central Conference on Poverty Alleviation and Development last year, the Central Committee planned for the next 10 years of development-driven poverty alleviation work and introduced policies and measures for faster development of impoverished areas.

Through intensified development-driven poverty alleviation, we will help people in need, especially those in old revolutionary base areas and impoverished mountainous areas, to emerge from poverty and achieve prosperity as soon as possible. We are committed to ensuring that by 2020 those who are now below the poverty line will have stable access to adequate food and clothing, to compulsory education, to basic medical services, and to safe housing. These are the goals established by the Central Committee. We must increase investment, focus on contiguous impoverished areas, and make a priority of ensuring that people who are in poverty now will have adequate food and clothing, will emerge from poverty, and will become prosperous at the earliest possible stage. The government should provide guidance to poverty-alleviation programs and coordinate development efforts. It will give particular attention to enabling impoverished people and areas to develop on their own. It will address the outstanding problems which hinder development, and will work to expedite the economic and social development of poverty-stricken areas.

* Part of the speech during a visit to Fuping County, Hebei Province on development-driven poverty alleviation.

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REFORM AND OPENING UP KNOWS NO BOUNDS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-13

REFORM AND OPENING UP KNOWS NO BOUNDS*

December 7-11, 2012

Currently, China is facing a range of prominent problems and challenges in its further development. To resolve them, we must drive reform to a deeper level and open wider to the outside world. At the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Central Committee emphasized that we must show greater political courage and wisdom, lose no time in furthering reform in key areas, build a complete set of effective and standardized systems, and ensure that all our systems are more mature and better-defined. This is a new declaration and mobilization order for the whole Party and the entire nation to extend reform and opening up in the decisive stage of achieving all-round moderate prosperity.

China's reform and opening up has entered a tough stage characterized by unforeseeable challenges. In furthering reform, we must adopt a systematic, holistic and coordinated approach, particularly in major fields and at key links. Here, I would like to emphasize four requirements – stay confident, build consensus, improve overall planning, and coordinate all endeavors.

Staying confident means advancing reform and opening up with firm resolve. Reform and opening up has been a crucial move in making China what it is today, and is an essential step in realizing the Two Centenary Goals and national rejuvenation. It remains a powerful instrument in accomplishing all our current undertakings. Development knows no bounds. Intellectual emancipation knows no bounds. Reform and opening up knows no bounds; stasis and regression lead only to complete failure.

Despite the daunting problems and difficulties facing our reform, we must press ahead without faltering. We should show courage in cracking hard nuts, steering the right course, and navigating uncharted waters. We will fear nothing in breaking free from ideological shackles and challenging vested interests. On the road of reform and opening up, we will never stop.

Our reform and opening up is proceeding in the right direction. We have taken a clear stance, and are following sound principles. Some people claim that reform in the real sense must be oriented towards Western universal values and political systems. This is false positioning of concepts. It is a misinterpretation of reform in China. Our reform carries the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Along this road, we will neither retrace our steps to the rigidity and isolation of the past, nor take the wrong turn by changing our nature and abandoning our system.

Building consensus means creating synergy for reform and opening up. As an old Chinese saying goes, “When people work with one mind, they can even move Mount Tai.” Without broad consensus, reform can neither proceed smoothly nor achieve success. Today, as China’s economic system, social structure, interest relationships, and ideological values are undergoing profound change, it is increasingly difficult to build consensus for further reform and to balance the interests of different social groups. These difficulties require a greater effort in order to broaden consensus.

Building consensus is of great importance, particularly in seeking the widest possible convergence of interests where there are disagreements. Once reached, among our 1.3 billion people, including 82 million Party members, plus our overseas compatriots, this consensus is in itself a great strength. Nevertheless, we should acknowledge that different views indeed exist in different localities, fields, sectors, and social strata. So we must consider where we can seek common ground, where we can convert disagreement into agreement through discussion, and where we can reserve differences. By finding the convergence of interests and creating synergy for reform and opening up, we can yield twice the result with half the effort.

Sharpening a hatchet will not slow down the work of cutting firewood. We should take our time to broaden consensus, as patience allows one to work out good solutions to a problem. Pilot reform programs serve as a test for different views and proposals. We should respect the people’s creativity and maximize collective wisdom. To forge a powerful synergy for deeper reform and wider opening up, we must unite all the forces that can be united inside and outside the Party, and mobilize all the positive elements that can be mobilized inside and outside the country.

Improving overall planning means making decision-making for reform more rational. One who does not plan for the whole cannot plan for the part. As China has reached this stage in reform, we must strengthen top-level design and overall planning for deeper all-round reform based on in-depth research and studies. In elaborating our plans, we must specify the focus, objectives, priorities, directions, mechanisms and approaches. We must formulate master plans, road maps, and timetables. These tasks should be in compliance with the Two Centenary Goals. To realize the Two Centenary Goals, we must rely on reform and opening up and adopt corresponding measures.

Top-level design refers to overall planning for economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental systems. To this end, we must analyze and assess the relationships between all our reform endeavors, ensuring policy compatibility between part and whole, addressing both symptoms and root causes, and striving for both short-term breakthroughs and steady long-term progress. Deeper reform requires a differentiated approach based on an accurate assessment of the problem – we should remove institutional barriers to ensure smooth policy implementation, and at the same time reinforce our fundamental systems and institutions to build up our strength, so as to maximize the impact of all our reform endeavors.

Coordinating all endeavors means improving the consistency between all reform measures. Our reform has always been comprehensive. I do not agree with the general comment that China's reform lags behind in some respects. The reform process has indeed been quicker or slower in some fields and for certain periods of time, but on the whole, it is not true to say that some fields have seen reform while other fields have not. The real question is what to reform and what not. Those areas that cannot be and have not been reformed will remain so, no matter how long we have spent on overall reform, and this should not be regarded as a failure to reform in these areas.

Currently, all our major reform initiatives are interrelated, and this requires comprehensive decision-making and coordinated implementation. In this sense, we should not give excess weight to any single reform, as breakthroughs in a single field are hard to achieve. Instead, we should resolutely advance those reforms that we have targeted, striving to achieve results as early as possible. Concerning those reforms that cover a wide range of fields, we should integrate relevant supporting reforms and increase their synergy. Concerning those reforms in which we cannot yet see progress but must make breakthroughs, we should launch pilot programs and draw experience from practice, encouraging bold exploration and innovation to open new routes and roll out successful experience.

"Crossing a river by feeling for stones" is a reform approach with distinctive Chinese characteristics and suited to China's actual conditions. It is not the case that this approach was only practicable in the early stage of reform and can no longer be applied today. Why? In governing a vast and populous country, we must never make fatal mistakes on fundamental issues, because such mistakes are irreversible and irremediable. But neither will we stand still and reject reform, because this would represent rigidity, isolation and conservatism. So what should we do? We should estimate the depth of the well by dropping a rock into it. Once we have gained experience from pilot programs and reached consensus on feasible approaches, we can extend the scope of reform when the time is ripe. The strengths of progressive reform lie in the fact that small victories combine to form big ones.

Looking back at the past 30-plus years of reform and opening up, we all recognize that China has undergone dramatic changes. Henry Kissinger once told me that before his icebreaking trip to China, he had thought of the possible changes that might take place in China and made plans to improve US-China relations, but today's China has gone far beyond his imagination and expectations.

In pursuing reform, we must always guard against confusion that could lead to disarray. Rather, we will build greater confidence in our socialist path, theory and system. Governing a huge country is as delicate as cooking a small fish. Good governance of a huge country depends on consistency in policies. Endless changes do not represent new thoughts but unsound practices. Such an approach is unwise and will not work.

* Part of the speech during a visit to Guangdong Province.

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NATIONAL REJUVENATION – GREATEST DREAM OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-11

NATIONAL REJUVENATION – GREATEST DREAM OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE*

November 29, 2012

The exhibition “The Road to Rejuvenation” is about the past, present and future of the Chinese nation, and it is a highly educational and inspiring one. In the old days, the Chinese people went through hardships as grueling as storming a pass like “a wall of iron”. Our nation’s sufferings and sacrifices after the 1840s were rarely seen in the history of the world. However, we Chinese never yielded. We waged indomitable struggles and succeeded in becoming masters of our own destiny. Imbued with the national spirit of patriotism, we have launched the great cause of building the country. Today, the Chinese nation is undergoing profound changes, akin to witnessing “seas become mulberry fields”. Having reviewed our historical experience and made painstaking efforts to probe our way forward in the past 30 years and more since the reform and opening-up process was started, we have finally embarked on the right path to achieve the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and made impressive achievements in this pursuit. This path is one for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In the future, the Chinese nation will “forge ahead like a gigantic ship breaking through strong winds and heavy waves”. Our struggles in the over 170 years since the Opium War of 1840 have created bright prospects for achieving the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. We are now closer to this goal, and we are more confident and capable of achieving it than at any other time in history.

Reviewing the past, all Party members must bear in mind that backwardness left us vulnerable to attack, whereas only development makes us strong.

Looking at the present, all Party members must bear in mind that the path we take determines our destiny and that we must resolutely keep to the right path that we have found through great difficulties.

Looking ahead at the future, all Party members must bear in mind that we still have a long way to go and much hard work to do before we can turn our blueprint into reality.

Everyone has an ideal, ambition and dream. We are now all talking about the Chinese Dream. In my opinion, achieving national rejuvenation has been the greatest dream of the Chinese people in the modern era. This dream embodies the long-cherished hope of several generations of the Chinese people, gives expression to the overall interests of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people, and represents the shared aspiration of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation.

History shows that the future and destiny of each and every one of us are closely linked to those of our country and nation. One can do well only when one's country and nation do well. Achieving national rejuvenation is both a glorious and arduous mission that requires the dedicated efforts of the Chinese people one generation after another. Empty talk harms the country, while hard work makes it flourish. Our generation of Communists should draw on past progress and chart a new course for the future. We should strengthen the Party, rally all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation around us in a common effort to build our country and develop our nation, and continue to boldly advance towards national rejuvenation.

I firmly believe that the goal of bringing about a moderately prosperous society in all respects can be achieved by 2021, when the CPC celebrates its centenary; the goal of building China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious can be achieved by 2049, when the PRC marks its centenary; and the dream of the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation will then be realized.

* Speech made when visiting the exhibition "The Road to Rejuvenation".

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THE PEOPLE'S ASPIRATION FOR A BETTER LIFE IS OUR GOAL

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-09

THE PEOPLE'S ASPIRATION FOR A BETTER LIFE IS OUR GOAL*

November 15, 2012

We have just held the First Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee and elected a new central leadership. I was elected general secretary of the Central Committee. On behalf of the members of the newly elected leadership, I wish to express our thanks to all other members of the Party for their trust in us. We will do our utmost to live up to the trust of the people and fulfill our mission.

We are deeply encouraged by both the trust from the Party members and the great expectations from the people of all ethnic groups in China, and we are keenly aware that this is also our important responsibility.

We are taking on this important responsibility for the nation. Ours is a great nation. Throughout 5,000 years of development, the Chinese nation has made a significant contribution to the progress of human civilization. After the Opium War of 1840, our nation went through untold tribulations and faced its greatest perils. Countless people with lofty ideals rose up for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, but each time they failed. After it was founded in 1921 the CPC rallied and led the Chinese people in making great sacrifices, forging ahead against all odds, and transforming poor and backward China into an increasingly prosperous and strong nation, thus opening completely new horizons for national rejuvenation.

Our responsibility is to rally and lead the entire Party and the people of all China's ethnic groups in taking on this task and continuing to pursue the goal of the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, so that China can stand firmer and stronger among the world's nations and make a new and greater contribution to humanity.

We are taking on this important responsibility for the people. Our people are a great people. During the long history the Chinese people have worked with diligence, bravery and wisdom, creating a beautiful homeland where all ethnic groups live in harmony and developing a great and dynamic culture. Our people have an ardent love for life. They want to have better education, more stable jobs, more income, reliable social security, better medical and health care, improved housing conditions, and a beautiful environment. They hope that their children will have sound growth, good jobs, and more enjoyable lives. The people's aspiration for a better life is our goal. A better life comes from hard work. Our responsibility is to bring together and lead the whole Party

and the people of all ethnic groups to free their minds, carry on with reform and opening up, further unfetter and develop the productive forces, solve the people's problems in work and life, and pursue common prosperity.

We are taking on this important responsibility for the Party. Dedicated to serving the people, our Party has led them in making remarkable achievements, which we have every reason to be proud of. Nevertheless, we should never be complacent and rest on our laurels. Under new circumstances our Party faces many severe challenges as well as many pressing issues within the Party that need to be addressed, particularly corruption, disengagement from the people, form over substance, and bureaucratism on the part of some Party officials. We must make every effort to solve such problems. The whole Party must stay on full alert. "It takes a good blacksmith to forge good tools." Our responsibility is to work with all Party members to uphold the principle that the Party should supervise its own conduct and govern itself with strict discipline, effectively solve major problems within the Party, improve its working practices, and maintain close ties with the people. By so doing, our Party will always serve as the strong leadership core in advancing socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The people are the creators of history. They are the real heroes and the source of our strength. We are fully aware that the capability of any individual is limited, but as long as we unite as one like a fortress, there is no difficulty we cannot overcome. One can only work for a limited period of time, but there is no limit to serving the people with dedication. Our responsibility is weightier than mountains, our task arduous, and the road ahead long. We must always stand with the people in all circumstances, work with them wholeheartedly for the public good, live up to their expectations, and fulfill our historic mission.

* Main part of the speech at the press conference by members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

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UPHOLD SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS AND STRIVE IN UNITY TO BUILD A MODERN SOCIALIST COUNTRY IN ALL RESPECTS

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Xi Jinping Volume I* Updated: 2024-12-06

UPHOLD SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS AND STRIVE IN UNITY TO BUILD A MODERN SOCIALIST COUNTRY IN ALL RESPECTS*

October 16, 2022

Comrades,

On behalf of the 19th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), I will now deliver a report to the 20th National Congress.

The 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China is a meeting of great importance. It takes place at a critical time as the entire Party and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups embark on a new journey to build China into a modern socialist country in all respects and advance towards the Second Centenary Goal.

The theme of this Congress is: Uphold socialism with Chinese characteristics, fully implement the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, carry forward the great founding spirit of the Party, stay confident and build strength, uphold fundamental principles and break new ground, forge ahead with enterprise and fortitude, and strive in unity to build a modern socialist country in all respects and advance the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts.

Since its founding a century ago, the Communist Party of China has taken a remarkable journey. Our Party has dedicated itself to achieving lasting greatness for the Chinese nation and committed itself to the noble cause of peace and development for humanity. Our responsibility is unmatched in importance, and our mission is glorious beyond compare. It is imperative that all of us in the Party never forget our original aspiration and founding mission, that we always stay modest, prudent and hard-working, and that we have the courage and ability to carry on our fight. We must remain confident in our history, exhibit greater initiative, and write an even more magnificent chapter for socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

I. The Work of the Past Five Years and the Great Changes in the First Decade of the New Era

The five years since the 19th National Congress have been truly momentous and extraordinary. The Party Central Committee has pursued a strategy of national rejuvenation amid global changes of a magnitude not seen in a century. It has convened seven plenary sessions, at which it adopted decisions and resolutions on major issues such as revising China's Constitution, deepening

reform of Party and state institutions, upholding and improving the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernizing China's system and capacity for governance, formulating the 14th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development and the Long-Range Objectives Through the Year 2035, and conducting a thorough review of the Party's major achievements and historical experience over the past century. At these sessions, major strategic plans were also made for advancing the cause of the Party and the country. The Central Committee has brought together the entire Party, the military, and the Chinese people and led them in effectively responding to grave, intricate international developments and a series of immense risks and challenges. With great effort and determination, we have steadily advanced socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

Over the past five years, we have continued to strengthen the overall leadership of the Party and the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee. We have devoted great energy to finishing building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. We have fully and faithfully applied the new development philosophy on all fronts, focused on promoting high-quality development, and worked to create a new development dynamic. We have pursued reform at a swift and steady pace, made solid progress in developing whole-process people's democracy, and advanced law-based governance across all fields of endeavor. We have actively developed advanced socialist culture. We have ensured and improved public wellbeing as a matter of priority and pooled resources to wage a critical battle against poverty. We have made a big push to enhance ecological conservation. We have worked with firm resolve to safeguard national security, fended off and defused major risks, and ensured social stability. We have devoted great energy to modernizing our national defense and the armed forces. We have conducted major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics on all fronts. And we have made sweeping efforts to advance the great new project of strengthening the Party.

We celebrated the centenary of the Communist Party of China and the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. We adopted the third resolution concerning the Party's history, organized Party-wide activities to study Party history, and inaugurated the Museum of the Communist Party of China. We called upon all Party members to study and apply the great founding spirit of the Party, and we encouraged them to create a brighter future by staying true to the Party's founding mission with greater resolve and purpose on the new journey ahead.

In responding to the sudden outbreak of Covid-19, we put the people and their lives above all else, worked to prevent both inbound cases and domestic resurgences, and tenaciously pursued a dynamic zero-Covid policy. By launching an all-out people's war to stop the spread of the virus, we have protected the people's health and safety to the greatest extent possible and made tremendously encouraging achievements in both epidemic response and economic and social development.

In the face of turbulent developments in Hong Kong, the central government exercised its overall jurisdiction over the special administrative region as prescribed by China's Constitution and the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. The Law on Safeguarding National

Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region was formulated and put into effect, ensuring that Hong Kong is administered by patriots. Thanks to these moves, order has been restored in Hong Kong, marking a major turn for the better in the region. Further headway has been made in developing the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area and supporting Hong Kong and Macao in growing their economies, improving living standards, and maintaining stability.

In response to separatist activities aimed at “Taiwan independence” and gross provocations of external interference in Taiwan affairs, we have resolutely fought against separatism and countered interference, demonstrating our resolve and ability to safeguard China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and to oppose “Taiwan independence”. We have strengthened our strategic initiative for China’s complete reunification and consolidated commitment to the one-China principle within the international community.

Confronted with drastic changes in the international landscape, especially external attempts to blackmail, contain, blockade, and exert maximum pressure on China, we have put our national interests first, focused on internal political concerns, and maintained firm strategic resolve. We have shown a fighting spirit and a firm determination to never yield to coercive power. Throughout these endeavors, we have safeguarded China’s dignity and core interests and kept ourselves well-positioned for pursuing development and ensuring security.

Over the past five years, our Party has rallied the people and led them in solving a great number of problems that had long gone unsolved, securing many accomplishments that hold major future significance, and achieving impressive advances in the cause of the Party and the country.

Comrades,

Ten years have passed since the Party’s 18th National Congress. The past decade marked three major events of great immediate importance and profound historical significance for the cause of the Party and the people: We embraced the centenary of the Communist Party of China; we ushered in a new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics; and we eradicated absolute poverty and finished building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, thus completing the First Centenary Goal. These were historic feats – feats accomplished by the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people striving in unity, feats that will be forever recorded in the Chinese nation’s history, and feats that will profoundly influence the world.

A decade ago this was the situation we faced:

Great achievements had been secured in reform, opening up, and socialist modernization, and notable advances had been made in the great new project of strengthening the Party. All this had created solid foundations, favorable conditions, and key underpinnings for our continued progress.

At the same time, however, a number of prominent issues and problems – some of which had been building for years and others which were just emerging – demanded urgent action.

Inside the Party, there were many issues with respect to upholding the Party's leadership, including a lack of clear understanding and effective action as well as a slide towards weak, hollow and watered-down Party leadership in practice. Some Party members and officials were wavering in their political conviction. Despite repeated warnings, form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance persisted in some localities and departments. Privilege-seeking mindsets and practices posed a serious problem, and some deeply shocking cases of corruption had been uncovered.

China's economy was beset by acute structural and institutional problems. Development was imbalanced, uncoordinated, and unsustainable, and the traditional development model could no longer keep us moving forward. Some deep-seated problems in institutions and barriers built by vested interests were becoming more and more apparent.

Some people lacked confidence in the socialist political system with Chinese characteristics, and, all too often, we saw laws being ignored or not being strictly enforced.

Misguided patterns of thinking such as money worship, hedonism, egocentricity, and historical nihilism were common, and online discourse was rife with disorder. All this had a grave impact on people's thinking and the public opinion environment.

Our work to ensure the people's wellbeing was fraught with weak links. Tightening resource and environmental constraints and environmental pollution were pronounced.

The systems for safeguarding national security were inadequate, and our capacity for responding to various major risks was insufficient. Many shortcomings were affecting the modernization of national defense and the military.

The institutions and mechanisms for implementing the policy of One Country, Two Systems in Hong Kong and Macao were not well-developed, and China faced grave challenges to its national security.

These were just some of the problems we faced. Back then, many people, both in and outside of our Party, were worried about the future of the Party and the country.

In the face of these acute problems and challenges, which undermined the Party's long-term governance, the security and stability of the country, and the wellbeing of the people, the Party Central Committee fully assessed the situation, made resolute decisions, and took firm steps. Under its leadership, the entire Party, the military, and the Chinese people were brought together. We rolled up our sleeves and got down to work, forging ahead with resolve to carry out a great struggle with many new features of our times.

Over the past decade, we have stayed committed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development, and we have fully implemented the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as well as the Party's basic line and basic policy. We have adopted a number of strategic measures, developed a range of transformative practices, and made a series of breakthroughs and landmark advances. We have withstood risks, challenges and trials in the political, economic, ideological and natural domains, secured historic achievements and seen historic changes in the cause of the Party and the country, and taken China on a new journey towards building a modern socialist country in all respects.

– *We have established the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.* In doing so, we have laid out the basic policy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, put forward a series of new ideas, new thinking, and new strategies on national governance, and achieved a new breakthrough in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. We have endeavored to use this new theory to arm ourselves intellectually, guide our practice, and advance our work. This theory provides us with fundamental guidance for advancing the cause of our Party and our country in the new era.

– *We have strengthened Party leadership in all respects.* We have made clear that the leadership of the Communist Party of China is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the greatest strength of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, that the Party is the highest force of political leadership, and that upholding the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee is the highest political principle. We have made systematic improvements to the Party's leadership systems. All Party members have become more conscious of the need to maintain political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and act in accordance with its requirements. They have become more purposeful in closely following the central Party leadership in thinking, action and political orientation, and they have continued to strengthen their political acumen, understanding and capacity to deliver. All this has ensured the Party Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership and guaranteed that the Party fulfills its core role of exercising overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all sides. Now, our Marxist party of over 96 million members enjoys greater unity and solidarity than ever.

– *We have developed well-conceived and complete strategic plans for advancing the cause of the Party and the country in the new era.* We have put forward the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation and proposed promoting national rejuvenation through a Chinese path to modernization. We have made well-coordinated efforts to advance our great struggle, our great project, our great cause, and our great dream. We have adopted the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy as well as the general principle of pursuing progress while ensuring stability, and we have worked to both pursue development and safeguard security. We have identified the principal challenge facing Chinese society as the gap between imbalanced and insufficient development and the people's growing expectation for a better life,

and we have made it clear that closing this gap should be the focus of all our initiatives. With these efforts, we have made constant progress in enriching and developing a new model for human progress.

– *We have achieved moderate prosperity, the millennia-old dream of the Chinese nation, through persistent hard work.* With this, we have elevated China to a higher historical starting point in development. By galvanizing the entire nation to carry out targeted poverty alleviation, we have won the largest battle against poverty in human history. A total of 832 impoverished counties and close to 100 million poor rural residents have been lifted out of poverty, and, among them, more than 9.6 million poverty-stricken people have been relocated from inhospitable areas. We have, once and for all, resolved the problem of absolute poverty in China, making significant contributions to the cause of global poverty reduction.

– *We have put forward and applied a new development philosophy, worked hard to promote high-quality development, and pushed to foster a new development dynamic.* We have carried out supply-side structural reform, formulated a series of major regional strategies important to China's overall development, and brought about a historic rise in China's economic strength.

In the past decade, China's GDP has grown from RMB54 trillion to RMB114 trillion to account for 18.5 percent of the world economy, up 7.2 percentage points. China has remained the world's second largest economy, and its per capita GDP has risen from RMB39,800 to RMB81,000. It ranks first in the world in terms of grain output, and it has ensured food and energy security for its more than 1.4 billion people. The number of permanent urban residents has grown by 11.6 percentage points to account for 64.7 percent of the population. China's manufacturing sector is the largest in the world, as are its foreign exchange reserves. China has built the world's largest networks of high-speed railways and expressways and made major achievements in building airports, ports, and water conservancy, energy, information, and other infrastructure.

We have accelerated efforts to build our strength and self-reliance in science and technology, with nationwide R&D spending rising from RMB1 trillion to RMB2.8 trillion, the second highest in the world. Our country is now home to the largest cohort of R&D personnel in the world.

We have grown stronger in basic research and original innovation, made breakthroughs in some core technologies in key fields, and boosted emerging strategic industries. We have witnessed major successes on multiple fronts, including manned spaceflight, lunar and Martian exploration, deep-sea and deep-earth probes, supercomputers, satellite navigation, quantum information, nuclear power technology, new energy technology, airliner manufacturing, and biomedicine. China has joined the ranks of the world's innovators.

– *We have comprehensively deepened reform with tremendous political courage.* We have carried out critical tasks and enhanced top-level design for reform. We have dared to brave uncharted waters, take on tough problems, navigate potential dangers, and face new issues and challenges. We have broken the shackles of stale thinking, torn down barriers erected by vested interests, and

removed institutional obstacles in all areas. This has enabled us to put in place foundational institutional frameworks in all sectors, to achieve historic, systemic and holistic transformations in many fields, and to complete a new round of reform in Party and state institutions. The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics has become more mature and well-defined, and China's system and capacity for governance have been further modernized.

– *We have pursued a more proactive strategy of opening up.* We have worked to build a globally-oriented network of high-standard free trade areas and accelerated the development of pilot free trade zones and the Hainan Free Trade Port. As a collaborative endeavor, the Belt and Road Initiative has been welcomed by the international community both as a public good and a cooperation platform. China has become a major trading partner for more than 140 countries and regions, it leads the world in total volume of trade in goods, and it is a major destination for global investment and a leading country in outbound investment. Through these efforts, we have advanced a broader agenda of opening up across more areas and in greater depth.

– *We have kept to the path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics.* We have comprehensively developed whole-process people's democracy, made all-around progress in improving the institutions, standards and procedures of our socialist democracy, and advanced socialist consultative democracy by way of extensive participation. We have reinforced the foundations that undergird the people's running of the country, injected fresh vitality into democracy at the community level, and consolidated and expanded the patriotic united front. We have made new accomplishments in promoting ethnic unity and progress, fully implemented the Party's basic policy on religious affairs, and provided better protections for human rights. We have intensified efforts to advance socialist rule of law in our country, and a comprehensive framework for law-based governance has taken shape. We have sped up work on developing the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. We have made major progress in reforming the judicial system, thus providing more effective protection for social fairness and justice. These efforts have opened new ground for advancing the rule of law in China.

– *We have established and upheld a foundational system for ensuring the guiding role of Marxism in the ideological domain.* The Party's new theory for the new era has been embraced by the people, the core socialist values are resonating with the public, fine traditional Chinese culture is undergoing creative transformation and development, cultural programs are flourishing, and the online environment has seen continuous improvement. All this has brought overarching and fundamental changes in China's ideological landscape.

We celebrated the 90th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army, the 40th anniversary of the launch of reform and opening up, the 70th anniversary of victory in the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and the Global War Against Fascism, and the 70th anniversary of the Chinese People's Volunteers' entry into the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea. The Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympics were a great

success. Our young people are filled with greater optimism and enterprise, and there is a notably stronger sense of cultural confidence and a higher level of morale throughout the Party and the nation.

– *We have implemented a people-centered philosophy of development.* We have worked continuously to ensure people's access to childcare, education, employment, medical services, elderly care, housing, and social assistance, thus bringing about an all-around improvement in people's lives. China's life expectancy has reached 78.2 years, its per capita disposable annual income has risen from RMB16,500 to RMB35,100, and more than 13 million urban jobs have been created each year on average over the past 10 years. We have built the largest education, social security, and healthcare systems in the world. These achievements have allowed us to make historic strides in making education universally available, bring 1.04 billion people under the coverage of basic old-age pension schemes, and ensure basic medical insurance for 95 percent of the population. Timely adjustments have been made to the childbirth policy. More than 42 million housing units in run-down urban areas and more than 24 million dilapidated rural houses have been rebuilt, marking a significant improvement in housing conditions in both urban and rural areas. The number of internet users has reached 1.03 billion. We have ensured a more complete and lasting sense of gain, fulfillment and security for our people, and we have made further progress in achieving common prosperity for all.

– *We have acted on the idea that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets.* We have persisted with a holistic and systematic approach to conserving and improving mountain, water, forest, farmland, grassland, and desert ecosystems, and we have ensured stronger ecological conservation and environmental protection across the board, in all regions, and at all times. China's ecological conservation systems have been improved, the critical battle against pollution has been advanced, and solid progress has been made in promoting green, circular and low-carbon development. This has led to historic, transformative and comprehensive changes in ecological and environmental protection and has brought us bluer skies, greener mountains, and cleaner waters.

– *We have applied a holistic approach to national security.* We have steadily improved the leadership, legal, strategy and policy systems for national security. We have not yielded any ground on matters of principle, and we have resolutely safeguarded China's sovereignty, security, and development interests. National security has thus been strengthened on all fronts. We have further improved the social governance system based on collaboration, participation, and shared benefits. We have effectively contained ethnic separatists, religious extremists, and violent terrorists and secured important progress in the campaigns to combat and root out organized crime. We have responded effectively to major natural disasters. The Peaceful China initiative has entered a new stage.

– *We have set the Party's goal of building a strong military in the new era.* We have implemented the Party's philosophy on strengthening the military for the new era, followed the military strategy for the new era, and upheld absolute Party leadership over the people's armed forces. We held

the Gutian Conference on Military Political Work in 2014 and improved political conduct through rectification initiatives. Having established combat effectiveness as the sole criterion, we have acted with resolve to focus the entire military's attention on combat readiness. We have coordinated efforts to strengthen military work in all directions and domains and devoted great energy to training under combat conditions. We have carried out bold reforms of national defense and the armed forces, restructuring the military leadership and command systems, the modern armed forces system, and the military policy system. We have moved faster to modernize our national defense and the armed forces and reduced the number of active service personnel by 300,000. With new systems, a new structure, a new configuration, and a new look, the people's armed forces have become a much more modern and capable fighting force, and the Chinese path to building a strong military is growing ever broader.

– *We have fully and faithfully implemented the policy of One Country, Two Systems.* We have upheld the policy of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong govern Hong Kong and the people of Macao govern Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy. We have helped Hong Kong enter a new stage in which it has restored order and is set to thrive, and we have seen both Hong Kong and Macao maintain good momentum for long-term stability and development. We have put forward an overall policy framework for resolving the Taiwan question in the new era and facilitated cross-Straits exchanges and cooperation. We have resolutely opposed separatist activities aimed at “Taiwan independence” and foreign interference. We have thus maintained the initiative and the ability to steer in cross-Straits relations.

– *We have pursued major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics on all fronts.* We have promoted the development of a global community of shared future and stood firm in protecting international fairness and justice. We have advocated and practiced true multilateralism. We have taken a clear-cut stance against hegemonism and power politics in all their forms, and we have never wavered in our opposition to unilateralism, protectionism and abusive acts of any kind. We have improved China's overall diplomatic agenda and worked actively to build a global network of partnerships and foster a new model of international relations. We have demonstrated China's sense of duty as a responsible major country, actively participating in the reform and development of the global governance system and engaging in all-around international cooperation in the fight against Covid-19. All this has seen us win widespread international recognition. China's international influence, appeal, and power to shape have risen markedly.

– *We have made significant advances in exercising full and rigorous internal Party governance.* Guided by the belief that it takes a good blacksmith to forge good tools, we kicked off our efforts by formulating and implementing the central Party leadership's Eight Rules on improving conduct. We have put forward and implemented the general requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era. We have set strengthening ourselves politically as the overarching guide for all other initiatives of Party development, and we have made sure that our ideological work is aligned with our institution building efforts. Internal Party activities have been conducted in earnest, and we have continued to carry out intensive education initiatives. We have formulated and implemented

the Party's organizational line for the new era and placed an emphasis on political commitment in selecting and appointing officials. Political inspections have been strengthened, and a sound system of Party regulations has taken shape. These moves have enabled the entire Party to maintain firm ideals and convictions and have strengthened the Party's organizational system and tightened discipline and rules.

We have worked ceaselessly to improve Party conduct and enforce Party discipline. We have hammered away at the task of rectifying form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance; opposed privilege-seeking mindsets and practices; and taken strong action to address misconduct and corruption that occur at people's doorsteps. Thanks to these efforts, unhealthy tendencies that had long gone unchecked have been reversed, and deep-seated problems that had plagued us for years have been remedied.

We have waged a battle against corruption on a scale unprecedented in our history. Driven by a strong sense of mission, we have resolved to "offend a few thousand rather than fail 1.4 billion" and to clear our Party of all its ills. We have taken coordinated steps to see that officials do not have the audacity, the opportunity, or the desire to engage in corruption, and we have used a combination of measures to "take out tigers", "swat flies", and "hunt down foxes", punishing corrupt officials of all types. We have achieved an overwhelming victory and fully consolidated the gains in our fight against corruption. All this has helped remove serious hidden dangers in the Party, the country, and the military and ensured that the power granted to us by the Party and the people is always exercised in the interests of the people.

Through painstaking efforts, the Party has found a second answer to the question of how to escape the historical cycle of rise and fall. The answer is self-reform. We have significantly boosted the Party's ability to cleanse, improve, renew and temper itself, addressed the problem of lax and weak self-governance in Party organizations at the root, and steadily fostered and developed a political atmosphere of integrity within the Party. By doing so, we have ensured that the Party will never change its nature, its conviction, or its character.

As we fully affirm the remarkable achievements we have made in the cause of the Party and the country, we must not lose sight of the shortcomings in our work and the many difficulties and problems confronting us. They are mainly as follows:

Imbalances and insufficiencies in development remain a prominent problem. There are many bottlenecks hindering high-quality development, and China's capacity for scientific and technological innovation is not yet strong enough. Many major issues need to be resolved in order to guard against financial risks and ensure that food, energy, and industrial and supply chains are secure and reliable.

There are still many tough issues to be addressed in the reform of key areas. Quite a few challenges exist in the ideological domain. There are still wide gaps in development and income distribution between urban and rural areas and between regions. Our people face many difficulties

in areas such as employment, education, medical services, childcare, elderly care, and housing. Ecological conservation and environmental protection remain a formidable task.

Some Party members and officials lack a strong sense of responsibility, the capacity to grapple with tough challenges, and the readiness to get down to work. Pointless formalities and bureaucratism remain rather pronounced. Eradicating breeding grounds for corruption is still an arduous task.

We have already put in place a series of measures to deal with these problems, and we must redouble our efforts to see them fully resolved.

Comrades,

The great achievements of the new era have come from the collective dedication and hard work of our Party and our people. Here, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I express our heartfelt gratitude to all of our Party members, to the people of all ethnic groups, to all other political parties, people's organizations, and patriotic figures from all sectors of society, to our fellow compatriots in the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions, in Taiwan, and overseas, and to all our friends around the world who have shown understanding and support for China's modernization drive.

The great transformation over the past 10 years of the new era marks a milestone in the history of the Party, of the People's Republic of China, of reform and opening up, of the development of socialism, and of the development of the Chinese nation. Over the course of a century of endeavor, the Communist Party of China has tempered itself through revolution and grown stronger. It has grown better at providing political leadership, giving theoretical guidance, organizing the people, and inspiring society, all the while maintaining a close bond with the people. Throughout the Party's history, as the world has undergone profound changes, it has always remained at the forefront of the times. As we have responded to risks and tests at home and abroad, the Party has always remained the backbone of the nation. And as we have upheld and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics, the Party has always remained a strong leadership core.

The Chinese people are more inspired than ever to forge ahead, more resolved than ever to work hard, and more confident than ever of securing success. They are filled with a stronger sense of history and initiative. With full confidence, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are driving the great transformation of the Chinese nation from standing up and growing prosperous to becoming strong. We have advanced reform, opening up, and socialist modernization and have written a new chapter on the miracles of fast economic growth and long-term social stability. China now has more solid material foundations and stronger institutional underpinnings for pursuing development. The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is now on an irreversible historical course.

Scientific socialism is brimming with renewed vitality in 21st century China. Chinese modernization offers humanity a new choice for achieving modernization. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have provided humanity with more Chinese insight, better Chinese input, and greater Chinese strength to help solve its common challenges and have made new and greater contributions to the noble cause of human peace and development.

II. A New Frontier in Adapting Marxism to the Chinese Context and the Needs of the Times

Marxism is the fundamental guiding ideology upon which our Party and our country are founded and thrive. Our experience has taught us that, at the fundamental level, we owe the success of our Party and socialism with Chinese characteristics to the fact that Marxism works, particularly when it is adapted to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. The sound theoretical guidance of Marxism is the source from which our Party draws its firm belief and conviction and which enables our Party to take timely actions.

Adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times is a process of seeking, revealing and applying truth. With new changes and practical demands emerging both in and outside of China since the 18th National Congress, there was an urgent need for us to provide in-depth theoretical and practical answers to a series of epochal questions on the cause of the Party and the country as well as the Party's governance of China.

With the courage to make theoretical explorations and innovations, our Party has, from an entirely new perspective, deepened its understanding of the laws that underlie governance by a communist party, the development of socialism, and the evolution of human society. It has achieved major theoretical innovations, which are encapsulated in the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. The main elements of this theory are summarized in the 10 affirmations, the 14 commitments, and the 13 areas of achievement that were articulated at the 19th National Congress and the Sixth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee, all of which we must adhere to over the long term and continue to enrich and develop.

Chinese Communists are keenly aware that only by integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture and only by applying dialectical and historical materialism can we provide correct answers to the major questions presented by the times and discovered through practice and can we ensure that Marxism always retains its vigor and vitality.

To uphold and develop Marxism, we must integrate it with China's specific realities. Taking Marxism as our guide means applying its worldview and methodology to solving problems in China; it does not mean memorizing and reciting its specific conclusions and lines, and still less does it mean treating it as a rigid dogma. We must continue to free our minds, seek truth from facts, move with the times, and take a realistic and pragmatic approach. We must base everything we do on actual conditions and focus on solving real problems arising in our reform, opening up, and socialist modernization endeavors in the new era. We must keep responding to the questions posed by China, by the world, by the people, and by the times; in doing so, we should find the

right answers suited to the realities of China and the needs of our day, reach conclusions that are compatible with objective laws, and develop new theories that are in step with the times, so as to provide better guidance for China's practice.

To uphold and develop Marxism, we must integrate it with China's fine traditional culture. Only by taking root in the rich historical and cultural soil of the country and the nation can the truth of Marxism flourish here. With a history stretching back to antiquity, China's fine traditional culture is extensive and profound; it is the crystallization of the wisdom of Chinese civilization. Our traditional culture espouses many important principles and concepts, including pursuing common good for all; regarding the people as the foundation of the state; governing by virtue; discarding the outdated in favor of the new; selecting officials on the basis of merit; promoting harmony between humanity and nature; ceaselessly pursuing self-improvement; embracing the world with virtue; acting in good faith and being friendly to others; and fostering neighborliness. These maxims, which have taken shape over centuries of work and life, reflect the Chinese people's way of viewing the universe, the world, society, and morality and are highly consistent with the values and propositions of scientific socialism.

We must stay confident in our history and culture, make the past serve the present, and develop the new from the old. We must integrate the essence of Marxism with the best of fine traditional Chinese culture and with the common values that our people intuitively apply in their everyday lives. We should keep endowing Marxist theory with distinctive Chinese features and consolidating the historical basis and public support for adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. With this, we will ensure that Marxism puts down deep roots in China.

Just as there are no bounds to practice, there is no end to theoretical innovation. It is the solemn historical responsibility of today's Chinese Communists to continue opening new chapters in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times. To keep advancing theoretical innovation on the basis of practical experience, we must, first of all, gain a good command of the worldview and methodology of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and adhere to and make good use of its stances, viewpoints and methods.

– *We must put the people first.* People-centeredness is an essential attribute of Marxism. Our Party's theories are from the people, for the people, and beneficial to the people. The people's creative practices are the inexhaustible source of our theoretical innovations. Theories that are detached from the people will be feeble and ineffective, and theories that cannot deliver for the people will be stale and lifeless. We must stand firmly with the people, respond to their wishes, respect their creativity, and pool their wisdom to develop theories that they like, accept and adopt and that become powerful tools guiding them in understanding and changing the world.

– *We must maintain self-confidence and stand on our own feet.* There has never been an instruction manual or ready-made solution for the Chinese people and the Chinese nation to turn to as they fought to end the great sufferings endured following the Opium War of 1840 and have

moved on towards the bright future of rejuvenation. The Party has led the people in independently blazing the path to success over the past century, and the success of Marxism in China has been realized by Chinese Communists through our own endeavors. One point underpinning these successes is that China's issues must be dealt with by Chinese people in light of the Chinese context. We must remain firm in our conviction in Marxism and socialism with Chinese characteristics and strengthen our confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. With a stronger sense of historical responsibility and creativity, we should make greater contributions to the development of Marxism. We should never act blindly without assessing how conditions have evolved or allow ourselves to become ossified or closed off, nor should we mechanically imitate others or indiscriminately absorb foreign ideas.

– *We must uphold fundamental principles and break new ground.* We are advancing a great cause that none have attempted before. Only by upholding fundamental principles can we avoid losing our bearings or making catastrophic mistakes. Only by breaking new ground can we meet the call of the day and shape the trends of our times. We should approach Marxism with a respect for science and in the spirit of seeking truth. We must never waver in upholding the basic tenets of Marxism, the overall leadership of the Party, and socialism with Chinese characteristics. We should keep pace with the times and adapt to the evolution of practice. We should approach each and every new thing with great enthusiasm and never stop broadening and deepening our understanding of the world. We must dare to say what has never been said and do what has never been done, and we must use new theory to guide new practice.

– *We must adopt a problem-oriented approach.* Problems represent the voice of the times. The fundamental task of theory is to respond to problems and provide guidelines for finding solutions. The problems we face today are considerably more complex, and resolving them has become much more difficult. This presents a completely new challenge for theoretical innovation. We must be more conscious of problems, especially new problems that are discovered through practice, deep-seated problems affecting reform, development and stability, pressing concerns of the people, major issues in the evolving global landscape, and prominent issues we face in strengthening the Party. We should keep developing new thinking, new approaches, and new ways to effectively resolve problems.

– *We must apply systems thinking.* All things are interconnected and interdependent. We must view them with the understanding that they are universally connected, part of a complete system, and constantly evolving if we are to grasp the laws governing their development.

As a major developing country, China is still in the primary stage of socialism and is going through an extensive and profound social transformation. A small move made to advance reform and development or to adjust interests may affect the bigger picture. We should be able to see the present from a historical perspective, look beyond the surface to get to the crux of issues, and properly manage the relationships between overall and local interests, between the present and the future, between macro and micro concerns, between primary and secondary issues, and between the special and the ordinary. We should improve our ability to adopt a strategic

perspective and apply a historical, dialectical and systematic approach to thinking; we should get better at thinking creatively, thinking in terms of the rule of law, and considering worst-case scenarios. By doing so, we can develop a well-conceived approach to planning and advancing the endeavors of the Party and the country on all fronts in a forward-looking and holistic manner.

– *We must maintain a global vision.* The Communist Party of China is dedicated to pursuing happiness for the Chinese people and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation. It is also dedicated to human progress and world harmony. We should expand our global vision and develop keen insight into the trends of human development and progress, respond to the general concerns of people of all countries, and play our part in resolving the common issues facing humanity. With an open mind, we should draw inspiration from all of human civilization's outstanding achievements and work to build an even better world.

III. The New Journey of the New Era: Missions and Tasks of the Communist Party of China

From this day forward, the central task of the Communist Party of China will be to lead the Chinese people of all ethnic groups in a concerted effort to realize the Second Centenary Goal of building China into a great modern socialist country in all respects and to advance the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts through a Chinese path to modernization.

Based on our decades of exploration and practice since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, especially since the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, as well as the new breakthroughs made in theory and practice since the 18th National Congress, we have succeeded in advancing and expanding Chinese modernization.

Chinese modernization is socialist modernization pursued under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It contains elements that are common to the modernization processes of all countries, but it is more characterized by features that are unique to the Chinese context.

– *It is the modernization of a huge population.* China is working to achieve modernization for more than 1.4 billion people, a number larger than the combined population of all developed countries in the world today. This is a task of unparalleled difficulty and complexity; it inevitably means that our pathways of development and methods of advancement will be unique. We will, as always, bear China's realities in mind as we address issues, make decisions, and take action. We will neither pursue grandiose goals nor go by the rulebook. We will stay patient in advancing the course of history and take steady and incremental steps to sustain progress.

– *It is the modernization of common prosperity for all.* Achieving common prosperity is a defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and involves a long historical process. The immutable goal of our modernization drive is to meet the people's aspirations for a better life. We will endeavor to maintain and promote social fairness and justice, bring prosperity to all, and prevent polarization.

– *It is the modernization of material and cultural-ethical advancement.* Material abundance and cultural-ethical enrichment are fundamental goals of socialist modernization. Material want is not socialism, nor is cultural impoverishment. While continuing to consolidate the material foundation for modernization and improve the material conditions for people's wellbeing, we will strive to develop advanced socialist culture, foster strong ideals and convictions, and carry forward China's cultural heritage. We will thus promote all-around material abundance as well as people's well-rounded development.

– *It is the modernization of harmony between humanity and nature.* Humanity and nature make up a community of life. If we extract from nature without limit or inflict damage on it, we are bound to face its retaliation. China is committed to sustainable development and to the principles of prioritizing resource conservation and environmental protection and letting nature restore itself. We will protect nature and the environment as we do our own lives. We will continue to pursue a model of sound development featuring improved production, higher living standards, and healthy ecosystems to ensure the sustainable development of the Chinese nation.

– *It is the modernization of peaceful development.* In pursuing modernization, China will not tread the old path of war, colonization and plunder taken by some countries. That brutal and blood-stained path of enrichment at the expense of others caused great suffering for the people of developing countries. We will stand firmly on the right side of history and on the side of human progress. Dedicated to peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit, we will strive to safeguard world peace and development as we pursue our own development, and we will make greater contributions to world peace and development through our own development.

The essential requirements of Chinese modernization are as follows: upholding the leadership of the Communist Party of China and socialism with Chinese characteristics, pursuing high-quality development, developing whole-process people's democracy, enriching the people's cultural lives, achieving common prosperity for all, promoting harmony between humanity and nature, building a global community of shared future, and creating a new model for human progress.

To build China into a great modern socialist country in all respects, we have adopted a two-step strategic plan:

- realize basic socialist modernization from 2020 through 2035;
- build China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful from 2035 through the middle of this century.

China's overall development objectives for the year 2035 are as follows:

- significantly increase economic strength, and scientific and technological capabilities, and composite national strength, and substantially grow the per capita GDP to be on par with that of a mid-level developed country;

- join the ranks of the world's most innovative countries, with great strength and self-reliance in science and technology;
- build a modern economy, form a new development dynamic, and basically achieve new industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernization;
- basically modernize the system and capacity for governance, improve the system for whole-process people's democracy, and build a law-based country, government and society;
- become a leading country in education, science and technology, talent, culture, sports and health, and significantly enhance national soft power;
- ensure that the people are leading better and happier lives, bring per capita disposable income to new heights, substantially grow the middle-income group as a share of the total population, guarantee equitable access to basic public services, ensure modern standards of living in rural areas, achieve long-term social stability, and make more notable and substantive progress in promoting the people's well-rounded development and prosperity for all;
- broadly establish eco-friendly ways of work and life, steadily lower carbon emissions after reaching a peak, and fundamentally improve the environment; largely accomplish the goal of building a beautiful China;
- comprehensively strengthen the national security system and national security capabilities, and achieve basic modernization of national defense and the armed forces.

After realizing basic modernization, we will continue to work hard and build China into a great modern socialist country that leads the world in terms of composite national strength and international influence by the middle of the century.

The next five years will be crucial for getting our efforts to build a modern socialist country in all respects off to a good start. Our main objectives and tasks for this period are as follows:

- make breakthroughs in promoting high-quality economic development; achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology, and make major progress in creating a new development dynamic and building a modern economy;
- make new strides in reform and opening up, make further progress in modernizing China's system and capacity for governance, further improve the socialist market economy, and put in place new systems for a higher-standard open economy;
- further enhance the institutions, standards and procedures of whole-process people's democracy, and improve the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics;
- enrich the intellectual and cultural lives of our people, and enhance the cohesion of the Chinese nation and the appeal of Chinese culture;

- ensure personal income grows basically in step with economic growth and pay rises in tandem with increases in productivity, ensure much more equitable access to basic public services, and develop a better multitiered social security system;
- substantially improve urban and rural living environments, and make notable progress in building a beautiful China;
- further consolidate national security, fulfill the centenary goal of the People's Liberation Army in 2027, and make solid progress in building a peaceful China;
- further increase China's international standing and influence, and enable China to play a greater role in global governance.

Building a modern socialist country in all respects is a great and arduous endeavor. Our future is bright, but we still have a long way to go. At present, change on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating across the world. A new revolution in science, technology and industry is well under way, and a significant shift is taking place in the international balance of power, presenting China with new strategic opportunities in pursuing development. At the same time, however, the once-in-a-century pandemic has had far-reaching effects; a backlash against globalization is rising; and unilateralism and protectionism are mounting. The global economic recovery is sluggish, regional conflicts and disturbances are frequent, and global issues are becoming more acute. The world has entered a new period of turbulence and change.

At home, we face many deep-seated problems regarding reform, development and stability that cannot be avoided or bypassed. In our efforts to strengthen the Party, and especially to improve conduct, build integrity, and combat corruption, we are confronted with many stubborn and recurrent problems. External attempts to suppress and contain China may escalate at any time.

Our country has entered a period of development in which strategic opportunities, risks and challenges are concurrent and uncertainties and unforeseen factors are rising. Various "black swan" and "gray rhino" events may occur at any time. We must therefore be more mindful of potential dangers, be prepared to deal with worst-case scenarios, and be ready to withstand high winds, choppy waters, and even dangerous storms. On the journey ahead, we must firmly adhere to the following major principles:

– *Upholding and strengthening the Party's overall leadership.* We must resolutely uphold the Party Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership and see that Party leadership is exercised in all aspects and every stage of the endeavors of the Party and the country. This will ensure that our Party always remains the pillar that the Chinese people can lean on in times of difficulty, that our socialist modernization advances along the right path, and that we have the political cohesion and confidence in our development to inspire the people to strive in unity. It will see us forming a mighty force to overcome all difficulties with one heart and one mind.

– *Following the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics.* We must continue to pursue economic development as our central task, uphold the Four Cardinal Principles, remain committed to reform and opening up, and stay independent and self-reliant. We must keep to our path and not sway in our commitment. We must not return to the isolation and rigidity of the past, or veer off course by changing our nature or abandoning our system. We must develop our country and our nation with our own strength, and we must maintain a firm grasp on the future of China's development and progress.

– *Applying a people-centered development philosophy.* We must protect the people's fundamental interests, improve their wellbeing, and work tirelessly to ensure that development is for the people and by the people and that its fruits are shared by the people. We must do a better job of seeing that the gains of modernization benefit all our people fairly.

– *Remaining committed to deepening reform and opening up.* We must intensify efforts to advance reform and explore new ground, and we must remain steadfast in expanding opening up. We must work hard to remove deep-seated institutional barriers so as to fully tap into the strengths of socialism with Chinese characteristics and continuously imbue our socialist modernization endeavors with fresh dynamism and vitality. We must do better in translating our country's institutional strengths into effective governance.

– *Carrying forward our fighting spirit.* We must foster a firmer sense of purpose, fortitude, and self-belief in the whole Party and the Chinese people so that we cannot be swayed by fallacies, deterred by intimidation, or cowed by pressure. We must meet obstacles and difficulties head-on, ensure both development and security, and dig deep to surmount the difficulties and challenges on the road ahead. Let us harness our indomitable fighting spirit to open up new horizons for our cause.

Comrades,

Today, we are closer, more confident, and more capable than ever of reaching the goal of rejuvenating the Chinese nation. At the same time, we must be prepared to work even harder to get there. All of us in the Party must forge ahead with confidence and determination; proactively identify, respond to, and steer changes and prevent and defuse risks; and keep on striving to secure new successes in building a modern socialist China in all respects.

IV. Accelerating the Creation of a New Development Dynamic and Pursuing High-Quality Development

To build a modern socialist country in all respects, we must, first and foremost, pursue high-quality development. Development is our Party's top priority in governing and rejuvenating China, for without solid material and technological foundations, we cannot hope to build a great modern socialist country in all respects. We must fully and faithfully apply the new development philosophy on all fronts, continue reforms to develop the socialist market economy, promote high-standard

opening up, and accelerate efforts to foster a double development dynamic with the domestic economy as the mainstay and the domestic economy and international engagement providing mutual reinforcement.

Pursuing high-quality development as our overarching task, we will make sure that our implementation of the strategy to expand domestic demand is integrated with our efforts to deepen supply-side structural reform; we will boost the dynamism and reliability of the domestic economy while engaging at a higher level in the global economy; and we will move faster to build a modern economy. We will raise total factor productivity, make China's industrial and supply chains more resilient and secure, and promote integrated urban-rural development and coordinated regional development, so as to effectively upgrade and appropriately expand China's economic output.

1. Building a high-standard socialist market economy

We must uphold and improve China's basic socialist economic system. We must unswervingly consolidate and develop the public sector and unswervingly encourage, support and guide the development of the non-public sector. We will work to see that the market plays the decisive role in resource allocation and that the government better plays its role.

We will deepen reform of state-owned capital and state-owned enterprises (SOEs); accelerate efforts to improve the configuration of the state-owned sector and adjust its structure; work to see state-owned capital and enterprises get stronger, do better, and grow bigger; and enhance the core competitiveness of SOEs.

We will provide an enabling environment for private enterprises, protect their property rights and the rights and interests of entrepreneurs in accordance with the law, and facilitate the growth of the private sector. We will improve the modern corporate system with distinctive Chinese features, encourage entrepreneurship, and move faster to help Chinese companies become world-class outfits. We will support the development of micro, small and medium sized enterprises.

We will intensify reforms to streamline government administration, delegate power, improve regulation, and upgrade services. We will build a unified national market, advance reforms for the market-based allocation of production factors, and put in place a high-standard market system. We will refine the systems underpinning the market economy, such as those for property rights protection, market access, fair competition, and social credit, in order to improve the business environment.

We will improve the system of macroeconomic governance, give full play to the strategic guidance of national development plans, and enhance coordination between fiscal and monetary policies. We will work to expand domestic demand and better leverage the fundamental role of consumption in stimulating economic growth and the key role of investment in improving the supply structure. We will improve the modern budget system, optimize the tax structure, and improve the system of transfer payments.

We will deepen structural reform in the financial sector, modernize the central bank system, and strengthen and refine modern financial regulation. We will reinforce the systems that safeguard financial stability, place all types of financial activities under regulation in accordance with the law, and ensure no systemic risks arise.

We will improve the functions of the capital market and increase the proportion of direct financing. We will take stronger action against monopolies and unfair competition, break local protectionism and administrative monopolies, and conduct law-based regulation and guidance to promote the healthy development of capital.

2. Modernizing the industrial system

In pursuing economic growth, we must continue to focus on the real economy. We will advance new industrialization and move faster to boost China's strength in manufacturing, product quality, aerospace, transportation, cyberspace, and digital development. We will carry out industrial foundation reengineering projects and research projects on major technologies and equipment; support enterprises that use special and sophisticated technologies to produce novel and unique products; and move the manufacturing sector towards higher-end, smarter, and greener production.

We will consolidate our leading position in industries where we excel, work faster to shore up weaknesses in sectors vital to China's development security, and improve our capacity for securing the supply of strategic resources. We will promote the integrated and clustered development of strategic emerging industries and cultivate new growth engines such as next-generation information technology, artificial intelligence, biotechnology, new energy, new materials, high-end equipment, and green industry.

We will build a new system of efficient and high-quality services and promote further integration of modern services with advanced manufacturing and modern agriculture. We will accelerate development of the internet of things and build an efficient and smooth logistics system to help cut distribution costs.

We will accelerate the development of the digital economy, further integrate it with the real economy, and build internationally competitive digital industry clusters. We will build a modern infrastructure system with a better configuration and structure, more effective functions, and greater system integration.

3. Advancing rural revitalization across the board

The most challenging and arduous tasks we face in building a modern socialist China in all respects remain in our rural areas. We will continue to put agricultural and rural development first, pursue integrated development of urban and rural areas, and facilitate the flows of production

factors between them. We will move faster to build up China's strength in agriculture and steadily promote the revitalization of businesses, talent, culture, ecosystems and organizations in the countryside.

We must reinforce the foundations for food security on all fronts. We will ensure that both Party committees and governments assume responsibility for ensuring food security and that China's total area of farmland does not fall below the red line of 120 million hectares. We will work to gradually develop all permanent basic cropland into high-standard cropland. We will invigorate the seed industry, support the development of agricultural science, technology and equipment, and refine the mechanisms for ensuring the incomes of grain growers and for compensating major grain-producing areas. With these efforts, we will ensure that China's food supply remains firmly in our own hands.

We will adopt an all-encompassing approach to food, develop protected agriculture, and build a diversified food supply system. We will foster rural industries with local features to create more channels for increasing rural incomes. We will consolidate and expand our achievements in poverty alleviation and help areas and people that have just shaken off poverty build their own momentum for growth. We will develop infrastructure and public services in rural areas in a well-planned and coordinated way and build a beautiful and harmonious countryside that is desirable to live and work in.

We will consolidate and improve the basic rural operation system, develop new rural collective economies, cultivate new types of agribusiness and commercial agricultural services, and support appropriately scaled agricultural operations. We will advance reform of the rural land system and grant farmers more adequate property rights and interests. We will safeguard the lawful land rights and interests of rural residents who have moved to urban areas and obtained permanent residency, and we will encourage law-based, voluntary and paid transfers of such rights and interests. We will improve the systems for supporting and protecting agriculture and the rural financial services system.

4. Promoting coordinated regional development

We will thoroughly implement the coordinated regional development strategy, major regional strategies, the functional zoning strategy, and the new urbanization strategy. We will improve the distribution of the major productive forces and develop a cross-regional economic configuration and a territorial space system that promote high-quality development, with complementarity between different regions and between different types of territorial space.

We will make further progress in the large-scale development of the western region, achieve new breakthroughs in the full revitalization of the northeast, accelerate the rise of the central region, and encourage the eastern region to modernize more quickly.

We will support old revolutionary base areas and areas with large ethnic minority populations in speeding up development. We will promote development in border areas to boost local economies, raise local living standards, and ensure local stability.

We will promote coordinated development in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, the development of the Yangtze River Economic Belt, the integrated development of the Yangtze River Delta, and ecological conservation and high-quality development in the Yellow River Basin. We will build the Xiongan New Area to a high standard and drive forward the development of the Chengdu-Chongqing economic zone.

We will improve the functional zoning system and the development of territorial space. We will advance people-centered new urbanization and work faster to grant permanent urban residency to eligible people who move from rural to urban areas.

We will leverage the role of city clusters and metropolitan areas to promote coordinated development of large, medium and small cities and push forward with urbanization that is centered on county seats. Guided by the principle that cities should be built by the people and for the people, we will improve urban planning, construction and governance and move faster to change the development models of super-large and mega cities. We will carry out urban renewal projects and improve urban infrastructure to build livable, resilient and smart cities.

We will develop the marine economy, protect the marine ecological environment, and step up efforts to build China into a strong maritime country.

5. Promoting high-standard opening up

We will leverage the strengths of China's enormous market, attract global resources and production factors with our strong domestic economy, and amplify the interplay between domestic and international markets and resources. This will position us to improve the level and quality of trade and investment cooperation.

We will steadily expand institutional opening up with regard to rules, regulations, management and standards. We will upgrade trade in goods, develop new mechanisms for trade in services, and promote digital trade, in order to accelerate China's transformation into a trader of quality.

We will make appropriate reductions to the negative list for foreign investment, protect the rights and interests of foreign investors in accordance with the law, and foster a world-class business environment that is market-oriented, law-based, and internationalized. We will promote the high-quality development of the Belt and Road Initiative.

We will better plan regional opening up, consolidate the leading position of eastern coastal areas in opening up, and more widely open the central, western and northeastern regions. We will accelerate the construction of the New International Land-Sea Trade Corridor in the western

region. We will work faster to develop the Hainan Free Trade Port, upgrade pilot free trade zones, and expand the globally-oriented network of high-standard free trade areas.

We will promote the internationalization of the RMB in an orderly way, deeply involve ourselves in the global industrial division of labor and cooperation, and endeavor to preserve the diversity and stability of the international economic landscape and economic and trade relations.

V. Invigorating China Through Science and Education and Developing a Strong Workforce for the Modernization Drive

Education, science and technology, and human resources are the foundational and strategic pillars for building a modern socialist country in all respects. We must regard science and technology as our primary productive force, talent as our primary resource, and innovation as our primary driver of growth. We will fully implement the strategy for invigorating China through science and education, the strategy for building a talent-strong country, and the innovation-driven development strategy. We will open up new areas and new arenas in development and steadily foster new growth drivers and new strengths.

We will continue to give high priority to the development of education, build China's strength and self-reliance in science and technology, and rely on talent to pioneer and propel development. We will speed up work to build a strong educational system, greater scientific and technological strength, and a quality workforce. We will continue efforts to cultivate talent for the Party and the country and comprehensively improve our ability to nurture talent at home. All this will see us producing first-class innovators and attracting the brightest minds from all over the world.

1. Developing education that meets the people's expectations

Education is of critical importance to the future of our country and our Party. What kind of people we should cultivate, how, and for whom – these are the fundamental issues that education must address.

The most basic aim of education is to foster virtue. We will fully implement the Party's educational policy, carry out the basic task of fostering virtue through education, and nurture a new generation of capable young people with sound moral grounding, intellectual ability, physical vigor, aesthetic sensibility, and work skills who will fully develop socialism and carry forward the socialist cause.

We will continue to follow a people-centered approach to developing education, move faster to build a high-quality educational system, advance students' well-rounded development, and promote fairness in education. We will accelerate high-quality, balanced development and urban-rural integration in compulsory education. We will better allocate educational resources across regions, strengthen public-benefit preschool education and special needs education, ensure the diversified development of senior secondary schools, and improve the financial aid system so it covers students at all stages of schooling.

We will promote collaborative innovation in vocational education, higher education, and continuing education and promote integration between vocational education and general education, between industry and education, and between science and education. We will better establish vocational education as a category in the educational system. We will do more to develop basic disciplines, emerging disciplines, and interdisciplinary subjects and speed up the development of world-class universities and strong disciplines with Chinese features. We will better guide and regulate the development of private schools.

We will intensify efforts to promote standard spoken and written Chinese. We will advance comprehensive reform in education, strengthen the creation and management of teaching materials, refine the systems for school management and educational assessments, and improve mechanisms for school-family-society collaboration in education.

We will strengthen the professional integrity, conduct and ability of our teachers, foster public respect for educators, and encourage public support for education. We will promote the digitalization of education and build a society and country of learning where lifelong learning is pursued by all.

2. Improving systems for scientific and technological innovation

Innovation will remain at the heart of China's modernization drive. We will improve the system in which the Party Central Committee exercises unified leadership over science and technology work. We will improve the new system for mobilizing resources nationwide to make key technological breakthroughs. We will boost China's strength in strategic science and technology, better allocate innovation resources, and better define the roles of national research institutes, advanced-level research universities, and leading high-tech enterprises to improve their configuration. We will establish a system of national laboratories, coordinate the development of international and regional centers for scientific and technological innovation, enhance basic scientific and technological capacity, and ensure better strategic input from the science and technology sector, so as to boost the overall performance of China's innovation system.

We will deepen structural scientific and technological reform and reform of the system for appraisal of scientific and technological advances. We will increase investment in science and technology through diverse channels and strengthen legal protection of intellectual property rights, in order to establish a foundational system for all-around innovation. We will nurture a culture of innovation, encourage dedication to science, cultivate fine academic conduct, and foster an enabling environment for innovation.

We will expand science and technology exchanges and cooperation with other countries, cultivate an internationalized environment for research, and create an open and globally-competitive innovation ecosystem.

3. Accelerating the implementation of the innovation-driven development strategy

Setting our sights on the global frontiers of science and technology, national economic development, the major needs of the country, and the health and safety of the people, we should speed up efforts to achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology.

To meet China's strategic needs, we will concentrate resources on original and pioneering scientific and technological research to achieve breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields. In order to enhance China's innovation capacity, we will move faster to launch a number of major national projects that are of strategic, overall and long-term importance. We will strengthen basic research, prioritize original innovation, and encourage researchers to engage in free exploration.

To inspire greater creativity, we will invest more effectively in science and technology and advance reform of the mechanisms for the allocation and use of government research funds. We will promote closer enterprise-led collaboration between industries, universities, and research institutes, stay goal-oriented, and promote the industrial application of scientific and technological advances. We will reinforce the principal role of enterprises in innovation, give full play to the guiding and supporting role of key high-tech enterprises, create an enabling environment for the growth of micro, small and medium-sized technological enterprises, and promote deeper integration of the innovation, industrial, capital and talent chains.

4. Implementing the strategy for building a talent-strong country

Cultivating a large workforce of high-quality talent who have both integrity and professional competence is of critical importance to the long-term development of China and the Chinese nation. A wealth of talent is vital to the success of a great cause. We should follow the principle of the Party managing talent, and we should respect work, knowledge, talent and creativity. We will adopt more proactive, open and effective policies on talent and encourage our talent to love the Party, dedicate themselves to the country and contribute to its cause, and serve the people. We will improve the strategic distribution of human resources and make concerted efforts to cultivate talented people in all fields, so as to create a large, well-structured, and high-quality workforce.

We will move faster to build world hubs for talent and innovation, promote better distribution and balanced development of talent across regions, and strive to build up our comparative strengths in global competition for talent. We will speed up efforts to build a contingent of personnel with expertise of strategic importance and cultivate greater numbers of master scholars, science strategists, first-class scientists and innovation teams, young scientists, outstanding engineers, master craftsmen, and highly-skilled workers.

We will increase international personnel exchanges and make the best use of talent of all types to fully harness their potential. We will further reform the systems and mechanisms for talent development and ensure we value talented people, nurture them, attract them, and put them to good use. No effort should be spared and no rigid boundaries drawn in the endeavor to bring together the best and the brightest from all fields for the cause of the Party and the people.

VI. Advancing Whole-Process People's Democracy and Ensuring that the People Run the Country

China is a socialist country of people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class based on an alliance of workers and farmers; all power of the state in China belongs to the people. People's democracy is the lifeblood of socialism, and it is integral to our efforts to build a modern socialist country in all respects. Whole-process people's democracy is the defining feature of socialist democracy; it is democracy in its most extensive, genuine and effective form.

We must firmly stay on the path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics, uphold the unity between Party leadership, the running of the country by the people, and law-based governance, and ensure the principal position of the people, so as to give full expression to their will, protect their rights and interests, and spark their creativity.

We will improve the systems through which the people run the country. We will encourage the people's orderly participation in political affairs and guarantee their ability to engage in democratic elections, consultations, decision-making, management and oversight in accordance with the law. We will inspire the people's motivation, initiative and creativity, so as to consolidate and develop a lively, stable and united political atmosphere.

1. Strengthening the systems through which the people run the country

We must uphold and improve our country's fundamental, basic and important political systems, expand democratic channels, and diversify the forms of democracy, so as to ensure that people participate in various ways in the management of state, economic, cultural and social affairs in accordance with the law.

We will support and ensure the people's exercise of state power through people's congresses, and we will ensure that people's congresses at all levels are formed through democratic elections, responsible to the people, and subject to their oversight.

We will support and ensure that people's congresses and their standing committees lawfully exercise the powers of enacting laws, conducting oversight, making decisions, and appointing and removing officials. We will improve the system under which people's congresses conduct oversight of administrative, supervisory, adjudicatory and procuratorial offices, and we will uphold the unity, sanctity and authority of the law.

We will see that deputies to people's congresses are better able to carry out their work and that they strengthen ties with the general public. We will improve working mechanisms for drawing on public opinion and pooling the wisdom of the people and ensure that local legislative out-reach offices are well-run. We will intensify reform and development of trade unions, Chinese Communist Youth League organizations, women's federations, and other people's organizations

and give full play to their role as bridges connecting the Party and the people. We will follow a Chinese path of human rights development, actively participate in global human rights governance, and promote all-around advancement of human rights.

2. Fully developing consultative democracy

Consultative democracy is an important way by which whole-process people's democracy is practiced. We will improve the system of consultative democracy, make coordinated efforts to promote consultations carried out by political parties, people's congresses, government departments, committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), people's organizations, communities, and social organizations, and improve various institutional consultative platforms, so as to promote extensive, multilevel and institutionalized development of consultative democracy.

We will uphold and improve the system of CPC-led multiparty cooperation and political consultation and ensure the integration of Party leadership, the united front, and consultative democracy. We will give play to the CPPCC's role as a specialized consultative body and see that it coordinates efforts to promote democracy and unity while making proposals on state affairs and building consensus. Improvements will be made to institutions, standards and procedures to help the CPPCC ensure that in-depth consultations and interactions are conducted, opinions are fully expressed, and broad consensus is built. Efforts will be also made to improve the systems and mechanisms through which CPPCC committees conduct democratic oversight and their members stay engaged with people from various sectors.

3. Actively developing democracy at the primary level

Primary-level democracy is an important manifestation of whole-process people's democracy. We will improve the mechanism for community-level self-governance under the leadership of primary-level Party organizations, build up the strength of primary-level organizations, and improve the institutional and working systems for direct democracy at the primary level to see that urban and rural communities can more effectively manage, serve, educate and oversee themselves.

We will increase transparency in government affairs, establish more channels for people from various sectors to participate in community-level governance in an orderly way, and ensure that the people manage public affairs and run public-interest programs at the primary level in accordance with the law.

We will rely wholeheartedly on the working class and improve the system of democratic management in enterprises and public institutions, which takes basic shape in the form of workers' congresses, so as to protect workers' lawful rights and interests.

4. Consolidating and developing the broadest possible patriotic united front

The people's support is of the utmost political importance, and the united front is an effective instrument for rallying the people's support and pooling their strength. We will build a broad united front to forge great unity and solidarity, and we will encourage all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation to dedicate themselves to realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

We will leverage the strengths of our country's new type of socialist political party system. Following the principles of long-term coexistence, mutual oversight, sincerity, and sharing the rough times and the smooth, we will strengthen our Party's unity and cooperation with other political parties and prominent individuals without party affiliation. We will also support other political parties in improving themselves and performing their roles more effectively.

We will, with a focus on forging a strong sense of the Chinese nation as one community, continue to take the correct and distinctively Chinese approach to handling ethnic affairs, uphold and improve the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and improve the Party's work on ethnic affairs, so as to comprehensively promote ethnic unity and progress.

We will remain committed to the principle that religions in China should conform to China's realities and provide active guidance to religions so that they can adapt to socialist society. We will strengthen communication on theoretical and political issues with intellectuals who are not Party members and improve our work concerning people from New Social Groups in an effort to provide better political guidance for pursuing common goals.

We will cultivate a cordial and clean relationship between government and business across the board and facilitate the healthy development of the non-public sector and those working in it.

We will improve and strengthen our work related to Chinese nationals overseas to give shape to a powerful joint force for advancing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

VII. Exercising Law-Based Governance on All Fronts and Advancing the Rule of Law in China

The comprehensive advancement of law-based governance has been a profound revolution in China's governance. Law-based governance is important for the Party's success in governing and rejuvenating the country, for the wellbeing of the people, and for the long-term stability of the Party and the country. We must give better play to the role of the rule of law in consolidating foundations, ensuring stable expectations, and delivering long-term benefits, and we must strive to build a modern socialist country in all respects under the rule of law.

We must follow a path of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, develop a Chinese system of socialist rule of law, and establish China as a socialist country under the rule of law. We must, with a focus on protecting and promoting social fairness and justice, pursue coordinated progress in law-based governance, law-based exercise of state power, and law-based government administration and take integrated steps to build a country, government and society

based on the rule of law. We will make all-around efforts to ensure sound legislation, strict law enforcement, impartial administration of justice, and society-wide observance of the law and see that all work of the state is carried out under the rule of law.

1. Improving the socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics with the Constitution at its core

Law-based governance and law-based exercise of state power begin with compliance with the Constitution. We must remain firmly committed to leadership of the Party, to the state system of people's democratic dictatorship, and to the political system of people's congresses, all of which are mandated by the Constitution. We will better implement the Constitution and conduct constitutional oversight, and we will improve the systems for ensuring full compliance with the Constitution, so as to give better play to the Constitution's important role in China's governance and uphold its authority.

We will step up legislation in key, emerging and foreign-related fields and advance the rule of law in domestic and foreign-related affairs in a coordinated manner, so that good laws are made to promote development and ensure good governance. We will make further headway in making laws in a well-conceived and democratic way and in accordance with the law; we will take coordinated steps to enact, revise, abolish, interpret and codify laws; and we will see that legislative work is more systematic, holistic, coordinated and responsive. Improvements will be made to the record and review system for normative documents. We must ensure sound, democratic and law-based decision-making and fully implement the procedural system for making major decisions.

2. Steadily advancing law-based government administration

Building a law-based government is a key task and major part of comprehensively advancing law-based governance. We will transform government functions, improve the government responsibility system and organizational structure, and establish legal footing for government institutions, functions, powers, procedures and responsibilities, so as to enhance the efficiency and credibility of government administration. We will deepen reform of public institutions.

With regard to administrative law enforcement, we will advance structural reform to ensure that it is strict, procedure-based, impartial and civil across the board, and we will intensify it in key areas involving the people's immediate interests. We will refine law enforcement procedures and the standards for administrative discretion, enhance oversight mechanisms and oversight capacity, and strictly implement responsibility and accountability systems. We will also improve the systems and mechanisms for coordinated law enforcement at the community level.

3. Ensuring strict and impartial administration of justice

An impartial judiciary is the last line of defense for social fairness and justice. We will deepen comprehensive and integrated reform of the judicial system, fully and faithfully enforce judicial accountability, and accelerate the development of a fair, efficient and authoritative socialist judicial system. We will see that the people feel justice has been served in each and every judicial case.

We will ensure the well-regulated exercise of judicial power and improve the systems and mechanisms that enable public security bodies, procuratorates, courts, and administrative agencies for justice to perform their respective functions and to coordinate with and check one another. Checks and oversight on judicial activities will be enhanced to ensure judicial justice. Procuratorial bodies will step up legal oversight, and the system of public-interest litigation will be improved.

4. Stepping up efforts to establish the rule of law throughout society

A society based on the rule of law is the foundation on which we can build a country under the rule of law. We will promote socialist rule of law and carry forward fine traditional Chinese legal culture, and we will encourage all our people to truly revere, readily observe, and firmly defend socialist rule of law. We will develop a modern public legal service system that covers both urban and rural populations and carry out intensive activities to raise public awareness of the rule of law. We will advance law-based governance at multiple levels and in multiple areas and enhance the rule of law in social governance. We will see that leading officials play an exemplary role and work hard to make respecting, studying, observing, and applying the law common practice throughout society.

VIII. Building Cultural Confidence and Strength and Securing New Successes in Developing Socialist Culture

To build a modern socialist country in all respects, we must develop a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics and be more confident in our culture. In our efforts to turn China into a country with a strong socialist culture, we will focus on upholding socialism with Chinese characteristics, rallying public support, fostering a new generation of young people, developing Chinese culture, and better presenting China to the world. We will develop a sound, people-oriented socialist culture for our nation that embraces modernization, the world, and the future. We will ignite the cultural creativity of the entire nation and build a powerful source of inspiration for realizing national rejuvenation.

We should uphold the foundational system for ensuring the guiding role of Marxism in the ideological domain. We will ensure that culture serves the people and serves socialism. We will follow the principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend, and we will encourage creative transformation and innovative development of traditional Chinese culture. Guided by the core socialist values, we will develop advanced socialist culture, promote revolutionary culture, and carry forward fine traditional Chinese culture. In doing so, we will be

well-placed to meet people's ever-growing intellectual and cultural needs, consolidate a common intellectual foundation for the whole Party and all Chinese people to strive in unity, and continuously grow China's cultural soft power and the appeal of Chinese culture.

1. Developing a socialist ideology that has the power to unite and inspire the people

Ideological work is about forging the character of a country and the soul of a nation. We must ensure that the Party firmly exercises leadership over this work and that the responsibility system for it is fully implemented. We will cement and expand the mainstream thoughts and ideas that inspire hard work in the new era.

We will refine the working systems for arming Party members, educating the people, and guiding our practice with the Party's new theories. We will make further progress in the project to study and develop Marxist theory. In philosophy and the social sciences, we will work faster to develop Chinese systems of academic disciplines, research and discourse, and we will cultivate a pool of talented philosophers and social scientists.

We will improve the systems for communications across all forms of media and create a new environment of mainstream public opinion. We will improve the system for conducting comprehensive cyberspace governance and foster a healthy online environment.

2. Extensively applying the core socialist values

The core socialist values have immense power to rally the people's support and pool their strength. We will carry forward the long line of inspiring principles for the Chinese Communists that originated with the great founding spirit of the Party; put resources related to the Party's heritage to great use; conduct extensive public awareness activities to promote the core socialist values; enhance commitment to patriotism, collectivism and socialism; and foster a new generation of young people to shoulder the mission of realizing national rejuvenation.

We will develop and institutionalize regular activities to foster ideals and convictions, and we will carry out public awareness initiatives on the history of the Party, the People's Republic of China, reform and opening up, and the development of socialism, in order to foster love for the Party and the country. These efforts will help strengthen the people's commitment to our common ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

We will draw on the core socialist values to forge inner strength and inspire our people, improve the system of theoretical and political work, and integrate the moral and political education curriculum across all levels, from elementary schools to universities.

We will uphold both the rule of law and the rule of virtue and see that the core socialist values are incorporated into efforts to advance the rule of law, into social development, and into the people's daily lives.

3. Enhancing civility throughout society

We will continue the civic morality campaign, carry forward traditional Chinese virtues, foster stronger family ties, values and traditions, and raise the intellectual and moral standards of minors. We will build public commitment to the greater good, public morality, and personal integrity. These efforts will help raise public moral standards and enhance public civility.

To promote cultural-ethical progress, we will take coordinated steps to raise awareness, apply principles, and develop initiatives and advance efforts in both urban and rural areas. We will foster an ethos of work, enterprise, dedication, creativity and frugality throughout society and cultivate new trends and new customs for our times.

We will increase people's knowledge of science and encourage everyone to read. The system and working mechanisms for volunteer services will be improved. We will promote integrity and credibility in society and work to perfect relevant long-term mechanisms.

We will see that Party and state awards and honors play a guiding and exemplary role and that a public atmosphere prevails in which people emulate paragons of virtue, look up to heroes, and strive to become pioneers.

4. Developing cultural programs and the cultural sector

We will encourage people-centered cultural creation and production of more outstanding works that inspire the people, and we will nurture a great number of writers and artists of both moral and artistic stature as well as a large contingent of talented personnel in culture and the arts.

We will make sure the cultural sector prioritizes social benefit while also producing economic returns, deepen reform of the cultural management system, and improve economic policy for the cultural sector.

We will implement a national cultural digitization strategy, improve the modern system of public cultural services, and launch new public-benefit cultural programs. We will improve the modern systems for cultural industries and markets and implement major cultural projects to spur the development of the sector.

We will put more effort into protecting cultural artifacts and heritage, better protect and preserve historical and cultural heritage in the course of urban and rural development, and build and make good use of national cultural parks. We will encourage positive interplay between culture and tourism and advance deeper integration of the two sectors.

We will launch extensive public fitness initiatives, improve physical education for our young people, promote all-around development of recreational and competitive sports, and move faster to build China into a country strong in sports.

5. Extending the reach and appeal of Chinese civilization

We will stay firmly rooted in Chinese culture. We will collect and refine the defining symbols and best elements of Chinese culture and showcase them to the world. We will accelerate the development of China's discourse and narrative systems, better tell China's stories, make China's voice heard, and present China as a country worthy of friendship, trust and respect.

We will strengthen our international communications capabilities, make our communications more effective, and strive to strengthen China's voice in international affairs so it is commensurate with our composite national strength and international status. We will deepen exchanges and mutual learning with other civilizations and better present Chinese culture to the world.

IX. Improving the People's Wellbeing and Raising Quality of Life

The country is the people and the people are the country. As the Communist Party of China has led the people in fighting to establish and develop the People's Republic, it has really been fighting for their support. Bringing benefit to the people is the fundamental principle of governance.

Working for the people's wellbeing is an essential part of the Party's commitment to serving the public good and exercising governance for the people. We must ensure and improve the people's wellbeing in the course of pursuing development and encourage everyone to work hard together to meet the people's aspirations for a better life.

We must strive to realize, safeguard and advance the fundamental interests of all our people. To this end, we must do everything within our capacity to resolve the most practical problems that are of the greatest and most direct concern to the people. We will stay engaged with our people and their communities, adopt more measures that deliver real benefits to the people and win their approval, and work hard to resolve the pressing difficulties and problems that concern them most. We will improve the basic public services system to raise public service standards and make public services more equitable and accessible, so as to achieve solid progress in promoting common prosperity.

1. Improving the system of income distribution

The system of income distribution is the foundational system for promoting common prosperity. We will keep distribution according to work as the mainstay with multiple forms of distribution existing alongside it, and we will build an institutional framework under which primary, secondary and tertiary distribution are well coordinated and mutually complementary. We will work to raise the share of personal income in the distribution of national income and give more weight to work remuneration in primary distribution.

We will ensure more pay for more work and encourage people to achieve prosperity through hard work. We will promote equality of opportunity, increase the incomes of low-income earners, and expand the size of the middle-income group.

We will improve the policy system for distribution based on factors of production, explore multiple avenues to enable the low- and middle-income groups to earn more from production factors, and increase the property income of urban and rural residents through more channels.

We will enhance the roles of taxation, social security, and transfer payments in regulating income distribution. We will improve the personal income tax system and keep income distribution and the means of accumulating wealth well-regulated. We will protect lawful income, adjust excessive income, and prohibit illicit income.

We will provide guidance and support for enterprises, social organizations, and individuals who have the desire and ability to actively participate in charitable and public-interest initiatives.

2. Implementing the employment-first strategy

Employment is the most basic component of the people's wellbeing. We need to intensify efforts to implement the employment-first policy and improve related mechanisms to promote high-quality and full employment. We will refine the public services system for employment and the system of providing employment support for key groups and do more to help those in difficulty find employment and meet their basic needs.

We will integrate the urban and rural employment policy systems, remove institutional and policy barriers that impede the flow of labor and talent, and eliminate unjustified restrictions and discrimination that undermine equal employment. In this way, we will ensure that everyone has the opportunity to pursue a career through hard work.

We will improve the system of lifelong vocational training and tackle structural unemployment. We will improve the system for creating jobs by encouraging business startups and support and regulate the development of new forms of employment.

We will improve labor laws and regulations, the mechanisms for labor relation consultations and mediation, and the systems for safeguarding workers' rights and interests, and we will do more to protect the rights and interests of those in flexible employment and new forms of employment.

3. Improving the social security system

The social security system provides a safety net for people's livelihoods and helps ensure social stability. We will further improve the multitiered social security system that covers the entire population in urban and rural areas and see that it is fair, unified, reliable, well-regulated and sustainable.

We will improve the unified national management system for basic old-age pension funds and develop a multitiered and multi-pillar old-age pension system. The statutory retirement age will be gradually raised. We will expand the coverage of social insurance programs, improve the

mechanisms for financing and adjusting benefits for basic old-age pension and basic medical insurance, and work towards provincial-level unified management of funds for basic medical insurance, unemployment insurance, and workers' compensation.

We will promote the orderly linking up of medical insurance programs at different levels, improve serious illness insurance and medical assistance schemes, and see that medical expenses are settled where they are incurred. We will institute an insurance system to support long-term care and vigorously develop commercial medical insurance.

We will move faster to improve the nationally unified public platform for social insurance services. Improvements will be made to the system whereby social security funds are kept safe through supervision and their value is maintained and increased over time. The multitiered and categorized social assistance system will be improved.

We will remain committed to the fundamental national policy of gender equality and protect the lawful rights and interests of women and children. For people with disabilities, we will improve the social security and service systems and promote all-around development of related programs.

Adhering to the principle that housing is for living in and not for speculation, we will move faster to build a housing system featuring multiple suppliers and various channels of support that encourages both housing rentals and purchases.

4. Advancing the Healthy China initiative

People's health is a key indicator of a prosperous nation and a strong country. We must give strategic priority to ensuring the people's health and improve policies on promoting public health.

We will improve the population development strategy, establish a policy system to boost birth rates, and bring down the costs of pregnancy and childbirth, child rearing, and schooling.

We will pursue a proactive national strategy in response to population aging, develop elderly care programs and services, and provide better services for elderly people who live alone. By doing so, we can ensure that basic elderly care is accessible to the entire elderly population.

We will further reform the medical and healthcare systems and promote coordinated development and regulation of medical insurance, medical services, and pharmaceuticals. We will expand the availability of quality medical resources and ensure they are better distributed among regions. Giving priority to prevention, we will strengthen health management for major chronic diseases and enhance the capacity for disease prevention and treatment as well as health management at the community level.

We will deepen reform of public hospitals to see that they truly serve the public interest and better regulate the development of private hospitals. We will build up the ranks of medical and healthcare personnel with an emphasis on rural areas and urban communities.

We will place importance on mental and psychological health. We will promote the preservation and innovative development of traditional Chinese medicine.

We will develop new mechanisms for enhancing collaboration and integration between hospitals and institutions for disease prevention and control. We will also improve the public health system, improve our early warning system for major epidemics, and strengthen the systems for epidemic prevention, control and treatment as well as our emergency response capacity so as to effectively contain major infectious diseases.

We will further advance the Healthy China initiative and public health campaigns and promote sound, healthy lifestyles.

X. Pursuing Green Development and Promoting Harmony Between Humanity and Nature

Nature provides the basic conditions for human survival and development. Respecting, adapting to, and protecting nature is essential for building China into a modern socialist country in all respects. We must uphold and act on the principle that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets, and we must remember to maintain harmony between humanity and nature when planning our development.

We will advance the Beautiful China initiative and take a holistic and systematic approach to the conservation and improvement of mountains, waters, forests, farmlands, grasslands and deserts. We will carry out coordinated industrial restructuring, pollution control, ecological conservation, and climate response, and we will promote concerted efforts to cut carbon emissions, reduce pollution, expand green development, and pursue economic growth. We will prioritize ecological protection, conserve resources and use them efficiently, and pursue green and low-carbon development.

1. Accelerating the transition to a model of green development

A green and low-carbon economy and society are crucial to high-quality development. We must work faster to adjust and improve the industrial structure, the energy mix, and the composition of the transportation sector. We will implement a comprehensive conservation strategy, conserve resources of all types and use them efficiently, and move faster to put in place a system for recycling waste and used materials. Fiscal, taxation, financial, investment and pricing policies and standards will be improved to support green development. We will boost green and low-carbon industries and improve the system for market-based allocation of resources and environmental factors. We will accelerate the R&D, promotion and application of advanced energy-saving and carbon emission reduction technologies, encourage green consumption, and promote green and low-carbon ways of production and life.

2. Intensifying pollution prevention and control

We will continue to control pollution in a lawful, targeted and science-based way, and we will make further efforts to keep our skies blue, waters clear, and lands clean. Pollutants will be controlled in a better-coordinated way, and we will basically eliminate serious air pollution. We will make concerted efforts to improve aquatic environments, water resources, and aquatic ecosystems, strengthen ecological conservation of major rivers, lakes and reservoirs, and generally eliminate black, malodorous water bodies in cities. We will strengthen prevention and control of soil contamination at the source and control new pollutants. The environmental infrastructure will be upgraded and living environments in both urban and rural areas will be improved. The pollutant discharge permit system will be implemented across the board, and more will be done to modernize the environmental governance system. We will rigorously prevent and control environmental risks and strengthen central government environmental inspections.

3. Enhancing diversity, stability and sustainability in our ecosystems

Major projects for preserving and restoring key ecosystems will be carried out at a faster pace in priority areas, including key national eco-environmental functional zones, ecological conservation red lines, and nature reserves. We will develop the national park-based nature reserve system and carry out major biodiversity protection projects. Large-scale greening programs will be rolled out in a well-planned way, and reform of collective forest tenure will be deepened. We will promote the natural regeneration of grasslands, forests, rivers, lakes and wetlands, enforce the 10-year fishing ban on the Yangtze River, and improve the system of fallowing and crop rotation.

We will establish mechanisms to realize the market value of ecosystem goods and services and improve the compensation system for ecological conservation. Biosafety and biosecurity management will be strengthened, and efforts will be made to prevent and treat harm caused by invasions of exotic species.

4. Working actively and prudently towards the goals of reaching peak carbon emissions and carbon neutrality

Reaching peak carbon emissions and achieving carbon neutrality will mean a broad and profound systemic socio-economic transformation. Based on China's energy and resource endowment, we will advance initiatives to reach peak carbon emissions in a well-planned and phased way in line with the principle of building the new before discarding the old. We will exercise better control over the volume and intensity of energy use, particularly of fossil fuels, and transition gradually towards controlling both the volume and intensity of carbon emissions.

We will promote clean, low-carbon and high-efficiency energy use and push forward the clean and low-carbon transition in industry, construction, transportation, and other sectors. We will thoroughly advance the energy revolution. Coal will be used in a cleaner and more efficient way, and greater efforts will be made to explore and develop petroleum and natural gas, discover more untapped reserves, and increase production. We will speed up the planning and development of a system for new energy sources, properly balance hydropower development and ecological

conservation, and develop nuclear power in an active, safe and orderly manner. We will strengthen our systems for energy production, supply, storage and marketing to ensure energy security. We will improve the statistics and accounting system and the cap-and-trade system for carbon emissions. The carbon sink capacity of ecosystems will be boosted. We will get actively involved in global governance in response to climate change.

XI. Modernizing China's National Security System and Capacity and Safeguarding National Security and Social Stability

National security is the bedrock of national rejuvenation, and social stability is a prerequisite for building a strong and prosperous China. We must resolutely pursue a holistic approach to national security and promote national security in all areas and stages of the work of the Party and the country, so as to ensure national security and social stability.

We must take the people's security as our ultimate goal, political security as our fundamental task, economic security as our foundation, military, technological, cultural and social security as important pillars, and international security as a support. We will take coordinated steps to ensure external and internal security, homeland and public security, traditional and non-traditional security, and our own security and common security. We will both uphold national security and create the conditions for ensuring it. We will strengthen popular support for national security and social stability, improve the mechanisms for our participation in global security governance, and advance the Peaceful China initiative to a higher level. With this new security architecture, we will be able to better safeguard China's new development dynamic.

1. Improving the national security system

We must uphold the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership over national security work and make sure that our leadership system for national security is high-performing and authoritative. The mechanisms for coordinating national security work will be strengthened. Improvements will be made in the legal, strategy and policy systems for national security as well as the risk monitoring and early warning systems and the national emergency management system.

We will also improve the systems that safeguard security in key sectors and the coordination and command systems for major projects. We will strengthen the safeguards for ensuring economic, major infrastructure, financial, cyber, data, biological, resource, nuclear, space and maritime security. Mechanisms for countering foreign sanctions, interference, and long-arm jurisdiction will be strengthened. We will improve the allocation of national security resources and create a coordinated, multidimensional and highly effective system for protecting national security across all domains.

2. Strengthening our capacity for safeguarding national security

We will resolutely safeguard the security of China's state power, systems, and ideology and build up security capacity in key areas. We will ensure the security of food, energy and resources as well as key industrial and supply chains. We will strengthen our capacity to ensure overseas security and protect the lawful rights and interests of Chinese citizens and legal entities overseas. We will safeguard China's maritime rights and interests and resolutely defend our country's sovereignty, security, and development interests. We will enhance our capacity to prevent and mitigate major risks and will remain on high alert against systemic security risks. We will crack down hard on infiltration, sabotage, subversion, and separatist activities by hostile forces.

We will conduct extensive public communications about the importance of national security and improve the ability of leading officials at all levels to ensure security in the pursuit of development. This will raise the people's awareness and readiness regarding national security and strengthen the public line of defense.

3. Enhancing public safety governance

We will follow the principles of putting safety first and placing emphasis on prevention, and we will establish an overall safety and emergency response framework. The public safety system will be improved, and we will drive a shift in public safety governance towards a model of prevention. Workplace safety risk controls will be strengthened, and safety supervision in key sectors and areas will be bolstered. We will enhance our capacity for disaster prevention, mitigation and relief and for responding to and providing support during major public emergencies. Regional emergency response capacity will be strengthened. We will tighten supervision over food and drug safety and improve the systems of supervision, early warning, and prevention and control for biosafety and biosecurity. Protection of personal information will be strengthened.

4. Improving the social governance system

We will improve the social governance system based on collaboration, participation, and shared benefits, so as to make social governance more effective. We will apply and further develop the Fengqiao model for promoting community-level governance in the new era, and we will improve the mechanisms for appropriately addressing disputes between members of the public under the new circumstances. We will improve our work in handling public complaints and maintain open and regular channels for learning about people's concerns, handling their claims, and protecting their rights and interests. Primary-level social governance platforms featuring grid-based management, meticulous services, and IT support will be improved to strengthen urban and rural community governance. We should see that problems are resolved as they emerge at the community level.

We will work faster to modernize and enhance social governance in cities. We will take a holistic approach to ensuring law and order, we will consistently combat and root out organized crime, and we will lawfully crack down on various illegal and criminal activities that cause grave public concern. We will boost public participation in crime prevention and control and create an

atmosphere that honors individuals who rise to the occasion during emergencies. This will foster a community of social governance in which everyone fulfills their responsibilities and shares in the benefits.

XII. Achieving the Centenary Goal of the People's Liberation Army and Further Modernizing National Defense and the Military

Achieving the centenary goal of the People's Liberation Army by 2027 and more quickly elevating our people's armed forces to world-class standards are strategic tasks for building a modern socialist country in all respects. To this end, we must apply the Party's philosophy on strengthening the military for the new era, implement the military strategy for the new era, and maintain the Party's absolute leadership over the people's armed forces.

We will continue to enhance political loyalty in the military, strengthen the military through reform, science and technology, and personnel training, and run the military in accordance with the law. We will simultaneously carry out operations, boost combat preparedness, and enhance our military capabilities. We will continue integrated development of the military through mechanization, informatization, and the application of smart technologies and work faster to modernize military theory, organizational forms, personnel, and weaponry and equipment. We will enhance the military's strategic capabilities for defending China's sovereignty, security, and development interests and see that the people's armed forces effectively fulfill their missions and tasks in the new era.

We will strengthen the Party across the board in the people's armed forces to ensure that they always obey the Party's command. We will improve the institutions and mechanisms for implementing the system of ultimate responsibility resting with the chairman of the Central Military Commission.

We will continue to arm our military service members with the Party's new theories and carry out activities so that they gain a good command of the philosophy on strengthening the military and contribute their share to building a strong military. We will encourage military personnel to learn more about the history of the military, promote a thriving military culture, and redouble efforts to foster our military's fighting spirit.

We will strengthen Party organizations in the people's armed forces, carry out regular activities and put in place institutions to improve the military's political work, and make unremitting efforts to improve conduct, enforce discipline, and combat corruption in the military.

We will intensify troop training and enhance combat preparedness across the board to see that our people's armed forces can fight and win. We will study and gain a good grasp of the characteristics of informatized and intelligent warfare and the laws that govern it, provide new military strategic guidance, and develop strategies and tactics for a people's war.

We will establish a strong system of strategic deterrence, increase the proportion of new-domain forces with new combat capabilities, speed up the development of unmanned, intelligent combat capabilities, and promote coordinated development and application of the network information system.

We will improve the command system for joint operations and enhance our systems and capacity for reconnaissance and early warning, joint strikes, battlefield support, and integrated logistics support.

We will intensify military training under combat conditions, laying emphasis on joint training, force-on-force training, and high-tech training. We will become more adept at deploying our military forces on a regular basis and in diversified ways, and our military will remain both steadfast and flexible as it carries out its operations. This will enable us to shape our security posture, deter and manage crises and conflicts, and win local wars.

We will strengthen all-around military governance. We will build on and expand the gains of national defense and military reform, improve the structure and composition of the armed forces, and refine the framework of military policies and institutions.

In fulfilling major tasks for national defense and military development, we will coordinate our operations, capacity building, and combat preparedness. We will speed up the development of modern logistics, implement major projects to develop defense-related science and technology, weaponry, and equipment, and move faster to translate scientific and technological advances into combat capabilities.

We will deepen the reform of military universities and colleges, build a strong system for training new types of military personnel, and develop new ways to manage military human resources. We will strengthen mechanisms and strategic planning for running the armed forces in accordance with the law and improve the Chinese system for law-based administration of military affairs. We will refine strategic management, improve the performance of the military system, and put defense resources to better use.

We will consolidate and enhance integrated national strategies and strategic capabilities. We will better coordinate strategies and plans, align policies and systems, and share resources and production factors between the military and civilian sectors. We will improve the system and configuration of science, technology, and industries related to national defense and step up capacity building in these areas.

We will raise public awareness of the importance of national defense. We will improve our national defense mobilization capacity and the development of our reserve forces, and we will modernize our border, coastal and air defense. We will better motivate service personnel and their family members through military honors and do more to protect their rights and interests. Better services and support will be provided to ex-service personnel. We will consolidate and boost unity between the military and the government and between the military and the people.

Our people's armed forces are a heroic fighting force that enjoys the full trust of the Party and the people. They have the confidence and the ability to safeguard China's sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity; the confidence and the ability to provide strategic support for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation; and the confidence and the ability to make yet greater contributions to world peace and development.

XIII. Upholding and Improving the Policy of One Country, Two Systems and Promoting National Reunification

The policy of One Country, Two Systems is a great innovation of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It has proven to be the best institutional arrangement for ensuring sustained prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao after their return to the motherland. This policy must be adhered to over the long term.

We will fully, faithfully and resolutely implement the policy of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong govern Hong Kong and the people of Macao govern Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy. We will remain committed to law-based governance in Hong Kong and Macao and maintain constitutional order in these two special administrative regions as stipulated in China's Constitution and their basic laws.

We will uphold and improve the systems for implementing the One Country, Two Systems policy and ensure that the central government exercises overall jurisdiction over the two regions. We will see that Hong Kong and Macao are administered by patriots and that the laws and enforcement mechanisms for safeguarding national security are implemented there.

We will ensure both the central government's overall jurisdiction and a high degree of autonomy in the special administrative regions. We will uphold executive-led government in Hong Kong and Macao and support the chief executives and governments of the two regions in exercising law-based administration, enhancing their overall governance and management capacity, and improving their judicial and legal systems. We will ensure that the capitalist system and way of life remain unchanged in Hong Kong and Macao in the long run and work to promote long-term prosperity and stability in the two regions.

We will support Hong Kong and Macao in growing their economies, improving their people's lives, and resolving deep-seated issues and problems in economic and social development. We will give full play to the strengths and distinctive features of the two regions to see them consolidate and elevate their international position in finance, trade, shipping, aviation, innovation and technology, culture and tourism, and other fields.

We will encourage Hong Kong and Macao to conduct deeper, closer and broader exchanges and cooperation with other regions and countries. We will continue to develop the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area and support Hong Kong and Macao in better integrating themselves into China's overall development and playing a greater role in realizing national rejuvenation.

We will inspire more people in Hong Kong and Macao to love both the country and their own regions, be more patriotic, and forge a broader united front at home and abroad in support of the One Country, Two Systems policy. We will crack down hard on anti-China elements who attempt to create chaos in Hong Kong and Macao. We will take resolute action to prevent and stop interference in the affairs of Hong Kong and Macao by external forces.

Resolving the Taiwan question and realizing China's complete reunification is, for the Party, a historic mission and an unshakable commitment. It is also a shared aspiration of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation and a natural requirement for realizing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. We will implement our Party's overall policy for resolving the Taiwan question in the new era, maintain the initiative and the ability to steer in cross-Straits relations, and unswervingly advance the cause of national reunification.

The policies of peaceful reunification and One Country, Two Systems are the best way to realize reunification across the Taiwan Straits; this best serves the interests of Chinese people on both sides of the Straits and the entire Chinese nation. We will adhere to the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus. On this basis, we will conduct extensive and in-depth consultations on cross-Straits relations and national reunification with people from all political parties, sectors, and social strata in Taiwan, and we will work with them to promote peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and advance the process of China's peaceful reunification.

We will stand closely with our Taiwan compatriots, give firm support to patriots in Taiwan who desire reunification, and join hands to keep pace with the trends of history. We will safeguard the overall interests of the Chinese nation and take resolute steps to oppose "Taiwan independence" and promote reunification. Our great country will forever stand firm behind all patriots who support reunification.

Blood runs thicker than water, and fellow Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are one family bound by blood. We have always shown respect and care for our Taiwan compatriots and worked to deliver benefits to them. We will continue to promote economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation across the Straits, advance our integrated development in all fields, and improve systems and policies that contribute to the wellbeing of our Taiwan compatriots. We will encourage people on both sides of the Straits to work together to promote Chinese culture and forge closer bonds.

Taiwan is China's Taiwan. Resolving the Taiwan question is a matter for the Chinese, a matter that must be resolved by the Chinese. We will continue to strive for peaceful reunification with the greatest sincerity and the utmost effort, but we will never promise to renounce the use of force, and we reserve the option of taking all measures necessary. This is directed solely at interference by outside forces and the few separatists seeking "Taiwan independence" and their separatist activities; it is by no means targeted at our Taiwan compatriots.

The wheels of history are rolling on towards China's reunification and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Complete reunification of our country must be realized, and it can, without doubt, be realized!

XIV. Promoting World Peace and Development and Building a Global Community of Shared Future

Today, our world, our times, and history are changing in ways like never before. The historic trends of peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit are unstoppable. The will of the people and the general trends of our day will eventually lead to a bright future for humanity. And yet, the hegemonic, high-handed, and abusive acts of using strength to intimidate the weak, taking from others by force and subterfuge, and playing zero-sum games are exerting grave harm. The deficit in peace, development, security and governance is growing. All of this is posing unprecedented challenges for human society. The world has once again reached a crossroads in history, and its future course will be decided by all the world's peoples.

For its part, China has always been committed to its foreign policy goals of upholding world peace and promoting common development, and it is dedicated to promoting a global community of shared future.

China remains firm in pursuing an independent foreign policy of peace. It has always decided its position and policy on issues based on their own merits, and it has strived to uphold the basic norms governing international relations and safeguard international fairness and justice.

China respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries. It stays true to the principle of equality of all countries big or small, strong or weak, and rich or poor, and it respects the development paths and social systems independently chosen by all the world's peoples.

China stands firmly against all forms of hegemonism and power politics, the Cold War mentality, interference in other countries' internal affairs, and double standards.

China pursues a defensive national defense policy, and its development strengthens the world's forces for peace. No matter what stage of development it reaches, China will never seek hegemony or engage in expansionism.

China adheres to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in pursuing friendship and cooperation with other countries. It is committed to promoting a new model of international relations, deepening and expanding global partnerships based on equality, openness and cooperation, and broadening the convergence of interests with other countries. China works to enhance coordination and positive interaction with other major countries to build major-country relations featuring peaceful coexistence, overall stability, and balanced development. Acting on the principles of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness and the policy of forging friendships and partnerships with its neighbors, China strives to enhance friendly ties, mutual trust, and converging interests with its neighboring countries. Guided by the principles of sincerity,

real results, amity, and good faith and with a commitment to the greater good and shared interests, China endeavors to strengthen solidarity and cooperation with other developing countries and safeguard the common interests of the developing world.

The Communist Party of China stands ready to boost exchanges and cooperation with political parties and organizations of other countries based on the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. Our Party encourages people's congresses, CPPCC committees, the military, local governments, and people's organizations to expand their external exchanges.

China is committed to its fundamental national policy of opening to the outside world and pursues a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up. It strives to create new opportunities for the world with its own development and to contribute its share to building an open global economy that delivers greater benefits to all peoples.

China adheres to the right course of economic globalization. It strives to promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, advance bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation, and boost international macroeconomic policy coordination. It is committed to working with other countries to foster an international environment conducive to development and create new drivers for global growth. China opposes protectionism, the erection of "fences and barriers", decoupling, disruption of industrial and supply chains, unilateral sanctions, and maximum-pressure tactics.

China is prepared to invest more resources in global development cooperation. It is committed to narrowing the North-South gap and supporting and assisting other developing countries in accelerating development.

China plays an active part in the reform and development of the global governance system. It pursues a vision of global governance featuring shared growth through discussion and collaboration. China upholds true multilateralism, promotes greater democracy in international relations, and works to make global governance fairer and more equitable.

China is firm in safeguarding the international system with the United Nations at its core, the international order underpinned by international law, and the basic norms governing international relations based on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. It opposes all forms of unilateralism and the forming of blocs and exclusive groups targeted against particular countries.

China works to see that multilateral institutions such as the WTO and APEC better play their roles, cooperation mechanisms such as BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) exert greater influence, and emerging markets and developing countries are better represented and have a greater say in global affairs.

China is actively involved in setting global security rules, works to promote international security cooperation, and takes an active part in UN peacekeeping operations. China plays a constructive role in safeguarding world peace and regional stability.

Building a global community of shared future is the way forward for all the world's peoples. An ancient Chinese philosopher observed that "all living things may grow side by side without harming one another, and different roads may run in parallel without interfering with one another". Only when all countries pursue the cause of common good, live in harmony, and engage in cooperation for mutual benefit will there be sustained prosperity and guaranteed security. It is in this spirit that China has put forward the Global Development Initiative and the Global Security Initiative, and it stands ready to work with the international community to put these two initiatives into action.

China is committed to building a world of lasting peace through dialogue and consultation, a world of universal security through collaboration and shared benefits, a world of common prosperity through mutually beneficial cooperation, an open and inclusive world through exchanges and mutual learning, and a clean and beautiful world through green and low-carbon development.

We sincerely call upon all countries to hold dear humanity's common values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom; to promote mutual understanding and forge closer bonds with other peoples; and to respect the diversity of civilizations. Let us allow cultural exchanges to transcend estrangement, mutual learning to transcend clashes, and coexistence to transcend feelings of superiority. Let us all join forces to meet all types of global challenges.

Although this is an era fraught with challenges, it is also an era brimming with hope. The Chinese people are ready to work hand in hand with people across the world to create an even brighter future for humanity.

XV. Exercising Full and Rigorous Internal Party Governance and Advancing the Great New Project of Strengthening the Party in the New Era

Our Party has a pivotal role in building China into a modern socialist country in all respects and in advancing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts. As the largest Marxist governing party in the world, we must always stay alert and determined to tackle the special challenges that a large party like ours faces, so as to maintain the people's support and consolidate our position as the long-term governing party.

Since our Party's 18th National Congress, we have exercised full and rigorous internal governance and solved many of our prominent problems. Nevertheless, the tests the Party faces in governance, reform and opening up, the market economy, and the external environment will exist for a long time to come, as will the dangers of a lack of drive, incompetence, disengagement from the people, inaction, and corruption.

All of us in the Party must bear in mind that full and rigorous internal governance is an unceasing endeavor and that self-reform is a journey to which there is no end. We must never slacken our efforts and never allow ourselves to become weary or beaten. We must persevere with full and

rigorous internal governance, continue to advance the great new project of strengthening the Party in the new era, and use our own transformation to steer social transformation.

We must meet the overall requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era, improve the systems for exercising full and rigorous internal governance, and comprehensively advance our efforts to cleanse, improve, renew and temper ourselves. This will enable our Party to stay true to its original aspiration and founding mission and remain the strong leadership core in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

1. Upholding and strengthening the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee

The Party's leadership is comprehensive, systematic and integrated; therefore, it must be exercised in a comprehensive, systematic and integrated way.

We will improve the leadership systems by which the Party exercises overall leadership and coordinates the efforts of all sides and refine the mechanisms through which the Party Central Committee's major decisions and plans are implemented. This will ensure that all Party members closely follow the Central Committee in terms of political stance, orientation, principles and path and that the Party's solidarity and unity are maintained.

We will improve the Central Committee's decision-making, deliberative, and coordinating institutions, so as to strengthen its centralized, unified leadership over major initiatives.

In strengthening the Party politically, we will enforce strict political discipline and rules, ensure that Party committees and Party leadership groups at all levels fully assume their principal responsibilities, and strengthen the political acumen, understanding and capacity to deliver of Party organizations and Party officials at all levels.

We will continue to conduct sound, democratic and law-based governance, practice democratic centralism, and develop new and improved ways of exercising leadership. We will enhance the Party's ability to chart the course, make overall plans, design policy, and promote reform, and we will keep everyone motivated.

We will make internal Party activities more politically oriented, up to date, principled, and effective. We will make full use of criticism and self-criticism and keep working to improve the political environment in the Party.

2. Enhancing cohesion and forging the Party's soul with the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era

Arming our members with the Party's new theories is a fundamental task of strengthening ourselves theoretically. To this end, we will continue to use the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era to achieve unity in thinking, will and action. We will launch programs

for Party members to study the Party's new theory and build the Party into a Marxist party of learning.

We will strengthen the ideals and convictions of our Party members, see that they are committed to the Party's purpose, and resolve the fundamental question of the worldview, outlook on life, and values they should embrace. We will be firm believers and loyal practitioners of the noble ideal of communism and the common ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

We will apply what we have learned in practice, act on our beliefs, and turn the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era into a powerful force for strengthening our ideals and convictions, enhancing our commitment to the Party, guiding our practice, and advancing our work.

We will combine theoretical study with regular, long-term study of the Party's history and see that Party members and officials strengthen their understanding, commitment, integrity and action through continued study of Party history and carry forward our revolutionary traditions and heritage. We will launch theoretical study programs for Party members, especially leading officials at and above the county and director level.

3. Improving the systems and regulations for the Party's self-reform

We will continue to run the Party with systems and regulations. We should take the Party Constitution as our fundamental guide and give full play to the core role of democratic centralism in order to improve the framework of Party regulations, increase their authority, and fully enforce them. We will put in place mechanisms for upholding truth, correcting errors, uncovering problems, and remedying failings.

We will improve the total-coverage, authoritative, and highly effective oversight system under the Party's unified leadership and refine the mechanisms for overseeing power and keeping it in check. We will generate synergy between various forms of oversight with intra-Party oversight serving as the mainstay, and we will ensure that power is exercised in broad daylight.

We will conduct concrete, targeted and regular political oversight and keep leadership teams and their heads under effective oversight. We will see that political inspections serve as a powerful tool and that follow-up rectifications are made accordingly and their results are put to practical use. We will work to ensure that political responsibility for full and rigorous internal Party governance is fulfilled and that accountability mechanisms have real teeth.

4. Cultivating officials capable of shouldering the mission of national rejuvenation

To build a modern socialist country in all respects, we must have a team of officials who are politically committed and who have the competence to meet the needs of the new era and lead China's modernization drive.

We must adhere to the principle of the Party supervising officials. We must select officials on the basis of both integrity and ability, with greater weight given to integrity, and on the basis of merit regardless of background, thus fully applying the criteria for judging competent officials in the new era.

We will follow the right approach to selecting and appointing officials, select those who are high-caliber, professional, loyal, upright and responsible, and ensure that strong and competent leadership teams are put in place at all levels. We will take political commitment as the primary criterion for selection and carry out solid vetting of officials' political commitment to ensure that they are politically reliable and corruption-free.

We will strengthen the ability of officials by tempering them through practice and giving them professional training, and we will focus on honing their skills by assigning them major tasks. This will help to ensure that officials become more capable of pursuing high-quality development, serving the people, and guarding against and defusing risks.

We will redouble our efforts to build the fighting spirit and ability of officials, particularly their ability to prevent risks, rise to challenges, and withstand pressure. This will enable them to take the lead in shouldering responsibility and to excel in their daily work, step forward at critical moments, and act with courage in times of danger.

We will improve the system for assessing officials' performance and see that officials have a correct understanding of what it means to perform well. We should also see that officials can be demoted as well as promoted and dismissed as well as recruited, thereby creating an environment in which the competent are elevated, the outstanding are rewarded, the mediocre are demoted, and the incompetent are dismissed.

It is of critical importance to the Party's future that we have qualified successors to carry forward our cause. With this in mind, we will improve the regular working mechanisms for training and selecting promising young officials. We should encourage young officials to work and gain experience in local communities and areas where conditions are harsh, and we should make such assignments an important part of their training.

We will attach importance to cultivating and selecting female officials and give full play to their important role. We will also attach importance to cultivating and appointing officials from ethnic minorities and carry out work related to non-Party officials in a well-coordinated way. We will ensure that retired officials are well taken care of.

We will improve our management of public servants and better allocate staffing resources for Party and state institutions. We should both be strict with our officials and care for them, and we should strengthen overall management and regular supervision of them. To encourage them to be bold in taking on responsibilities and to demonstrate enterprise in their work, we should distinguish

between three categories of unintentional mistakes made when earnestly performing duties, and deliberate violations of regulations and laws. We should concern ourselves with officials working in local communities, particularly those working in areas where conditions are harsh.

5. Enhancing the political and organizational functions of Party organizations

The Party's advantages and strength lie in its close-knit organizational system. Party organizations at all levels must perform the duties prescribed to them by the Party Constitution, implement the Party's guidelines, principles and policies and the Central Committee's decisions and plans, and effectively organize and rally people from all walks of life.

In strengthening Party organizations, we need to keep a clear focus on the primary level, using Party development initiatives to propel rural revitalization and intensifying Party development efforts in urban communities. We will guide community-level governance through Party development, keep working to strengthen weak and lax Party organizations at the primary level, and see that primary-level Party organizations play a key role in ensuring the exercise of the Party's leadership.

Party development will be improved across the board in Party and state offices and will be advanced in public institutions. We will make sure that Party leadership in SOEs and financial firms is strengthened in the process of their improvements to corporate governance. Party development will also be stepped up in mixed-ownership and non-public enterprises. The management systems for Party development in trade associations, academic societies, and chambers of commerce will be improved. Party development efforts will also be enhanced in new types of economic and social organizations and among groups in new forms of employment.

We will pay particular attention to recruiting young people, industrial workers, farmers and intellectuals into the Party. Training and management will be improved for Party members, especially those among floating populations. We will implement the systems for intra-Party democracy, protect Party members' rights, and motivate them to become role models. At the same time, we must earnestly and prudently handle Party members who do not measure up to standards so as to preserve our Party membership's progressive and wholesome nature.

6. Taking strict steps to improve Party conduct and enforce Party discipline

Good conduct is critical to the survival of a governing party. We must carry forward the proud traditions and venerable conduct of the Party. In doing so, we will encourage Party officials, especially leading officials, to take the lead in conducting in-depth research and studies and to immerse themselves in hard work, take concrete measures, and deliver solid outcomes. We will steadfastly implement the central Party leadership's Eight Rules on improving conduct and see that leading officials, or the "key few", set an example for those below them. We will continue to tackle form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance, with a focus on the first two. We will resolutely root out privilege-seeking mindsets and behavior. In improving Party

conduct, we will identify problems specific to certain areas, sectors, and periods of time, go to great lengths to tackle prevalent and recurrent problems, and make consistent and sustained efforts.

We must make all-around efforts to tighten Party discipline. We will urge leading officials, especially high-ranking ones, to be strict with themselves, earnestly fulfill their responsibilities, and conduct rigorous management within their jurisdictions. Regarding violations of Party discipline, each and every infraction identified must be strictly investigated and handled. We will work in concert to consolidate Party members' political commitment, improve Party conduct, and tighten Party discipline. This will enable Party members to maintain firm ideals and convictions, strengthen their commitment to the Party, and bolster their resistance to corruption and moral decline. We will foster within our Party members an inner strength to never be corrupted by wealth or power, never deviate from principle even in poverty or humble positions, and never yield to the threat of force.

7. Winning the tough and protracted battle against corruption

Corruption is a cancer to the vitality and ability of the Party, and fighting corruption is the most thorough kind of self-reform there is. As long as the breeding grounds and conditions for corruption still exist, we must keep sounding the bugle and never rest, not even for a minute, in our fight against corruption.

We will continue to take simultaneous, coordinated and comprehensive steps to ensure that officials do not have the audacity, the opportunity, or the desire to engage in corruption. We must show zero tolerance in opposing corruption and punishing wrongdoing, and we must take more forceful action to both prevent new cases and root out existing ones. We will investigate and deal with corruption that involves both political and economic elements, resolutely prevent leading officials from acting for any interest group or power group, and crack down on any collusion between officials and businesspeople that undermines the political ecosystem or economic development. There must be no mercy for corruption.

We will intensify efforts to uproot corruption in sectors with a high concentration of power, funds and resources. Firm action will be taken to swat “flies”, or corrupt low-ranking officials, whose misconduct directly affects people's lives. We will strictly investigate and handle cases of corruption where leading officials' spouses, children, children's spouses, other relatives, or staff use their influence to seek personal gain. We will punish both bribe takers and givers and combat new and disguised forms of corruption. We will deepen international cooperation to combat corruption and establish an integrated mechanism for pursuing fugitives, preventing escape, and retrieving stolen assets.

To address both the symptoms and root causes of corruption, we will advance national anti-corruption legislation and promote a culture of integrity in the new era. We will provide education and guidance aimed at strengthening the vigilance of Party members and officials so that they

have no desire to engage in corruption and so they live and work with honesty and integrity. We will closely integrate and coordinate harsh punishment, regulation over the exercise of power, and education and guidance, so as to continually secure more institutional achievements and greater efficiency in fighting corruption.

Comrades,

The times are calling us, and the people expect us to deliver. Only by pressing ahead with unwavering commitment and perseverance will we be able to answer the call of our times and meet the expectations of our people.

All of us in the Party must remember: Upholding the Party's overall leadership is the path we must take to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics; building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the path we must take to realize the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation; striving in unity is the path the Chinese people must take to create great historic achievements; implementing the new development philosophy is the path China must take to grow stronger in the new era; and exercising full and rigorous internal governance is the path the Party must take to maintain its vigor and pass new tests on the road ahead.

We have come to this understanding through many years of practice. It is a conclusion of paramount importance that we must cherish, uphold, and never deviate from. Under its guidance, we will ensure that the great ship of socialism with Chinese characteristics catches the wind, cuts through the waves, and sails steadily into the future.

Unity is strength, and only in unity can we succeed. To build China into a modern socialist country in all respects, we must unleash the tremendous creativity of the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions. All of us in the Party must stay true to our fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, maintain a people-centered mindset, and carry out the mass line. We must respect the pioneering spirit of our people and ensure that we are acting for the people and relying on the people in everything we do. We must follow the principle of "from the people, to the people", maintain a close bond with the people, and accept their criticism and oversight. We must breathe the same air as the people, share the same future, and stay truly connected to them. We must strengthen the great unity of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and the great unity of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation at home and abroad. By doing so, we will create a powerful collective force working with one heart and one mind to realize the Chinese Dream.

A nation will prosper only when its young people thrive. China's young people of today are living in a remarkable time. They have an incomparably broad stage on which to display their full talents, and they have incomparably bright prospects of realizing their dreams.

All of us in the Party should regard our work concerning young people as a matter of strategic significance. We will equip young people with the Party's theories, inspire them with the Party's original aspiration and founding mission, and become their confidants, advocates and guides for the future.

Young people: You should steadfastly follow the Party and its guidance, aim high but stay grounded, and dare to think big and take action but make sure you can deliver. You should strive to be the new era's great young generation, a generation with ideals, a sense of responsibility, grit, and dedication. As you endeavor to build China into a modern socialist country in all respects, your youth and vitality will bloom in full splendor.

Comrades,

The Party has made spectacular achievements through its great endeavors over the past century, and our new endeavors will surely lead to more spectacular achievements.

Let the whole Party, the entire military, and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups stay closely rallied around the Party Central Committee. Let us keep in mind that empty talk will do nothing for our country; only solid work will make it flourish. Let us maintain firm confidence, unite as one, and forge ahead with resolve. And let us strive in unity to build a modern socialist country in all respects and advance national rejuvenation on all fronts.

* Report to the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

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