



XI JINPING

THE GOVERNANCE OF CHINA

II

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習近平

Publisher's Note

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) held in 2012, the Central Committee with Xi Jinping as general secretary has led the whole Party and the people of China in the drive to realize the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. In pursuit of these goals the country has upheld and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics, advanced the Five-point Strategy and the Four-pronged Strategy in a coordinated and integrated manner, and achieved historic progress in reform and opening up and socialist modernization. We have braved new challenges, blazed new trails, resolved long-standing and complex problems, realized long-sought objectives, championed the causes of the CPC and the country, and brought Chinese socialism to the threshold of a new era.

In the governance of the country, China's Communists headed by Xi Jinping have kept pace with the times, and provided systematic answers, both theoretical and practical, to two critical questions of this new era: What is the socialism with Chinese characteristics that we should uphold and develop? How are we to achieve it? Together they have created Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as a guide to action in the decisive stage of completing a moderately prosperous society in all respects, in striving for great success of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a

new era, in achieving the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, and in realizing the people's aspirations for a better life. They have also contributed Chinese wisdom and Chinese solutions to building a community of shared future for mankind and promoting world peace and development. Xi Jinping is the principal proponent of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. The 19th CPC National Congress has recognized its worth as the latest milestone on the road that the Party will follow for the foreseeable future.

Xi Jinping: The Governance of China was published in September 2014, as a collection of important speeches and written works by Xi Jinping covering the period from the end of the 18th CPC National Congress until June 2014. The book attracted widespread attention, and has been highly acclaimed by many Chinese and foreign readers.

In the intervening period Xi Jinping has continued to explore the governance of China in the new era, providing a series of new concepts, ideas, and strategies which add further depth and innovation to the Party's theoretical base. To reflect the evolution of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and to help Chinese and foreign readers gain a full appreciation of the depth and innovation that it offers, the State Council Information Office, with the support of the Party Literature Research Office of the CPC Central Committee and China International Publishing Group, has compiled a second volume of *The Governance of China*.

This new volume contains a compilation of 99 of Xi Jinping's spoken and written works from August 2014 to September 2017, along with 29 related photographs. It is divid-

ed into 17 sections by topic, with the articles in each section arranged in chronological order. For ease of reading, notes have been added at the end of each article.

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Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and the Chinese Dream

Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, President of the People's Republic of China, and Chairman of the Central Military Commission, delivered an important speech at the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on November 8, 2012. The speech, titled "Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive to Win a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects", is a major theoretical achievement of the Party. It is the latest achievement of the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and an important part of the Chinese Dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

The speech emphasizes that the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the only way to achieve the Chinese Dream. It is a path that is in line with China's conditions, conforms to the laws of social development, and can bring about the greatest welfare for the people. The Chinese Dream is the shared ideal of all Chinese people, and it is the common goal of the Chinese nation.

The speech also emphasizes that the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is a scientific system that is both consistent with the theoretical system of Marxism and has its own characteristics. It is a system that is based on China's reality, reflects the will of the Chinese people, and serves the cause of the Chinese nation. The Chinese Dream is a dream of peace, development, cooperation, and win-win.

The speech further emphasizes that the Chinese Dream is a dream of the Chinese people, and it is a dream that requires the joint efforts of all Chinese people. It is a dream that requires the joint efforts of the Chinese people, and it is a dream that requires the joint efforts of the Chinese people. The Chinese Dream is a dream of the Chinese people, and it is a dream that requires the joint efforts of the Chinese people.

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 Goals¹ and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

- We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his communist ideals and unshakable belief in socialism with Chinese characteristics. His entire political career was marked by a firm faith in communism, 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 his mind to devote himself completely to our Party and the working class.² 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.”³ 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

* Part of the speech at the seminar commemorating the 110th anniversary of the birth of former Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping.

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!"⁴

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."⁵

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. In pursuit of a strong Party spirit, we Communists should, above all, dedicate ourselves to the long-term goal of communism and the common ideal of building 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.

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He once said, "I am a son of the Chinese people. I have a deep love for my people and my country."⁶ 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."⁷ 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."⁸ 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."⁹ Deng repeatedly stressed 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

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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 implement the Party's general principle. 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 stressed 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."¹¹ He urged leaders to "win the trust of the people and bring about tangible results"¹², and "do more real work"¹³. 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."¹⁴

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
vets, and we continue to rely on it in construction and reform."¹³ 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"¹⁴. 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,
development and reform have more than once proved that only poli-
cies, measures and working methods in line with reality can put the
cause of the Party and the people on the right track and deliver practi-
cal 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, devel-
op a pragmatic work style of high efficiency, and fully implement the
Party's basic theories, guidelines, principles, experience and require-
ments 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 historical
responsibility.

Throughout his 70-year political career, he exhibited the indomi-
table 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 nation-
wide 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."¹⁵ 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."¹⁸ 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."¹⁹ 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."²⁰

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."²¹ 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 adapting Marxism to China's conditions 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 time generating historic change to people's lives, the country, and the Part

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 and 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.

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– 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,"²² 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."²³ 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.²⁴

Paying great attention to global peace and development, he emphasized the need to "regard the problem of development as one that concerns all mankind, and study and solve it on that level".²⁵ Showing concern for other developing countries, he stressed that China "shares a common destiny with all Third World Countries". He pledged that "China will never seek hegemony or bully others, but will always side with the Third World,"²⁶ and 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"²⁷ 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 quality that remained all his life, and is a quality 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 enhance his Party spirit.

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."²⁸ 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."²⁹ 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 Bocheng³⁰ 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,"³¹ he observed. He opposed corruption and privileges of any kind and set strict rules for his relatives and his immediate staff.

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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."³² As a materialist, he regard 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."³³ After his death, his corneas were given to the hospital, his remains donated for medical research, and his ashes cast into the sea as requested in his will.

Party members of noble character should live up to the name of Communists, and are loved by the people. We should learn from Deng's selfless devotion to public interests and his dauntless spirit and broad mind. To this end, we need to strengthen our Party spirit, 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 values³⁴, 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 the Chinese socialism that the Party and the people created under his leadership, and the Deng Xiaoping Theory. Karl Marx wrote in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", "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."³⁵ 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 practi-

cal 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."³⁷ 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 said, "China has achieved status: People dare not look down upon us."³⁸ Therefore, we must not renounce the achievements made during the New Democratic Revolution³⁹, deny our accomplishments in socialist reform and development, and waver in our direction of reform and opening up and socialist modernization. This is why our Party and the 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 Chinese 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 leadership with Jiang Zemin as the core and the fourth-generation leadership 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 guidelines 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 true. 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."³⁹ 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."⁴⁰ 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."⁴¹ 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 enhancing and developing Chinese socialism, making an increasing contribution to peace and development for all mankind.

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.

Notes

The Two Centenary Goals were put forth by the CPC at its 18th National Congress for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The two goals are to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the centenary of the CPC (founded in 1921) and to build China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the centenary of the PRC (founded in 1949). — Tr.

Deng Xiaoping: "My Aspirations in the Soviet Union", *Selected Manuscripts of Deng Xiaoping*, Chin. ed., China Archives Publishing House, Beijing, 2004, pp. 33-34.

Deng Xiaoping: "Building a Socialism with a Specifically Chinese Character", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 72.

¹ *Ibid.*, "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", p. 370.

² *Ibid.*, "We Must Unite the People on the Basis of Firm Convictions", p. 190.

Deng Xiaoping: *Deng Xiaoping's Thought (1975-1997)*, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2011, p. 349.

Deng Xiaoping: "A Letter to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 313.

³ *Ibid.*, "Implement the Policy of Readjustment, Ensure Stability and Unity", Vol. II, 1995, p. 349.

⁴ *Ibid.*, "We Shall Expand Political Democracy and Carry Out Economic Reform", Vol. III, 1994, p. 122.

⁵ Talks given by Deng Xiaoping on July 23-24, 1992 when reviewing the political report to the 14th CPC National Congress, *Deng Xiaoping's Thought (1975-1997)*, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2011, pp. 711-712.

⁶ Deng Xiaoping: "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 369.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, "We Must Form a Promising Collective Leadership That Will Carry Out Reform", p. 291.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, "Devote Special Effort to Education", p. 127.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, "Restore Agricultural Production", Vol. I, 1995, p. 318.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", Vol. III, 1994, p. 370.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

²¹ *Ibid.*, "Things Must Be Put in Order in All Fields", Vol. II, 1995, p. 47.

²² *Ibid.*, "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future", pp. 153-154.

²³ *Ibid.*, "Let Us Put the Past Behind Us and Open Up a New Era", Vol. III, 1994, p. 284.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future", Vol. II, 1995, p. 154.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", Vol. III, 1994, p. 360.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, "Building a Socialism with a Specifically Chinese Character", p. 74.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, "Our Magnificent Goal and Basic Policies", p. 86.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, "Opening Speech at the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China", p. 14.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, "A New International Order Should Be Established with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as Norms", p. 275.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, "We Must Safeguard World Peace and Ensure Domestic Development", p. 66.

³¹ *Ibid.*, "We Must Form a Promising Collective Leadership That Will Carry Out Reform", p. 291.

³² *Ibid.*, "We Should Take a Longer-Range View in Developing Sino-Japanese Relations", p. 64.

³³ Speech at the Third Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee on July 21, 1977, *Chronicle of Deng Xiaoping's Thought (1975-1997)*, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 1998, pp. 29-30.

³⁴ Liu Bocheng (1892-1986) was a proletarian revolutionary, strategist, Marxist military theoretician, and marshal of the PRC.

³⁵ Deng Xiaoping: "We Must Form a Promising Collective Leadership That Will Carry Out Reform", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 291.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, "There Is No Fundamental Contradiction between Socialism and a Market Economy", p. 153.

^④ Deng Xiaoping's talks with his brother Deng Ken on July 12, 1992, *Deng Xiaoping's Thought (1975-1997)*, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2011, p. 710.

^⑤ The core socialist values are prosperity, democracy, civility, harmony, freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law, patriotism, dedication, integrity and friendship. They first appeared in the political report delivered in November 2012 to the 18th CPC National Congress, titled "Firmly March on the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive to Complete the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects".

^⑥ Karl Marx: "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 11, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 103.

^⑦ Deng Xiaoping: "The United States Should Take the Initiative in Putting an End to the Strains in Sino-American Relations", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 321.

^⑧ *Ibid.*, "Maintain the Tradition of Hard Struggle", p. 282.

^⑨ The New Democratic Revolution (1919-1949) is a bourgeois democratic revolution against imperialism and feudal dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat. - Tr.

^⑩ Deng Xiaoping: "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 367.

^⑪ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

^⑫ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

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Fundamental Contradiction
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CPC Leadership Is Essential to Chinese Socialism*

September 5, 2014-February 13, 2017

I

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 their own affairs.

We must remain committed to 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 through legal procedures, train candidates recommended by Party organizations to become leaders of agencies of state power, exercise the Party's leadership over the country and society through agencies of state power, and maintain the

* Excerpts from speeches made between September 5, 2014 and February 13, 2017.

authority of both the Party and the state and the unification of the Party and the country under the principle of democratic centralism.

(from the speech at the meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the National People's Congress, September 5, 2014)

II

CPC leadership is the common choice by the Chinese people from all political parties, people's organizations, ethnic groups, social strata, and all walks of life. It is the primary feature of Chinese socialism and the fundamental guarantee for the progress of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). To stay on the right development course, the CPPCC must uphold CPC leadership.

(from the speech at the meeting marking the 65th anniversary of the CPPCC, September 21, 2014)

III

To lead more than 1.3 billion people to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects, the Party must adapt to, grasp, and steer the new normal of economic development, be innovative in its principles, institutions and methods for leading economic and social development, improve its ability in making overall plans, strategies and policies and advancing reform, and set the direction and steer the way for national development.

(from the speech at the second full assembly of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 29, 2015)

IV

It is a great blessing for China, the Chinese people and the Chinese nation to have the CPC as the ruling party. As long 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 stand, allowing no ambiguity or wavering.

(from the speech at the National Conference on Party Schools, December 11, 2015)

V

Upholding the centralized and unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee and establishing and maintaining the Party's leading core represent the common will of the entire Party and the Chinese people. It is an urgent requirement for strictly governing the Party and for enhancing its creativity, cohesiveness and capability, and also a fundamental guarantee to ensure that the causes of the Party and the country stay on the right path.

(from the 'Explanation of the Regulations for Political Activities Within the Party in the New Era' and the 'Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Internal Scrutiny', October 24, 2016)

VI

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 foundation to ensure 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 of the same aspiration. If

the CPC Central Committee had no authority the Party's theories, guidelines and policies could not have been implemented, and different departments would have acted in disunity. The Party would have become fragmented and become a "private club", turning the Party's leadership into empty voices.

D.S.A.

(from the speech at a study session on implementing the decisions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, attended by officials at the provincial/ministerial level,

February 13, 2017)

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available in full in
English? Chinese?
In those
or were those
speeches entirely
private affairs, w/
select excerpts only
being available
for public
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Promote the Four-Pronged Strategy*

December 13, 2014-January 29, 2016

I

We should implement the guiding principles determined by the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the third and fourth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2013 and 2014, and the Central Conference on Economic Work in 2014. We should familiarize ourselves with and adapt to the new normal of economic development, making comprehensive moves to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, to further reform, to advance the rule of law, and to strengthen Party discipline. In this way, we can push reform and opening up and socialist modernization to a higher level.

*(from a speech during a fact-finding trip to Jiangsu Province,
December 13-14, 2014)*

II

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, we have committed ourselves to comprehensive moves to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, further reform, advance the rule of law, and strengthen Party discipline. This Four-pronged Strategy tackles the major problems currently affecting the Party and the country. In implementing this strategy, we should attend to both general planning and specific, critical problems. For example, we have form

* Excerpts from speeches made between December 13, 2014 and January 29, 2016.

lated an overall plan to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, while emphasizing that the measurement for moderate prosperity lies in the rural areas; we have created a top-level design for furthering reform, while promoting targeted reforms in key areas and links; we have designed systematic plans for advancing the rule of law, while emphasizing a Chinese-style socialist rule of law system; we have committed to strengthening Party discipline, while improving Party conduct and upholding integrity, striving to eliminate the Four Malfeasances¹ that are so strongly opposed by the public, so as to ensure officials do not dare to be, are not able to be, and do not want to be corrupt. In every aspect of our work, we should address both major and minor problems and both major and minor aspects of a problem, while focusing on major issues and major aspects of a problem. Different problems cannot be solved by undifferentiated measures.

(from the speech at the 20th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 23, 2015)

III

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, with a view to upholding and developing Chinese socialism, the CPC Central Committee has formulated the Four-pronged Strategy that consists of four tasks: to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, to further reform, to advance the rule of law, and to strengthen Party discipline. This strategy contains one goal and three measures, with each task being of major strategic importance. Specifically, to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects is our strategic goal, which, when realized by 2020, will mark a major step in our national development; prior to this, all of our hard work will focus on this goal. The other three moves represent the major strategic measures that must be taken to realize this target. None of the three can be neglected. Without further reform, our development will lack momentum, and our society will have no vitality. Without advancing

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the rule of law, state affairs and social life will not run in an orderly way, and it will be difficult to achieve social harmony and stability. Without strengthening Party discipline, the Party will not be “a good blacksmith to forge good tools”, and it will be difficult for the Party to play its role as the core of leadership.

This Four-pronged Strategy shows the importance of advancing the rule of law. Unless we succeed in this we will not be able to govern the country well, and our strategy will come to nothing. We need to understand this element in the framework of the Four-pronged Strategy, fully understand the relationship between the rule of law and the other three, and work to ensure the four moves complement and promote each other.

(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 officials at the provincial/ministerial level, February 2, 2015)

IV

We should make comprehensive moves to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, further reform, advance the rule of law, and strengthen Party discipline. This Four-pronged Strategy was created to meet the practical needs of national development, to meet the highest expectations of the people, and to solve the prominent problems we are facing. The United Front² has its own strength and should contribute to implementing the Four-pronged Strategy.

(from the speech at the celebration of the Spring Festival with prominent non-CPC individuals, February 11, 2015)

Over the past two years, proceeding from the reality of China's development and adhering to a problem-solving approach, we have formed an overall strategy to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, further reform, advance the rule of law, and strengthen Party discipline. This is China's governance strategy in the new era, and an important guarantee for realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

(from the speech at the meeting with members of Board of Directors of Boao Forum for Asia, March 29, 2015)

VI

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the CPC Central Committee, with the aim to uphold and develop Chinese socialism, has put forward an overall strategy – to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, further reform, advance the rule of law, and strengthen Party discipline. This strategy specifies the strategic goal and the strategic measures of the Party and the country in the new era, providing theoretical and practical guidance for realizing the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

(from the speech at a meeting celebrating May 1st International Labor Day and commending national model workers, April 28, 2015)

VII

Currently, China is making comprehensive moves to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, further reform, advance the rule of law, and strengthen Party discipline. The country has initiated a strategic goal and the measures for national governance in the new era.

To complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects is our current strategic goal, and a key step in realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. We will continue to focus on economic development, striving to build a moderately prosperous society which ensures that the people benefit from the achievements of reform in a real sense and which propels economic, political, cultural, social and ecological progress. We will further reform, modernize our national governance system and capacity, and promote sustainable and sound social and economic development. We will make coordinated efforts to develop the law-based governance of the country, the law-based exercise of state power, and the law-based administration of government; adopt a holistic approach to building a country, a government and a society where the rule of law applies; and ensure that a well-conceived approach is taken to legislation, that the law is enforced strictly, that justice is administered impartially, and that the law is observed by everyone. We will improve the conduct of the CPC, enhance its capacity to improve and reform itself, maintain a tough stance against corruption and show zero tolerance, and improve systems and governance capacity.

(from the speech at the Seventh BRICS Summit, July 9, 2015)

VIII

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, to realize the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, and proceeding from the reality of China's development, we have put forward the Four-pronged Strategy – to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, further reform, advance the rule of law, and strengthen Party discipline. To complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects is the first step and a key step to achieve our goal. By then, China's economic aggregate will reach nearly US\$17 trillion and the people's living standards will see a remarkable improvement.

To reach our goal, we must further reform, and modernize the national governance system and capacity. Now we are pushing reform steadily forward. To drive reform to a deeper level, we must open wider to the outside world, providing a more open, inclusive, and transparent environment for foreign investment, and provide more space for our cooperation with other countries including the US. At the same time, we are advancing the rule of law, together with furthering reform; these form the “wings” of moderate prosperity. The CPC is a political party serving the people wholeheartedly, and must maintain close ties with the people. Therefore, to run the country well we must first run the Party well, and to run the Party well we must run it strictly. We must combat malfeasances and corruption within the Party, and deal with both “tigers” and “flies”³ in our fight against corruption, so as to win popular support. We will continue to fight corruption in accordance with the law and institutional checks, and build a law-based political environment in which officials do not dare to be, are not able to be, and do not want to be corrupt.

(from the speech at the reception given by overseas Chinese in Seattle, the United States, September 23, 2015)

IX

The Four-pronged Strategy contains both the strategic goal and the strategic measures, each of the four points having its own strategic significance. It provides the general principles by which the CPC should govern China in the current era, and the overall strategy concerning the long-term development of the Party and the country. To promote social and economic development in the 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020), we must meet the strategic goal of completing a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and focus on the three strategic moves – furthering reform, advancing

the rule of law, and strengthening Party discipline. The four points complement, facilitate, and benefit each other.

(from the speech at the 30th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, January 29, 2016)

Notes

¹ This refers to going through the motions, excessive bureaucracy, self-indulgence, and extravagance.

² This refers to the political union formed by various social and political forces, including social classes and strata, political parties and groups, and even ethnic groups and nations, based on their common interests, to achieve a common goal under certain historical conditions. – *Tr.*

³ This refers to senior and junior officials guilty of corruption. – *Tr.*



The Chinese Dream Is the People's Dream*

September 22, 2015

since the founding of the PRC in 1949, and particularly since the start of reform and opening up in 1978, China has completed an extraordinary journey, in which people of my generation have been personally involved.

In the late 1960s, when I was in my teens, I was sent to a small village named Liangjiahe in Yan'an, Shaanxi Province, in western China. There I worked in the fields as a farmer for seven years. Like the locals, I lived in caves dug out from loess hills and slept on an earthen bed. The locals were very poor, and they could go for months without a bite of meat. I grew to understand what they needed most. Later when I became secretary of the village's Party branch, I set out to develop the local economy, because I knew what they needed. I very much wanted to see them have meat on their dinner tables, and I wanted to see that often. But that was a hard goal to attain.

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This Spring Festival I went back to Liangjiahe, which now has asphalt roads, tile-roofed brick houses, and internet access. The elderly enjoy the basic old-age pension, the villagers are covered by medical insurance, and the children receive good education. Having meat for dinner is of course no longer a dream. This made me feel strongly that the Chinese Dream is the people's dream, and that if it is to succeed, it must be based on the Chinese people's aspiration for a better life.

Changes in the small village of Liangjiahe epitomize the development and progress of the Chinese society since 1978. In less than 40

* Part of the speech at a reception in Seattle, Washington State, the United States.

years we have boosted our economy to become the world's second largest, supplying 1.3 billion people with food and clothing and basically achieving moderate prosperity. The people enjoy dignity and rights at an unprecedented level. These changes have not only affected the lives of the Chinese. They also signify remarkable progress in human civilization and China's important contribution to world peace and development.

Nonetheless, we are fully aware that China remains the world's biggest developing country. China's per capita GDP is only two-thirds of the world average and one-seventh that of the United States, ranking about 80th in global terms. According to our standards, there are still 70 million people living in poverty in China; according to World Bank standards, 200 million Chinese are still living below the poverty line. In urban and rural areas 70 million people rely on subsistence allowances, and there are 85 million people with disabilities. Over the past two years I have visited many impoverished areas in China, and paid personal visits to families in need. Even now I can still see their faces and feel their longing for a better life.

All this demonstrates that we in China must continue our hard work. Development remains the top priority for contemporary China, and the primary task of China's leadership is to focus on improving people's living standards and achieving common prosperity. It is to this end that we have put forward the Two Centenary Goals. The first is to double GDP and the per capita incomes of urban and rural residents compared to 2010 levels, and to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020, as the centenary of the CPC approaches. The second is to build China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious, and achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation by the middle of the century, which will see the centenary of the PRC. All that we are doing now is designed to accomplish these goals. We must achieve the first goal, and in order to do that we must drive reform

to deeper levels, we must thoroughly implement the rule of law, and we must run the Party with strict discipline. This is what we call the Four-pronged Strategy.

Stay True to Our Original Aspiration and Continue Marching Forward*

July 1, 2016

"Looking at the mirror we know about ourselves; reflecting on the past we know what to do now."¹ Today we review our history not to take comfort in our successes, and not to look for excuses for evading the difficulties we currently face, but for the purpose of summing up experience, learning the laws of history, and giving ourselves the power and courage to move forward.

It was pointed out at the 18th CPC National Congress that persevering with a path of developing socialism with Chinese characteristics will be a long and hard historic task. There will be great struggles with new historic characteristics. All Party members should be aware that we must be ready at all times to meet great challenges, take on great risks and obstacles and solve major problems, dedicate ourselves to the path of Chinese socialism, and maintain and consolidate the Party's leadership so that our Party, our country, and our people will prevail.

History will move forward. It will not wait for the hesitant, the bystanders, slackers or the weak. Only by marching forward with history will we be able to have a bright future.

Our Party has stood the test of time for 95 years, but we should always retain the spirit of the Communists at the time of the founding of our Party. We should always have a heart for the people. We shall move forward, but we shall not forget the path we have taken in the past. No matter how far we go towards a bright future, we should

* Part of the speech at the ceremony marking the 95th anniversary of the founding of the CPC.

not forget why we set out in the first place. Facing the future and challenges, all Party members should never forget why we started out and continue marching forward.

Let us stay true to our original aspiration and continue marching forward. This means we should continue to hold Marxism as our guiding philosophy, combine Marxist principles with the realities and circumstances of today's China, and push forward theoretical innovation. We should keep experimenting, so as to keep Marxism abreast of the times.

The guiding philosophy is the spiritual beacon of a party. Over the past 95 years, the CPC has accomplished so many tasks which were thought to be impossible by other political forces. The reason for this has been precisely attributed to our adoption of Marxism as our guide of action, while the theories of Marxism have then been further developed. This has allowed our Party to free itself from the limitations of all previous political forces, which focused on pursuing their own special interests. This has enabled us to hold on to the materialist dialectic view and selflessly lead China's revolution, development and reform, whilst sticking to the truth and correcting the mistakes we made. Our Party has never wavered in its belief in Marxism either in favorable or unfavorable circumstances.

Marxism and its development in China have always been a scientific guideline for handling the affairs of our Party and our people, and a foundation for unity in the Party and between people of all ethnicities.

Marxism is the fundamental guiding thought for the establishment of our Party and our country. Departing from or abandoning Marxism, the Party would lose its soul and direction. On the issue of Marxism as the fundamental guiding thought, we shall not waver under any circumstances.

At the same time, facing the new characteristics of our era and the demands of new realities, Marxism also needs to be better integrated with the realities of China, keep abreast with the times, and respond to the need of the Chinese people. Marxism does not put a lid on truth but opens a path to truth. Frederick Engels has said, "Marx's

Keep
Marxism
abreast
of
the
times

whole way of thinking [Auffassungsweise] is not so much a doctrine as a method. It provides, not so much ready-made dogmas, as aids to further investigation and the method for such investigation.¹²

New realities inspire new thoughts and the source of new theories is practice. Practical development should have no end; neither should our endeavor to seek truth and innovative theories. Today, the changes of our time and the development of our nation have gone far beyond the imagination of classical Marxist writers of their era. But we are also fully aware that the development of socialism in China is but several decades in practice and is still at a rudimentary phase. There will be more problems as we further develop, and that requires us to be more courageous and more innovative in our practice.

If our understanding of the theory is not thorough, we cannot convince others. We should broaden our horizon to review the prevailing conditions and practical need of Marxism in today's development. We must focus on identifying and resolving problems, and focus our attention on what we are doing. We should listen to the voices of our era and further boost the integration of Marxism and the circumstances and realities of Chinese development today. We should open a new chapter for Marxism in the 21st century and allow it to shine brighter in modern China.

— Let us stay true to our original aspiration and continue marching forward. We should remember that our Party has made striving for communism and socialism its goal from the very beginning. We will continue to uphold the lofty ideal of communism and socialism with Chinese characteristics, and march forward to achieve this goal.

Revolutionary ideals are more important than anything else. Why the Party is called the Communist Party of China is because since day one our Party has made communism its highest ideal. The reason our Party is able to rise again and again through hardships and adversities is because the Party has always held on to this great ideal and aspiration.

“Without resolve, one can accomplish nothing.”¹³ The wavering of one's faith and ideal is the most dangerous risk. The decline of a party

often begins with its members' loss of faith and ideals. Whether our Party is strong or not depends on whether our members' faith and ideals are strong or not. In the past 95 years, communist ideals have encouraged one generation of Communists after another to work hard, and many have even lost their lives in the process. "Let them cut off my head, I will not abandon my faith."⁴ "Our enemies can take our lives but they cannot take away our faith."⁵ These lines from our fighters express the commitment and loyalty of Communists to their faith. The light of our ideal will not go out and the light of our faith will not go out. Bearing in mind the faith of our revolutionary martyrs, we will never forget the ideals they fought for and lost their lives for.

Ideals should be lofty; faith requires commitment. We should see ideals and faith education as strategic tasks in order to maintain the political commitment to pursue our ideals. Party members should be loyal followers and practitioners of the ideals of communism and a socialist society with Chinese characteristics, and play a leading role in the building of a moderately prosperous society and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

Only when we thoroughly understand the theory will we be loyal politically. Strong faith should be founded on a comprehensive understanding of Marxism and historical rules. All Party members should study in depth Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents⁶, and the Scientific Outlook on Development⁷, as well as new theories developed after the 18th CPC National Congress. We should continuously upgrade our understanding of Marxism and maintain steadfast pursuit of the great ideal and goal. We should educate all Party members and officials to turn what we have learned into a force to politically and ethically cultivate ourselves. We should earnestly study, understand, and believe these theories, and put them to good use. We should not be conceited or impetuous when we have won success, and not waver or give up in times of adversity. We should stand fast and hold on to the great ideas that promote the progress of human society and the realization of human ideals.

— Let us stay true to our original aspiration and continue marching forward. We should be confident in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We should not waver in adhering to the basic line of our Party and continue to advance the great cause of Chinese socialism.

Direction guides our path and path determines fate. Socialism with Chinese characteristics did not fall from the sky; It is the fundamental reward of the hard work and great sacrifices made by the Party and the people. Chinese socialism is both our great calling and a basic guarantee of our future.

The whole Party should be confident in our path, theory, system and culture. In today's world, if any party, nation or people deserves to be confident, it is the CPC, the PRC and the Chinese nation. "I'm sure to live for 200 years, and will swim for 3,000 *li*."⁸ We shall have such courage and confidence so that we can overcome any challenges we meet, open up new horizons and create new miracles.

We should believe that socialism with Chinese characteristics is the path towards socialist modernization and a better life for the people. We should believe that the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the right theory to lead the Party and the people towards realizing Chinese socialism and national rejuvenation. It is a scientific theoretical system keeping up with the times. We should believe that socialism with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental guarantee of China's modernization and development. It is a system with Chinese characteristics, clear strengths, and an ever self-improving mechanism.

The confidence in our culture is a more fundamental, broader and more profound faith in the development of China. It derives from our splendid 5,000-year history and is embedded in decades of a revolutionary struggle that embodies the deep-rooted spiritual pursuits of the Chinese nation, and represents the unique cultural identity of the Chinese people. We should foster the core values of Chinese socialism, uphold the national spirit featuring love of the country, follow the call of the times, namely, reform and innovation, and steadily

build up the inner strength of the Party and the people of all ethnic groups.

All Party members should keep in mind that what we build is socialism with Chinese characteristics, and nothing else. History has not ended and will not end. To judge whether socialism with Chinese characteristics is good or not, we should look to the facts and listen to the voices of the Chinese people – not to the subjective judgment of those who look at China through a distorted lens. The CPC and the Chinese people are more than confident that we can offer the Chinese solution to the human society for people to explore for a better social system.

Deng Xiaoping once said, “We should adhere to the basic line for a hundred years, with no vacillation. That is the only way to win the trust and support of the people. Any one who attempted to change the line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee would not be countenanced by the people; he would be toppled.”⁹ The basic line of our Party is the lifeline of the state and a guarantee for the people’s happiness. We should place economic development at the center of our nation’s invigoration, use the Four Cardinal Principles¹⁰ as the bedrock of our nation and reform and opening up as our path to prosperity, and hold on to our beliefs.

– Let us stay true to our original aspiration and continue marching forward. We need to implement the Five-point Strategy¹¹, push forward the Four-pronged Strategy, fully advance the building of a moderately prosperous society, and strive to achieve the Two Centenary Goals.

At present, our main task is to complete the process of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020, as the centenary of the CPC approaches. This will lay a solid foundation for us to achieve our next goal in the middle of the century, which will see the 100th anniversary of the founding of the PRC – building China into a prosperous, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, modern socialist country.

Building a moderately prosperous society in all respects is our

Party's solemn promise to our people and history. It is also the common aspiration of more than 1.3 billion Chinese people. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, our Party has been vigorously devoted to the Five-point Strategy. We have striven to achieve the strategic goals of completing a moderately prosperous society in all respects, taking reform to a new level, advancing the rule of law, and strengthening Party discipline. The Five-point Strategy and the Four-pronged Strategy promote each other and develop together. We should carry them forward in an integrated way, with a fundamental focus on economic development, then simultaneously developing the socialist market economy, political democracy, an advanced culture, a harmonious society, and ecological conservation so as to create a better life for the people and make China into a prosperous and beautiful nation.

Development is the top priority of the Party and our country, and holds the key to solving all problems in China. We must bear in mind that the following realities have not changed: China is in the primary stage of socialism and will remain so for a long time to come; there is still a wide gap between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and the inadequate supply¹²; China is still the biggest developing country in the world. These are the fundamentals which we must face up to when pursuing development.

We are now facing a new development pattern both at home and abroad: China's economy is entering a new normal; the global economy is in a transitional period; and new breakthroughs in science and technology are under way. We should continue to focus on economic development, lead the economic new normal with new development concepts, further transform economic growth models, restructure our economy, improve the quality and efficiency of development, and accelerate supply-side reform so as to make our economic development more efficient, fairer, more sustainable, and of a higher quality. We must be innovation-oriented, value coordination, and strive for green, open and shared mechanisms and environment in order to constantly expand our economic and national strengths.

Let us stay true to our original aspiration and continue marching forward. This also means that we must maintain reform and opening up. We should have the courage to strengthen reform, further free our minds, liberate and develop social productivity and vitality, and constantly push forward reform and opening up.

Reform and opening up defines contemporary China. It is the most prominent feature of our Party in this new era. It is a strategic choice that has shaped the course of development of today's China. It is an important approach for the Party and the people to go along with the times.

Reform must keep to the right direction. We must neither follow the old path of a rigid closed-door policy, nor an erroneous path of abandoning socialism. We must take improving and developing the socialist system with Chinese characteristics and modernizing our national governance system and capacity as the general goal of reform comprehensively. We must be innovation-oriented with our theory, practice, system and other fields. Then our system can be more mature, economic development can be of higher quality, governance can be more advanced, and most importantly, our people can feel they are benefiting.

We must focus on reforming our economic system, remain committed to the direction of socialist market economy, and comprehensively strengthen systematic reform in economy, politics, cultural industry, social governance, ecological conservation and Party building.

Reform tends to be easy to start with and then to get harder. We must take systematic, integrated and coordinated actions in reform, dare to enter uncharted waters, and tackle tough issues. We must be courageous enough to carry out self-revolution, boost reform with strong determination, tackle long-existing problems, deal with entrenched interests and related problems, break ideological shackles, knock down the fence of vested interests, and remove systemic obstacles in the way of social and economic development.

Reform and the rule of law are like the two wings of a bird or the two wheels of a cart. We should stick to the path of socialist rule

of law with Chinese features, accelerate its construction, and build a socialist country practicing the rule of law.

To achieve the comprehensive rule of law, the core is about the integration of the Party's leadership, people's participation as masters of the country, and the law-based governance of the nation. The key to achieving the comprehensive rule of law lies in reaffirming the Party's leadership in legislation, its guarantee of law enforcement, its support for judicial justice, and its rigorous observation of the law. Everyone in the country must honor the authority of the Constitution and the law, and uphold the Constitution. All organizations and individuals must act within the limits of the Constitution and the law, and no one has the right to go beyond the Constitution or the law.

— Let us stay true to our original aspiration and continue marching forward. We need to believe that the Party is rooted in the people, and that the power of the Party comes from the people. We should insist that everything is for the people, rely on the people, give full play to the people's enthusiasm, initiative and creativity, and push forward the cause of benefiting the people.

Prosperity for the people is the basic political position of the CPC, and it is the prominent feature that distinguishes Marxist parties from other parties. Our Party and people stand together through storm and stress, go through thick and thin together, and keep flesh-and-blood ties, which is the basic guarantee of the Party in overcoming all difficulties and risks. “Win popular support, and you win the country; lose it, and you will lose the country.”¹³

All Party members should put the people in the highest place of their minds, and uphold the fundamental principle of serving the people wholeheartedly, realizing, maintaining and developing the basic interests of the people. We should take the support, approval, satisfaction, and consent of the people as the fundamental criteria for appraising all of our initiatives. This will give our Party an inexhaustible source of strength.

Leading the people to create a happy life is the persistent goal of our Party. We should follow people's longing for a better life, insist

on people-oriented development, focus on ensuring and improving people's living standard while developing all social programs, balance income distribution, win the battle against poverty, and guarantee people's rights of equal participation and equal development, making the achievement of reform better benefit all the people in a more equal way, and moving towards realizing the goal of common prosperity of all people.

Respecting the principal position of the people and guaranteeing their status as masters of the nation is the consistent position of our Party. We should stick to the development of socialist political mechanisms with Chinese characteristics. We should adhere to, fully implement and constantly develop the people's congress system, multiparty cooperation, and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC. We should enhance the system of regional ethnic autonomy and the system of community-level self-governance, develop socialist consultative democracy, consolidate and develop the broadest patriotic United Front, and expand people's political participation. We should do all this in order to make sure that people take full part in national governance and social governance, and push for a nationwide liveliness, stability and unity.

"Feats are accomplished by capable people; work develops because of achievers."¹⁴ To develop the cause of the Party and the people calls for better use of talent in all fields. We should have the wisdom to identify achievers, the sincerity to cherish them, the courage to use them, and the means to gather them. We should open all possible ways to attract the best talent in and out of the Party at home and abroad, form a nurturing environment in which everyone wants to be an achiever, all strive to be an achiever, all have the ability to be an achiever, and all are able to make best use of their talents.

- Let us stay true to our original aspiration and continue marching forward. We must stick to the road of peaceful development, insist on a mutually beneficial opening strategy, strengthen friendly exchanges with other countries, and advance the noble cause of peace and development with people from all countries.

- The wisdom to identify
achievers & cherish them

To constantly make new and greater contribution to humanity is a solemn promise made by our Party and our people a long time ago. We have gone through difficult times, knowing deeply the value of peace and development, and regarding the promotion of world peace and development as our own noble responsibility.

Today's mankind is better qualified than ever before to achieve the goal of peace and development together. China advocates that people of all countries make concerted efforts, turn pressure into impetus, turn crises into opportunities, replace confrontation with cooperation, and replace monopoly with "benefits for all". What kind of international order and governance system best suits the world, and best suits the people of all countries? This is something that should be decided by all countries through consultation, and not by a single country or a minority of countries. Together with people from all other countries, China will actively participate in the construction of a global governance system, trying to contribute China's wisdom to implementing global governance and push global order and governance to develop in a fairer and more reasonable way.

The purpose of China's diplomatic policy is to safeguard world peace and promote common development. China is always a builder of world peace, contributor of global development, and maintainer of global order. China is willing to expand converging interests with other countries, accelerating the construction of new international relations centering on win-win cooperation and forming a community of shared future and common interests.

China is committed to an independent foreign policy of peace and developing friendly cooperation with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence¹⁵. China follows the basic state policy of opening up, developing its economy with the door open to the outside world. Through major international cooperation projects like the Belt and Road Initiative¹⁶, we work to create a more comprehensive, diversified and deeper opening-up structure.

The Chinese people know very well that China's development has

benefited from international society. China is willing to contribute to the development of the international community. China's opening up is not a one man show; it welcomes joint efforts from other countries; it is not a fight for spheres of influence, or a means of building a "garden" in its own backyard, but to support the common development of all countries or build a "park" that can be shared by the international community.

China advocates a global community of shared future and opposes the Cold War mentality and zero-sum games. China believes that all countries are equal, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor. China respects the right of each nation's choice of development road, and upholds international justice. China is opposed to any country imposing its own will on other countries, or interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, or the strong bullying the weak. China does not covet other countries' rights and interests or become jealous of their achievements, nor do we give up our legitimate rights and interests. Saber rattling cannot scare us Chinese. We do not make trouble, but when it comes, we will not back away. We will not let any country force us to betray our core interests or undermine our country's sovereignty, security and developmental interests.

The CPC will pursue exchange and cooperation with political parties and organizations from all countries and regions, boosting relations between countries on the basis of independence, equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs.

- Let us stay true to our original aspiration and continue marching forward. We must maintain our Party's progressive nature and integrity. We must improve our capacity to lead and to govern, reinforce our ability to withstand risk and combat corruption, and advance the great project of continuously building our Party.

China's success hinges on our Party. The most essential feature of the socialist society with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the CPC. The greatest advantage 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 boil down to upholding and improving the leadership of the CPC.

The CPC has 88 million members and 4.4 million organizations, and leads a country of more than 1.3 billion people. The building of the Party is of vital importance and affects the overall situation. The CPC's self-improvement must keep abreast of the development of the causes of the Party and the people. This is a basic rule which we must follow in Party building.

A progressive nature and integrity are the essential features of Marxist political parties. To reinforce the Party is to fight against all the problems that may weaken the Party or erode the freedom from corruption, to cure sickness and heal wounds, to drive out evil and usher in the good. The entire Party needs the courage to conduct self-revolution to solve the Party's prominent problems. We must constantly enhance the Party's capability to carry out self-purification, self-improvement, self-innovation and self-cultivation. We must stand the "four tests"¹⁷ and overcome the "four risks"¹⁸. Only by doing so, can we make sure that the Party will always stay at the core of the firm leadership of socialist society with Chinese characteristics.

To govern the country, the Party must be governed first. The management of Party affairs must be strict. If supervision is lax, outstanding issues within the Party that are of significant public concern cannot be solved, and our Party will lose its right to rule and be eliminated by history. Our Party must be managed with stringent regulations at all times. We must be strict, decisive and persistent in enforcing Party discipline.

The basis of this is to supervise the political activities within the Party. Self-supervision of the Party should start with political activities within our Party. We must strengthen and regulate intra-Party political activities; strictly enforce the CPC's political discipline and political rules; make political activities within the Party more political, more relevant to the current times, more principled, and more effective, and comprehensively purify the political environment within the Party. All Party members must enhance their political integrity,

develop a better understanding of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the Central Committee, and act consistently with CPC Central Committee policy, ensuring that they remain loyal to the Party, share its concerns, and assume their responsibilities and fulfill their obligations.

The Party's style of work has a significant bearing on its image, which serves as a "barometer" to observe the relations between the Party and the people and between officials and ordinary individuals. It can also help judge trends in public sentiment. If the Party has a sound style of work, then the people are at peace and willing to stand with the Party in both success and adversity. What has happened shows that if discipline is effectively and strictly implemented and supervision is resolute and strict, every problem can be addressed in improving the Party's style of work. We should never halt our efforts to improve the Party's style of work. "How can one correct others if he himself is not upright?" The Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Central Committee of the CPC as well as senior officials must take the lead to engage in a constant effort to improve the conduct of the Party, and uphold and carry forward our Party's fine traditions. Through a routine, meticulous, and sustained effort, we must improve the conduct of our Party in all respects and ensure that the Party always stands and maintains its bond with the people.

The biggest threat our Party faces as a governing party is corruption. Since its 18th National Congress, our Party has been committed to both caging the "tigers" and swatting the "flies". Not only have we created a deterrent so that officials dare not become corrupt, we have also yielded initial results in our efforts to ensure that officials cannot and have no desire to commit acts of corruption. All this indicates that the fight against corruption is in the process of gathering unstoppable momentum. We must make unremitting efforts to combat corruption, promote integrity and stay vigilant against degeneration. Officials at all levels must develop a sound attitude towards power, maintain lofty moral pursuits, and retain absolute



respect for the people, the Party, law and discipline. Their exercise of power must be fair, law-based, people-oriented and clean. They must always preserve the political nature of Communists to stay free from corruption. With firm determination, we will maintain our zero-tolerance attitude towards corruption and look into every case involving corruption, leaving no place to hide for corrupt officials within the Party.

Loyalty ← Our great undertakings need high-caliber officials. It is important to adhere to the criterion of evaluating officials in terms of both political integrity and professional capability, with priority given to integrity. We must appoint people on their merits without regard to their origins. Putting our cause first, we must act in a fair and upright manner and resolutely prevent and rectify undesirable tendencies in the selection and appointment of personnel, so as to carefully cultivate, promptly discover, and appropriately employ the good officials that our Party and people need.

An important element for officials to rise is to use virtue to cultivate oneself, establish one's authority, and win the trust of the people. All Party members and officials should keep in mind the Three Guidelines for Ethical Behavior and Three Basic Rules of Conduct¹⁹; maintain the right worldview, outlook on life, and values; be mindful of the Party, the people, their responsibilities, and the rules; and regard selfless contribution to the causes of the Party and people as their highest aspiration in life. Officials at all levels should be diligent in acquiring knowledge and improving their competence in practice, so that they can keep their professional expertise and working abilities abreast of the times, avoid ignorance, and become more skilled in their work.

Notes

¹ Chen Shou: *Records of the Three Kingdoms (San Guo Zhi)*. Chen Shou (233-297) was an official and historian of the Western Jin Dynasty.

¹ Frederick Engels, "Engels to Werner Sombart", *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 50, Eng. ed., International Publishers, New York, 1972, p. 461.

² Wang Yangming: "Rules for Students at Longchang" (Jiǔ Tǐng Shí Lǐng), *Cheng Zhu Sheng*. Wang Yangming (1472-1529) was a neo-Confucian philosopher and educator of the Ming Dynasty.

³ Xia Minghan: "Die for My Beliefs", *Xia Minghan*, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1984, p. 1. Xia Minghan (1900-1928) was a pioneer of the CPC, and revolutionary martyr.

⁴ Fang Zhimin: "Die a Communist Death", *Collected Works of Fang Zhimin*, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, p. 144. Fang Zhimin (1899-1935) was a military and political leader of the CPC and revolutionary martyr.

⁵ A major component of the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the guiding thought of the CPC, the Theory of Three Represents emphasizes that the CPC must always represent the requirements for developing China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. The principal proponent is Jiang Zemin. - Tr.

⁶ A major component of the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the guiding thought of the CPC, the Scientific Outlook on Development gives top priority to development, puts people first, and seeks all-round, balanced and sustainable development with a holistic approach. The principal proponent is Hu Jintao. - Tr.

⁷ Mao Zedong: "Annotations to Lines in Poems of Mao Zedong", *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. VIII, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1999, p. 364.

⁸ Deng Xiaoping: "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, pp. 358-359.

⁹ This refers to keeping to the socialist road and upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the CPC, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The Four Cardinal Principles are the foundation of the state, and the political cornerstone for the survival and development of the Party and the state.

¹⁰ This refers to China's overall development plan to pursue economic, political, cultural, social and ecological progress. The strategy was first introduced in the political report to the 18th CPC National Congress. - Tr.

¹¹ It was stated in the political report to the 19th CPC National Congress, entitled "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era", that as socialism with Chinese characteristics enters a new era, the

knowledge of what are the

principal stress point facing Chinese society is the gap between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing need for a better life.

¹¹ Book of Rites (*Li Ji*).

¹² Pei Songzhi's annotations in the *Records of the Three Kingdoms*. Pei Songzhi (372-451) was a historian during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

¹³ This refers to mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and cooperation for mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. – Tr.

¹⁴ This refers to the initiative of building the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. It was first proposed by Xi Jinping in September and October 2013 during his visits to Central and Southeast Asia. – Tr.

*Four Pillars*¹⁵ This refers to exercising governance, carrying out reform and opening up, developing the market economy, and responding to external development.

*Four Sons*¹⁶ This refers to inertia, incompetence, being divorced from the people, and corruption and other misconduct.

¹⁷ These were set by Xi Jinping. They call upon officials to be strict with themselves in self-cultivation, in the exercise of power, and in self-discipline, and act in good faith when performing official duties, taking initiatives, and interacting with others.

1) 360 Days
Ethical Behavior

3 Basic Rules

A Conduct

Today We Must Succeed in a New “Long March”*

October 21, 2016

As a great feat in human history, the Long March (1934-1936) has left us with a rich heritage. However, its most precious element was the spirit of the Long March, which was forged with the lives and blood of Chinese Communists and Red Army soldiers.

The spirit of the Long March meant putting the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and nation above all else, meant upholding firm revolutionary ideals and beliefs, and meant the belief that a just cause would surely succeed. It represented a willingness to sacrifice everything to save the country and the people, no matter what difficulties and obstacles lay ahead. It meant remaining committed to independence and autonomy, to seeking truth from facts, and to proceeding from reality in all endeavors. It meant taking a broad view, maintaining strict discipline, and seeking unity. And it meant relying closely on the people, sharing weal and woe with the people, and fighting bitterly alongside the people.

The spirit of the Long March was a vivid reflection of the demeanor of Chinese Communists and the people's army under their leadership; it was a demonstration of the Chinese people's spirit of constant self-improvement; and it was the highest embodiment of a national spirit based on patriotism.

A person without spirit cannot stand tall; a country without spirit cannot be strong. The spirit of a people is the essence upon which they depend for their long-term survival. Only with such a spirit can a

* Part of the speech at the ceremony commemorating the 80th anniversary of the victory of the Long March.

people stand firm and move boldly forward through the turbulence of history. The spirit of the Long March, as an important constituent of the heritage of the Chinese Communists, has been infused deep into the veins and soul of the Chinese nation. It has become a rich source of nutrition supporting our core socialist values, and a powerful inner drive spurring the Chinese people to constantly surmount difficulties and advance from victory to victory.

History is made by the people, and heroic people make heroic history. The progress and development we see in China today is the result of an ongoing “long march”.

On the eve of the founding of the PRC in 1949, Mao Zedong reminded us: “To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand *li*.¹ Following the founding of the PRC, after an arduous period of experimentation that saw many setbacks, we launched a new era of reform and opening up, embarking on a new long march to develop Chinese socialism.

During more than 30 years of reform and opening up, under the leadership of the CPC, the Chinese people have united as one and engaged in a painstaking struggle to develop the country. China’s reform, opening up, and socialist modernization have progressed rapidly, and Chinese people’s standard of living has been fundamentally improved. China’s socialist system has been significantly bolstered and developed. As a result, we can now see bright prospects for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

Upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is an arduous, long-term task of great historical significance. Deng Xiaoping once said, “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. We can never rest on our oars.”²

History only moves forward. To realize our ideals, we must continue on the path we have set for ourselves. Every generation has its own long march, and every generation must see that march through. Today,

the goal of our generation's long march is to attain the Two Centenary Goals and realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Though there are differences – some considerable – between today's long march and the Red Army's Long March, particularly with regard to the conditions, tasks and powers involved, the fact remains that each of these long marches can be described as a pioneering, arduous, and highly-complex undertaking.

There is no easy path to realizing a great ideal. To secure new progress in our efforts to uphold and develop Chinese socialism, yield new results in developing the Party, and claim new victories in a struggle with many new historic features, there are still many snow-capped peaks that we must scale, many grasslands that we must cross, and also many Loushan Passes and Lazikou Passes that we must conquer. There can be no room for any desire for ease and comfort, any desire to avoid the fight, any arrogance and complacency, or any lack of drive to carry on forging ahead.

The long march goes on. There can be no future for a people who do not remember the road that brought them to where they are today. No matter how far our causes take us, and how great our achievements may be, we must always carry forward the spirit of the Long March and continue to forge ahead with courage.

– To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must remain committed to the great ideal of communism and the common ideal of Chinese socialism, and engage in a tireless struggle to realize our ideals and beliefs.

The victory of the Long March proved that belief in our hearts gives strength to our legs. Without their indomitable ideals and beliefs to sustain them, the Red Army's victory in the Long March would simply have been inconceivable. Deng Xiaoping once said, "In the past, no matter how small and weak our Party was, and no matter what difficulties it faced, we always maintained great combat effectiveness thanks to our faith in Marxism and communism. Because we shared common ideals, we had strict discipline. That is our real strength today as it has been in the past and will be in the future."³

On our new long march, we need to ensure that our ideals and beliefs remain firm. No matter how times change or how conditions alter, we must never be deflected by the trials that await us. We must consciously strive to be firm believers in, and loyal practitioners of, the great ideal of communism and the common ideal of Chinese socialism, and engage in an eternal fight for truth and for our ideals.

“A rock can be smashed, but its pieces will still be hard; cinnabar can be ground, but its powder will still be red.”⁴ Firm ideals and beliefs come from solid ideas and theories. To have firm ideals and beliefs, one must first understand, grasp, believe in, and defend truth. The ideals and beliefs of a Chinese Communist are founded on the scientific truths of Marxism, on the laws of social development revealed by Marxism, and on the grand aspiration to serve the interests of the broadest majority of the people. We are strong because what we pursue is truth. We are strong because we respect the laws that govern development. And we are strong because we represent the fundamental interests of the great majority of the people.

To solidify our ideals and beliefs, we must thoroughly study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development. We must also study in depth the new concepts, ideas and strategies for the governance of China introduced by the CPC Central Committee since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012. We must use truth to empower ourselves, to guide our ideals, and to solidify our beliefs. With a commitment to believing in, reflecting on and acting on what we have learned, we must transform the outcomes of our learning into unyielding ideals and beliefs, and into a sound understanding of the world, life and values. We can then use our ideals to light up the path ahead, and our beliefs to forge a better future.

– To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must remain confident in the path, theories, system and culture of Chinese socialism, and engage in a tireless struggle to win new victories for this great cause.

The victory of the Long March proved that we can move in the

right direction only if we possess a sound theory, and that we can advance to victory only if we have forged our own path on the basis of our own reality. The Long March not only crossed countless mountains and rivers; it also surmounted the erroneous idea that Marxism was a fixed dogma that could not change. Its most fundamental lesson was that China had to remain committed to combining the basic principles of Marxism with China's realities, and remain committed to a path of revolution, socialist construction, and reform that conformed to China's prevailing conditions.

On our new long march, we must firmly believe that the path of Chinese socialism is the only path that can lead us to socialist modernization, and the only path that can create better lives for the people. The theories of Chinese socialism constitute a sound theoretical framework that will guide the CPC and the Chinese people down the path of China's socialism towards the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. These theories stand at the forefront of our times, and they evolve as times change. The system of Chinese socialism represents a fundamental institutional guarantee for progress and development in China today. It is an advanced system with distinct Chinese features, notable institutional strengths, and a strong capacity for self-improvement. The culture of Chinese socialism embodies the deepest aspirations of the Chinese people. Representing a unique symbol of our nation, it is a powerful inner strength that drives the Chinese people to victory. The truth of these statements has been proven not only in theory, but also by practice.

Chinese socialism, as the only choice for the development of modern China, embodies the ideals and explorations of several generations of Chinese Communists, the wishes and hopes of countless progressives, and also the struggles and sacrifices of millions upon millions of Chinese people. In emphasizing the need for confidence in our path, theories, system and culture, our intention is by no means to rest on our laurels and stop seeking progress. On the contrary, it is imperative that we continue to discover, invent, create and advance, so as to preserve the strong vitality of Chinese socialism. However,

what we must always remember is that the purpose of any and all improvements we make is to advance on the path we have set for ourselves, and not to change course, or discard the very foundation that supports the CPC, the country and the people.

— To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must put the people at the very center of our hearts, remain committed to serving the people and relying on them in all endeavors, and engage in a tireless effort to make life better for them.

The victory of the Long March proved that the people possess boundless wisdom and strength. Only by believing in the people, relying closely on them, and giving full play to their enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity can we channel their strength into an impenetrable great wall. In essence, the Long March told the story of a deep emotional bond between the Red Army and the people. When passing through Shazhou Village in Rucheng County, Hunan Province, three female Red Army soldiers sought shelter in the home of an elderly villager named Xu Jiexiu. Upon their departure, they cut their only quilt in two, leaving half with Xu Jiexiu. The elderly Xu said, “Who are the Communist Party members? The people who have only one quilt, but give half to the people. They are the Communist Party members.” Ultimately, the Long March succeeded because the CPC and the Red Army stood together with the people, maintained a close bond with the people, and shared weal and woe with the people. This is also a fundamental guarantee that enables us to overcome all difficulties and dangers. Reliance on the people is precisely what allowed the CPC to grow stronger, and precisely what has allowed Chinese socialism to constantly advance. The reason why the CPC has won the support of the people, and why Chinese socialism has won the same support, is that they have made life better for the people.

On our new long march, the whole Party must remember that the nature of a political party and government is determined by whom they serve and whom they rely on for their support. We must uphold

our fundamental political stance of standing on the people's side, put the interests of the people above all else, and constantly advance our endeavors to make life better for them. Rallying and leading all Chinese people, we must be tireless in our efforts to constantly secure and improve standards of living of the people, allow all people to benefit more fairly and thoroughly from the fruits of reform and development, and move steadily towards our goal of common prosperity for all.

There is an old saying: "The same water that keeps a ship afloat can also sink it."⁵ This is something we must never ever forget. The people are the skies above us and the earth below us. If we forget the people and become distanced from them, we will lose their support, like a river with no headwater or a tree with no roots, and achieve nothing. Therefore, we must uphold the CPC's principle of relying on and serving the people, preserve our close ties with the people, readily subject ourselves to the criticism and oversight of the public, remain mindful of the difficulties ordinary people face, and search constantly for means of bringing prosperity to the people, so as to ensure that the CPC always has the trust and support of the people, and ensure that our cause has an inexhaustible source of strength to carry it forward.

Solidarity is a powerful force. Not only does it enable us to overcome all difficulties, but it is also an important guarantee for gathering support and achieving goals. In our campaign to rejuvenate the Chinese nation, we must consolidate solidarity between China's various ethnic groups; enhance solidarity among various political parties, organizations, ethnicities, social groups and other actors; remain committed to preserving China's national unity, social harmony, and stability; and resolutely oppose all separatist activities that aim to sabotage our unity and solidarity. We need to pool the wisdom and strength of all Chinese people, and tap the creative and developmental potential of our entire society, turning the monumental force unleashed when all Chinese people unite and work together into a powerful driving force for the rejuvenation of our nation.

- To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march we must stay on the right course, keep sight of the bigger picture, and make sound overall arrangements, engaging in a tireless effort to accomplish our overall tasks, fulfill our plans, and achieve our goals.

The victory of the Long March proved that to remain invincible a political party must stand at the forefront of the times, keep in step with the flow of history, lay out sound overall plans, seize the strategic initiative, and stay committed to achieving its goals. The Long March took the CPC and the Red Army over towering peaks, across treacherous rivers, and through bleak grasslands, but every leg of the journey, every charge through enemy lines, and every battle formed part of a bigger strategic picture. Not only did the CPC and Red Army win the fight, they also seized the strategic initiative. This was an embodiment not only of spirit, but also of wisdom.

On our new long march, we need to balance domestic conditions with global ones, coordinate the cause of the CPC with that of the country, and advance various initiatives in a coordinated fashion, remaining mindful of conditions globally, nationally, and within the Party. We must identify strategic priorities, make key breakthroughs, seize the strategic initiative, prevent systemic risks, and avoid being swept away by crisis, so as to ensure the sound progression of our great cause.

The overall task of Chinese socialism is to achieve modernization and national rejuvenation. In a constant effort to move closer to the completion of this overall task, we must coordinate our Five-point Strategy of economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress; advance the Four-pronged Strategy in a coordinated fashion; and work wholeheartedly to achieve our Two Centenary Goals. Development is critical to the success of Chinese socialism. We must continue to make economic development our central task, and guide the new normal of economic growth with our Five-point Strategy, so as to resolve difficulties in development, cultivate new strengths, and lay down more solid material foundations to underpin Chinese social-

ism. Reform is the key move that will decide China's future. With an unequivocal commitment to reform, we must break free from the shackles of outdated thinking, dismantle the barriers erected by vested interests, and clear away institutional obstacles impeding the development of productive forces and social progress, in order to further modernize China's national governance system and capacity. Innovation is the primary driving force behind development. It is imperative that we free our minds, seek truth from facts, and move forward with the times. We must advance innovation in theory, practice and systems, and in many other areas, so that the causes of the CPC and the country retain their strong creative vitality and constantly advance into new territory.

— To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must build a solid national defense capacity and strong military that is commensurate with China's international standing and that can meet the country's security and development needs, and engage in a tireless effort to preserve national security and world peace.

The victory of the Long March proved that the people's army was the foundation of the revolution and the hope of the nation, and that absolute CPC leadership over the army guaranteed victory on the battlefield. The Long March tested, tempered, and strengthened the people's army, initiating a new phase in its growth. The Long March was the glory of the people's army. A glorious people's army must therefore carry forward the spirit and fine tradition that the Red Army demonstrated during the Long March.

On our new long march, under the guidance of the CPC's goal of building a strong military, we must continue to implement our military strategies in view of new conditions and strive to build a world-class army.

A country needs a strong army before it can truly be strong and secure. With a firm commitment to strengthening the military through political means, we must uphold absolute CPC leadership over the armed forces, preserve the nature, mission, and character of the

people's army, and ensure that the spirit of the Red Army goes on. We must cultivate a new generation of revolutionary soldiers who have belief, competence, mettle, and character; and forge a highly competent military with iron-clad beliefs, convictions, and discipline as well as an unbreakable sense of duty.

With a firm commitment to strengthening the military through reform, we must be resolute in driving deeper reform in national defense and the armed forces, address institutional, structural, and policy issues that are hindering the development of national defense and the armed forces, further modernize the way in which the military is organized, and accelerate the establishment of a distinctly Chinese system of modern military strength.

With a firm commitment to governing the military in accordance with the law, we must build a distinct Chinese system of rule of law in the military, promote a fundamental transformation in the way that the military is governed, and raise the standard of law-based governance in national defense and the armed forces.

With a firm commitment to war-readiness, we must continue to regard combat effectiveness as the standard that matters most, broaden and deepen our preparations for military conflict, enhance simulation-based training, and rapidly raise our capacity to prevail in information warfare.

At the same time, we should move forward with an integrated military-civilian development strategy, better integrate the development of national defense and the military into the framework of China's economic and social development, and create an effective configuration for the full integration of the military and civilian sectors that covers all elements and all fields. We should strengthen our national defense mobilization capacity and reserve strength, and consolidate unity between the government and the armed forces and between the people and the armed forces. And we should enhance international military security cooperation, assume responsibilities and obligations commensurate with China's international standing, work with other countries to meet global security challenges, and make a greater

contribution to maintaining world peace. The entire military must be more mindful of potential dangers and crises, and enhance its sense of mission. Making sure that every minute counts, they must continue to modernize China's national defense and military capabilities, and ensure that they shoulder the crucial responsibility of protecting the country's sovereignty, security and development interests.

~ To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must strengthen CPC leadership, remain committed to strict self-governance, and work hard to advance the further development of the Party.

The victory of the Long March proved that Party leadership is a fundamental guarantee ensuring that the causes of the Party and the people will succeed. Mao Zedong once said, "Who brought the Long March to victory? The Communist Party. Without the Communist Party, a long march of this kind would have been inconceivable. The Communist Party of China, its leadership, its cadres and its members fear no difficulties or hardships."⁶ Party leadership has guaranteed the success of China's revolution, socialist construction and reform. As the essential attribute of Chinese socialism, and the greatest strength of this system, this leadership must be resolutely upheld and improved.

On our new long march, all Party members must conscientiously uphold and maintain Party leadership; stand on the side of the Party and the people; and remain loyal to, share the concerns of, and assume their responsibilities and obligations to the Party, doing their utmost to fulfill the duties and tasks entrusted to them. With the combined efforts of all Party members, the Party will always stand with the people and always stand at the forefront of the times.

"Heroes are those who know themselves and can surpass themselves."⁷ The closer we come to our dream of national rejuvenation, the more arduous the task of reform and opening up becomes, the more we must emphasize the development of the Party. Being prepared for danger in times of peace is the key to survival and development. The "four tests" and "four risks" that our Party faces

are long-term, complex and grave. Upholding the centralized leadership of the CPC Central Committee, we must ensure that all Party organizations, members, and officials enhance their political integrity, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, develop a better understanding of the general picture, and act consistently with CPC Central Committee policy, maintaining a high degree of unity with the CPC Central Committee in the way of thinking, in political principles, and in their actions. We must continue to promote comprehensive governance of the CPC under the strictest discipline; focus on strengthening the governing capacity and pioneering nature of the CPC; improve and regulate political activities within the Party in the new era; make persistent and determined efforts to improve Party conduct and combat corruption; raise the capacity of the CPC to remain wholesome and to improve, renew and surpass itself; improve CPC leadership and governance whilst enhancing its ability to resist corruption and withstand risks; and ensure that the CPC remains the firm leading core of the cause of Chinese socialism.

The question of how to carry forward the spirit of the Long March and how to succeed in our present long march is among the most important issues we currently face. The spirit of the Long March is a precious asset, one which the Party and Chinese people won at great cost through great struggle. We must always remember, learn from, and carry forward the spirit of the Long March, turning it into a powerful source of inner strength driving our Party, our country, our people, our military, and our nation towards a better future.

During the 80 years that have passed since the victory of the Long March in 1936, the CPC has led the Chinese people through revolution, socialist construction, and reform. Embarking on one long march after another, we have held fast the attention of the world with a series of monumental achievements.

Today, we are closer than ever to the goal of national rejuvenation, and more confident than ever in our ability to realize this goal. Our generation, having inherited this cause from our predecessors, must not only fight for today, but also carve out a better path for tomorrow.

The blueprint has been drawn, and now we must forge ahead. As we advance on this path, we must vigorously promote the spirit of the Long March, and draw on this spirit to inspire and encourage the whole of the Party, all our military, and every Chinese person, especially the young, to devote themselves to making the country strong; to continue the great cause our predecessors started; and to write a new, glorious chapter in our new long march to attain the Two Centenary Goals and realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Notes

¹ Mao Zedong: "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. IV, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1961, p. 374.

² Deng Xiaoping: "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shanghai", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 367.

³ *Ibid.*, "Speech at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China", p. 147.

⁴ *Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Lü Shi Chun Qiu*).

⁵ Wu Jing: *Governance of the Zhenguan Period* (*Zhen Guan Zheng Yao*). Wu Jing (670-749) was a historian and official of the Tang Dynasty.

⁶ Mao Zedong: "On Tactics Against Imperialism", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. I, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1975, p. 160.

⁷ Wang Tong: *The Orthodox Theories* (*Zhong Shuo*). Wang Tong (584-617) was a renowned educator and thinker of the Sui Dynasty.

Complete a Moderately Prosperous Society and Realize the Chinese Dream*

July 26, 2017

Chinese socialism has been the prevailing theme of all the theoretical and practical work of our Party since the adoption of reform and opening up in 1978. The whole Party must uphold socialism with Chinese characteristics and remain confident in the path, theories, system and culture of Chinese socialism, ensuring that the development of the Party and the country proceeds in the right direction. On the basis of a thorough understanding of the phases of China's development and the people's aspirations for a better life, we should adopt new ideas, strategies and measures to advance the overall plan of seeking economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress. The Four-pronged Strategy must move forward in a coordinated manner to advance the cause of Chinese socialism. In our final sprint towards a moderately prosperous society, we will strive for the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation through successes in Chinese socialism.

In the context of these goals, the upcoming 19th CPC National Congress is a conference of great significance. It is expected to adopt general and forward-looking action plans of strategic importance, which are pivotal to the further development of the Party and the country, the future of Chinese socialism, and the fundamental interests of the people. Through this conference, our Party aims to make it clear which cause we must champion, which path we should choose,

* Main points of the speech at the opening ceremony of a study session on the guiding principles of Xi Jinping's speeches in the run-up to the 19th CPC National Congress, attended by officials at the provincial/ministerial level.

which historic mission we should take on, how we should prepare for that mission, and which goals we want to achieve.

In planning and promoting the work of the Party and the country, we must conduct in-depth analyses and make an accurate judgment of the current situation as it affects the world, the nation and the Party. Such analyses and judgment are of great importance because they provide the basis for formulating guidelines and charting blueprints for development. They also remind all Party members, especially leadership at all levels, to remain keenly alert to potential dangers – on guard against adversity while cherishing peace. In analyzing the international and domestic situation, in addition to documenting our achievements and opportunities, we should also identify weak links, shortcomings, difficulties, challenges and risks as situations evolve and change. We should be fully prepared for the worst possible scenarios as we strive for the best results.

The five years since the 18th CPC National Congress convened in 2012 have witnessed unprecedented development of the Party and the country. Over these years, on the basis of an accurate understanding of the general development trends we can see in China and around the world, and in response to realistic needs and the people's expectations, the central leadership has adopted significant strategies, guidelines and policies, advanced important plans, solved many intractable problems, and realized major goals that had long been overdue.

We have comprehensively strengthened the Party's leadership and enhanced its cohesion, vitality and influence. With the implementation of the new development concepts, we are pushing China's development forward towards higher quality and efficiency, and greater fairness and sustainability. We have carried all-round reform to a deeper level, making breakthroughs in key fields. We have advanced the rule of law in all respects, enhancing our Party's capacity to lead and govern the country by legal means. We have reinforced the Party's leadership in promoting ideological progress, consolidating the basis for the ideological unity of the Party and the people. We have taken important steps to promote ecological progress towards a beautiful

China. In modernizing our national defense and military, we have made historic breakthroughs in our reform. Through its distinctive diplomacy, China has fostered a peaceful international environment and a sound regional environment for its development.

In enforcing strict Party discipline, we have focused on resolving problems which were of the gravest concern to the people and posed the most serious threats to the Party's governing status. The anti-corruption campaign has gained overwhelming momentum and injected new vigor into internal Party affairs. As a result, Party members have firmer ideals and convictions, and a stronger Party spirit; the Party has markedly enhanced its capacity to remain whole-some and to improve, renew, and extend itself; the Party has consolidated its governing status and gained even more solid support from the people, providing the political guarantee for the development of all undertakings of the Party and the state.

It is the requirement of materialistic dialectics to promote work in all areas by focusing on and tackling key issues. This is an approach that the Party has advocated and followed in the process of revolution, economic development, and reform. In almost four decades since the start of reform and opening up, China's productive forces have developed rapidly, and living standards have markedly improved, fostering higher expectations for a better life and diversified needs for development. The people aspire to a better education, more stable jobs, higher incomes, reliable social security, better medical and health care, improved housing conditions, a beautiful environment, and richer intellectual pursuits and cultural entertainment.

To understand and grasp the features of different phases in China's social development, we must follow the methodology of dialectical and historical materialism. That means we should think in a way that combines history and reality, theory and practice, and the domestic and the international, proceed from the historical orientation of China's social development and the overall situation of the Party and the state, and draw the correct conclusions.

The whole Party must emphasize the basic principle that China is

in the primary stage of socialism and proceed from that base. It must notice the changing characteristics of this stage, uphold the Party's basic guidelines, and solve the problems of our society while continuing economic development. It must promote Chinese socialism while realizing the comprehensive development of all undertakings, of the people, and of society.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, based on achievements since the founding of the PRC in 1949 and, in particular, since the introduction of reform and opening up in 1978, the Party and the country have experienced historic changes and development. Now China has come to a new starting point and Chinese socialism has entered a new stage. The ongoing successes of Chinese socialism signify that the Chinese, who went through untold hardships in the first half of the 20th century, have made the historic leaps from liberation to prosperity, and thence to a strong nation. *Liberation → prosperity*

This means that socialism has flourished in China and opened up new opportunities for development, that Chinese socialism has created a new path to modernization for developing countries, and that China is contributing its wisdom and finding solutions to the problems facing mankind. All Party members should enhance their strategic thinking, take a principled, holistic, forward-looking and innovative approach to work, and formulate principles and guidelines of the Party and the state in accordance with the new requirements. They should improve all development strategies and policies, advancing Chinese socialism with a stronger spirit of dedication and hard work.

Our Party attaches great importance to the development of theory and its guiding role, and emphasizes the unity of theory and practice. To uphold and develop Chinese socialism, we must set great store by the role of theory, and increase confidence in our theories and strategies. In the new era, we must maintain the principle of keeping abreast of the times which is characteristic of Marxist political parties, and promote theoretical innovation based on practice, so as to implement our major tasks and undertakings and further our causes and dreams.

Time is the origin of thought, and practice is the source of theory. In order to win the initiative in these rapidly changing times, and to triumph in the new struggle, we must maintain the basic tenets of Marxism, address the strategic issues facing China's future development with a broader and longer-term perspective, expand our theoretical horizons, and create new theoretical summaries.

We have made a pledge to the people and to history that China will complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020, which is the first of the Two Centenary Goals. To achieve this goal we will focus on key issues, strengthen weak links, and correct shortcomings, in accordance with the requirements set out by the Party's 16th, 17th and 18th national congresses. We will work particularly hard to prevent and defuse grave risks, take targeted measures to relieve poverty, and prevent and control pollution. We will extend supply-side reform and promote the sustained and balanced development of the economy and society, working to ensure that the society we build wins the approval of our people and stands the test of time.

After achieving the first goal, we will inspire all the Chinese people to work together for the second of the Two Centenary Goals, so that China can move forward on its path towards a modern socialist country and stand firmly and proudly among the nations of the world.

To unite and lead the people in pursuit of our major tasks, causes and dreams, we must firmly uphold and improve the Party's leadership, develop the Party, and make it stronger. Only thus can we ensure that our Party maintains vigor and vitality, and that it can lead the people in successfully confronting challenges, dealing with risks, overcoming obstacles, resolving problems, and achieving continuous successes. Practice has made us keenly aware that self-discipline is of crucial importance not only to the future of the Party, but to that of our country and nation, so we must focus on developing the Party with greater determination, courage and effort.

Strict Party discipline is always high on our agenda. The future and the destiny of any political party and government depend on popular support. What we have achieved in strengthening Party disci-

pline since the 18th CPC National Congress has won wide acclaim from the public. It offers valuable experience to be studied and drawn upon. However, we should never become complacent through short-sighted optimism. To enforce strict Party discipline across the board is no overnight journey. The whole Party should target existing problems, maintain confidence in our strategies, and make further progress by developing sounder, more rigorous and effective theories and measures. In doing so, we aim to ensure that the Party always concerns itself with the people's needs, and works together with the people in forging ahead towards the Chinese Dream.

Develop and Popularize Marxism in the Modern Chinese Context*

September 29, 2017

The CPC is a Marxist party. Marxism is the essence of the ideals and convictions of Communists. To develop Marxism in the 21st century and Marxism in China today, and to ensure it continues to shine as truth, we must proceed from China's reality and have the whole world in view; we must upgrade our theories to ensure that they keep pace with the times; we must acquire a full understanding of the practical significance of Marxism for today; we must adapt Marxism to the Chinese context in keeping with the times, and increase its appeal to the people.

No theory in history can match Marxism in terms of rationale, truth, and spread, and no theory has exerted such a huge influence on the world as Marxism. This proves the truth and vigor in Marxism, and its irreplaceable role in understanding, reshaping, and advancing the world. Acquiring a better understanding of current global Marxist thinking helps us adapt Marxism to China's conditions and develop Marxism in the 21st century and Marxism in China today.

Despite changing times and society, the basic tenets of Marxism remain true. Despite the tremendous differences between now and the days of Karl Marx, world socialism's 500 years of history shows that we are still where Marxism has said we should be. This is the proper basis for our continuing faith in Marxism and our confidence in the victory of socialism. Marxism is the foundation for advancing the cause of the CPC and the people, and a source of their strength.

* Main points of the speech at the 43rd group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

to make progress. Should we deviate from or abandon Marxism, our Party will lose its soul and orientation. We must follow the guidance of Marxism, a faith unshakable at all times and in all circumstances.

Any philosophy which is successful in one country is of significance to the world. It must show the way to the people in modern times. We should upgrade Marxism on the basis of the realities of modern times. We should use Marxism to better observe, interpret, and lead the times, make clear our current mission, and know the course of history and the direction for the future. Since the founding of the PRC in 1949, and especially since reform and opening up was launched in 1978, China has witnessed profound changes. As the witness of these historic changes, the Chinese people are best qualified to summarize experiences and laws of development as an original contribution to the development of Marxism. We should have such awareness and confidence in developing the theory. Based on China's actual conditions, we should focus on our current undertakings, listen to the voice of the people, and respond to their practical needs. We should draw experience from the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and better integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China's reality. At the same time we should broaden our vision, draw on all achievements of human civilization, and develop and advance Marxism.

The world is evolving more rapidly than ever before, giving rise to many profound and complicated problems and theoretical questions. Accordingly, we need to enhance our research on modern capitalism, analyze what changes are happening and the nature of these changes, and acquire a better understanding of the law governing the profound and complicated changes in capitalism and international political and economic relations. Contemporary Marxist thinking has an important feature – many who advocate it have critiqued the structural problems, the problems in means of production, class problems, and social problems in capitalist society. They have also analyzed the crisis, evolution, new forms, and nature of capitalism. Their viewpoints help us correctly understand the development trends and the future

of capitalism, accurately understand the new changes and features of contemporary capitalism, and thoroughly understand its evolutionary trends. We should keep track of the new results of research on Marxism outside China, and analyze and examine them. We should neither reject them all nor accept them all. Furthermore, we should focus on China's own development, advance socialism with Chinese characteristics, increase China's overall national strength, and demonstrate the strengths of China's socialist system.

The history of the CPC shows that its repeated triumphs over difficulties have a reason – it has always provided strong ideological and theoretical training for Party members and officials, so as to forge a shared faith, a strong will, and great strength throughout the Party. To gain competitiveness, win the initiative, seize the future, and overcome barriers on the path ahead, we must apply Marxism as a powerful instrument; we must examine the major issues in our future development with a broader and longer vision; we must all become better able to use Marxism to analyze and solve practical problems; and we must improve our ability to meet challenges, defend against risks, overcome barriers, and resolve problems under theoretical guidance. We should arm ourselves with the latest achievements of Marxism adapted to Chinese conditions, forge cohesion and foster firm Marxist beliefs and communist ideals throughout the Party, and improve the theoretical and political understanding of all Party members, especially officials.

Officials, high-ranking officials in particular, should take the lead in studying Marxist classics, studying Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development, and studying the Central Committee's new concepts, ideas, and strategies for China's governance. We should study these theories thoroughly, continuously, and diligently. In the course of our studies, we should raise questions and integrate theory with practice. We should transform theory into tangible strength to understand and change the world, so as to sustain our resolve to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics.

A Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects

The Decisive Stage in Achieving the First Centenary Goal*

October 29, 2015

To realize a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the year 2020 is a solemn promise that our Party has made to the Chinese people and to posterity. The end of the 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020) coincides with the deadline we have set for the attainment of this goal, which means that this will be the last five-year plan in the drive to realize the goal. The tasks of the Party and government over the coming five years therefore boil down to one thing: to achieve the final victory in the decisive push to realize the first of our Two Centenary Goals.

In the early stage of reform and opening up, Deng Xiaoping first used the term “moderate prosperity” to describe Chinese-style modernization, introducing the goal of establishing “a society in which people lead a fairly comfortable life”¹ by the end of the 20th century. Thanks to the concerted efforts of the whole Party and all the people, this goal was attained on schedule at the end of the last century. The Chinese people had on the whole attained a moderately prosperous standard of living. On this foundation, the 16th CPC National Congress in 2002 introduced the goal of comprehensively building and realizing a moderately prosperous society of a higher level for the benefit of more than one billion people in the first 20 years of this century. Since then, committed to the goal, our Party has, one step after another, made remarkable progress in pursuit of the goal.

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

Now, with the finishing line in sight, it is time to make a final dash in this journey of two decades. Completing this strategic task is both our historic responsibility and our greatest honor. We must be soberly aware that while we have what it takes to attain the goal on schedule, the task we face is still enormous and the road ahead will not be easy going. As various problems overlap and risks mount, we are still facing grave and complex challenges. If we fail to respond to these challenges properly, or if we encounter systemic risks or commit serious errors, then the process will be delayed, and could even stall. Therefore, all Party members must be fully prepared for what lies ahead, not just mentally but also in what we do. We must have a clear picture of the situation, strengthen our confidence, and continue to work with determination.

An ancient scholar said, "You are bound to fail if you only know what to do but without knowing the situation."² Despite the profound and complex changes in both international and domestic environments, our assessment that China is in the midst of an important period of strategic opportunity for development still stands. Internationally speaking, the current political and economic situation is on the whole conducive to preserving the overall trend of world peace and development. The world economy is making a difficult recovery amidst deep adjustments, the global governance system is undergoing profound changes, and the world balance of power is becoming increasingly equitable. These factors have created a relatively stable external environment for China's development. Domestically speaking, our considerable material foundations, abundant human resources, vast markets, and enormous potential for development all determine that our economic fundamentals remain favorable for long-term growth. Though we have entered a new normal of economic development and experienced an unavoidable shift in economic growth, it should be noted that the transformation of our growth model is gaining momentum, the structure of the economy is constantly improving, new growth drivers are replacing old ones, and reform and opening up is unleashing new impetus for development.

All this suggests that the sound trend of economic development we are currently seeing can be sustained.

Building on the targets and requirements set forth at the 16th CPC National Congress, and taking into consideration new conditions and developments, the "Recommendations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for the 13th Five-year Plan for Economic and Social Development" have set forth new goals for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects over the coming five years. These targets and requirements, together with those introduced at the 16th, 17th, and 18th national congresses of the CPC in 2002, 2007, and 2012, constitute a pledge we have made to the people. We must do everything possible in our power to see that they are realized. As these targets and requirements have already been covered in the Recommendations, what I would like to talk about here is how to keep command of and advance these initiatives.

The targets and requirements laid out in the Recommendations are directed towards the entire country, but that does not mean they can be applied uniformly to all localities. For example, to achieve the goals of doubling China's 2010 GDP and per capita income by 2020³, we will need to sustain an average economic growth rate of 6.5 percent and raise the per capita disposable incomes of urban and rural residents by at least 5.8 percent per year for the 13th Five-year Plan period, which in effect means synchronizing the growth of the economy and of incomes. It is clearly not possible for all parts of the country to sustain such rates of growth. A more realistic scenario is that some areas will see higher growth rates while others will see lower growth rates. For certain central and western regions, old revolutionary base areas, ethnic minority areas, border areas, and impoverished areas, and particularly agricultural production zones and key ecosystem service zones, our primary goals will be to guarantee national food security and ecological security, and achieve notable progress in various social programs, seeking in particular to raise standards of living and improve public services by a significant margin. We must guarantee the basic needs of food and clothing for those living in

poverty and ensure that they have proper access to compulsory education, medical care, and safe housing, whilst working to raise their incomes above the poverty line. This does not mean that per capita GDP and per capita income in all localities throughout the country must reach the national average before moderate prosperity across the board can be achieved.

What I must make clear is that to bring about a moderately prosperous society in all respects is not to start another massive campaign to make rapid progress. We cannot realize the goal of doubling GDP and per capita income by relying on an extensive mode of development or by turning to strong stimulus measures to boost the pace of growth. That would only take us back down the same old road and create new stresses and problems. As we are working to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects, we also need to consider more long-term development requirements and accelerate our efforts to create a mode of economic development that is suited to the new normal. Only in this way will we be able to realize a moderately prosperous society of high quality and lay down a stronger foundation for realizing the second of the Two Centenary Goals.

Notes

¹ Deng Xiaoping: "We Should Take a Longer-Range View in Developing Sino-Japanese Relations", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, pp. 63-64.

² Lu Zhi: "Border Defense" (Lun Yuan Bian Shou Bei Shi Yi Zhuang). Lu Zhi (754-805) was an official and thinker of the Tang Dynasty.

³ These goals were set in the political report "Firmly March on the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive to Complete the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects" to the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012.

How to Resolve Major Difficulties in Realizing the First Centenary Goal*

October 29, 2015

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 chart the course while the people get the job done.”¹

Firstly, 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 complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects, we still need to make development our top priority and bring it to a new level. We should stick to the strategy that development alone can make the difference, 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 periodical 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

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

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 economic 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 partly compromised by ineffective supply and lacks effective supply of high quality and high level. 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 Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt. These initiatives represent new space for development and we must expand these in the near future. 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 the 13th Five-year Plan for Economic and Social Development”. The key to realizing these requirements lies in securing high-quality and efficient development.

First, 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.

Second, products must be marketable, which determines whether an investment will have reasonable returns. If the government, without analyzing the market, replaces enterprises in allocating resources, or encourages enterprises to expand investment through preferential policies, it will probably hinder continued progress.

Third, enterprises must make profits. Being an enterprise means having the ability to make money. Should an enterprise fail to make profits, or make unsustainable 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 enhance their profitability.

Fourth, 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 overseas-funded enterprises will transfer to other countries with lower wage costs.

Fifth, the government must collect taxes. The government must provide public services and infrastructure. 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 standard 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.

Secondly, in strengthening areas of weakness, we must properly address imbalanced development. To realize a moderately prosperous society in all respects, we must not only 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 unbalanced, uncoordinated, and unsustainable 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 ecological 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 ecological 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 ecological 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 enhanced rapidly, but our capacity for preserving ecosystems has shrunk, and the environment in some places is still deteriorating. We must try our best to enhance ecological progress, incorporate ecological ideas, principles and goals into all our economic and social development efforts, include them in our plans at all levels, and implement them.

Functional zoning is the fundamental system for protecting and using our land-air resources, and the principal measure to protect the 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 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 enhance 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 farmland. We must intensify our efforts in environment governance, reform the fundamental system of environment governance, make all natural ecosystems more stable and better able to provide services, and safeguard national ecological 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 completing a moderately prosperous society in all respects lie in the area of 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."² To ensure that living standards are improved through the involvement and dedication of all people and the shared enjoyment of benefits therein, 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, our 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 of the realization of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. 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 problems 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 notion 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, areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities, 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, 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 urban-rural development gap, which is a major impediment 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-functional zone – commonly referred to as the world's Third Pole – have enormous value in producing eco-friendly products and providing services for ecological conservation. If the region is exploited blindly, resulting in destruction of the ecology, 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 urban-rural development gap, 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 the levels of 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.

Thirdly, 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 finishing 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,"³ 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 enhance 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 must 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.

Notes

¹ Chen Liang: *On Tackling Major Issues in Governance* (*Lun Zhi Yao Zhi Dao*). Chen Liang (1143-1194) was a thinker and writer of the Southern Song Dynasty.

² Fang Xuanling *et al.*: *Book of Jin* (*Jin Shu*). Fang Xuanling (579-648) was an official of the Tang Dynasty.

³ Liu Xu *et al.*: *Old Book of Tang* (*Jiu Tang Shu*). Liu Xu (887-946) was a statesman and historian during the Five Dynasties.

Take Targeted Measures Against Poverty*

November 27, 2015

Eliminating poverty, improving living standards, and achieving common prosperity are the basic requirements of socialism and an important mission of the CPC. Building a moderately prosperous society in all respects is our fundamental promise to the people. We have sounded a clarion call in the battle against poverty. To win this battle, we should have firm resolve and solid goals, and work hard with a down-to-earth spirit, to bring reasonable prosperity to all poverty-stricken areas and individuals by 2020.

This conference on poverty alleviation and development is the first central conference since the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee. This shows the Central Committee's deep concern for poverty relief. At that plenary session, starting from our fundamental promise, we committed to raising out of poverty all those defined by current standards as rural poor, raising out of poverty all those counties designated as poverty-stricken, and eliminating overall regional poverty by 2020. The major tasks of this conference are to implement the decision of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, analyze the current situation, map out our work in the final period of achieving the goal of moderate prosperity, make both present and future plans to carry out the work required, and mobilize all forces of the Party and the nation to win this battle against poverty.

Since the founding of the PRC in 1949, the CPC has led the people in fighting poverty. Through 37 years of effort since we adopted

* Main points of the speech at the Central Conference on Poverty Alleviation and Development.

reform and opening up in 1978, we have followed a poverty relief path with Chinese characteristics, and lifted more than 700 million rural people out of poverty, laying the foundation for moderate prosperity throughout the country. China has lifted more people out of poverty than any other country, and it was the first to realize the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. This achievement deserves to be recorded in the annals of human social development, and it proves the worth of the CPC's leadership and Chinese socialism.

We should be aware that China's battle against poverty remains tough. By the end of 2014, China still had a rural population of over 70 million living in poverty. Our poverty relief goals for the 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020) are as follows: By 2020, the rural poor will be guaranteed food, clothing, compulsory education, basic medical care, and safe housing; in poverty-stricken areas, the growth rate in rural per capita disposable income will surpass the national average growth rate, and major indicators of basic public services will approach the national average.

China's battle against poverty has entered the toughest stage. To achieve our goals, we must carry on the fight with firmer resolve, clearer thinking, more targeted measures, unique intensity, and concerted action, leaving behind no single poverty-stricken area or individual.

To take better-targeted measures to help the poor and lift them out of poverty, we should improve their impact. The key is to find the right approaches, establish effective mechanisms, make real efforts in targeted policy-making, and deliver real results in policy implementation.

We should determine who must receive poverty relief, and identify the population and 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.

We should determine who is to implement poverty relief, develop a working mechanism in which the central government makes overall plans, the governments of provinces and equivalent administra-

tive units take charge, and governments at municipal, prefectoral, and county levels implement the decisions. Governments at all levels should define a clear division of labor, clarify their own responsibilities, assign specific tasks to designated officials, and produce a thorough evaluation of their performance.

We should determine how to implement poverty relief. According to the different cases of poverty-stricken people and areas, we should adopt five measures:

First, boosting the economy to provide more job opportunities. We should guide and encourage all people with ability to work for a better future with their own hands, and rely on local resources to end poverty.

Second, relocating poverty-stricken people. Those who cannot escape from poverty locally can be relocated year by year in a planned and organized way. We should ensure smooth relocation and settlement, and make sure those involved have the means to better themselves.

Third, providing eco-jobs for poverty-stricken people. We should strengthen ecological restoration and protection in impoverished areas, increase transfer payments in important ecological areas, expand the scope of those eligible for preferential policies, and enable impoverished people with the ability to work to serve as eco-workers, for example as forest rangers.

Fourth, improving education in poverty-stricken areas. The best way to help the poor is to raise their educational level. National education funds should continue to be weighted towards poverty-stricken areas, for basic education and vocational education. We should improve the education services in impoverished areas, and direct particular attention to young children from impoverished rural households, especially children who stay in rural areas while their parents have gone to the cities as migrant workers.

Fifth, improving social security for poverty alleviation. Among the poverty-stricken population, those who have completely or partially lost the ability to work should be guaranteed social security. We should

readjust the rural poverty line and rural subsistence allowances, and provide other forms of social relief. We should increase medical insurance and medical aid for poverty relief, and ensure the rural poor are covered by the new type of rural cooperative medical care and serious illness insurance. We should increase efforts in poverty relief in the old revolutionary base areas of the CPC from before the founding of the PRC.

Taking targeted measures to help the impoverished means lifting them out of poverty. We should set a timetable, a step-by-step schedule to complete this poverty relief program, being neither over-conservative nor over-impetuous. We should give a "grace period", in which we continue to implement poverty relief policies in designated poor areas that have eliminated poverty. We should evaluate the results of our work against strict criteria and in terms of every household and individual, until they are recognized by the public.

While taking targeted measures for poverty relief, we should enhance and improve the CPC's leadership. Party committees and governments at all levels must proceed with confidence, take on responsibilities, and do solid work to reduce poverty. Officials at all levels should press on with the work of poverty alleviation with passion and determination. In places where poverty alleviation work is tough, Party committees and governments should take the fight against poverty as their top priority for the 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020), and use it to promote local social and economic development. Authorities at all levels should sign written pledges concerning their goals. We should establish an annual report and supervision system for poverty alleviation to enhance accountability. Their actual performance in poverty alleviation should be a major criterion for selecting officials. We should test officials on the front line of the battle against poverty, and encourage them to distinguish themselves. We should strengthen rural grassroots Party committees, intensify the fight against poverty, and select capable first-in-commands and leading groups.

Our input in development-oriented poverty alleviation should

be adapted to the requirements for victory in this battle. Accordingly, we should increase special funds and infrastructure investment in the state budget allocated to poverty relief. Transfer payments for general purposes and special transfer payments for improving standards of living should be further shifted towards poverty-stricken areas. Provincial budgets and eastern areas which are paired up with western impoverished areas for the purpose of fighting poverty should increase financial support for poverty relief. We should multiply efforts to integrate funds for poverty relief. To reduce poverty through financial measures, we should accelerate the pace of rural financial reform and innovation. We should promote transparent management of poverty relief funds, investigate every crime of abusing power in poverty relief, and severely punish those who embezzle, exploit, falsely claim, or squander poverty relief funds.

To eliminate poverty, the impoverished should rely on their own hard work. There is no mountain top we cannot reach; there is no voyage without a final destination. We should arouse the initiative of grassroots officials and people in poverty-stricken areas, and encourage them to act with passion and fight poverty through hard work. We should also mobilize all social forces to join in poverty alleviation.

Eliminate Poverty in Severely Impoverished Areas*

June 23, 2017

To make faster progress in eliminating poverty in severely impoverished areas, we should follow the overall plan of the CPC Central Committee and implement the targeted poverty reduction and elimination strategy. We will continue the working mechanism whereby the central leadership makes overall plans, provincial authorities take overall responsibility, and municipal and county authorities take charge of implementation. Top leaders of the Party and government at each level should be responsible for the work of poverty alleviation under their jurisdiction. Special projects, corporate support and social assistance should be integrated to form a joint effort in overcoming bottleneck problems, implementing major programs, taking specific measures for individual villages and rural households, and making breakthroughs in areas of weakness. We should also strengthen support systems, and give preferential policies to severely impoverished areas, whilst rallying the efforts of all sides to solve difficult cases, ensuring that the people in severely impoverished areas lead a moderately prosperous life like people in other parts of the country.

Firstly, set reasonable goals for poverty elimination.

The CPC Central Committee has drawn up a plan for poverty elimination. By 2020, all impoverished people in rural areas will be guaranteed the basic needs of food and clothing as well as proper access to compulsory education, medical care, and safe housing. The rate of increase of per capita disposable income in poverty-stricken

* Part of the speech at a seminar on eliminating poverty in severely impoverished areas.

areas will be higher than the national average. Indicators of the main areas of basic public services will be close to national average. All rural population below the current poverty line and all impoverished counties will shake off poverty, so that regional poverty as a whole, including severely impoverished areas, will be a thing of past. Nevertheless, we should be realistic; by 2020, in terms of development, areas of extreme poverty will not be able to catch up with developed areas. However, these are the goals that we are striving to reach. We must not set the bar too high, to prevent impoverished areas from having overly-high expectations.

Secondly, increase input.

Government investment should be the major input, playing a guiding and coordinating role in encouraging investment from other financial sources. Newly-added funds for poverty elimination projects should be mostly directed at severely impoverished areas; new poverty elimination projects should be placed in these areas, and new measures should be mainly applied there too. Governments at all levels should first arrange projects designed to benefit local residents in these areas, and newly-assigned funds for agricultural development should be used for poverty elimination programs.

Government financial departments at all levels should expand their scale of payments to, and increase investment in, severely impoverished areas. The capital market should make it possible for more enterprises in these areas to go public, and insurance companies should also lower premiums for these areas.

We should increase the land assigned for construction to support the development of severely impoverished areas. When allocating newly-increased construction land-use quotas, priority should be given to these areas. Besides, we should allow land quotas for urban construction to be used in a flexible way within provincial boundaries.

These measures will be combined to form a joint force that supports poverty elimination in all severely impoverished areas.

Thirdly, concentrate all our strength to fight poverty.

“Strength is weakened once divided.”¹ There are many different

causes for extreme poverty in different places. We should proceed from the actual conditions in these areas and redouble our efforts as we do for many other major missions. Our next step is to address problems concerning public services, infrastructure facilities, and basic healthcare in all severely impoverished areas nationwide. After listening to the poverty elimination briefing at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee in December last year, I made it clear that we should start a program of upgrading run-down and neglected villages, help develop their collective economies, improve infrastructure facilities, and remove the last major hurdle to implementing poverty elimination policies. As long as we concentrate our resources and find the right way, we will, for sure, be able to resolve these thorny issues. Therefore we should:

- relocate more impoverished people living under adverse natural conditions;
- create more jobs such as forest rangers in areas that restrict or prohibit exploitation to preserve the fragile environment;
- provide more healthcare support, temporary assistance and charity relief for people living in poverty caused by sickness; and
- guarantee social security assistance for families who are unable to escape poverty through business-driven poverty alleviation or employment assistance programs.

Fourthly, targeted poverty alleviation is the major mission of regional development.

Regional development is the basis as well as an important part of targeted poverty alleviation in severely impoverished areas. In contiguous poverty-stricken areas, our focus should be on problems relating to public services, infrastructure, and industrial development. We must be clear that these approaches aim to provide an environment conducive to poverty elimination. Our measures must be workable and help create a favorable environment for targeted poverty reduction. We should prevent launching projects and asking for funds in the name of promoting regional development; this will only further widen the

gap between rich and poor, regardless of regional economic growth and improved social services.

Severely impoverished areas should improve their growth models and give priority to the development of business activities that benefit the impoverished, such as agriculture based on local features, labor-intensive processing industries, and the service industry. Transport projects should mainly focus on roads connecting villages; water conservation projects should favor impoverished villages and small-scale agricultural production; ecological preservation projects should employ more underprivileged people and benefit the poor; the new-type rural cooperative medical care system and the serious illness insurance scheme should also widen its scope to benefit the impoverished.

Fifthly, get all sectors to give more support to alleviate poverty.

The eastern region and central organizations should increase their support for severely impoverished areas and take more initiative concerning one-to-one assistance. Eastern areas which have paired up with areas in the west in cooperative programs and central organizations which have designated targets of assistance should provide more funds, projects and personnel to areas of extreme poverty. Such projects as the "Joining Hands to Get Prosperous Action" initiated by developed counties in the east to help impoverished counties in the west and the "Program of 10,000 Enterprises Helping 10,000 Villages" initiated by private enterprises should all be more targeted to areas of extreme poverty. The Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development of the State Council should help coordinate these efforts. We should also solicit extensive non-governmental strength to combat poverty in severely impoverished areas and resolve poor people's difficulties in production and daily life. We should seek public donations for poverty-stricken areas and people, and publicize typical cases of contributions aiding poverty relief, to create a positive atmosphere of fighting poverty.

Sixthly, motivate the impoverished to eliminate poverty.

I have often said that to alleviate poverty we must first help the poor to acquire knowledge, and we must arouse their aspirations.

Both the desire to learn and the aspiration to change are driven by the inner self. When I worked in Ningde, Fujian Province, I told the locals a folktale titled *A Weak Bird Takes Flight Early*. My intention was to explain to them that the area and the people should do two things – first, "take wing" and then "leave the nest". If you have no desire to make an effort, but rely solely on external aid, you will remain poor forever. Now, in certain places, village officials are really busy whereas farmers remain indifferent. The poor do nothing but wait, relying on and asking for poverty relief. This tendency has been caricatured in such terms as "Idle men lean against the wall, enjoying the sunshine and waiting for others to bring them a moderately prosperous society." We must arouse their enthusiasm and let their creative ability play its role. We should train them to develop skills so that they can find jobs or go into business. It is important to stimulate their desire to lift themselves out of poverty and work hard for a better life. What we must develop is their capacity for self-development.

We should motivate people in severely impoverished areas to follow the Chinese tradition of working hard and living thriftily. We should promote filial piety and family harmony, encourage people to take on family responsibilities, cultivate fine family traditions, and take care of the elderly.

A healthy, enterprising nation should encourage its people to work hard, get employed, provide for their family on their own, serve the public, and contribute to their country. We should change our approach in poverty reduction from simply handing out funds and goods, and even cattle and sheep, to giving rewards and subsidies for more work and work relief. We must not offer profuse promises and do everything for them, instead we should encourage them to lift themselves out of poverty through their own hard work.

Seventhly, improve organization and leadership.

When fighting poverty in severely impoverished areas, we must stress actual results. Poverty-relief personnel must be put in place, responsibilities must be defined, and results must be achieved. To eliminate extreme poverty, we must strengthen organization and lead-

ership. The Central Committee has called on all Party members to enhance the Four Consciousnesses². This is not a slogan or empty talk, but rather something we must apply in practice.

All Party committees and governments must implement the Central Committee's policies and plans for combating poverty. Party committees and governments in severely impoverished areas must make poverty elimination their top priority during the 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020) as well as the most important project for improving the people's wellbeing. They should focus on poverty elimination in their overall social and economic development.

County Party committees should be the headquarters of the poverty elimination campaign; county Party secretaries should take overall charge of poverty elimination – coordinating schedules, launching projects, allocating funds, assigning personnel, and implementing projects.

Here I reiterate that during the critical phase of the battle against poverty in impoverished counties, Party committee secretaries and county governors should remain steadfast in their posts. Outstanding ones will be eligible for promotion after the campaign is over. I hope those concerned will not fail the mission they have been entrusted by the Party.

To help severely impoverished areas shake off poverty, we must strengthen organization and leadership at the forefront. Officials are the key to success. In recent years we have dispatched to poverty-stricken villages first Party secretaries, resident working teams and, in certain places, university graduates as village leaders. Fighting extreme poverty is a hard battle. To win it, we must send the most capable people, and this is what all these places must take good care of. Money alone is not the solution. We should strengthen village Party branches while fighting poverty, appoint capable leaders and strengthen their leadership. We must be firm in removing those who are slacking, and ensure that village Party branches perform a decisive role in this battle. We should crack down on village despots according to law, and guard against their interference in the operation of local government.

The Party and government departments at all levels should dispatch officials and resident working teams to poor villages to gain experience in the battle against poverty.

Grassroots officials at the forefront of poverty fighting are working hard. In my New Year message this year, I made a point of extending my greetings to them. This was on par with a call to local Party committees and governments to care about them and give them support. We should treat severely impoverished areas as testing and training grounds for our officials. Poverty relief officials must go deep into the villages and work hard together with the locals. They must not make token efforts or be slack at work. In this regard, Party committees and organization departments at relevant levels must ensure that those first Party secretaries and working team members are working hard in the poverty elimination campaign.

Eighthly, enhance supervision of poverty elimination.

The fight against poverty cannot be won overnight. The Central Committee does not require poverty to be eliminated ahead of schedule, and certainly not in severely impoverished areas where the issues are complex. Poverty elimination programs must not be capriciously moved ahead of schedule, and the poverty line should not be lowered. Fake poverty reduction or reduction only in figure is not allowed. We should conduct the strictest possible evaluation of poverty elimination and implement a reporting and oversight system for annual poverty reduction results. We should strengthen supervision and reinforce accountability for fraud and falsification. We should supervise the use of poverty relief funds, and punish any case of misappropriation and embezzlement. Our work must be a down-to-earth practice – progress must be steady, and the results must be real. The results must also be accepted by the people and withstand the test of time.

I have repeatedly emphasized that we should be pragmatic in combating poverty, and all our work should focus on resolving practical problems for the impoverished. We should not go through the motions, take impractical measures, be encumbered by red tape, or pay lip service. For some time now, it has been reported that in order

to identify the poor and implement targeted measures for poverty alleviation, some areas have issued reams of forms. Grassroots officials are so swamped by these forms that they have no time to actually visit rural households to go fact-finding, and the impoverished people cannot make head nor tail of the complex forms with so many sections to fill in, which, worse still, are full of incomprehensible terminology. Such practices must be corrected. To take targeted measures to identify and reduce poverty, we should set reasonable goals, adopt sound approaches and improve efficiency. We should collect information from all sources, establish a database, and share the data.

All provinces and equivalent administrative units should follow the instructions of the Central Committee to focus on problems, analyze their causes, and find solutions. We must enhance our support in areas where poverty alleviation is weak or input is insufficient. If our approaches do not work well, we must immediately study the problems and work out appropriate methods in accordance with the requirements of targeted poverty alleviation, and ensure that poverty in severely impoverished areas is eliminated by 2020.

Notes

¹ *Sun Zi Annotated by Eleven Thinkers (Shi Yi Jia Zhu Sun Zi)*.

² This refers to enhancing political integrity, developing a better understanding of the general picture, following the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and acting consistently with Central Committee policy.

Deeper Reform

Make Solid Efforts to Advance Reform*

August 18, 2014

This is the first year to implement the decision to continue with all-round reform made at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee. We should make solid efforts to advance reform and pave the way for further progress in the years to come. All provincial authorities and central departments should conduct reform in a down-to-earth manner. Therefore, we should have concrete plans in place, guaranteed by appropriate actions and supervision, proper guidance and publicity, and effective evaluation of outcomes. In so doing, we aim to bring tangible benefits to the people, encouraging them to contribute their own ideas and efforts to the program of reform.

"The Implementation Plan on Major Reform Measures of the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee (2014-2020)" makes overall arrangements for conducting reform in the coming seven years. Emphasizing the path, outcome and schedule of each reform measure, the plan serves as the general blueprint and management chart for the next period of reform. Relevant central departments should carefully organize the implementation, coordinate related reforms, properly arrange the schedule, materialize and refine the outcome, appropriately handle the relationship between reform and the formulation, revision and abolishment of related laws, promptly resolve problems in implementation, and endeavor to accomplish the necessary tasks.

The key to the next phase of our work is implementation. We should put in place implementation plans, focus on major problems

* Main points of the speech at the fourth meeting of the Leading Group for Further Reform under the CPC Central Committee.

and key links, identify problems in systems and mechanisms, and work out solutions. We must guarantee the quality of major reform plans. We should define effective measures, and coordinate and set the pace of implementation, so as to advance reform. We should carry out strict supervision and follow-up of implementation, strengthen the mechanism of supervision and evaluation, and follow a project responsibility system, with a clear division of responsibility and proactive and strong executive capabilities on the part of the supervisors. We should make sure that results are materialized. We should establish and improve an evaluation system of the implementation of reform measures. We should also carry out publicity, especially on the guidelines of the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, and the progress and new results of our program of reform.

Implement the Free Trade Zone Strategy*

December 5, 2014

Standing at a new starting point in history, to achieve the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, we must adapt ourselves to the new trends of economic globalization, correctly evaluate the changing international situation, thoroughly understand the new demands in domestic reform and development, take more effective action to drive opening up to a higher level, and quicken the pace of implementing the free trade zone (FTZ) strategy and building an open economic system. We must take more initiative to further promote opening up to the outside world in a bid to boost economic development and win the international competition.

Accelerating the implementation of the FTZ strategy is an important element of a new round of opening up. The 17th CPC National Congress in 2007 listed the development of FTZs as a national strategy; the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012 required quickening the pace of implementing the FTZ strategy. The Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2013 required that we accelerate the implementation of the FTZ strategy with neighboring countries as the basis, and create a global, high-standard FTZ network. The purpose of this group study session of the Political Bureau is to analyze the domestic and international situations we are facing and discuss how to speed up the implementation of the FTZ strategy.

We should correctly understand all new trends in economic globalization and the new demands of opening up at home. Expanding and advancing opening up, and promoting reform and develop-

* Main points of the speech at the 19th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

ment through opening up, is a powerful instrument through which China can achieve continuing progress. Opening up brings progress, while isolation leads to backwardness. International development and China's development both prove this to be true. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, we have taken the opportunity to speed up building an open economic system, and now a higher-level pattern of opening up is taking shape.

Multilateral trade system and regional trade arrangements are the two drivers for economic globalization. Now the global trade system is undergoing the largest round of reconstruction since the 1994 Uruguay Round negotiations. China is an active participant in and firm supporter of economic globalization, and also a major contributor and beneficiary. As China's economic development has entered a new normal, in order to address the difficulties and challenges in social and economic development, we should open wider to the outside world. As a Chinese saying goes, "Opportunities are rare and hard to grasp, and easy to lose."¹ We must size up the situation if we are to seize the critical opportunities offered by economic globalization.

Accelerating the implementation of the FTZ strategy is an objective requirement for adapting to the new trends of economic globalization. It is the option we must choose if we are to achieve deeper reform and build an open economic system, and it is an important measure in addressing foreign relations and implementing foreign strategies. We should therefore move forward at a quicker pace, and allow the FTZs to facilitate trade investments, so as to expand international markets for Chinese enterprises, and inject new energy into and open new space for China's economic development.

They provide an important platform for China to participate in the formulation of international trade rules, and to acquire the institutional power for global economic governance. Therefore, we should not be a bystander or follower, but a participant and leader. We should enhance our international competitiveness by developing FTZs, giving China a greater voice and injecting more Chinese elements in the

formulation of international rules, so as to protect and expand the interests of China's development.

Accelerating the implementation of the FTZ strategy is a complicated project. We should enhance top-level design and overall planning, planning for each individual step and the overall situation, build a global FTZ network with neighboring countries as the basis and radiating out through the Belt and Road, and negotiate with the countries and regions involved in the Belt and Road Initiative on establishing FTZs, thereby ensuring closer cooperation, more effective communication, and a closer union of interests between China and the countries and regions involved in the Belt and Road Initiative. We should increase the number and improve the quality of FTZs, try out bold initiatives and keep pace with the times, open the service industry wider to the outside world, and quicken negotiations in new fields. We should stay true to our principles, improve risk evaluation and guard against risks, promote pilot projects to confirm their worth, establish an integrative system to improve supervision, and build a safety network. We should continue to improve our own capability and do our own jobs well, accelerate market-oriented reforms, build a law-based business environment, quicken the pace of economic restructuring, promote industrial upgrading, encourage enterprises to expand business and become stronger, and improve our international competitiveness and the ability to withstand risks.

We should establish fair, inclusive, and transparent market rules, and improve the international competitiveness of our service industry. We should integrate the strategies of "bringing in" and "going global", improve foreign investment system and policies, tap the foreign investment potential of Chinese enterprises, and be courageous in and adept at allocating resources and expanding markets in a global context. We should accelerate the transition from a large to a major trading power, consolidate our traditional strengths in foreign trade, foster new competitive edges, expand the development space of foreign trade, and increase imports. We should build a strategic mentality and a global vision, and review the development of China

and the world from the height of integrating the overall situations at home and abroad, pushing forward opening up.

Notes

¹ Wei Shou: *Book of Wei (Wei Shu)*. Wei Shou (507-572) was a historian and writer during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

*Give the People a Stronger Sense of Gain**

February 27, 2015-December 5, 2016

I

We should coordinate all reform tasks, implement the reform measures approved at the third and fourth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee, promote reform under the rule of law, and improve the rule of law in the process of reform. We should identify the key targets and hit them, and adopt a series of sound, practical and effective measures that can withstand the test and are accepted by the people. We must handle well the relationship between "the first kilometer" and "the last kilometer" [the initiation and the implementation] of reform, eliminate obstacles in between, prevent nonfeasance, and publicize the highlights of reform plans so as to give the people a stronger sense of gain.

(from the speech at the 10th meeting, February 27, 2015)

II

We must proceed top-down from the strategy of the Four-pronged Strategy, be highly aware of the key position and important role of continuing reform, be bold and resolute, and use the reform mindset to plan and promote our work, so as to constantly improve

* Main points of the speeches at the 10th, 11th, 23rd and 30th meetings of the Leading Group for Further Reform under the CPC Central Committee.

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our capability of leading, planning, promoting, and implementing reform, and make sure that reform responds to public demand.
(from the speech at the 11th meeting, April 1, 2015)

III

In advancing reform, we should strengthen impetus and seek greater social fairness and justice, promote supply-side structural reform with innovation in systems and mechanisms, and focus on the resolution of problems related to the systems and mechanisms that hinder economic and social development. We should reflect the people-oriented development idea at every link of economic and social development, grasp and promote in reform whatever the people care about and expect, and give the people a stronger sense of gain by implementing reform.

(from the speech at the 23rd meeting, April 18, 2016)

IV

To plan solid reform is significant to our work next year and in the future. We should summarize our experience, enhance our thinking, emphasize focal points, improve the overall efficiency of reform, expand the scope of benefits, give full play to the leading role of reform, and adopt reform measures that drive economic development, promote social fairness and justice, enhance people's sense of gain, and arouse the enthusiasm of officials and the people.

(from the speech at the 30th meeting, December 5, 2016)

Take Action on Reform*

May 5, 2015–August 29, 2017

I

We should urge officials to keep their thinking in line with the Four-pronged Strategy. They should keep in mind the broader picture of reform in treating adjustments of interests. They should comply with and serve reform as long as that helps promote reform as a whole, develop the cause of the Party and country and improve the systems and institutions of their sectors. They should impose revolution on themselves and confront problems face-to-face as they work together to accomplish the great mission of further all-round reform.

(from the speech at the 12th meeting, May 5, 2015)

II

Officials must be strict with themselves in self-cultivation, in the exercise of power, and in self-discipline, and act in good faith when performing official duties, taking initiatives, and interacting with others. Their performance in further all-round reform is a major measure of their compliance with these above-mentioned Three Guidelines for Ethical Behavior and Three Basic Rules of Conduct. These guidelines and rules must be implemented throughout reform. Party members and officials, especially those in leadership positions

* Main points of the speeches at the 12th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 32nd, 33rd and 38th meetings of the Leading Group for Further Reform under the CPC Central Committee.

must be urged to seek truth from facts and stay realistic and pragmatic. They must have a thorough, realistic understanding of reform and take a pragmatic approach to planning and implementation. They should both promote and take action on reform.

(from the speech at the 14th meeting, July 1, 2015)

III

All provincial authorities and central departments should develop a holistic view of reform and a strong sense of responsibility, making reform a political priority. With strong resolve and confidence in reform, they should take a more proactive approach to reform in both thinking and action, promote and take action on reform at the same time, and work tenaciously to implement reforms with targeted and persistent efforts till there are achievements.

(from the speech at the 21st meeting, February 23, 2016)

IV

Being responsible for reform, central Party and government departments are also important forces for carrying it out. They must implement the CPC Central Committee's policies, free their minds, release and develop productive forces, and liberate and tap the vitality of society. They should also strengthen their sense of responsibility, promote reform as a reform on themselves, gain a correct understanding of the broader picture, and implement reform measures.

(from the speech at the 28th meeting, October 11, 2016)

V

Party and government officials are essential for promoting reform. They should prioritize reform initiatives, pioneer reform efforts, and take on the most painstaking and difficult reform tasks. They should play the key role in mapping out major reform plans, supervising major reform programs, coordinating key issues, and ensuring effective implementation of reform.

(from the speech at the 32nd meeting, February 6, 2017)

VI

Officials at all levels should plan and promote reform consciously from an overall perspective, seek truth from facts, be pragmatic, make sure that we start well and end well, and work wholeheartedly to produce the best possible results. They should also keep to the right direction, be ready to take on responsibilities, be personally involved, and focus on implementation.

(from the speech at the 33rd meeting, March 24, 2017)

VII

Reform is part of our great struggle. To implement further all-round reform, we must strengthen CPC leadership, be problem-oriented, work hard to ensure implementation, and improve our understanding and application of the laws governing reform. We must continue to reform, plan and implement it from an overall perspective, be strong, determined and courageous, review the experience we have accumulated since the 18th National Congress, and make persistent efforts to carry reform through to the end.

(from the speech at the 38th meeting, August 29, 2017)

Make Targeted Efforts in Reform*

January 4-6, 2016

This year is still of crucial importance for further all-round reform. We need to focus on tasks that play a landmark, guiding and defining role in reform, and take the initiative to make targeted efforts. In advancing reform, local authorities should on the one hand carry out tasks set forth by the CPC Central Committee, and on the other, seek opportunities to innovate.

While bearing in mind the general situation in the country, we need to determine the priorities, paths, order, and methods of reform, and creatively implement guidelines of the central leadership, so that reform will more precisely meet development needs, grassroots wishes, and popular aspirations. We should fully understand key reform plans made by the central leadership, and at the same time improve the mechanism for implementation, be pragmatic, address specific problems, provide material support and necessary manpower, and put our focus on serious problems. With these efforts, reform will take root and bear fruit.

* Main points of the speech during a fact-finding trip to Chongqing.

Further Reform Must Be Systematic, Integrated and Coordinated*

June 26, 2017

Making sure reform is systematic, integrated and coordinated is an intrinsic requirement of reform as well as an important means for continued progress. The more we continue reform, the more attention we should pay to the coordination of planning, implementation, and results. We should work to ensure reform measures are consistent in policy orientation, mutually supportive in implementation, and complementary in effect, so that all of them concentrate on and contribute to the general goal of comprehensively continuing reform.

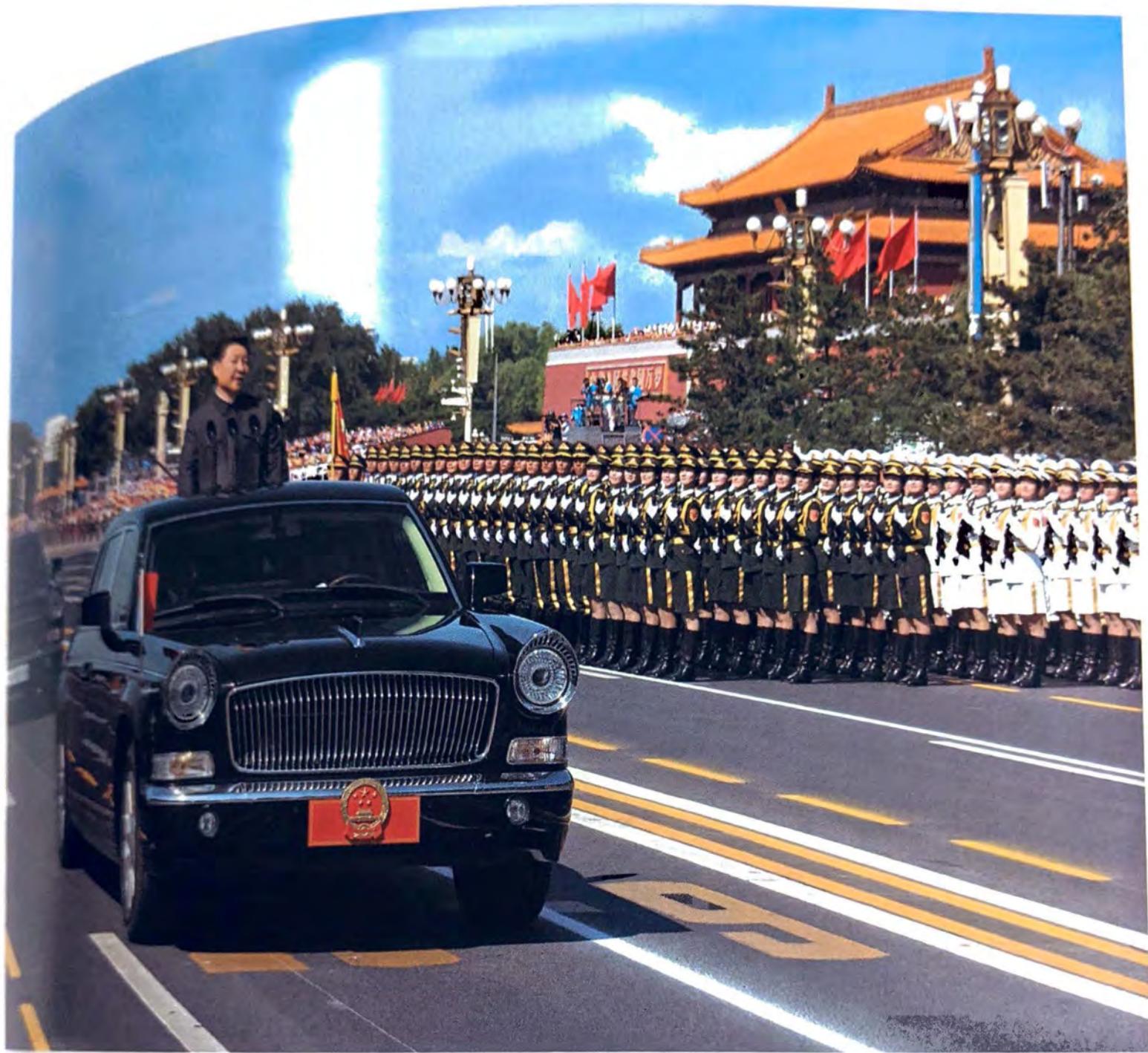
* Main point of the speech at the 36th meeting of the Leading Group for Further Reform under the CPC Central Committee.



With villagers of Liangjiahe in Yanchuan County, while reviewing poverty alleviation efforts in old revolutionary base areas in Shaanxi Province, February 13, 2015.



Planting a tree in Sunhe Township, Beijing, April 3, 2015.



Reviewing troops attending the military parade marking the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and World War II, on Tiananmen Square in Beijing, September 3, 2015. Xi delivered a speech to the nation prior to the parade.



Meeting with representatives from the five ethnic autonomous regions of Inner Mongolia, Guangxi, Tibet, Ningxia and Xinjiang at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, September 30, 2015, prior to the National Day celebrations.



A handshake with Taiwan leader Ma Ying-jeou during their meeting in Singapore on November 7, 2015. This was the first meeting between leaders of the two sides of the Taiwan Straits since 1949.



Greeting staff in the control room of China Central Television during a visit to China's three leading news providers in Beijing, February 19, 2016. Xi also presided over a seminar on the CPC's media work the same day.



A visit to Beijing Bayi School prior to the upcoming 32nd Teachers' Day in China, September 9, 2016. Xi took the opportunity to extend his appreciation to teachers and educators across the country.



At the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, held in Beijing on October 24-27, 2016; along with Li Keqiang (3rd right), Zhang Dejiang (3rd left), Yu Zhengsheng (2nd right), Liu Yunshan (2nd left), Wang Qishan (1st right), and Zhang Gaoli (1st left).



Xi casts his ballot in the election for new deputies to the local people's congress in his district in Beijing, November 15, 2016.



With Chui Sai On, chief executive of the Macao SAR, who came to Beijing to report his work, December 23, 2016.



With pharmacologist Tu Youyou (left) and physicist Zhao Zhongxian (right) at the 2016 annual awards ceremony for the most eminent scientists and research achievements, January 9, 2017.



*A chat with soldiers and officers of a PLA unit noted for its exceptional service,
January 23, 2017.*



*A light-hearted moment with locals at villager Xu Haibeng's home in Desheng Village of
Liaogang County, Hebei Province, January 24, 2017.*



*Addressing workers at Tieshan Port in Beihai City, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region,
April 19, 2017.*



Together with the family of Jin Fuyou, a severely disadvantaged household in Zhongyuan Village of Kelan County, Shanxi Province on June 21, 2017, Ni convened a seminar on relieving extreme poverty during his fact-finding trip to Shanxi from June 21 to 23.



Reviewing progress on the construction of the third runway at Hong Kong International Airport, accompanied by Carrie Lam Cheng Yuet-nger, chief executive of the HKSAR, after attending celebrations marking the 20th anniversary of Hong Kong's return to China, July 1, 2017.

Rule of Law

Promote Socialist Rule of Law*

October 23, 2014

Uphold Socialist Rule of Law with Chinese Features

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 "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Certain Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Advancing the Law-Based Governance of China" we have adopted at this plenary session, which is the necessity of keeping to and expanding the path of socialist rule of law with Chinese features. 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 features.

Frederick Engels once said, "[A] new program is after all a banner planted in public, and the outside world judges the party by it."¹ 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

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

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 extending the path of socialist rule of law, we need to demonstrate both confidence and resolve. This is a major proposition, with many aspects that we need to explore and study in depth. But the fundamental elements of the path must be permanent.

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 the 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 need to 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 need to 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 the rule of law. On the other hand, we need to 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 features 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 integrate representing the people's interests, reflecting their wishes, protecting their rights, and improving their wellbeing into 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 the people as a whole 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 law; confine their activities to the boundaries prescribed by the Constitution and law; and exercise powers, enjoy rights, perform duties, and fulfill obligations in accordance with the Constitution and law. No organization or individual will be permitted to enjoy special privileges that place them above the Constitution and law. Whoever violates the Constitution or 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 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 law means maintaining the authority of the common will of the CPC and the people; that safeguarding the inviolability of the Constitution and law means safeguarding the inviolability of the common will of the CPC and the people; and that guaranteeing the enforcement of the Constitution and 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 is 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 comple-
ment 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 need to 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."² 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 governance 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 need to 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 need to take note of the successes and failures of China's ancient legal traditions; identify, extract, and promote the very best 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 need to 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 distinctive Chinese features 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 gover-

nance 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, "When the law of the land under heaven is good, there will be order in the land under heaven; when the laws of the state are good, there will be order in the state."³ 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 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 need to make coordinated efforts to exercise law-based governance, political power and administration; and adopt a holistic approach to establishing a law-based country, 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 balanced way, and devote our efforts to achieving the integrated development of a law-based country, government, and society.

"The greatest challenge for a country lies not in making laws, but in putting those laws into effect."⁴ The rule of law is enshrined in China's Constitution as the fundamental principle of the country's national 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, standardized, impartial, and civil 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 law-making 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 priorities, and advance our initiatives in a steady and orderly fashion.

To ensure that law-making is conducted through well-conceived procedures, we must improve the legislative system, and work hard to ensure well-considered and democratic law-making, with our focus on improving the quality of legislation. We need to 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 need to 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 need to step up legislation in priority areas; promptly reflect in our law-making 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 need to focus our efforts on resolving serious problems, such as failure to enforce the law in a standardized, transparent, and civil 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 need to 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

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suppress evil men. And they will disobey you if you do the contrary.¹¹¹ 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 the law-based governance of the country, and take highly effective measures to strengthen publicity and educational initiatives concerning our legal system. 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 need to 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 far ranging 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 resolution 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 reforms into effect one after another.

Reform in the realm of law-based governance involves primarily organs 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, and 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 law, to safeguarding the rights and interests of the people, to upholding equity 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."⁶ 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, the 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 your respective regions and departments. Once you have identified the priorities, you 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 by the plenary session.

Notes

¹ Frederick Engels: "Engels to August Bebel", *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 45, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1991, p. 65.

² Ouyang Xiu: *A Collection of Ancient Works (Ji Gu Lu Ba Wei)*. Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072) was a statesman and writer of the Northern Song Dynasty.

³ Wang Anshi: "The Duke of Zhou" (Zhou Gong). Wang Anshi (1021-1086) was a thinker, writer and statesman of the Northern Song Dynasty.

⁴ Zhang Juzheng: "Memorial to the Emperor on the Performance Evaluation of Officials" (Qing Ji Cha Zhang Zou Sui Shi Kao Cheng Yi Xiu Shi Zheng Shu). Zhang Juzheng (1525-1582) was a statesman of the Ming Dynasty.

⁵ *The Analects of Confucius (Lun Yu)*.

⁶ *Hua Nan Zi*.

Officials Must Set a Good Example in Observing the Law*

February 2, 2015

Officials at all levels have an important responsibility for advancing the law-based governance of China. Though small in number they constitute the key factor and must set a good example in upholding, studying, observing and applying the law, driving the whole Party and nation towards a socialist rule of law with Chinese features, and building China into a socialist country under the rule of law.

Since the introduction of reform and opening up in 1978, and especially after the 15th CPC National Congress in 1997 prioritized law-based governance and building a socialist country under the rule of law, we have made considerable progress, and officials at various levels have played an important role. Nevertheless, some officials have a weak awareness of the rule of law; problems such as laws being ignored or not being strictly enforced, and even bending the law for personal gain, have disrupted the political, economic, cultural, social and ecological order. All officials should be alert and take action to correct and resolve such problems.

The beliefs, determination and actions of officials have a great significance in advancing the law-based governance of China. They should set a good example in upholding the law and holding the law with reverence; set a good example in studying, understanding and having a good mastery of the law; set a good example in observ-

* Main points of 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 officials at the provincial/ministerial level.

ing the law and defending the rule of law; and set a good example in applying the law and working in accordance with the law. Officials must strengthen the basic approach to the rule of law that the Constitution and other laws should be put above all else, that everyone is equal before the law, and that power is prescribed by the law and exercised in accordance with the law. They must step up and fight against behavior that endangers, undermines, or damages the rule of law. We should improve their understanding of the rule of law as soon as they are appointed, strengthening relevant education, awareness, management and supervision. Studying and understanding the law is the prerequisite for observing and applying the law. We must systematically study the theory of Chinese socialist rule of law, so as to hold a correct stance in addressing issues concerning the rule of law. The priority is to study the Constitution, along with other laws and regulations closely related to our leadership. Officials at all levels must understand, as prescribed by the law, what they should and should not do, examining their conscience against the law and disciplining their behavior by the law. Party committees at all levels should attach importance to training in the rule of law and improve mechanisms for studying the law.

Officials must remain ever mindful not to cross or challenge the line of the law, set a good example in observing and enforcing the law, and create an environment of respect for the rule of law in which all of our people work in accordance with the law, look to the law when meeting difficulties, and rely on the law to resolve problems. We should plan our work, tackle issues, and discipline our words and deeds in accordance with the rule of law. They must turn their respect and reverence for the rule of law into thinking and conduct, making decisions and acting under the rule of law. Party discipline and state laws must not become tokens, and any violation of discipline and laws must be punished.

Principal Party and government leaders should assume the main responsibility for the work of advancing the rule of law. Comprehensive efforts must be made to ensure that a well-conceived approach is

taken to legislation, that law is strictly enforced, that justice is impartially administered, and that the law is observed by everyone. Appointing competent officials is the most important, fundamental and effective measure. The mastery of the rule of law is a major component of officials' talent and integrity. We need to make legal compliance and working in accordance with the law important components of assessing officials' performance. We should design an evaluation system for officials' progress in advancing the rule of law, and draw up provisions for making use of such evaluation results. We should implement the institutional arrangements put forward at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2014, and apply them as soon as possible.

In advancing the rule of law, we must choose the right direction and create strong political guarantees. Party leadership is the fundamental guarantee for the socialist rule of law. Our path of Chinese socialist rule of law is a specific embodiment of upholding the rule of law; our theory of Chinese socialist rule of law is a theoretical achievement in developing the rule of law; our Chinese socialist rule of law system is a legal manifestation of building the Chinese socialist system.

The CPC is the leadership core of China's socialist undertakings, exercising overall leadership and coordinating work in all areas. Socialist rule of law must uphold the Party's leadership, while the Party's leadership must rely on socialist rule of law. The law reflects both the Party's thoughts and the people's will. The Party leads the people in enacting and enforcing the Constitution and other laws; the Party must confine its activities to the areas prescribed by the Constitution and other laws; all these embody the Party's leadership strength. The Party and the law, the Party's leadership and the law-based governance of the country are highly consistent. We govern the country and exercise state power on the basis of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

Every Party and government organization and every official must obey and abide by the Constitution and other laws. No one may use

the Party's leadership as a pretext to override the law with their own arbitrary fiats, place their own power above the law, or bend the law for personal gain. Power is a double-edged sword. It benefits the people when exercised in accordance with the law, but endangers the country and the people when exercised outside the law. To confine the exercise of power to an institutional cage, we must designate, discipline, restrict and supervise power in accordance with the law. In advancing the law-based governance of China, we must focus on safeguarding and promoting social fairness and justice. Social fairness and justice is a lofty goal of the CPC. In order to serve the people wholeheartedly, we must pursue fairness, uphold justice, and protect the people's rights and interests.

Reform the Judicial System*

March 24, 2015

Driving the reform of the judicial system to a deeper level and building a fair, efficient and authoritative socialist judicial system are key measures in improving state governance and modernizing the governing capability. Judicial justice concerns the people's immediate interests, social fairness and justice, and the implementation of the rule of law. We must ensure the correct political direction of judicial system reform, focus on improving the credibility of the judiciary, start from the prevailing situation in our country, and follow the law of judicial development. We must focus on solving problems, be resolute in overcoming difficulties, muster strength and confidence, and forge ahead with determination, so as to firmly push forward a deeper-level reform of the judicial system and enhance social fairness and justice.

Our country's judicial system was established by the people under Party leadership and developed through a long period of practice; generally speaking, it suits our national conditions and socialist system. Different factors, however, have led to problems in judicial activities, such as miscarriage of justice, unjust and misjudged cases, judicial corruption, and cases manipulated by money, power, and personal favor. Left unresolved, these problems will seriously interfere with the thorough implementation of the rule of law, and have an adverse effect on social fairness and justice. Since the 18th National Congress of the CPC, the Central Committee has attached great importance to judicial reform, and has made significant progress in implementing

* Main points of the speech at the 21st group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

reform measures, in the areas of building socialist rule of law with Chinese features, building a socialist country by the rule of law, and safeguarding social fairness and justice.

The judiciary is an important component of the superstructure. Reforming the judicial system means improving and developing our judiciary, and following the path of the socialist rule of law. Party leadership is the fundamental guarantee of socialist rule of law, and the defining feature and political strength of our judicial system. Deeper-level reform of the judiciary and improving judicial administration and the exercise of judicial power must be conducted under the unified leadership of the Party by upholding and improving our judicial system. While the Party assumes a leading and core role in exercising overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all, adjudication and procuratorial organs should perform their duties in accordance with the law and do their work accordingly.

We reform the judiciary for the people, through the people, and to the benefit of the people. In the end, it is the people who can make the final judgment on the results of reform and the credibility of the judiciary. The judiciary is the final line of defense in safeguarding social fairness and justice, and fairness is the soul and life of the judiciary. To conduct deeper reform of the judicial system we must listen carefully to the people and know their expectations; we must also go to the frontline of judicial practice for first-hand information. The success of reform lies in the number of problems solved and whether the people are satisfied with the solutions.

Special attention must be paid to judicial accountability. All registered judges and prosecutors must work in court, and take lifelong responsibility for cases they handle. Judges and prosecutors have the power of trial and judgment, and they should work under constant scrutiny, exercising their power within the proper limits. They should be supervised by the law, by society, and by public opinion, and must be "honest and upright things justly, selflessly, and conscientiously". Judicial power must be caged by the system. Let fairness and justice be on the people, and let the people see concrete results of reform.

Judicial reform must progress in line with our fundamental political system, basic political system, and the level of economic and social development. We must maintain our country's features and strengths. We should learn from beneficial foreign experience, but cannot blindly copy their judicial systems. When improving and reforming our judiciary, we must follow the objective rules of judicial activities, and make sure that power and responsibility are integrated, power is checked, openness and fairness are achieved, and procedures are followed. Reform of the judiciary concerns the overall situation, and we must strengthen top-level design and drive top-down reform in an orderly fashion. To promote institutional innovation, we should always deal with reality, and carry out reform in light of the conditions of judicial organs in different areas and at different levels.

Solving problems is the focus of our work, and should be targeted by reform. We must address the major problems and key issues affecting judicial justice and restricting judicial capacity, and make reform pertinent and effective. The task of reforming the judiciary, defined at the third and fourth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee, is a mandatory goal and must be implemented in full. The Commission for Political and Legal Affairs of the CPC Central Committee and relevant units should develop a sound plan regarding the timing, form, and momentum of various reforms, and adopt concrete and pragmatic measures to the satisfaction of the people. Organs under the Commission for Political and Legal Affairs must take the lead in designing institutions and plans, and in issuing support measures, by taking into consideration the overall development of the cause of the Party and the state, and the fundamental interests of the people. Provincial authorities and central departments must give full support to judicial reform and implement their plans and tasks. Evaluation should be strengthened on those reform measures that have been put into practice, and experience should be summed up in a timely fashion. We must pay attention to emerging and potential problems and problems that suggest a bad trend,

and do our best to solve them. We must work harder to pool our strengths, mobilize all positive factors, and form a powerful force to give further impetus to reform.

Notes

¹ Lü Kun: *Groans from My Sickbed* (*Shen Yin Yu*). Lü Kun (1536-1618) was a writer and thinker of the Ming Dynasty.

The Rule of Law and the Rule of Virtue*

December 9, 2016

Law is a system of rules that we must comply with at all times; virtue is the foundation of society that should never be allowed to dissipate. In this new era, we should implement the rule of law as the fundamental strategy for governing the country, and law-based exercise of state power as the basic approach to governance. To achieve these, we need to integrate the rule of law with the rule of virtue so that they complement and reinforce each other in promoting the modernization of our national governance system and capacity.

Law is a set of virtues in writing; virtue represents the law in one's inner world. Both function to regulate people's conduct and social relations and maintain social order, yet each plays a different role in national governance. Law ensures social stability while virtue nourishes the mind. Effective law enforcement depends on the good practice of virtue while virtue must work within legal restraints. The rule of law and the rule of virtue are inseparable and must be balanced and coordinated for better national governance.

Since the adoption of reform and opening up, we have summarized our experience and lessons learned in building a law-based socialist country, and decided to make the rule of law our Party's fundamental strategy in leading the people to govern our country, and law-based exercise of state power our Party's basic approach to governance, blazing a path of Chinese socialist rule of law. This path is marked by the integration of the rule of law with the rule of virtue,

* Main points of the speech at the 37th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

placing equal importance on both. Choosing this path is the result of a thorough review of lessons learned from the past, and a clear understanding of the laws of governance.

We should reinforce ethical support for the rule of law. To integrate the rule of law with the rule of virtue, we need to give play to the role of ethics and enhance the ethical standards of the whole of society, laying a sound foundation for promoting the rule of law in all respects. The rule of law should be reflected in our ethical framework so that ethics may provide more nourishment to the development of the law. We should make sure that they are connected and coordinated and reinforce each other. Ethical education should be carried out with a view to fostering the public's faith in the legal system and enhancing their understanding of the rule of law and rule consciousness. We should guide the public to develop their consciousness to fulfill legal obligations and responsibilities towards society and family, developing a culture of respecting and following the rule of law.

Ethics should also be included in the development of the rule of law, which provides strong institutional support for disseminating ethical concepts. Laws and regulations must establish clear ethical guidelines to promote virtue and righteousness. Socialist ethical standards and core values should be embodied throughout the legislation, law enforcement and judicial process so that socialist rule of law is equipped with a sound legal system and a sensible governance system. Well-developed ethical standards that have been widely recognized and can be applied to the whole of society should be developed into laws and regulations in a timely manner in order to strengthen the public's pursuit of virtue. We must enforce the law strictly and advocate the virtuous and the good, and punish the false and the evil. We should administer justice impartially and every judgment ruled in court should demonstrate this spirit.

Legal means should be used to solve serious ethical problems. Law marks the bottom line of ethics and serves as the guarantee for ethics. Therefore, we must improve legislation by including well-defined sanctions against unethical behavior. We must take legal actions

against unethical deeds that are of grave concern to the public. To address the pressing issue of honesty, we should hasten to build a kind of honesty record system covering the whole society, and establish mechanisms for rewarding law-abiding and honest behavior and punishing illegal and dishonest behavior to deter and prevent people from falling into dishonesty. We must intensify law enforcement efforts to punish illegal profit seeking and counterfeiting, and bring those unethical law breakers to justice.

We should raise public awareness of the rule of law and ethical consciousness. Only by establishing the public's faith in the legal system can the law function properly; only by improving the ethical standards of the whole society can ethics be observed. Enhancing publicity and education on the rule of law will help foster public awareness of the concept and inspire faith in and respect for the Constitution and law; enhancing public ethics will help promote traditional Chinese virtues and raise the ethical and moral standards of the public. We should remain committed to strengthening public legal awareness and law observance, laying the groundwork for the rule of law and helping all members of society become advocates and defenders of socialist rule of law who voluntarily observe this principle. By continuing public ethical programs and activities for promoting public ethical progress, we work to increase the public's consciousness of putting the core socialist values into practice, foster virtue in society, and encourage citizens to practice socialist ethics and advocate virtue.

Officials must play a key role in implementing the rule of law and the rule of virtue. They should serve as the main organizers and driving forces of comprehensive law-based governance and active advocates and role models of enhancing public ethics. As officials' exemplary role in studying and observing the law is key to realizing the rule of law, they should study the law on a regular basis and set rules for such activities. Moral cultivation, as a basis for building a good reputation and winning the public's trust, is a crucial factor contributing to the development of officials. They must take the lead in enhancing ethics and practicing the core socialist value

Furthermore, they should follow the Party spirit, observe high ethical standards, and set good examples of caring for family members, providing suitable ethical education for their children, and pursuing a wholesome lifestyle. Officials must maintain the noble character and political integrity of Communists, and, through their concrete actions, motivate the public to pursue virtue, and respect and observe the law.

Governing the Party with Strict Discipline

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, 2,800 secretaries from all counties, 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 decisions made 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

* Speech at the meeting with a class of county Party secretaries at the Central Party School.

counties, be armed with and then guide your work with 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 well-being, and maintaining and promoting the enduring peace and stability of our country. One of our ancestors said, "When the counties are governed, the country is at peace." 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 must have served as local officials, and great generals must have risen from the ranks."¹ 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 Province 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 Fanxian County of Henan Province and Weixian County of Shandong Province. One of his poems goes:

*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.²*

Tao Yuanming (365-427), Di Renjie (630-700), Bao Zheng (999-1062),
Hai Rui (1514-1587), 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 Party discipline. 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.”³ 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.”⁴ When Hai Rui said that the most difficult office was that of a magistrate⁵, 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 (1922-1964) 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 Mass Line Education Program. 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.

1. 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”⁶.

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 they 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 organizations, 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 base of political philosophy. 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 world view, and an outlook on life and values, and be genuinely committed, persistent 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 problems that reflect our realities. But no matter what challenges we face, we must stand our ground and remain convinced that Chinese

socialism will succeed. On key matters of principle, such as the path, theories 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, only when they 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 strengthen awareness of the Party and of political guidelines, so as to stand in 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 safeguard the authority of the Party's central leadership. What the Central Committee advocates, you must act upon, what the Central Committee decides, you must implement, and 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 policy decisions and plans. Any occurrence of such problems must be resolutely addressed when it arises.

2. 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 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.

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 neared the river. 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, we should proceed to make plans for development, so 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 Mass Line Education Program, be diligent and pragmatic in your work, work for the people's interests, and fight the Four Malfeasances of going through the motions, excessive bureaucracy, self-indulgence, and extravagance.

3. Be Aware of Responsibilities

"Avoiding responsibilities is the greatest disgrace for an official."⁸ 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 (Ordos 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.

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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, information technology application, 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.

4. 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, and 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 interests 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 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, 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 principles 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 the Heaven" by Qing Emperor Kangxi⁹, 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."¹⁰ 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 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."¹¹

"Fortune and riches obtained through unjust means are like floating clouds for me."¹²

"A man of virtue has a good knowledge of righteousness."¹³

"Be true in word and resolute in deed."¹⁴

"A man of high moral quality will never feel lonely."¹³

"If a man does not keep his word, what is he good for?"¹⁴

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 good luck at work, good health, and happy life for your families.

Notes

¹ *Han Fei Zi*.

² Zheng Banqiao: "Bamboos Painted at the Weixian County Government to Inspector Bao Kuo" (*Wei Xian Shu Zhong Hua Zhu Cheng Nian Bo Bao Da Zhong Cheng Kuo*). Zheng Banqiao (1693-1765) was a painter and writer of the Qing Dynasty.

³ Deng Xiaoping: "Things Must Be Put in Order in All Fields", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. II, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 49.

⁴ An interjection made by Deng Xiaoping at a national meeting on work in rural areas on October 4, 1975, included in *Chronicle of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1997)*, Vol. I, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2004, p. 107.

⁵ Hai Rui: "Cautionary Reminders" (*Ling Zhen*). Hai Rui (1514-1587) was an official of the Ming Dynasty.

⁶ Ma Rong: *Classic of Loyalty (Zhong Jing)*. Ma Rong (79-166) was an economist of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

⁷ *Book of Rites (Li Ji)*.

⁸ Yuan Haowen: "Poem of Four Sorrows" (*Si Ai Shi*). Yuan Haowen (1190-1257) was a writer and historian of the Jin Dynasty (1115-1234).

⁹ Emperor Kangxi (1654-1722) ruled the Qing Dynasty from 1661 to 1722.

¹⁰ Zhang Boxing: "Ban on Gifts" (*Jin Zhi Kui Song Xi*).

¹¹ *Book of Rites (Li Ji)*.

¹² *The Analects of Confucius (Lun Yu)*.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Observe Discipline and Rules*

January 13, 2015

As our ancestors said, "Nothing can be accomplished without regulations and rules."¹ 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

* Part of the speech at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

rules of the Party have proven to be effective; they reflect its 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. On holidays, leaders in some departments in various places leave their posts to go on vacation elsewhere. How can officials in some departments 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 settle down abroad. They think it unnecessary to report since their family members have not officially settled down abroad. Some do not report major changes in their family situation. 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 ulte-

more motives. Some high-ranking Party officials have even compiled a coded language, which they use when speaking with their families and those close to them, just like spies. Is this normal? Leaking confidential information, interceding for others and asking for a favor on their behalf also pose a problem. Some divulge their 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 him or her simply by saying words like "passed" or "OK". When the Party organization decides to investigate someone, leakers can warn him or her simply by saying "be mindful". 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 always do this publicly, 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. Otherwise he or she lacks the awareness and qualifications that a qualified official, especially a high-level one, should have.

Whether to report on matters that are not clearly stipulated in writing really depends on the degree of one's Party awareness and

sense of being a Party member. 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. To obey the rules is an important test of their engagement with the Party, as well as their loyalty to the Party. 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 make sure their thinking, their actions, and their political stance all maintain a high degree of unity with the Central Committee, 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 foster private forces 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 his or her 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, then one seeks help from and relies 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 political 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 their conduct is outrageous. 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.

Clarifying the rules is a prerequisite for the strict punishment of violators. 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 of young 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.

Notes

¹ *Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Lü Shi Chun Qiu*).

Keep in Line with the CPC Central Committee*

December 11, 2015

The CPC is a Marxist political party under a unified central leadership. Unity in political stance, homogenized theory and practice are critical to the development and growth of the Party's cause. As training institutions for Party members and officials, the schools of the CPC must always keep in line with the CPC Central Committee in political stance as well as in theory and practice. Failure to do so will lead to betrayal of the Party's basic guidelines.

Chairman Mao Zedong said in his speech at the preparatory meeting of the Seventh CPC National Congress in 1945: "You know, a troop formation is not always in order. That is why we have to often dress our ranks – 'Dress left', 'Dress right', and 'Dress center'. We must dress to the Party Central Committee and to the Party National Congress. Maintaining order is the principle, but deformation is inevitable in real life. We dress our ranks whenever there is deformation."¹ The simple statement conveys a profound truth. The army needs to frequently dress ranks to remain in order no matter how well the troops are trained. However, alignment in political stance, theory and practice is not as easy as correction of the physical formation. We dress our ranks to enhance the Party's experience in self-improvement and exploration of the laws governing its development. Only through frequent dressing of the ranks by Party organizations at all levels can the entire Party remain alert to disorder and maintain forward momentum in unity and with full vigor. Therefore, one of the main purposes of regularly training officials at Party schools is to help them keep in line with the Party Central Committee.

* Part of the speech at the National Conference on Party Schools.

To raise their awareness of keeping in line with the Party Central Committee, Party schools must focus all their work on the Party Central Committee's policies and plans. Before the Yan'an Rectification Movement², the divorce between theory and practice and prevalence of subjectivism and dogmatism at Party schools gave rise to deviations from the guidelines of the Party Central Committee led by Mao Zedong. Mao criticized these phenomena in a report titled "Reform Our Study", produced in May 1941, which drew little attention at the time – as he mentioned in September 1943.³ The Central Party School conducted structural reforms on February 28, 1942 and at the end of March the same year, it was placed under the direct leadership of Chairman Mao, aiming to correct deviations and practices at the school that were incompatible with the Party's cause.

In the current era, Party schools must dress to the Party Central Committee and conduct their work in accordance with the Party's theories, principles, guidelines and policies. Party schools should also conform to the decisions of the 18th CPC National Congress and the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee, and to the Party Central Committee's policies and plans regarding the pursuit of reform, development and stability, handling of national defense and domestic and foreign affairs, and governance of the Party, the country and the military. Party schools must firmly uphold the Party Central Committee in every aspect of their work, including curriculum, research programs, and new teaching and research methods. Only by keeping itself in line with the Party Central Committee can a Party school guide its trainees in doing so. How else can a Party school provide practical guidance to its trainees?

To raise their awareness of keeping in line with the Party Central Committee, Party schools must strictly abide by the Party's political discipline and rules. Party schools are more than ordinary schools in the sense that they should meet higher political standards as they are institutions training key officials for the governance of the country. I have heard complaints about some teachers who spread Western capitalist values in classes at Party schools, who make indiscreet and

inappropriate comments on major policies of the Party and state, who always assume a cynical and fault-finding attitude, and who independently engage themselves in improper social activities in the name of Party schools. Although they are only a small percentage of Party school teachers, these phenomena can have far-reaching consequences, and must not be seen at Party schools.

In fact, we welcome criticism of the Party and the state's policies and work, no matter how sharp it may be. We encourage open-minded thinking and analysis of Party and state policies and measures. However, innovative analysis must be built upon a firm political stance. Academic questions should not be discussed as political issues and vice versa. Academic research does not justify impulsive remarks at any time or remarks made for the sake of being different and seeking notoriety.

It is also worth mentioning that individual criticism is mostly exploratory and sometimes only reflects a partial view of reality. Its validity needs to be tested in practice. Individual criticism can be discussed as an internal research subject or reported to higher authorities through channels within our organizations. Prudence must be practiced in voicing individual criticism in class or in publications. Words once spoken are subject to the interpretation of the listener. The public may easily take the criticism as the truth because they see people working for the Party schools as authoritative. Some people with ulterior motives may use what they hear from Party schools to exaggerate criticism of the Party and differences of opinion within the Party. The serious consequences of ill-considered statements at Party schools must not be underestimated.

In short, the expression of opinions and remarks regarding major political and theoretical issues in class at Party schools or on other public occasions should be based on an awareness of maintaining the prestige of the Party, upholding the authority of the Party Central Committee, and building a positive image of Party schools. No area is out-of-bounds as far as academic research is concerned, yet teaching at Party schools requires discipline. "No out-of-bounds area" does

not mean no discipline. Words and actions against the Four Cardinal Principles and views that run counter to the Party's theories, principles, guidelines and policies, whether expressed in private or in public, are not allowed at Party schools. This is a political discipline to which Party schools should conform in an exemplary way.

Notes

¹ Mao Zedong: "Guiding Principles of the Seventh National Congress of the CPC", *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. III, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1996, pp. 297-298.

² This refers to a Marxist education campaign inside the CPC from 1942 to 1945. Its main aims were: to fight against objectivism in order to improve theoretical study; to fight against sectarianism in order to improve Party conduct; and to fight against "eight-legged Party essays" in order to improve writing. Through the movement the whole Party reaffirmed the practice of applying the basic theories of Marxism to the actual conditions of China's revolution. It is called the Yan'an Rectification Movement because the CPC Central Committee was seated in Yan'an at the time.

³ *Mao Zedong - A Biography (1893-1949)*, Vol. I, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2004, p. 655.

Enhance Party Conduct, Uphold Clean Government, and Fight Corruption*

January 12, 2016

Our Party has a pivotal task in the final phase of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. We have pledged to "be a good blacksmith in forging good tools", and we have given our word to hammer hard in observing Party discipline. Over the past three years we have been addressing the problems of being "lax, slack, and lenient" in Party governance, and effectively sent out a warning to the whole Party to prevent, deter and punish corruption. The campaign against corruption is resolute and relentless.

The resolve of the CPC to fight corruption has not wavered, and the goal of curbing the spread of corruption has not changed. The whole Party must remain confident about the Central Committee's determination to crack down on corruption, about the results that we have seen and will see, about the positive energy the campaign evokes, and about the bright future of our fight against corruption.

Nonetheless, we should keep a clear head and remember that we still face severe challenges and a complex situation in our efforts to enhance Party conduct, uphold clean government, and fight corruption. The cases investigated since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, in which senior officials violated Party discipline and the law, have shown that most corrupt officials have lost their faith in the Party, taken bribes, led extravagant lives, and been autocratic in office. Since the congress, the Central Committee has time and again reiterated that officials must strictly abide by political discipline and rules.

* Part of the speech at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

However, there are still those who turn a deaf ear to these requirements, ganging up to further their selfish interests and stopping at nothing to expand their power; there are still those who, knowing well that they are not the candidates for the next term of office, send out their cronies to lobby for votes and engage in unauthorized activities; there are also those whose ambitions fire a desire to "enter the central leadership when alive and be buried at Babaoshan¹ when dead"; there are still those who set up "independent fiefdoms" where they govern, banding together and feigning compliance with central decisions while acting in opposition, and resorting to no end of unscrupulous means to achieve their personal aims.

These problems have a vital bearing on the political security of the Party and the state. Is this not urgent enough? Do we still avoid the issue and keep our counsel about them? "Young pines should grow a thousand feet high, while poisoning bamboos should be cut down one by one."² If we do not eradicate evil, if it seizes the earliest opportunity to make its comeback, our political environment will falter, and our Party members and the people will lose their faith in us. It has been said that if corruption makes a return this time the people will lose heart. This is why our pledges were not idle; we must live up to our words.

Corruption still exists. Some corrupt officials are still taking chances, taking roundabout ways to escape punishment. Some continue to sell official positions, illegally sell or lease out land, scramble for a cut of lucrative projects, and use every means to collect bribes in the millions, or even billions of yuan. Some have tried to lie to the Party organization and counter the organization, hiding their bribes and colluding with others involved in an attempt to escape punishment by Party discipline and the law. They have spread rumors in a bid to cover up their crimes, thinking they could take advantage of and get away with it.

The Four Malfeasances have been reined in, but they have not been eradicated. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, many of the officials have been investigated and punished due to self-indulgence and extra-

gaze, wine and dining, and continuing to go down the wrong path. And new symptoms and varieties of the Four Malfeasances have arisen in many forms. Reality tells us that we are still challenged by the arduous task of running our Party with strict discipline, and we must continue to maintain a tough position on fighting corruption.

The guidelines for our work in 2016 to enhance Party conduct, uphold clean government, and fight corruption are:

- fully implement the decisions and plans made at the 18th CPC National Congress and the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee;
- promote the Four-pronged Strategy in a coordinated fashion and remain steadfast in our path and cause;
- run our Party with strict discipline and by rigorous rules, fulfill our duties as stipulated in the Party Constitution, and focus on scrutiny, action, and accountability;
- address both symptoms and root causes, promote systemic and institutional innovation, and improve the rules and regulations;
- strengthen internal scrutiny of the Party, emphasize the central role of discipline, and continue to implement the Eight Rules³ of the Party Central Committee; and
- take solid measures to deal with misconduct and corruption that directly affect people's lives, resolutely prevent corruption from spreading, and build an honest, clean and responsible team of discipline inspection and supervision.

All of these are aimed at achieving new results in enhancing Party conduct, upholding clean government, and combating corruption.

For our work this year, we will put the focus on the following areas:

First, upholding the Party Constitution, and strictly enforcing the Party's rules on clean government and self-discipline and the regulations on disciplinary action.

The Party must practice self-discipline and be strict with its members. This is stipulated in the general program of the Party Constitution, and it is the fundamental principle of Party development. Article 37 of the Party Constitution rules that "Party organizations

must strictly observe and maintain Party discipline". This sets out a concrete requirement under which Party organizations must bear primary responsibility. Party committees at all levels must closely follow this strategic direction, both in guiding principles and in concrete measures, giving discipline top priority and addressing problems promptly as they occur. When someone has made a mistake, tell him straight, make him flush and sweat. This is what we ought to do. For serious problems, more formal disciplinary action such as imposing a disciplinary punishment should be taken by Party organizations. The secretary of a Party committee, charged with main responsibility, should assume overall responsibility for running his Party committee with strict discipline.

Do not consider any virtue as unimportant, and therefore neglect it; do not consider any vice as trivial, and therefore practice it. If we had paid attention to minor breaches of discipline, if we had enforced strict discipline from the outset, how many could have been saved from breaking the law? In the past we "tolerated" erroneous acts as long as they did not violate the law, and when they did break the law, we sidestepped the problem and left the law to deal with the violators. This reflects irresponsibility towards our Party and officials. According to the Air Force, training a pilot costs as much gold as the pilot weighs. How much does it cost, then, to cultivate an official at the provincial level? Many of our officials started at the grassroots. They rose in the ranks, only to be ruined by a wrong step in the end. Of course there were earlier indications of wrongdoing, but why did not we help them and correct their mistakes before it was too late? This is because we did not put discipline in the forefront.

The "Rules of the Communist Party of China on Clean Government and Self-discipline" and the "Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Disciplinary Action", both going into effect in January 2016, provide clear provisions on the high standards for Party members and the disciplinary measures to govern the Party. Now, equipped with clear standards, rules of action, and supervision over discipline, we must make every effort to thoroughly implement them.

Party committees and discipline inspection commissions at all levels should first strengthen supervision and inspection over such matters as upholding the Party Constitution and executing the Party's guidelines, policies and decisions, with the focus on implementing the plans and decisions made at the 18th CPC National Congress and the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee, and major decisions of the Party Central Committee, so as to ensure unified action of the whole Party and effective execution of the Central Committee's policies and decisions.

Where there is power, there is an equivalent weight of responsibility. When enforcing accountability we cannot be affected by personal feelings or show leniency, but rather, be thorough in methods and determined in action so as to prevent corruption. In 2014 we initiated the accountability mechanism in the bribery case involving local elections in Hengyang, Hunan Province. We took disciplinary action against 467 individuals, and referred cases involving 69 of them to the judiciary for prosecution. Last year we investigated a similar election bribery case in Nanchong, Sichuan Province, meting out severe punishment to all 477 persons involved. These two cases are extreme and vile in nature, challenging our Party and our socialist democracy. By investigating these cases and resolutely punishing those responsible, we have shown our position on the matter – those who neglect their duties must be held accountable, and Party discipline must be enforced in full.

This is the election year for new local Party leaderships. We must strengthen discipline and the rules, and enforce accountability, supervision and investigation, so that the elections are fair and just. In any region, department or unit, those responsible for typical acts of misconduct will be seriously investigated and held accountable if, within their purview, any of these happens:

- failure to ensure the Party's leading role;
- deviation from the plans and decisions of the Party;
- violations of the guidelines and rules for governing Party organizations;

- negligence of supervisory duties when selecting and appointing officials;
- serious instances of the Four Malfeasances and corruption; and
- ineffectiveness in rectifying the problems discovered by inspection teams.

The officials in charge will be held accountable for failure to fulfill their primary responsibility and supervisory responsibility, as will the head of the next-higher level Party committee and the committee itself for failure to perform their leadership responsibility. We should improve and regulate the accountability system, set up a mechanism to circulate notices of typical accountability cases, enforce accountability with the support of other means of supervision, and encourage fulfillment of official duties through regular accountability checks, so as to fully execute Party discipline.

Second, sparing no effort to improve Party conduct.

The conduct issue is, in nature, an issue of Party spirit. For us Communists, conduct is a yardstick that measures our faith in Marxism, our convictions in socialism and communism, and our loyalty to the Party and the people. We must crack down on any violation of Party discipline with an iron fist, and be able to discern any form of misconduct no matter what it may have morphed into. In enhancing Party conduct, we should strengthen our Party spirit and carry on the best traditions of the Chinese culture.

Here I would like to emphasize the issue of educating and restraining one's family members. From the cases of corruption investigated in recent years, we can see that family was an important factor in inciting officials to commit serious violations of Party discipline and the law. Many officials were not only involved in trading power for money themselves, but also connived at bribe-taking by their family. Using the parental influence, helped by the parental connections and status, their children benefited from businesses with illegal gains. The harm this does cannot be underestimated. The ancient Chinese said, "He who would govern the country must first run his family well and discipline himself."⁴ "Give close kin official posts and

lose your job and ruin your family." "One must not violate the law of Heaven and Earth, and must set a good example for the offspring." In this regard the old generation of revolutionaries set the right example. Now all officials in leadership positions must uphold integrity and self-discipline, and educate and restrain their spouses, children and immediate staff. At a meeting of criticism and self-criticism of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee before the New Year, I made a point of this. I said, you must be constantly on the alert for signs of possible wrongdoing by family members, and nip the vice in the bud. Do not try to hide your children's wrongdoing; do not assume they can easily get away with it. Children of Party officials must also abide by the law and Party discipline; they must also be punished if they violate the law and discipline, and in such cases, be severely punished and let the people see.

For complex and historical problems, and problems that have lingered for a long time, we must persevere and solve them one by one, till all are addressed.

Third, deterring corruption and preventing its spread.

Whoever dares to try their hand at corruption must pay. A fully-grown tree, if the worms eating it are not treated, will eventually wither away. Our tough stance on corruption will never soften, and no exception is made for any organization or individual. For corruption, we have zero tolerance. The focus should be put on cases intertwined with political degeneration and corruption, on corrupt officials who have indulged themselves in illegal activities, and on those in leadership positions who have been strongly suspected of wrongdoing, who have been repeatedly reported by the public for malpractice, and who are currently holding important offices with a probability of promotion. We should make in-depth analyses of typical cases in violation of Party discipline and the law, so that they serve as a warning to deter corruption and educate our officials.

We will make greater efforts to track down corrupt officials who have fled overseas and recover the money they have stolen. We will promote international cooperation under such multilateral

frameworks as the G20, APEC and the United Nations Convention Against Corruption, and carry out special programs on a global scale to pursue the criminals, seeking out fugitives and warning those who harbor dreams of fleeing.

Fourth, enforcing strict Party discipline at the grassroots.

Currently the majority of our grassroots-level officials are good. But in some regions, departments and units, some local officials are still prone to misconduct and corruption, and such cases have risen in number and in the scale of their influence. There are cases of creating false accounts for receiving state subsidies, and pocketing or embezzling special funds for farmers or poverty alleviation; there are cases of obtaining subsistence allowances or other subsidies for one's relatives and friends rather than for those really in need, and taking bribes or a cut from the subsidies issued; there are cases of ignoring the people, indifference to their suffering, going through the motions, and excessive bureaucracy; there are cases of abuse of justice, and in extreme cases, there are officials acting as agents of powerful families or gangs, tyrannizing and bullying the locals.

The interests of ordinary people are hurt more by the "flies" that buzz around than the "tigers" that are far away. Corruption that seems small can lead to big losses, as it harms the immediate interests of the people, eats away at their sense of gain, and costs us their trust in our Party. We must correct and punish corruption and abuse of justice at the grassroots level, safeguard the people's immediate interests, and deliver concrete results from our campaign against corruption.

County Party committees are the "frontline command" of governance for the Party, and the secretaries of these committees are the "commanders-in-chief". Party committees at the provincial and city levels should take on primary responsibility for work at the county level, and in particular, for strengthening the sense of responsibility of county Party secretaries, improving grassroots Party organizations at which Party members and officials should serve as role models.

With addressing both symptoms and root causes, and cleansing our political environment to a sound political environment, people will foster a healthy mentality and thus better uphold integrity in office. In a tainted political environment, they will lose their grip and problems mushroom. Now in some regions and departments, the upright force is waning while the evil force is rising; the official rules earn only lip service, while the "hidden rules" prevail; the honest and the down-to-earth are sidelined, while those fond of showy success and blinded by the pursuit of instant rewards are in their element. If nothing is done to rein in and turn back these trends, we will suffer great losses to our team of officials. "It is easy for laxity to set in, and difficult for rigor to return."⁵ Like restoring our natural environment, purifying the political environment can never be achieved in a day, but requires the work of coordinated measures.

Officials at all levels, especially senior officials, should start with themselves and set a good example for their subordinates. It has always been the tradition of the Chinese nation to honor one's reputation and uphold integrity and clean government, and we have such sayings as "governance by means of virtue" and "responsibility for one's jurisdiction". Officials must exercise power in a just way and in favor of clean governance; they must be role models in abiding by the Party discipline and the law, and always follow Party principles and fulfill their duties. We should adopt the correct approach to appointing officials, select and use those who are capable and upright, promote the able, demote the mediocre, and discharge the poorest performers. We should uphold the official rules and end the reign of the "hidden rules", check for loopholes from uncovered corruption cases and draw lessons from them, improve the mechanisms of internal Party political activities and conduct, leave no room for misconduct and corruption, and continue to enhance our political environment through systemic and institutional reform and innovation.

Notes

¹ Babaoshan Revolutionary Cemetery, located in western Beijing, is the main resting place for revolutionary heroes and high-ranking officials. – *Tr.*

² Du Fu: “Five Rhymes to Send to Duke Yan on the Way to the Thatched Cottage in Chengdu” (Jiang Fu Cheng Du Cao Tang Tu Zhong You Zuo Xian Ji Yan Zheng Gong Wu Shou). Du Fu (712-770) was a poet of the Tang Dynasty.

³ The Eight Rules were proposed by the Political Bureau of the 18th Central Committee of the CPC to cut bureaucracy and maintain close ties with the people. They are summarized as follows: improving inspection and fact-finding trips, streamlining conferences and other activities, reducing documents and briefings, standardizing arrangements for visits abroad; enhancing security procedures, improving news reports, imposing restriction on publishing of writings without authorization, and practicing diligence and frugality.

⁴ Zhao Xiang: “The Nature of Essays” (Ben Wen). Zhao Xiang (959-993) was an official of the Northern Song Dynasty.

⁵ Wang Bo: “Letter to Chancellor Liu” (Shang Liu You Xiang Shu). Wang Bo (650-676) was a writer of the Tang Dynasty.

A National Supervision System Covering State Organs and Public Servants*

January 12, 2016

The Administrative Supervision Law should be modified to reflect the guideline of the CPC Central Committee that the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and the Ministry of Supervision work as one, with the former performing the functions of Party discipline inspection and government administrative supervision, and being held fully responsible to the Central Committee. All public servants are under supervision. We should follow the Party's unified leadership to improve Party conduct, build a clean and honest government, combat corruption, expand the scope of supervision, integrate supervisory forces, and improve the national organization of supervision agencies, putting in place a national supervision system that covers all state bodies and public servants.

We should strengthen scrutiny within the Party to ensure that the Party was founded for the public good and exercises power for the people. We should strengthen national supervision to ensure that the state apparatus functions and exercises power in accordance with the law. We should expose ourselves more to public scrutiny to ensure that power, which comes from the people, is exercised to serve them. We should combine internal Party supervision with national and public scrutiny, coordinating it with legal, democratic, auditing, and judicial supervision, as well as scrutiny by public opinion, to form a strong force that will help modernize our national governance system and capacity.

* Part of the speech at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

Stronger Discipline Inspection Tours Make for Stricter Party Self-Governance*

January 12, 2016

Discipline inspection tours are a strategic institutional arrangement for scrutiny within our Party. In the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911), circuit inspectors carried a sword given by the emperor as a sign of their power during their inspection tours. Our discipline inspectors are not ancient circuit inspectors, but they must be authoritative. They are vital to the development of the country and the Party.

The key to stronger and more effective discipline inspection tours lies in full implementation of the policies of the Central Committee. Discipline inspection tours should focus on whether Party organizations are safeguarding the authority of the Party Constitution, enforcing strict Party self-governance, and following the Party's guidelines, principles, policies and decisions, and on whether a given Party leadership organization is weak, has failed to assume principal responsibilities, or whether it has done sufficient work in enforcing strict Party self-governance. Discipline inspection tours should urge Party organizations to shoulder their responsibilities for ensuring Party self-supervision and self-governance.

With Party discipline as the criterion, discipline inspection tours should check the enforcement of political discipline and look for any evidence of misconduct in clean governance, discipline, style of work, and selection and appointment of officials. They should exert their role properly in deterring misconduct and removing the root causes.

* Part of the speech at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

Taking the opportunity of implementing the "Provisions of the Communist Party of China on Discipline Inspection Tours", we should improve our discipline inspection capability in accordance with Party regulations and discipline, and promote institutionalized and standardized discipline inspection tours.

The nationwide coverage of discipline inspection tours serves as a form of deterrence. At the central level there are more than 280 organizations, with more than 100 still due for inspection – a heavy task. The next step is to realize full coverage at the central level by inspecting all the departments of the Central Committee and central government. We will make further institutional innovations, establishing sound work mechanisms for organization and leadership, coordination, report and feedback, rectification, and personnel development. We will reform the organizational system, tapping the potential from within the system and motivating the staff while bringing in new members to the team, so as to optimize the personnel structure. We will also employ new methods to make special discipline inspection tours more targeted, more flexible, and more effective.

Problems or evidence of misconduct discovered during discipline inspection tours should be classified by category, and we should make coordinated efforts to ensure that all are tackled. Commissions for discipline inspection and organizational departments should follow up promptly, identifying the nature of every problem and offering clear solutions to all. Problems discovered during a discipline inspection tour should be assigned to the relevant Party organization. Those involved must be held accountable for their own problems; there must be no standing by or trying to talk their way out of it. We should follow up and ensure rectification measures are implemented in the inspected organization, and we must call to account those who rectify problems in a perfunctory manner, are inefficient, or refuse to act.

Inspection teams should identify the root causes of the problems they discover, offer their suggestions, and urge inspected Party organizations to close institutional loopholes. In addition to historical and subjective causes, an objective cause for problems discovered during

inspection tours is institutional issues. These can take the form of deficient standards, insufficient enforcement, and lack of supervisory measures in the management of personnel, affairs, and assets. We need to further reform the system of supervision to make it targeted and effective. Party committees of provinces and equivalent administrative units should strengthen leadership over inspection tours to ensure full coverage of inspection during their term of office. Secretaries of these Party committees, ministers of government ministries and commissions, and secretaries of Party leadership groups or committees of state organs should pinpoint accountable individuals and put forward rectification measures regarding key problems discovered during inspection tours, rather than assigning them at random or issuing vague statements.

Study Is the Prerequisite and Action Is the Key*

February 4, 2016 and April 11, 2017

I

The "Two Studies, One Action"¹ education campaign is an important plan for enhancing the political philosophy of the Party and an effective boost to the Four-pronged Strategy. It will be particularly effective in strengthening Party discipline down to the community level. In this campaign, the prerequisite is study, and the key is action. Party organizations at all levels should shoulder the main responsibility for the campaign, and take differentiated and problem-based approaches in order to ensure that desired results are delivered.

In strengthening the Party, the priority is to enhance its political philosophy and the key is to ensure discipline among Party members and officials. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, our Party has launched two education campaigns – the Mass Line, and the Three Guidelines for Ethical Behavior and Three Basic Rules of Conduct – which have all played an important role in addressing prominent problems among Party officials, particularly those at the level of county or equivalent administrative unit, and have helped to strengthen Party discipline. But strengthening political philosophy cannot be completed in a single big push. By targeting the majority of Party members instead of a minority of officials at important positions, and changing the education model from short-term and intensive to long-term and regular, the "Two Studies, One Action" campaign aims to solidify the Marxist stance of Party members, ensure all Party members remain

* Two directives on the "Two Studies, One Action" education campaign.

consistent with the Central Committee in thinking and action, and maintain the Party's profile as a Marxist party with ideals and faith.

Grassroots Party organizations are the cornerstone of our Party's governance and source of its strength. Only if the grassroots organizations are sound and the Party members play their due roles, can the Party's foundation be firm and the Party itself vigorous. The "Two Studies, One Action" campaign aims to strengthen the discipline of each and every Party branch and Party member. The prerequisite of this campaign is study, and the key is action. Party members should always be alert to their problems in study and trained to correct them in action. They must establish benchmarks, set red lines, and build a pioneering image – displaying the power of faith with action. We should rectify disqualified grassroots Party organizations and uphold and implement effective rules and regulations. New situations and new problems require that we should be stricter with intra-Party political activities and conduct, and remedy institutional shortcomings in an innovative way, supervise the activities in the Party, and intensify the education of Party members.

It is a major responsibility of all Party organizations and leaders concerned to organize the "Two Studies, One Action" education campaign properly. Secretaries of Party committees at all levels should do an effective job in disciplining committee members, Party members, and all the staff in accordance with methods and requirements for the education of Party members. We should embrace a differentiated approach and timely guidance, adopting different solutions to different problems, and avoid simply going through the motions. Officials at the level of county or equivalent administrative unit should set a good example in this education campaign, relate the campaign to their actual work, take their studies to a new depth, and set higher requirements for themselves to improve their political capability and their theoretical level.

*(a directive on launching the 'Two Studies, One Action'
education campaign, February 4, 2016)*

The Party wide "Two Studies, One Action" education campaign launched last year has achieved remarkable results. Practice has proven that the campaign is an effective means of strengthening the theoretical, organizational, and institutional development of the Party. It is also a fundamental project for comprehensively governing the Party with strict discipline, and we must persevere with it. The campaign should prioritize theoretical and political training, guiding Party members' words and deeds through the Party Constitution and rules, and directing the whole Party with the innovative theoretical developments; and it should guide all to become qualified Party members. The campaign must focus on a small number of key officials and on grassroots Party branches. It should also promote a solution-based approach and make full use of role models. Measures should be taken to ensure that Party committees, or Party leadership groups, at various levels fulfill their major responsibilities, and that the campaign is carried out on a regular and institutionalized basis. The campaign should ensure that Party organizations perform their functions and play a central role; that officials are loyal, honest, and responsible and play an exemplary role; and that the majority of Party members play a model role as the vanguard, so as to provide a strong organizational guarantee for promoting the overall plan for economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress and advancing the Four-pronged Strategy.

(a directive on advancing the "Two Studies, One Action" education campaign, April 13, 2017)

Notes

¹ This refers to the education campaign asking all Party members to study the Party Constitution and rules, and speeches of Xi Jinping, and to become qualified Party members.

Party Leadership Is the Unique Strength of SOEs*

October 10, 2016

We should strengthen and improve the Party's leadership of SOEs and the role it plays in these enterprises, with a goal of making them the most reliable force of the Party and the country and a major force in implementing the decisions and plans of the CPC Central Committee. These include implementing the new development concepts, carrying out further all-round reform, implementing the going-global strategy and the Belt and Road Initiative, increasing the national strength, promoting economic and social development, and ensuring and improving the wellbeing of the people. We should implement policies that preserve and increase the value of state assets, improve the competitiveness of the state-owned sector of the economy, and expand state-owned capital. We must also promote reform of SOEs, improve their management, strengthen supervision over state assets, and make consistent efforts to help SOEs become bigger, stronger, and better.

SOEs serve as a material and political foundation for socialism with Chinese characteristics. They are a pillar supporting the Party in the governance and rejuvenation of China. Since the PRC was founded in 1949, and especially since reform and opening up began in 1978, SOEs have made remarkable achievements in their development. They have made a historic contribution to China's economic and social development, scientific and technological progress, national defense, and public wellbeing.

Following the Party's leadership and strengthening the Party organization are a great tradition of the SOEs, their root and soul, and a unique strength.

* Main points of the speech at the National Conference on Party Development in SOEs

The general requirements for SOEs in the current era are as follows:

- upholding the principle of the Party supervising its own conduct and strict discipline; resolving problems concerning the weakening and marginalization of the Party and its leadership; never wavering in upholding the Party's leadership of SOEs; Party organizations playing the role of leadership and political core; guaranteeing the implementation of policies and major plans of the Party and the country;
- serving production and operation; improving SOEs' performance and competitiveness, and maintaining and increasing the value of state assets; enabling evaluation of the work and effectiveness of Party organizations according to reform and development results;
- insisting upon Party organizations' leadership and examination over the appointment of SOE leaders; focusing on the cultivation of high-caliber SOE leaders; and
- building strong grassroots Party branches; making sure the Party develops in tandem with the enterprise and Party branches act as a strong organizational guarantee in making SOEs bigger, stronger, and better.

We must uphold the important political principle of the Party's leadership over SOEs. A modern corporate system is the goal of reform. SOEs' modern corporate system with Chinese features is unique because it incorporates the Party's leadership into all aspects of their corporate governance and Party organizations into the corporate governance structure. It also clarifies and ensures the legal status of Party organizations in the legal person corporate governance system, with Party organizations and personnel being in place, clear responsibilities, and strict supervision.

The Party's leadership of SOEs consists of political, ideological and organizational guidance, and the Party organizations in SOEs work as political core leadership, steering the correct direction, controlling the overall situation, and guaranteeing the implementation of decisions. We should clarify, specify, and institutionalize the Party organizations' roles and responsibilities in decision-making,

implementation and oversight. We should adroitly handle the relationship between Party organizations and other management, clearly define the boundaries of rights and responsibilities, and form a management mechanism which is seamlessly cooperative, checked, and balanced, and where each fulfills its own function and takes on its own responsibility.

The Party and the people place state assets under the control of business leaders, which is a great trust. We must conduct the education of SOE leaders on engagement with the Party, on principles, and on tasks. We must be strict and impartial in political discipline and rules, and guide them to improve their political awareness, enhance their commitment to the Party, and keep vigilantly attentive. We should strengthen supervision of key targets, key positions and important personnel, especially leadership. We should improve the system for overseeing decision-making on major issues, important appointments and removals, major projects, and the use of large amounts of money. We should integrate daily management with supervisory scrutiny.

Fully relying on the working class is inherent to the Party's leadership of SOEs. We should improve the democratic management system with the workers congress as the basic element, providing open access to the affairs and business of enterprises, ensuring the employees' right to stay informed about, participate in, and express views on and oversee their enterprise's affairs, while arousing the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the workforce. Enterprises should listen to the views of workers in major decision-making, and deliberate at workers congresses over major issues concerning the vital interests of the workers. We must adhere to and improve the system that employees serve as board directors and board supervisors, and encourage employees to participate in corporate governance.

The leadership of SOEs is the backbone of the Party in the economic sector and an important source of professional talent in national governance. They shoulder the responsibility of managing and preserving state assets and ensuring that they appreciate in value. These leaders must be loyal to the Party, and be bold and innovative.

in work. They must manage their enterprises well and produce results. They must remain clean and honest. They should enhance their political integrity, have a broad view, follow the core leadership of the CPC, and act in accordance with the Party's policies. They should also identify themselves with the Party, care for the Party, and defend the Party in every aspect of business operations and management. Faced with increasingly fierce domestic and international market competition, the leadership of SOEs should rise to the challenges, be innovative, and lead the employees in breaking new ground.

We must adhere to the principle that the Party supervises the work of personnel management and has the right of appointment and removal of leadership and key staff, so that those who are politically qualified, competent and upright are selected. SOE leaders should work on the frontline with the workers, and those of excellent quality who have good experience are to be promoted to the leadership. We should strictly manage and care for the leadership, adopt incentive mechanisms, and leave them enough room to demonstrate their capability. We should publicize the successes and contribution of outstanding SOE leaders, and foster a social atmosphere that respects the value of entrepreneurs, encourages their creativity, and lets them play their role.

The strict governance of the Party should be applied to SOEs, branch organizations, ordinary Party members, and the basic enterprise system. We should ensure that new SOEs have Party organizations established the moment they are founded, and adjusted along with the development of enterprise. We should carry out the routine education of Party members. Enterprise Party committees should organize regular branch meetings, branch committee meetings, group meetings, and Party lectures to emphasize commitment to the Party. Party branches should be the core that draws together the workers and staff, the school that educates Party members, and the fighting force for solving problems. We must take political philosophical education as a regular and basic task of Party organizations. Education in political philosophy should be combined with resolving concrete problems;

it should be reasoned and practical, and we should do our best to win the hearts of the employees.

Party committees at all levels should develop the role of the Party in SOEs in accordance with the principle of the Party supervising its own conduct with strict discipline. Local Party committees at all levels should put Party development in SOEs on their agenda, and Party committee (Party leadership group) in every enterprise should fulfill its own responsibilities as the main actor. We must advocate integrity and fight against corruption in SOEs, focusing on Party discipline and rules, and persevere in implementing the Party Central Committee's Eight Rules on improving Party and government conduct. We will rectify problems identified during discipline inspections without fail, and investigate and punish any people involved in embezzlement or abuse of state assets.

Tighten Political Activities Within Our Party*

October 27, 2016

Over the past few years I have been reiterating the importance of seriously carrying out internal Party political activities, because the Party is at a critical historical juncture, when significant changes in the Party and new relations between the Party and the people and between officials and the people demand us to make a political effort to strengthen Party self-governance in every respect.

The "Regulations for Political Activities Within the Party in the New Era" adopted at this session not only embodies the provisions and requirements of the Party Constitution, but also a systematic representation of the rules and measures that have been formed through recent experience in strengthening Party self-governance. Targeting major conflicts and problems inside the Party, the regulations lay out provisions in 12 sections, pointing out symptoms and making prescriptions for both symptoms and root causes. The key to making the regulations effective lies in their enforcement.

First, we should work to accomplish the fundamental task of guiding people in their ways of thinking. "To win, one must become resolute first."¹ To better guide people in their ways of thinking and strengthen their theoretical education is a top task for internal Party political activities and a prerequisite to ensuring 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."² The root cause of problems in our Party is that some members and

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

officials waver in their ideals and convictions, and in their world view, outlook on life, and sense of values. Ideals and convictions come from perseverance and are tempered by practice. We should strengthen education in theory, the Party spirit and ethics. We should try to 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, personality and action.

Political activities, political ecology, and political culture within the Party are complementary. Political culture is the soul of political activities, exerting an imperceptible influence on political ecology. We should promote intra-Party political culture and prepare the ground for a sound political ecology, 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 clandestine rules.

Second, we should enforce strict discipline, which is key. As our ancestors said, "Nothing can be accomplished without regulations and rules."³ Strict discipline is an inherent requirement and important guarantee for promoting and regulating intra-Party political activities. We should strengthen intra-Party institutional restrictions, and close 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, enhance their political integrity, acquire a better understanding of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and act consistently with its policy, ensuring that they are firm in political belief and stance and follow⁴ correct orientation.

We should work to ensure every order or prohibition is executed without fail, and investigate and prosecute any violations, so that discipline and rules make up a deterrent and prevent the effect of the broken windows theory. We should review the current rules and regulations in accordance with the regulations, revising whatever should be revised, supplementing those that require it, and setting new ones. Party organizations which shoulder the responsibility for enforcing discipline and rules must strengthen scrutiny and accountability, targeting those who relax their effort in this regard. These measures should transform lax and slack Party governance into strict and firm governance.

Third, we should select and appoint the right officials, which is a weathervane for political activities within our Party. Unhealthy tendencies and corruption in the appointment of officials are most harmful; thus a correct orientation is the fundamental solution to rigorously carrying out political activities in the Party. We must implement the standards for good officials and be strict with officials in their political consciousness, conduct, style of work, and clean governance, rewarding and promoting those who are loyal, honest, responsible, pragmatic, incorruptible, hard-working, and keen on reform, with outstanding performance, 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 bad people and preventing the phenomenon of "bad money drives out good", and trying to create a sound political ecology with a clean environment for employing capable officials. We should improve the institutions for supervising and overseeing officials so that selection is not over-emphasized while supervision is 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 regularly carry out criticism and self-criticism

within the Party. Such criticism sessions are an important part of intra-Party political activities in both content and form. They are an important way that Party organizations educate, supervise and oversee Party members. The capability and competence of a leading body depends very much on whether it carries out serious intra-Party criticism and self-criticism. We should implement systems such as "Three Meetings and One Lecture", i.e., Party members regularly attending meetings of general membership, branch committees, and Party groups, and one lecture every six months; in addition to meeting of Party members in leadership positions where they make criticisms and self-criticisms among themselves; branch meeting with ordinary Party members; democratic appraisal by Party members; and frank communication and self-criticisms among Party members. Besides, we need to strengthen regular education, supervision and oversight of Party members. And we should adopt new approaches to make activities in our Party 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 political 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 political activities that our Party has brought into being in its long practice 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 improve and innovate the content, form, vehicle, method and means of intra-Party political activities, and guide new practice with new experience. Giving better play to the role of such activities, we should

try to create a political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

The purpose of implementing the regulations is to effectively solve major problems in internal Party political activities. All Party organizations and Party members and officials should consciously check their thought and action against the regulations, face up to their mistakes with courage, conduct self-analysis, and take on deep-rooted problems.

On one hand, we should work to solve problems that are numerous, obvious and widespread. For example, at work, some officials are arbitrary; some seek no other input in making decisions or resort to liberalism or decentralism. Some officials simply go through the motions, or engage in excessive bureaucracy, self-indulgence, 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 go unpunished for disobeying discipline. Some rest on their laurels, or are irresponsible, mediocre and lazy on the job, and accomplish nothing. These problems, obvious in the eyes of the people, have clearly defied 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 devastating. For example, some officials do not follow the CPC Central Committee on major issues, or refuse to act according to 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 up in pursuit of private interests, form small cliques, or are primarily driven by political ambition. 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 ones in a timely manner.

Political activities within the Party 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 come up, with a focus on difficult and serious ones. 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 ecology within our Party.

Notes

¹ Zhang Zai: *Study of the Classics* (*Jing Xue Li Ku*). Zhang Zai (1020-1077) was a philosopher of the Northern Song Dynasty.

² Mao Zedong: "On Coalition Government", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1975, p. 265.

³ See note 1, p. 170.

Reinforce the Party's Internal Scrutiny*

October 27, 2016

The "Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Internal Scrutiny" 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 stress on their implementation, so that they serve as a restraint on the conduct of all Party organizations, Party members and officials.

In the Yan'an days, Chairman Mao Zedong put forward the idea of breaking the historical cycle of gaining political power only to lose it because of corruption that had often happened in Chinese history. 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 a bid to make it more effective and efficient for preventing and correcting misconduct and enhance our ability to cleanse, improve and upgrade our Party.

There is a long-standing and prominent problem in the Party – people are reluctant to engage in scrutiny, or they dare not, 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 places and government departments, internal Party scrutiny exists only in theory. The absence of such scrutiny will inevitably lead to the weakening of Party leadership, a failure to develop the Party, and inefficiency in self-governance of the Party.

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

All Party members should be fully aware that internal scrutiny is the source of health and life for the Party. We should constantly enhance 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 to carry 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 communicate with and talk to people as warnings, conduct criticism and self-criticism, so as to identify problems and handle them promptly.

An analysis of typical cases of corruption dealt with over recent years shows a common process. People first commit small acts of misconduct, and these gradually become more serious. Their acts graduate from being a problem in terms of number to being a problem in terms of degree. If such people had been pulled up by their organizations at the outset, it would have been possible, certainly in some cases, to halt their descent 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 wrongdoings from growing into major ones. Internal Party scrutiny should be carried out everywhere and in everything, to urge Party members and officials to act as who they are and play their proper part. All Party members should make a habit of reminding each other and of correcting mistakes, in order to make common progress.

The commissions for discipline inspection at various levels

specialize in internal Party scrutiny and accountability. They should put political discipline and political 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 work under the dual leadership system, strengthen the leadership of commissions for discipline inspection over those at lower levels, enhance the leadership over the dispatched inspection groups, and ensure that all obligations related to Party self-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 scrutiny responsibilities in their relevant fields, Party organs 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 meetings of Party branches or groups 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' right to be informed and to scrutinize; encourage and support them to play a positive 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 public, and public opinion. Officials should invite scrutiny from all sides, showing both breadth of mind and confidence. We should support the CPPCC's democratic scrutiny in accordance with its charter, pay careful attention to the comments, criticisms and suggestions from other political parties and prominent individuals without any party affiliation, and encourage them to speak the truth and give suggestions. We should consciously accept scrutiny from the people, provide smooth reporting channels for letters and calls, deal seriously with typical violations of discipline, and promptly respond to the concerns of the people. We should strengthen scrutiny through public opinion, and use exposure and analysis of typical cases as a warning, so as to create a positive atmosphere of public opinion in favor of ensuring comprehensive self-governance of the Party.

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 "Regulations for Political Activities Within the Party in the New Era" and the "Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Internal Scrutiny". Members of the Political Bureau must enhance their political integrity, develop a better understanding of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the Central Committee, and act consistently with CPC Central Committee policy. They must uphold the Party's guideline, keep in 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 beliefs. 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

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

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 prime purpose and ultimate goal of the Party's work. Zhongnanhai 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 centralization, 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 concerning 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 must maintain its strength because it implements the principle of the Party supervising the performance of officials, and we must uphold the 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 of 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 Party self-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, beliefs, 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 disciplines 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.

Meet the Standards for Party Members*

August 13, 2017

Meetings of the Party branch have become regular. It is good to have a system of Three Meetings and One Lecture in which Party members regularly attend meetings of general membership, branch committees, and Party groups and one lecture every six months. During the war, it was a Party priority to establish Party branches in our companies. From the Sanwan Reorganization¹ to the Gutian Meeting² in 1929, our Party started to build the army politically with a focus on developing primary-level Party organizations.

As for the Three Meetings and One Lecture system, our Party branch has carried it out thoroughly. We should do it with great care, starting from the Central Committee, and myself, setting a good example. Everyone here today is an ordinary Party member, equal at our organizational activities. It is an essential requirement to observe the Party Constitution and better meet the standards for Party members.

At present, the key task for the Party and the country is to ensure the success of the 19th National Congress. I hope everyone will focus on self-improvement, do our job well in this critical period, strictly discipline ourselves in accordance with the standards for Party members, and make no errors in our work. You all do important confidential work; you should do all of your work well, with great care, and must succeed. You should fulfill your duties and accomplish to the full what has been assigned to you.

I hope you can be noble-minded people above base interests. You are now engaged in a noble cause. You have made the wrong choice,

* Points raised at a Party branch meeting in his capacity as an individual Party member.

working here, if you intended to get promotion and make a fortune; you should never come here in the first place if you care for nothing but your own gain and advancement. There are examples, historical and contemporary, for us to follow - Zhang Side³, Norman Bethune⁴, Jiao Yulu⁵, and Mai Xiande⁶. In ordinary posts, these people have devoted and are devoting themselves to the cause. I would like you to follow suit, reflect on yourselves, learn from the past, steer clear of the danger of committing mistakes, strictly follow discipline and rules, and stay cautious and prudent.

I hope that you believe in the people, the Party and the organization. You have joined the great cause and dedicate yourselves selflessly to achieving the Two Centenary Goals. You will make a contribution as remarkable and glorious as others. I hope that you remain faithful to and devote yourselves to the organization; then the organization will take care of you, cherish you, and trust you.

Notes

¹ On September 29, 1927, the troops that Mao Zedong led in the Autumn Harvest Uprising, an armed uprising in the border area of Hunan and Jiangxi provinces, were reorganized in Sanwan Village of Yongxin County, Jiangxi Province. The troops were regrouped into a regiment, known as the 1st Regiment of the 1st Division of the 1st Army of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Army. The CPC's absolute leadership over the Army was confirmed, and Party organizations were established at all levels of the Army. Party branches were set up at the company level, Party groups at squads and platoons, and Party committees at battalions and regiments, with Party representatives dispatched to army units above the company level. Democracy was introduced in the Army, and officers and soldiers were treated equally. Committees for soldiers were also set up. The Sanwan Reorganization laid the foundation for the new-type people's army.

² This refers to the Ninth Congress of the Fourth Red Army of the CPC, held in Gutian Village of Shanghang County, Fujian Province in December 1929. It was at this meeting that the principle of cultivating the army with the CPC's political philosophy was established.

³ Zhang Side (1915-1944) was a soldier of the Guard Squad of the CPC Central Committee. He joined the Red Army in 1933, participated in the Long March,

and was wounded in battles. He was a loyal Communist in service of the people. On September 5, 1944, Zhang died when burning charcoal in the mountains of Ansai County in northern Shaanxi Province, killed when the kiln collapsed on him. At Zhang's memorial service on September 8, 1944, Mao Zedong made the speech "Serve the People".

⁴ Norman Bethune (1890-1939) was a Canadian physician and a member of the Communist Party of Canada. After the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression broke out nationwide in 1937, Bethune led a medical team of Canadian and American surgeons to China. On November 12, 1939, he died in Tangxian County, Hebei Province, from an infection he contracted during a surgery. On December 21, 1939, Mao Zedong praised his selflessness and wholehearted service to the people in the essay "In Memory of Norman Bethune".

⁵ See "Be a Good County Party Secretary", pp. 151-163.

⁶ Mai Xiande (1945-) was enlisted in the Navy at the age of 18. During a sea battle between PLA and Taiwan's gunboats on August 6, 1965, Mai, seriously wounded, managed to fix a mechanical failure and ensured the safety of his boat. He was awarded the honor "Battle Hero" by China's Ministry of National Defense in 1966, and received the August 1st Medal from the Central Military Commission in 2017.

New Development Concepts

Guide Development with New Concepts*

October 29, 2015

Concept is the precursor of action, and likewise, certain developments are led by certain concepts. Concepts decide, in a fundamental manner, the success of results. Practice has shown us that as development is bound to undergo changes influenced by the prevailing environment and conditions, development concepts will change accordingly.

I emphasized before the drafting of the "Recommendations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for the 13th Five-year Plan for Economic and Social Development" that we should first of all be clear about the development concepts we are about to set. Development concepts are meant to be strategic, to outline and guide, and to be about development ideas, direction and focus. If the development concepts are right, it becomes easier to set goals and policy measures. These Recommendations put forward the concepts of innovative, coordinated, green, open and inclusive development. These development concepts did not emerge from the ether; they came from both domestic and foreign experience of development, and from analysis of both domestic and foreign trends in development. They epitomize our Party's growing understanding of laws governing economic and social development based on our country's most prominent conflicts and problems.

Innovative development focuses on the drivers of growth. Our ability to innovate is inadequate. Our science and technology is not fully developed, and is unable to create momentum to support

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

economic and social development. Innovation makes a much greater contribution to economic growth in China than in developed countries. This is the Achilles' heel for such a big economy as China. A new round of revolution in science and technology will inevitably give rise to fiercer competition. If our capacity to innovate fails to meet the need to boost the economy, we will lag behind in global economic competition. So we must consider innovation as the primary driving force of growth and the core in this whole undertaking, and human resources as the primary resource to support development. We should promote innovation in theory, systems, science and technology, and culture, and make innovation the dominant theme in the work of the Party and government, and an everyday activity in society.

Coordinated development aims to solve the imbalance in development. The development disparity is a long-standing problem in our country, conspicuous across regions, between urban and rural areas, and in the relationship between economy and society, between material and cultural progress, and between economic development and strengthening national defense. When we are underdeveloped, our primary task is to catch up quickly; but after a period of doing so, we need to adjust and pay more attention to the overall effect. Otherwise, bucket effect will show, intensifying social conflicts. So we must hold fast to the basics of the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics, properly handle major relationships in development, and constantly increase harmony in development.

Green development highlights the harmony between humanity and nature. Green, circular and low-carbon development, which is the most promising sector, guides the direction of the current revolution in science, technology and industry. We have huge potential in this regard, which could give rise to many new engines of growth. While we are constantly faced with ever-tighter resource constraints, serious environmental pollution, and ecological degradation, we are also faced with people's growing demands for clean air and drinking water, safe food, and a beautiful environment. So we must uphold the basic national policy of conserving resources and protecting the environ-

ment, follow the path of healthy development to achieve productive development, prosperity, and a sound ecological environment, and create a society that respects these principles. We must build a beautiful China and contribute our part to global ecological security.

Open development prioritizes interactions between China and the international community. Profound changes are taking place in international economic cooperation and competition, and major adjustments are under way in the global economic governance system and rules. Global communication is becoming more profound, more extensive, and more frequent, and the pressure to cope with external economic risks and maintain national economic security is unprecedented.

Our problem now is not whether to continue opening up, but how to improve the quality of opening up and increase China's connectivity with others. We are not opening up wide enough; we lack the ability to use domestic and foreign markets and resources; we are weak in dealing with international trade friction, in exerting influence on the international economy, and in applying international trade rules. We need to improve in these areas. To this end, we must uphold the basic national policy of opening up, implement an opening-up strategy characterized by mutual benefit, strengthen cultural exchange, and improve the layout of opening-up regions, of foreign trade, and of investment. With such efforts we can form a new system for opening up, develop an open economy at a higher level, and drive innovation, reform and development.

The Belt and Road Initiative is a major strategic measure to boost opening up and provide a top-level design for economic diplomacy. We should identify areas where breakthroughs are most likely, promote our experience to wider areas and consolidate progress step by step to achieve final success. We should help to improve the global economic governance system, play a leading role in developing the global economic agenda, maintain a multilateral trade system, speed up the implementation of a free trade strategy, and actively undertake our international responsibilities and obligations commensurate with our ability and status.

Shared development underpins social equality and justice.¹⁰ To govern the country, the priority is to realize equality, and then stability will follow.¹¹ Allowing people to share the fruits of reform and development is the essence of socialism. It demonstrates the superiority of socialism and the Party's whole-heartedness in its mission of serving the people. Only if this problem is properly addressed will the people's enthusiasm, initiative and creativity be fully aroused; only then can national development gain sufficient momentum.

While it is true that the "cake" of development is growing larger, it is also the case that the portions are not being shared out evenly. There are growing disparities in income levels and in urban and rural public services. In sharing the fruits of development, there are imperfections both in institutional structures and in actual outcomes. Therefore, our driving principle must be that development is for the people and by the people, and its benefits are shared by the people. We must design more effective systems to steadily lead all the people to common prosperity, and eradicate the huge gap between the rich and poor.

This session has emphasized that to pursue innovative, coordinated, green, open and inclusive development is a profound reform bearing on the overall development of our country. Each of these five concepts is essential on an individual level. Together they are interconnected, forming one integrated whole that must be implemented in unison and with equal attention. The development process will be hindered if any one of them is neglected. All Party members must improve their ability and competence in implementing these five concepts to open up new frontiers of development.

Notes

¹⁰ *Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Lü Shi Chun Qiu*).

A Deeper Understanding of the New Development Concepts*

January 18, 2016

On the philosophy of innovative, coordinated, green, open, and inclusive 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.

Firstly, 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; we will struggle to double the 2010 GDP and per capita income for both urban and rural residents by 2020. Of course, coordinated, green, open, and inclusive development helps to strengthen the impetus of 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

* 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 officials at the provincial/ministerial level.

changing environment of development, enhancing the impetus of 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. 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 the advent of modern times 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; 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 stress repeatedly that innovation is development; innovation is the future.

Through years of efforts, China's overall scientific capacity has improved, transforming from quantitative increase to qualitative improvement. It has now reached advanced international level in

some major areas. Nevertheless, China's key technologies 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 need to 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 enhance 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, professionally competent, cutting-edge, and urgently needed personnel. We should open our arms wider¹⁰ innovative talent from overseas, and bring together the world's best minds to contribute to our nation's development.

Second, we should enhance overall and coordinated development. "Everything has its counterpart."¹ According to materialistic dialectics, things are universally related; they interact with and restrain each other, and so do their composing elements; 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."² "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 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."³ 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 relationships⁴ that affect overall development in advancing socialist modernization. Hu Jintao put forward comprehensive, balanced, and sustainable development. The Party put forward at its 18th CPC National Congress the Five-point Strategy of promoting economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress in building Chinese socialism. Later we put forward the Four-pronged Strategy – to complete a moderately prosperous society in all respects, to further reform, to advance the rule of law, and to strengthen Party discipline. These policies 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, the standard and measurement for evaluating development. In the development of all things, we should address both major and minor problems, 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 foster 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 equalitarian-

gm, 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. To pursue 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, between major and minor issues. We should weight 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 in our imbalanced, uncoordinated, and unsustainable development, we need to promote coordinated development between regions, between urban and rural areas, and between material and cultural progress, and promote integrated development of economic growth 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 Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt. We should support accelerated development in old revolutionary bases, areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities, 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 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 must ensure both economic development and the development of defense capabilities; we should further the integration of military and civilian development and achieve a cost-effective civil-military integration that covers all elements and all fields; 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.

Thirdly, 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.

Frederick 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 forests¹⁰

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 situation 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, Frederick Engels pointed out: "Let us not, however, flatter ourselves over much 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."⁵ 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 reform and opening-up policy was adopted 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 ecological 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*⁶ 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."⁷ *Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*⁸ 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.

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, 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 shall not try to save a little only to lose a lot; we shall not attend to one thing and lose sight of another; we shall not eat our corn in the cob; we shall not be eager for quick success and instant benefit. 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 the eco-environment as our own lives. 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 symposium on the development of the Yangtze River Economic Belt held at 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 enhance 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 environ-

mental benefits from economic development, living with a blue sky, green mountains, clear waters, and a better environment than ever before, and step into a new era of eco-progress.

Fourthly, 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 following the trend of the times and propelling historical 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, but it is not a new phenomenon. As early as the 19th century, Karl Marx and Frederick 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."⁹ 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. First, 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, bringing all regions and nations into a single capitalist world system. Second, two parallel world markets. After World War II, 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. Third, 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.

Accordingly, China's relationship with the world also underwent three stages. First, from national seclusion to semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. Before the Opium War, 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.

Second, 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.

Third, multidimensional opening up. Since reform and opening up in 1978, China has taken advantage of 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 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; we also face significant risks and challenges that are by no means negligible. This can be seen from four perspectives.

First, power structures among various countries are changing positively in an unprecedented way. The rise of emerging market economies and developing countries is changing the global political and economic landscapes. There is an irresistible trend towards world polarization 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 economy, science and technology, politics, and military affairs, there is a long way to go to build a fairer and more equitable international political and economic order.

Second, 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 market economies and developing economies are still sluggish, and the global economy has not yet found new engines for full recovery.

Third, China's share of the world economy and global governance has increased rapidly. China is now the world's second largest economy, its largest exporter, its second largest importer, its second largest source of foreign direct investment, its largest holder of foreign exchange reserves, and its 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

work harder to turn our economic strength into international institutional authority.

Fourth, 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-level 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, enhance our conscientiousness and capabilities to address the overall situation both domestically and internationally, and improve the effectiveness and level of opening up.

Fifthly, 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 materialistic historical view 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."¹⁰ The people-centered development philosophy 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 the people's expectations for a better life. We should continue to realize, safeguard, and develop the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of

the people. We should ensure that development is for the people, that it is reliant on the people, and that its fruits are shared by the people. We should, through furthering reform and innovation-driven development, enhance the quality and increase the benefits of development. We should produce more and better material and cultural products to meet the ever-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 pattern of national income distribution. We should improve the mechanism of secondary distribution regulating income distribution mainly through taxation, social security, and transfer payments. We must safeguard social fairness and justice, and narrow income gaps, so that all the people can have a greater share of the fruits of development in a fair way.

In nature, the philosophy of shared development represents the idea 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 a basic ideal of the Chinese people since ancient times. Confucius¹¹ said, "He is not concerned lest his people should be poor, but only lest what they have should be ill-apportioned. He is not concerned lest they should be few, but only lest they should be divided against one another."¹² Mencius¹³ said "Do reverence to the elders in your own family and extend it to those in other families; show loving care to the young in your own family and extend it to those in other families."¹⁴ The *Book of Rites*¹⁵ gives detailed and lively description of "moderate prosperity" and "great harmony".

According to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, communism eradicates the opposition and differentiation between classes, between urban and rural areas, between mental labor and physical labor; it adopts the principle of distribution from each according to his ability.

and to each according to his needs, so as to achieve shared development of society 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 long remain so. 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."¹⁶ During the reform and opening-up period, Deng Xiaoping emphasized shared prosperity repeatedly. 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."¹⁷ Jiang Zemin also emphasized, "Achieving common prosperity is a fundamental principle and essential characteristic of socialism, and we absolutely cannot vacillate on this issue."¹⁸ Hu Jintao also required, "We should ensure all our people share the fruits of development and move steadily towards shared prosperity."¹⁹ 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.

First, the beneficiaries are all the people. This is about the era 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.

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

Third, development achievements are shared through making concerted efforts for development. This is about the means of realizing shared development. It is through jointly contributing to development that people enjoy the benefits of inclusive 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 accomplishment.

Fourth, 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. First, we should give full rein to the people's enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity, gather their strength to advance Chinese socialism, and "make the



bigger". Second, 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.

Notes

¹ Cheng Yi: *The Book of Changes Annotated by Cheng Yi* (*Zhou Yi Cheng Shi Zuan*). Cheng Yi (1033-1107) was a neo-Confucian philosopher and educator of the Northern Song Dynasty.

² Mao Zedong: "Methods of Work of Party Committees", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. IV, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1961, p. 379.

³ Deng Xiaoping: "The Present Situation and the Tasks Before Us", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. II, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1995, p. 251.

⁴ This refers to the relationship between reform, development, and stability; the relationship between speed and results; the relationship of economic development to the population, resources, and the environment; the relationship between primary, secondary, and tertiary industries; the relationship between the eastern region and the central and western regions; the relationship between market mechanisms and macro-control; the relationship between the public sector and other sectors of the economy; the relationship of income distribution between the state, enterprises, and individuals; the relationship between opening wider to the outside world and maintaining our self-reliance; the relationship between central and local authorities; the relationship between national defense development and economic development; the relationship between material progress and cultural and ethical progress.

⁵ See "Correctly Handle Certain Major Relationships in the Socialist Modernization Drive", *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. I, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2010, pp. 449-464.

⁶ Frederick Engels: *Dialectics of Nature*, Eng. ed., Progress Publisher, Moscow, 1986, p. 180.

⁶ *The Analects of Confucius (Lun Yu)* is one of the Confucian classics. Written by the disciples of Confucius, it records the words and deeds of Confucius, and also comprises dialogues between Confucius and his disciples.

⁷ *Xun Zi*. Xun Zi (c. 325-238 BC) was a philosopher, thinker and educator of the Warring States Period.

⁸ *Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals (Lü Shi Chun Qiu)* was compiled by the followers of Lü Buwei (c. 292-235 BC), chief minister of the State of Qin during the Warring States Period.

⁹ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1965, p. 37.

¹⁰ *Huai Nan Zi*.

¹¹ Confucius (551-479 BC), also known as Kong Qiu or Zhongni, was a philosopher, educator and statesman in the Spring and Autumn Period. He was the founder of Confucianism.

¹² *The Analects of Confucius (Lun Yu)*.

¹³ Mencius (c. 372-289 BC), also known as Meng Ke or Ziyu, was a philosopher and educator in the Warring States Period.

¹⁴ *The Mencius (Meng Zi)*.

¹⁵ *Book of Rites (Li Ji)*, one of the Confucian classics, is an important work for the study of ancient China's social forms, laws, and regulations, and traditional Confucian canon.

¹⁶ Mao Zedong: "Speech at the Seminar on the Socialist Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce", *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. VI, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1999, p. 495.

¹⁷ Deng Xiaoping: "Seize the Opportunity to Develop the Economy", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 351.

¹⁸ Jiang Zemin: "Correctly Handle Certain Major Relationships in the Socialist Modernization Drive", *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. I, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2010, p. 455.

¹⁹ Hu Jintao: "Build a Harmonious Socialist Society", *Selected Works of Hu Jintao*, Vol. II, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 2016, p. 291.

Implement the New Development Concepts*

January 18, 2016

The key to implementing the new development concepts and turning them into standard practice lies with officials at all levels, who must have a correct understanding of the new concepts and act accordingly. Regarding this, I want to emphasize four points. First, officials should set an example by conscientiously studying the new development concepts and making earnest efforts to apply them to show the strength of these new concepts to other officials and the general public. "A clearer understanding of new concepts makes actions stronger and more targeted."¹ It takes time to form ideas in people's minds. We must continue to study, constantly and at deeper levels, to establish the new development concepts consciously and with full confidence. Officials at all levels should strengthen their understanding of the new development concepts. They should use history as a reference, make comparisons from different perspectives, and draw insight from realities. They must learn the lessons summarized from our past experiences and mistakes in seeking development, better understand the guiding role of the new concepts of economic and social development, and make efforts to encourage innovation, emphasize coordination, promote green development, further open up, and benefit all the people.

I have reiterated that professionalism is a must for officials, reflected in their way of thinking and work methods. It is a must not only in the political sense, but also in the need for new knowledge and

* 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 officials at the provincial/ministerial level.

professional skills, because the new development concepts entail new knowledge, new information, and new requirements of the times. "When seeking knowledge, one must know why and how."² If we only know some concepts and basic requirements but have not established a compatible knowledge system, we may know "how" but not "why" and speak and do things unprofessionally.

I always emphasize that officials must be experts in economic and social management. At a time when the market, industries and technologies, especially internet technologies, are developing at high speed, officials must increase their competence in economic management. Capital input, production safety, stock market regulation, and internet finance regulation are all areas that involve high risks and require highly-skilled management. Misjudgment, poor choices, or weak regulation and control could lead to problems, even major problems, and serious consequences might affect social stability. Over a period of time, a series of major incidents have occurred in the areas of industrial safety, the stock market, and internet finance, sounding the alarm for us. Nowadays it is not easy to manage economic and social affairs, which involve all kinds of complicated factors. Mistakes are inevitable, but the "tuition fee" we have paid must be worth it. We must learn from our lessons, become wiser the second time, and avoid repeating the same mistakes again. Careful analysis must be made before making investment or engaging in projects and financial activities. Sound judgment must be exercised, and the risks must be evaluated. We must not be tempted by money. Streamlining administration and issuing business licenses before giving administrative permits does not mean giving up our control. We should still be in charge of those that need our supervision. The powers delegated from higher levels must be properly exercised by the lower levels. There should not be a power vacuum in between, and different levels of government must perform their due responsibilities. Officials at all levels should study conscientiously, enhance leadership skills, and improve their management capacity. In decision-making and regulation and control, they must continue to uphold

principles and perform systemic management with more foresight and creativity.

"It is not knowledge but action that is difficult to acquire."¹³ Both knowledge and action are important, but action is essential. Implementing the new development concepts means that we must change our views on development, expand our knowledge base and enhance our governing capacity, adjust relationships involving competing interests, and be innovative in developing our systems and institutions. The new development concepts should be applied to the whole process of state governance, and implemented in our decision-making, policy execution, and examination of various aspects of work. We must strive to enhance our ability to coordinate and implement new development concepts, and continue to expand new development. Eloquence is of no value – real action must be taken to realize these concepts. Officials must put the interests of the state first, develop strategic thinking, and increase their ability in overall and long-term planning. They should not restrict their focus to regional, departmental or short-term interests, and should not undermine the interests of the state for partial gains or undermine fundamental interests for temporary gains.

Second, we should use dialectical thinking to appropriately plan for the designing and execution of new development concepts. New development concepts have been proposed based on dialectical thinking, which is essential to their implementation. We should adopt a holistic approach, and make systematic arrangements by highlighting the integrity and interconnectivity of the new development concepts, so that different aspects enhance each other and make progress side by side, avoiding uncoordinated and unbalanced development. We should be capable of separating the main problems from less pressing ones, and the main aspects of the problems from the minor aspects, so that priorities in action are clarified. While attending to general tasks, we should firmly grip the main problems and their main features, and promote holistic progress with breakthroughs in key areas. We should follow the laws of the unity of opposites, the mutual

conflict between quality and quantity, and the negation of negation, We should understand the integration of universality and uniqueness, gradualness and leaps and bounds, advancement and twists and turns, and inheritance and innovation. We must be realistic and move forward step by step. At the same time, we must be courageous to advance with the times. In our work we should apply different methods to solve different issues, depending on the time, location and conditions. We should be flexible, efficient, and adept at making the best solutions.

Third, we should create innovative approaches. We should press forward with the implementation of new development concepts through reform and the rule of law, with reform as an engine and the law as firm cornerstone. The establishment of new concepts always comes after the demolition of old traditions – there is no making without breaking. To bring in new concepts, it requires changes in the way we think, act and work, as well as adjustments in work, social and interest relations. With no reform, but only talking, we will never reach our destination. The Central Committee's plans for further reform are consistent with the new development concepts, and officials at all levels must bear the primary responsibility and ensure the implementation of these concepts. During implementation, the principles and requirements set in the Central Committee's reform plans can be elaborated based on the actual conditions. Pilots and trials are encouraged in areas where no specific reform plans are available; no difficulties shall deter us from implementing the plans. Officials should work hard to solve problems, and they should never slacken their efforts. In implementing new development concepts, we must carefully analyze the new requirements for building the rule of law, study the pressing problems in this area and take targeted measures and thoroughly carry out new development concepts in accordance with the rule of law.

Fourth, we must stay true to our principles, and promptly address the problems and risks that arise during the implementation of new development concepts. Developing socialism with Chinese chara

teristics is an enduring and arduous task, and we must be prepared to fight many great battles with new features. Faced by many domestic and international problems, risks, and challenges now and in future, we must not be off guard. Potential problems, risks and challenges are intertwined and reinforce each other. If we do not take preventive 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 economic, social, cultural and environmental areas 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; clever men make estimations about imminent catastrophe."⁴ 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 military. Every official at every level must take on the responsibility.

In his report at the Seventh CPC National Congress in 1945, Mao Zedong talked about preparing for the difficulties challenging China at the time: (1) international hostility; (2) domestic hostility; (3) several main bases had been taken by the KMT; (4) some ten thousand soldiers had been killed by the KMT; (5) the puppet troops had welcomed Chiang Kai-shek; (6) a civil war had broken out; (7) we have our own "Ronald Scobie" who is trying to turn China into Greece; (8) "not recognizing Poland", in other words, the status of the Communist Party had not been recognized; (9) some ten thousand Party members had either defected or lost contact with Party organizations; (10) some Party members had become tired and pessimistic; (11) catastrophic natural disasters had struck; (12) economic difficul-

ties; (13) the enemy had deployed its main force in North China; (14) the KMT had been assassinating our comrades at leading positions; (15) disputes in the Party's leadership; (16) we had to do without help from international proletariat organizations; and (17) other unpredictable difficulties. He said, "Many things cannot be predicted. But we, especially senior leading cadres, must be prepared to tackle extremely difficult situations and adversity. We must be clear-headed about this." Deng Xiaoping also said, "At the same time, we should base our work on the possible emergence of serious problems and prepare for them. In this way, even if the worst should happen, the sky will not fall." Similar approaches, shared by Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao, are all important political experience and wisdom in Party and state governance.

Lastly, I want to emphasize that we need to mobilize officials in a more extensive and effective manner. This is of vital significance and is a pressing task now. Officials are the backbone of our Party's cause. Overall our officials are becoming increasingly capable, and the composition of officials is now more balanced, with many young officials growing more experienced in office. However, complexities do exist in our leading ranks. Affected by their own experience or the social and political environment, some officials are distracted and inactive in performing their duties. This is a pressing problem, and we must pay attention to it. We need to find out the root causes and come up with targeted solutions.

According to reports from various sources, official nonfeasance is caused by: first, incapability; second, lack of motivation; and third, lack of courage and a sense of responsibility. This is not new, but why is it an emergency now? One reason is that some officials have not caught up with the new situation, finding themselves unfit for the new tasks and requirements; the other lies in our work and complex factors and influences in the society. In some local governments and Committee's plans are yet to be put in place, and adjustment is needed in order to ensure that the guiding principles are correctly understood.

Our officials need time to understand the decisions and plans of the central leadership, and our Party organizations need to offer timely guidance to the officials. In some localities and units, there has been insufficient adjustment – or none at all – for guiding development, theoretical studies, principles, conduct, and the economy and society as required by the decisions made since the Party's 18th National Congress. All this has hampered adaptation to the new requirements under society; unhealthy tendencies have shaken the conviction of our officials, leaving them in doubt.

It is agreed by all that official nonfeasance in some individuals has become a pressing concern. Party committees at all levels should not wait or vacillate; they should take targeted measures to solve the problem. We need to strengthen education for officials. To fill their gaps in knowledge, experience and ability, officials should take lessons in theory, policy, science and technology, management, and laws and regulations, with the focus on actual needs and effectiveness. In this way they will be more motivated, their doubts addressed, their sense of responsibility reinforced, and their confidence in and capacity to work under the new situation strengthened. In practice we should be strict in discipline while giving due attention to the needs of officials. Officials must conscientiously perform their duties as required by Party organizations, and faithfully follow the Party's principles and disciplines; they must not abuse their power in violation of the law. Party organizations should encourage and support the work of officials, ensure their legitimate income and subsidies, and pay attention to their psychological needs, so that they can fully, actively and conscientiously apply themselves to their work. Should errors occur, distinctions should be made between the following cases: mistakes due to a lack of experience in pushing pilot reform programs, and deliberate violations of the law and Party discipline; mistakes due to trial efforts not specifically banned by higher-level authorities, and violations of the law and Party discipline with full knowledge of the prohibitions; unintentional mistakes for the good of development, and violations of the law and Party discipline for personal gain. Those who are

honest, upright and dare to take new approaches must be protected, so that officials will be fully motivated to lead the people in building a moderately prosperous society as scheduled, and break new ground for socialist modernization.

Notes

¹ *The Analects of Zhu Xi (Zhu Zi Yu Lei)*. Zhu Xi (1130-1200) was a neo-Confucian philosopher of the Southern Song Dynasty.

² *Collected Works of Zhu Xi (Hui An Xian Sheng Zhu Wen Gong Wen Ji)*.

³ Wu Jing: *Governance of the Zhenguan Period (Zhen Guan Zheng Yao)*. Wu Jing (670-749) was a historian and official of the Tang Dynasty.

⁴ Pei Songzhi's annotations in the *Records of the Three Kingdoms*. Pei Songzhi (372-451) was a historian during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

⁵ Mao Zedong: "Conclusions at the Seventh National Congress of the CPC", *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. III, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing 1996, p. 392.

⁶ Deng Xiaoping: "We Should Draw on the Experience of Other Countries", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing 1994, p. 262.

The New Normal of Economic Development

Economic Work Should Be Adapted to the New Normal*

December 9, 2014

To improve our economic work, first of all, we should have a ~~sound~~^{real} understanding of the current situation and a sound ~~assess~~^{sense} of future trends. Recently, there have been comments both in and outside China: As China's economic growth slows down, is there ~~something~~^{nothing} wrong? The growth rate has dropped to below 7.5 percent, why not take stimulus measures? I think that to look at and analyze ~~the~~^{the} question, we must understand China's various economic development stages from 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

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

ected. 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-intensive 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 our 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; introduced 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 are desperate for clean air and water, a healthy environment, and other eco-products, 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 mac-

economic 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 pattern 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 stock while optimizing increment. Growth engines are

turning from traditional areas to new ones. Entering the new normal manifests the inevitable periodic nature of China's economic development. 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 change; changes lead to solutions; solutions lead to development."¹ 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 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 country's problems. 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. Therefore, we will have to carry out our economic work properly, and estimate 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 the fluctuation is within an acceptable range, we should remain calm, knowing 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 strategic opportunity to accomplish great deeds; what it changes is the content and conditions of this 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 adapt our growth engines, so as to open up a new social and economic situation at a new historical threshold.

Notes

¹ *Book of Changes (Yi Jing)*.

Three Initiatives for Balanced Regional Development*

December 9, 2014 February 23, 2017

I

The central leadership has decided to implement three initiatives: the Belt and Road Initiative, the Coordinated Development of Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt. Their common feature is that they cross administrative divisions and promote balanced development between regions. I hope you will compare notes and reach consensus and carry them out, and strive for a good start next year. The Belt and Road Initiative offers good development opportunities to the eastern, central and western regions, and especially to some marginal areas in the west which will become centers with great development potential as soon as they are interconnected with neighboring countries. In the future, a key point of our policies on regional development will be to unify the large domestic market, which is both a problem to be addressed and an important challenge facing fiscal and taxation reforms. We should break regional barriers and vested interests through reform and innovation, so as to comprehensively improve the efficiency of resource allocation.

(from the speech at the Central Conference on Economic Work)

December 9, 2014

* Excerpts from speeches made between December 9, 2014 and February 23, 2017.

To promote the development of the Yangtze River Economic Belt, a leadership system and a working mechanism must be established to coordinate, plan, guide and carry out all the work. The National Leading Group for the Development of the Yangtze River Economic Belt should bear in mind the general picture and be realistic, while serving as a guide and a supervisor. Our clear direction and focus is to protect the ecological environment, establish a unified market, and speed up transformation of the growth model and structural adjustment, for which we should be quick-minded and provide more services. To make scientific use of water resources, optimize the industrial configuration, coordinate port and shoreline resources, and arrange major investment projects, we should consider carefully and sometimes give up certain projects if we cannot see the optimal approach or reach immediate agreement. When choosing from two or more options, we need to compare them, choose the best option, and test the choice as appropriate. We need to make a negative list of all those things that are not feasible. Market forces and openness are two important drivers for the development of the belt. The market should play a decisive role in resource allocation, while the government plays its own role more effectively. Governments of provinces and municipalities along the river should accelerate the transformation of their functions, provide better public services, and create a favorable market environment. Provinces and municipalities along the river and relevant state departments should reach consensus and make concerted efforts to build a golden belt with a more beautiful ecology, smoother traffic, a more coordinated economy, a more unified market, and a sounder mechanism.

(from the speech at the Forum on the Development of the Yangtze River Economic Belt, January 5, 2016)

In planning and building the Xiong'an New Area [part of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei coordinated development program], under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee we should follow the underlying principle of seeking progress while maintaining stability, and reinforcing and implementing the new development concepts. We should adapt to, keep good control of, and steer the new normal in economic development so as to push forward supply-side structural reform, and adopt a global vision, international standards, Chinese characteristics, and high goals. The area should prioritize ecological protection and the needs of the people, ensure and improve public wellbeing, and protect and carry forward the traditional culture of China, aiming to become an eco-friendly and livable urban area, and a demonstration area for innovation-driven, coordinated and open development. We should strive to transform Xiong'an into an innovation demonstration area guided by the new development concepts.

There are seven major tasks to be completed in the Xiong'an New

Area:

1. Building a world-class, green, modern and smart city;
2. Building an eco-city with a scenic environment, blue skies, fresh air and clean water;
3. Developing high-tech industries, attracting innovative factors and resources, and fostering new drivers for growth;
4. Offering quality public services and infrastructure, and creating a new urban management model;
5. Establishing a fast, effective and green transport network;
6. Pushing for structural and institutional reforms, letting the market play a decisive role in allocating resources, and ensuring that the government fulfils its functions in a better way⁹⁰ as to stimulate market vitality; and
7. Opening wider to the world and creating a new platform for international cooperation.

(from the speech on the planning and building of the Xiong'an New Area, February 23, 2017)

The New Normal: How to Respond and Adapt*

December 18, 2015

I

How should we respond to the new normal? China's economic development is now in the new normal. This conclusion is drawn from analyzing the world economic cycle, China's development stage, and the interaction between the two. This conclusion has been widely recognized by the rest of the world. According to the IMF, China's economic development is in the new normal, so is global economic development. We must act as the conditions permit. As the Chinese economy is in a stage of shifting the growth rate, restructuring the economy, and addressing the impact of previous incentive policies, we should see the new normal from the following perspective.

First, we must have a correct and full understanding of China's economic development. An ancient scholar said, "Everything exists for a reason."¹ The growth pattern in our country is evolving from an extensive economy to an intensive economy; the division of labor is changing from simple to complex. This is an objective law, and we cannot go against it no matter what we think. The extensive economy once played a great role in accelerating China's economic growth. But now neither the domestic nor international environment allows China to maintain this mode of unsustainable economic development. If we do not change it, we will hit the buffers. We must be fully aware of this point.

* Excerpts from the speech at the Central Conference on Economic Work.

To release the great potential and strengths of the Chinese economy, we must move faster in changing the growth model, restructuring the economy, and fostering new growth drivers. By changing the economic growth pattern, we can realize sustained and higher-level development. This is essential if a middle-income country is to skip the middle-income trap. I have emphasized repeatedly that we must escape the Thucydides Trap and the middle-income trap. The former is related to the political sphere – we should carefully tackle the relationships with other major countries such as the United States. The latter is about the economy – we must improve the quality and effectiveness of economic growth. The latter was emphasized at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2015, and we were required to change the economic growth model and restructure the economy more quickly.

We should have a deeper understanding of this complicated stage of economic development and the new normal, abandon the old ways of thinking and approaches that were pursued to realize rapid growth, and align our thoughts and actions with the decisions, policies, and plans made by the Central Committee.

Second, we must overcome difficulties and pass through this critical stage of economic development. We should see the Chinese economy dialectically. On the one hand, it is basically positive, having great potential, being tenacious and adaptive, with strong new growth drivers and new forms of businesses emerging; many industries in numerous regions are witnessing gratifying changes and have a promising future. On the other hand, it is also facing difficulties and challenges especially structural overcapacity.

After the founding of the PRC in 1949, the CPC promoted industrialization. In spite of all its difficulties, China laid the foundations for industrialization. Since reform and opening up began in 1978, China's capacity has boomed in all industries. Much of capacity was achieved during the golden era of global economic growth to meet international demand, and in a period of rapid domestic growth. To respond to the shock of the global financial crisis in

capacity in some industries was inflated. Now, as technological change accelerates and the consumption model updates, while international market growth is slowing, much of China's industrial capacity has peaked. Some capacity cannot find markets, while production costs are rising, resulting in the decline of the marginal profit ratio and the average profit ratio in the real economy. China is not the only case in the world. It is for this reason that a large amount of finance is flowing to the virtual economy. This causes expanding asset bubbles, emerging financial risks, and poor overall circulation of production, products, distribution, and consumption.

This is an inevitable historical stage. As long as we accelerate reform and innovation, we will pass through it successfully. If we fail to make strategic adjustments at this critical moment, fail to get rid of the old and build the new, we will not cross this hurdle, and the accumulated problems will hinder the realization of the overall objective.

Third, we must be bold in promoting reform and innovation. The difficulties and problems we are facing were indeed partially caused by the global financial crisis, but there are root causes that play a decisive role. These are the supply-side, structural, and institutional conflicts. We should free our minds, be realistic, and keep pace with the times. Upholding the philosophy of innovative, coordinated, green, open, and inclusive development, we should create new theories on innovation, devise far-sighted policies, strengthen structural reform, reallocate misplaced factors of production, increase effective supply, make the supply structure more adaptive and flexible, and improve total factor productivity.

Our current problems are not periodic and we cannot trigger a V-shaped rebound through short-term stimulus. The phase of L-shaped growth for China might be long. We must be ready for a time-consuming process, be ready for hardships and setbacks, be reasonable in our expectations while the growth rate shifts, and wait for the growth rebound. We should confront difficulties, stay on the right course, remain confident, and work together to foster greater

institutional impetus and vitality, thereby releasing our great potential for economic growth and bringing the economy to a higher level of development.

II

How should we adapt to the new normal? Specifically, we should shift the focus of our work in the following respects.

First, we should promote economic development by improving quality and effectiveness. The measurements for this are returns on investment, markets for products, profits for enterprises, income for employees, tax revenues for government, and an improved environment. This is the development we are expecting. We need a reasonable growth rate. In addition, the measurement of economic achievement should be changed from high growth rate to high development quality and effectiveness.

Second, we should ensure steady growth by promoting supply-side structural reform. During this stage of shifting the growth rate, restructuring the economy, and addressing the impact of previous incentive policies, the problems hindering growth are not only about economic aggregate but also structural conflicts. Since effective supply cannot adapt to the changes of aggregate demand and structure, to maintain steady growth, we must expand aggregate demand and adjust the demand structure to a proper extent, and at the same time, promote supply-side structural reform, so as to achieve high-level balance between supply and demand.

Third, we should implement macroeconomic control by imposing positive influence on market. When carrying out macroeconomic control, we should pay close attention to and guide market anticipation and realize counter-cyclical goals. We should study the market anticipation and social mentality hidden in consumption and investment behavior, reflect on the features of market behavior of major actors, increase policy transparency and predictability, communicate and reach consensus with major actors of market behavior, strengthen

international exchanges on these policies, and make macroeconomic control more reasonable and adaptive.

Fourth, we should employ multiple means to restructure industries. As capacity in many industries has reached its peak, if we do not reduce it and allow prices to fall steadily, competitive enterprises might collapse. We should encourage economic increment and foster new growth impetus; we should take the initiative to reduce overcapacity and weed out inferior capacity so as to realize the principle of the survival of the fittest; we should promote innovation as the primary driving force for development, implement important technology projects, make breakthroughs in key technologies, boost high-tech economic development, and increase productivity and the returns on investment. We should strengthen vocational training to improve the quality and structure of human resources.

Fifth, we should advance urbanization by putting people first. The essence of urbanization is to bring more people to settle in urban areas. We should encourage those rural households which are capable of maintaining a stable job and life in urban areas to relocate there. In this way, we can achieve a steady increase in the labor supply, reduce the pressure of the rising labor cost, and expand consumption in real estate and other fields. This is also the fundamental solution to narrow the urban-rural gap, promote urban and rural integration and agricultural modernization.

Sixth, we should promote regional development with a spatial balance between population, the economy, resources, and the environment. We should balance the economy and population between regions and narrow the regional gap of per capita GDP; we should also ensure that the capacity of resources and environment is able to support regional economies and populations, and narrow the gap between the two. According to the regional zoning plan, we should coordinate development between geographical areas by ensuring that factors of production move freely and in a well-ordered way, principal zoning is effectively implemented, basic public services are equally available, and neither environmental nor resource carrying capacity is exceeded.

Seventh, we should protect the environment and form green production models and consumption patterns. To preserve our green mountains and clear waters, we should tackle ecological problems in source and foster endogenous impetus. We should proceed on the path of green, circular, and low-carbon development, build a green industrial system and spatial pattern, encourage green ways of production and life, and promote harmonious coexistence between man and nature.

Eighth, we should improve the people's wellbeing, taking targeted measures to help specific groups with special difficulties. On the basis of economic development, we should increase the quantity and quality of basic public services such as education and healthcare, and promote equal access to education. To take targeted measures to help specific groups, we should spend funds in addressing their particular problems, providing them with a sense of gain, and ensuring that their capability to develop will improve and be passed on to future generations.

Ninth, we should enable the market to play a decisive role in resource allocation. We should value and release the vigor of micro units. The government should intensify its efforts to do things that cannot be done by the market, and fulfill its responsibilities on macroeconomic control, market supervision, public services, social management, and environmental protection.

Tenth, we should open wider to the outside world, in particular by promoting high-level mutual opening. We should remain committed to the mutually beneficial strategy of opening up, coordinate domestic and external demand, balance imports and exports, give equal importance to bringing in and going global, attract investment, technology, and outstanding professionals, take an active part in global economic governance and the supply of public goods, and have more say in the formulation of global rules.

To sum up, it is essential that we adapt to the new normal. Supply-side structural reform is an ideal innovative means of doing this. It is also the choice we have made to adapt ourselves to the new demands

of international competition in the aftermath of the global financial crisis. Let us work together to achieve this goal.

Notes

¹ Ye Shi: *Comments on the Pre-Qin Classics* (*Xi Xue Ji Yan Xu Mu*). Ye Shi (1150-1223) was a thinker and writer of the Southern Song Dynasty.

What Is the New Normal in China's Economic Development?^{*}

January 18, 2016

I have talked about the new normal in China's economic development many times, but today I will approach it from a historical and practical perspective.

A distinctive characteristic of economic development during the 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020) is that it has entered a new normal. Under this new normal, the economy is shifting from a high to a medium-high rate of growth, from a growth model that emphasized scale and rate to one that emphasizes quality and efficiency, from an economic structure in which economic growth was mainly fueled by the increment and increased industrial capacity to one in which the existing capacity is adjusted and the increment is put to best use, and from being driven by production factors such as resources and low-cost labor to being driven by innovation. Such changes are essential for China's economy to upgrade to a more advanced level, with better division of labor and a more rational structure. Realizing these extensive and profound changes is no easy job; it presents us with a new and significant challenge.

According to an ancient Chinese official, "A smart man changes his approach as circumstances change; a wise person alters his means as times evolve."¹ To plan and promote our economic and social development during the 13th Five-year Plan period, we must accept

^{*} 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 officials at the provincial/ministerial level.

understanding, adapting to, and steering the new normal as an essential logic in the overall situation and the entire process.

Historically, new situations, patterns and phases have constantly emerged in China's economic development, and the new normal is just one more stage in a long historical process. This is in complete conformity with the development law of upward spiral. To comprehensively understand and grasp the new normal requires us to review China's development from the perspectives of both time and space.

In terms of time, China has gone through several major stages in its development – from wax to wane and then to wax again. Today's new normal is a result of one such stage transition.

Ancient China thrived on agriculture and led the world in farming for a long time. It had a population of more than 60 million in the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), and an area of cultivated land of over 53 million hectares. The capital city of Chang'an in the Tang Dynasty (618-907) covered an area of more than 80 square kilometers, with a population of over 1 million. It had magnificent palaces, temples and towering pagodas, as well as the prosperous east and west markets. A poem by Tang poet Cen Shen (c. 715-770) wrote: "There are one million households in Chang'an City."² In the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), the maximum national tax revenue reached 160 million strings of coins [one string contained 1,000 coins], making China the richest country in the world at the time. None of the cities of London, Paris, Venice or Florence had a population of 100,000, but China hosted nearly 50 cities each with a population of 100,000.

Unfortunately we fell behind after the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when Western countries began to rise. After the Opium War (1840-1842), China's self-sufficient economy began to disintegrate, and the country failed to seize the opportunity of the Industrial Revolution. Although progress was made in our industry, and some foreign capital entered China – for instance the concessions in Shanghai, Tianjin's industry, and Wuhan's military industry – China was as a whole an impoverished, backward

and war-torn country, falling way behind. This remained the situation for more than 100 years.

Following the founding of the PRC in 1949, the people started large-scale industrial development under the leadership of the C.P. Mao Zedong pointed out that our mission was to "focus on modernizing our industry, agriculture, science, culture, and national defense". China made remarkable progress in its development in the 1950s, but we failed to press ahead with the large-scale industrial development because of the ensuing "Leftist" errors in the Party's guiding thought, culminating in the ten-year-long turmoil of the Cultural Revolution. And there was also the factor of our insufficient understanding of the law of socialist economic development.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978 started a new historical period of reform and opening up. Over a period of almost 40 years, China has maintained rapid economic growth for a period longer than any other country since the end of World War II. China's economy ranked 11th in the world at the beginning of reform and opening up; it came to the fifth in 2005, ahead of France; it was fourth in 2006, ahead of Britain; third in 2007, ahead of Germany; and second in 2009, ahead of Japan. In 2010, the scale of China's manufacturing surpassed that of the United States, ranking first in the world. It took us only a few decades to complete the development course that took developed countries several hundred years, a unique, historic achievement.

As China's economic aggregate continues to grow, we now encounter new developments and new problems. Economic growth stands at a point of gear shift, a point similar to a person's growth – rapid between 10 and 18, and slower afterwards. The economic structure is at a point of adjustment, a time to reduce the excess capacity of low-end industries and to accelerate the development of mid- and high-end industries. It is no longer the case that whatever is produced can be sold for a profit. Economic drivers are to go through transformation. Now that the driving force of low-cost resources and production factors has obviously weakened, we need to find new economic drivers.

We face new challenges to our export strengths and mode of participation in the international industrial division of labor. Such changes are manifested in the new normal.

Since the beginning of reform and opening up, our full and effective utilization of the international market has made an important contribution to our rapid development. Large-scale export and export-oriented development based on China's low labor cost and the relocation of labor-intensive industries from developed countries became an important impetus to our rapid economic growth. From 1979 to 2012, China's export of goods maintained an annual growth rate of around 20 percent, and the country quickly grew into one of the world trading powers.

The rapid development of China's exports also benefited from the heavy and effective demand released over a long period of time by the "golden age" of Western growth. The outbreak of the 2008 global financial crisis put an end to the golden age and ushered in a period of profound adjustment of Western economies. Effective demand dropped, and reindustrialization and industry backflow resulted in increased import substitution. All this directly caused weak growth in demand for China's exports. Western and other countries strengthened trade protectionism – in addition to traditional anti-dumping, countervailing and other measures. They have also created harsher barriers through increased requirements in terms of technical, green, and labor standards. Trade friction has grown due to export restrictions such as export duties and quotas. For nine consecutive years China has been subject to more anti-dumping and countervailing investigations than any other country. At the same time, production costs such as labor have risen in China, and emerging economies such as the ASEAN countries and other developing countries have taken advantage of their comparative strengths in labor cost and natural resources in participating in international division of labor, and industries and product orders are transferring to our neighboring countries, creating further competition for China's exports.

Global trade has entered a downturn – this is a basic feature of world economic development for the present and the foreseeable future. According to statistics, global trade grew faster than the global economy for several decades. During recent years, however, global trade has experienced a marked drop, and for four consecutive years, its growth has been slower than the global economy. After World War II, Germany and Japan each experienced a period of rapid growth in exports to become trading powers. Their experience shows that when export of goods reaches 10 percent of the world's total, there will be a point of inflection when the growth starts to slow down. China's share of world exports was less than 1 percent at the beginning of reform and opening up. It surpassed 5 percent in 2002, exceeded 10 percent in 2010, and reached 12.3 percent in 2014. This means that our exports have come to the point of inflection and it is unlikely that we can maintain high-speed growth in our exports and a high proportion of exports in our GDP. Therefore, we must seek economic engines in innovation and the expansion of domestic demand, especially that of consumption.

When understanding the new normal, we must grasp its essence and overcome some erroneous tendencies.

First, the new normal is not an event, so it cannot be judged as being good or bad. Some ask whether the new normal is good or bad, which is not a rational question. It is an objective situation that our economy will definitely enter in its development. It is an intrinsic necessity, neither a good or bad thing. We should plan, move and advance accordingly.

Second, the new normal is not a basket that can hold everything. It is mainly economic. It should not be misused as a concept; there should not be a host of “new normals” such as cultural new normal, tourism new normal and urban management new normal. Further, negative phenomena should not be denounced as the new normal.

Third, the new normal is not a shield or an excuse for not resolving difficult problems. It does not mean doing nothing, seeking no development, or pursuing no GDP growth. Instead, it means promot-

ing development with more subjective initiatives and more creativity. I have talked about this on many occasions.

Under the new normal, although our economy is exposed to great downward pressure, China is still in a period of strategic opportunity during the 13th Five-year Plan period and beyond. The fundamentals of the Chinese economy remain favorable for long-term growth, and the qualities of good economic tenacity, great potential, and room to maneuver remain unchanged, as do the foundation and conditions supporting sustainable economic development, and the trend of optimized economic restructuring. We must acquire an understanding of these developments, continue to take economic development as our central task, and uphold the strategy that development is the absolute principle. We must seek innovation in the process of development, seek progress in the course of innovation, and seek breakthroughs in making progress, so as to bring our development to a new level.

Notes

¹ Huan Kuan: *Discourses on Salt and Iron* (*Yan Tie Lun*). Huan Kuan was an official of the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 25).

² Cen Shen: "Hearing a Bamboo Flute Melody on an Autumn Night" (Qiu Ye Wen Di). Cen Shen (c. 715-770) was a poet of the Tang Dynasty.

³ Mao Zedong: "Keep Permanent Peace Between China and Nepal", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. VIII, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1999, p. 162.

Promote Supply-Side Structural Reform*

January 18, 2016

At last year's Central Conference on Economic Work, I emphasized supply-side structural reform. This caused a lively debate and won some 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 improve savings, investment capacity, and initiative. 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 – first, reducing government expenditure to balance budgets; second, restricting monetary supply to stabilize prices. Supply-side economics emphasizes tax cuts and overstates the role of tax rates. This theory is too definitive, empha-

* 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 officials at the provincial/ministerial level.

sizing supply while ignoring demand, emphasizing market functions while ignoring government intervention.

What we have raised is “supply-side structural reform”. As I mentioned at the 2015 Central Conference on Economic Work, 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 standard of living of ordinary people. 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 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 ecological needs, which are becoming more extensive, more sophisticated, and more individualized, and 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 situation. 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; 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 circu

tion in which developed economies in Europe and the US relied on borrowing-driven consumption; East Asia provided high savings rates, and a cheap labor force and products, while 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 ageing 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 need to start with the reform on the supply side to clarify our position in the world supply market.

Domestically, China's economy is facing four 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 and excess inventory, deleverage, reduce costs, and strengthen points 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, 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 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 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.

Promote the Healthy Development of Diverse Forms of Ownership*

March 4, 2016

Good afternoon. It is a great pleasure for Yu Zhengsheng¹ and me to be here with members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), the National Committee 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 private 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 private 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 maintaining stability at home, we committed ourselves to the coordinated implementation of the Four-pronged 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

* 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.

significant risks and challenges. Economic growth continued to rank among the highest worldwide, while reform gained momentum across the board and drove 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.

1. 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 private 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 private 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 private 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 private 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 private 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 private 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 private 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 clear-cut, 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 private sector in China’s economic and social development have not changed

not 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 the development of the private 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 private sectors of the economy should be mutually reinforcing and beneficial; there is no need for conflict or strife.

China's private 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, spur 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 private 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 private sector run counter to the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people and the

requirements of China's reform and development and are therefore incorrect.

2. Implementing Policies and Measures on Promoting the Healthy Development of the Private Sector

Since the reform and opening-up program began, the Party and the government have come up with a series of policies and measures on the development of the private 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 private 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 private sector 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 construction; and
- allowing enterprises and social organizations to initiate various programs in rural areas.

In order to implement the 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 private sector has taken shape. The private 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 unspoken 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 – an under-heated 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 regions and government agencies should add detail to our policies and measures with quantitative indexes based on their 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 sector 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 Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei, 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 private 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 private 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 private sector should have an accurate idea of the global view 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.

3. Encouraging People in the Private 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 private sector depends on those working in the sector. While bearing this idea in mind, these people should dedicate themselves to self-development, self-study, 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 private 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 private 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 consortium and politicians in Western countries, far less between casual friends who get together only for wining and dining.

I often think about how people in the government and busi-

can establish a new type of relationship. 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 private 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 be eager to 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 not only undermine social ethics, but also undermine 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 private sector alike should take the fact of being law-abiding and honest as their baseline. 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, 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". 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 private 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 private 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 discussion and management 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 discussion and management 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.

Notes

¹ Yu Zhengsheng (1945-), member of the Politburo Standing Committee of the 18th CPC Central Committee and chairman of the 12th National Committee of the CPPCC.

Build China into a World Leader in Science and Technology*

May 10, 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 face strategic passiveness 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 new development concepts, and invigorate our country through science and technology and fostering people of high

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

caliber. 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."¹ 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 inter-disciplinary 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 key core technologies, 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, and 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."² 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 base your research 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 vegetation and clean water. 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 excess capacity, 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, information application, 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, accommodate and protect nature 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 conservation and restoration, 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 man 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 tech-

ological 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 health care 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 with 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 noticeable 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 at projects, so as to form a strong synergy in supporting innovation. We will adjust current industrial and local research institutes, ensure enterprises augment their R&D strength, support the establishment of enterprise-based national centers for technological innovation, encourage enterprises to become globally influential and lead 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 Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei, 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 train people to contribute to innovation-driven development. According to an ancient Chinese book, "Feats are accomplished by capable people; work develops because of achievers."³ 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, to then 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 training 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 appeal for talent 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 stereotypes 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 greater management of 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, nor 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.

Notes

¹ *The Mencius (Meng Zi)*.

² *Tao, Tao et al: History of the Song Dynasty (Song Shi)*. *Tao Tao (1314-1355)* (ed)

³ An official of the Yuan Dynasty

⁴ See note 14, p. 48.

Sound, Circular and Healthy Development of the Economy and Finance*

July 14, 2017

Finance is a core competitiveness of a nation. Financial security is an important component of national security, and the financial system is a basis for economic and social development. CPC leadership over finance must be strengthened. Following the general guidelines of making steady progress and the law of financial development, we should focus on three tasks: serving the real economy, preventing and controlling financial risks, and furthering financial reform. We should innovate and improve financial control, the modern enterprise system for financial businesses, and the financial market, build a modern financial supervisory framework, continue to transform the growth model of finance, strengthen the rule of law in the financial sector, ensure state financial security, and facilitate the sound, circular and healthy development of the economy and finance.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, we have seen new and important achievements in financial reform. These include: the rapid development of the financial sector, a larger variety of financial products, financial services that benefit more people, orderly implementation of financial reform, an improved financial system, new breakthroughs in internationalizing the Renminbi and two-way opening up of finance, enhanced financial supervision, and strengthened capability in guarding against systemic financial risks.

Work in the financial sector should be done in accordance with these rules:

* Main points of the speech at the National Conference on Finance.

First, finance should return to its original purpose and serve the development of the economy and society. The ultimate goal of the financial sector is to serve the real economy. It should improve its overall efficiency and competence, allocate more financial resources to key areas and weak links of social and economic development, and respond to the diversified needs of the people and the real economy.

Second, we should improve the structure, market, organizations, and products. Attention should be paid to quality development of the financial sector, which needs to grow in coordination with the economy and society. We will focus on facilitating financing, reducing the costs of the real economy, enhancing the efficiency of resource allocation, and ensuring that risks are under control.

Third, supervision should be strengthened to prevent and defuse financial risks. To achieve this, we will develop relevant laws and regulations, improve the corporate governance structure of financial institutions, and strengthen macro-prudential management and supervision of functions and conduct.

Fourth, the financial sector should be market-oriented, and the market should play the decisive role in allocating financial resources. We must ensure that our market economy reform is socialism-oriented, properly handle the relationship between the government and the market, improve the market restraint mechanism, and increase the efficiency of financial resource allocation. We must strengthen and improve macro control by the government, improve market rules, and tighten discipline.

Finance is the lifeblood of the real economy. Serving the real economy is the duty and mission of finance, and also the fundamental means of preventing financial risks. We should follow the new development concepts, emphasize quality and efficiency, reassemble stock on the supply side, optimize increments, and change growth drivers. We should prioritize direct financing, and develop a functional and solidly-based multi-layer capital market which is effectively supervised and where the legitimate rights and interests of investors are duly protected. We should improve indirect financing institutions, promote

the strategic transformation of large state-owned banks, and develop small and medium-sized banks and private financing institutions. We should urge the insurance industry to continue to provide long-term and stable services in risk control and insurance. The state will build a financing system that benefits all, and strengthen financial services to small and micro businesses, agriculture, rural areas, farmers, and remote areas. We should facilitate finance-driven targeted poverty alleviation, and encourage green finance. We should urge financial institutions to reduce operational costs. Intermediate businesses will be put under regulation to avoid elevating financing costs for the real economy.

Preventing systemic financial risks is the eternal theme of the financial sector. Priority should be given to preventing and defusing systemic financial risks, and effective measures should be taken to spot any risks and address them early. Focus should be put on preventing risks in key areas, and improving financial security mechanisms and emergency response mechanisms. We should deleverage the economy, continue with prudent monetary policies, and properly handle the relations between steady growth, structural adjustment, and total volume control. Top priority should be given to deleveraging in SOEs, and “corporate zombies” with minimal prospects of recovery should be dealt with. Local Party committees and governments must have a correct attitude towards achievements, harness incremental debt of local governments, employ a lifelong liability mechanism, and track those responsible for mismanagement committed while in office. Resolute measures will be taken to punish acts severely disturbing the financial market, regulate financial market transactions, supervise comprehensive management of finance and industry-finance capital integration, strengthen oversight of internet finance, and emphasize financial institutions’ primary responsibility in guarding against risks. We will build a social credit system and improve the legal framework of the financial sector in light of actual conditions.

We must further financial reform, improve the system of financial institutions, management of state finance and capital, and the system

and mechanisms of the foreign exchange market; improve the modern enterprise system for financial businesses, the corporate governance structure, and the equity ownership mix; establish an effective incentive-and-restraint mechanism, strengthen the mechanism of internal risk control, and enhance external market constraint; better coordinate financial supervision, and enforce supervision on weaker links. The State Council will set up a committee on financial stability and development, and the People's Bank of China will strengthen its role in macroprudential management and preventing systemic financial risks. While recognizing that financial management falls on the authority of the central government, local governments should take on more responsibility in handling risks locally, in accordance with unified rules set by the central government.

Financial management departments should fulfill their duties, and diligently supervise financial activities. They must be courageous and professional, and strictly enforce accountability. Failure to spot risks timely means dereliction of duty, and failure to warn against and deal with risks promptly constitutes malfeasance. We will improve the early-warning and intervention mechanism, rigorously strengthen coordination, supervision, and interconnectivity of financial infrastructure, and promote the sharing of comprehensive statistics and supervision information of the financial sector.

The financial sector must continue to open up. We will continue to reform the Renminbi exchange rate mechanism, promote internationalization of the Renminbi, and achieve capital account convertibility; steadily open up the financial sector to the world, arrange the sequence of opening up for different areas, and build a mechanism that protects the rights and interests of financial consumers, helps with the orderly competition of finance, and is conducive to preventing financial risks; be innovative in financing the Belt and Road Initiative, and design relevant mechanisms to this end.

To promote work on finance in the current era, we must follow the unified leadership of the Party, so as to ensure the correct direction of financial reform and development and financial security for

our nation. It is a must to run the Party with strict discipline, improve the leadership of the financial sector, and strengthen supervision over key posts and personnel, especially over those first in command. We should strengthen the role and structure of the Party within enterprises. Education in our ideals, convictions, the Party spirit, and in observing discipline should be carried out; sound Party conduct and clean government should be enforced. There should be more efforts in training, selecting and using financial professionals with firm political beliefs, good record, and professional expertise, with special emphasis being given to fostering high-end financial professionals, so that we can develop a contingent of high-caliber financial personnel with moral integrity and professional competence.

Socialist Democracy

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 socialist path of making democratic political progress with Chinese features.

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 on the planet, 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

* Part of the speech at the meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the National People's Congress.

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, and neither should we want to 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."¹ The purpose of the saying is to highlight the influence of 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 and a population of 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 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 their historical heritage, cultural traditions, and social and economic development.

The strength of China's socialist political system, featuring Chinese characteristics – 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 national leadership and administrative systems through fair competition, whether the ruling party can serve as a leader in state affairs in accordance with the Constitution and laws, 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 how people are faring, 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 causes of both the Party and the government.

We have promoted the rule of law, law-based governance and exercise of state power, and a law-based country, government and society, thus enhancing governance by law throughout the country.

We have established and refined a multilevel system for scrutiny and one for open administration system in various areas so as to guarantee that both Party and central government organs, as well as their staff, exercise their power in accordance with proper authorization and procedures.

China has implemented the state system which is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and farmers, the system of people's congresses as the system of government, 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, enhance national cohesion, and form political stability.

- It can pool our resources to accomplish sizable tasks, success-

fully 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 a 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 socialist path of making political progress with Chinese characteristics, which suits China's national conditions and reinforces the position of the people as the master of the country.

A country's political system defines and responds to its economic and social foundations. It can even play a decisive role. It is a key link in our country's political system and strengthens our faith in and determination to follow our chosen political path of development.

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 incapable 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 system, while maintaining the fundamental political system.

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, 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 master 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, concluded with 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 scientific, democratic and law-based governance, ensure that the Party leads the people to govern the country effectively, and guarantee that our country moves forward with the leadership and in a state of unity.

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 of 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, stepping up their coordination and collaboration, and forming a strong force for managing our state affairs, so as to 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 long-lasting stability.

Notes

¹ *Annals of Master Yan* (*Yan Zi Chun Qiu*).

Broad, Multilevel, and Institutionalized Consultative Democracy*

September 21, 2014

Consultative democracy is a unique form and a distinctive strength of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It is an important embodiment of the Party's mass line. It was stated at the 18th National Congress of the CPC that as China's socialist democracy progresses, we need to improve the institutions 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 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. 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.

* Part of the speech at the meeting marking the 65th anniversary of the CPPCC.

"A name is not granted by heaven; it must be earned in life."¹ There are many diverse ways to realize democracy, so we must not be confined just to one particular rigid one. 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 the Party and government organizations 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 demands 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."² "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."³ Zhou Enlai once said, "The spirit of deliberation of the New Democratic Revolution is not in the final voting; it is mainly in the deliberations and repeated discussions that happen before a decision is made."⁴

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 scientific 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 paramount 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, and 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 springs from our nation's long-established inclusive political culture, including such notions that all under heaven belongs 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, development, and reform; from the great innovations made in our political institutions after the founding of the PRC by all political parties, people's organizations, ethnic groups, and people from all social strata and different backgrounds; and from the continuous innovations in China's political system 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 need to 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 all state organs 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 organs must follow the mass line and rely heavily on the people in their exercise of state power.

"Decrees may be followed if they are in accordance with the aspirations of the people; they may be ineffective if they are against the aspirations of the people."⁵ 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 the fundamental interests of the greatest possible majority of the people. However, if 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 the fundamental interests of the greatest possible majority of the people 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 the greatest possible majority of the people. The CPC and the state it leads represent the fundamental interests of the greatest possible majority of the people, and all of their theories, lines, 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 need to respect the people's principal position in the country, and respect their creativity. We need to 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 need to 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."⁶ The realization, protection, and development of the fundamental interests of the greatest possible majority of the people should be taken as the end goal of all work. And in carrying out major tasks and making major decisions we must always take into account the reality 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 need to 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 the political situation of 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 Heaven¹⁰ to think, there is nothing you cannot understand."⁷

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 need to 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 need to 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 need to 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 need to conduct far-reaching consultation on political affairs, lawmaking, government administration, democracy, social issues, and community-level issues. And we need to improve consultation through proposals, conferences, informal discussions, seminars, hearings, public notices, assessments, the internet, and other means. Through this, we can make our consultative democracy more scientific 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 need to redouble our efforts in developing consultative democracy at the community level, with a focus on conducting consultations among community members. All decisions that affect people's immediate interests must be made on the basis of soliciting the people's opinions, as well as consultations conducted with them through various means, on different levels, and from 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.

Notes

¹ Wang Fuzhi: *Records of Thinking and Questioning* (*Si Wen Lu*). Wang Fuzhi (1619-1692) was a thinker and philosopher in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties.

² Mao Zedong: "On the Nature and Tasks of the CPPCC", *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. VI, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1999, p. 386.

³ *Ibid.*, "Talks with People from the Business Circles", Vol. VII, p. 178.

⁴ Zhou Enlai: "Issues on the CPPCC", *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai on the United Front*, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1984, p. 134.

⁵ *Guan Zi*.

⁶ *Book of History* (*Shang Shu*).

⁷ *Guan Zi*.

CPC Policies on Ethnic Affairs and Religion*

September 28, 2014 and April 22, 2016

I

Multi-ethnicity is one of China's distinguishing features. It has played a key role in the country's development. Over China's 5,000-year history, many ethnic groups have come into being in the country. Through evolution, merging, and separation, 56 ethnic groups have emerged and now constitute the Chinese nation. They joined together in building our vast country, creating a long history and a brilliant culture. They created numerous prosperous eras in China's historical pantheon, such as the formidable Qin (221-206 BC) and Han (206 BC-AD 220) dynasties, the heyday of the Tang Dynasty (618-907), and the flourishing reigns (1661-1796) of Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong emperors of the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911). The unification of the 56 ethnic groups into one nation is an invaluable treasure bestowed by our ancestors, and one of the country's great strengths.

*(from the speech at the Central Conference on Ethnic Affairs
September 28, 2014)*

* Excerpts from two speeches made on September 28, 2014 and April 22, 2016.

II

The correct and Chinese way to solve ethnic issues must follow the principles upholding the leadership of the CPC, persevering in the socialist path with Chinese characteristics; safeguarding the unity of the country, adhering to the principle of equality among all ethnic groups, maintaining and improving the regional ethnic autonomy system, insisting that all ethnic groups work together and achieve common prosperity; consolidating the ideal that the Chinese nation is a community formed by all ethnic groups; practicing the rule of law, enhancing communication and exchanges; promoting harmonious and peaceful coexistence; consolidating and developing socialist ethnic relations featuring equality, unity, mutual-assistance, and harmony; and achieving the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation together.

*(from the speech at the Central Conference on Ethnic Affairs
September 28, 2014)*

III

In order to uphold and improve the system of regional ethnic autonomy, we need to focus our efforts on two combinations.

The first is the combination of unification and autonomy. As the highest national interest and common interest of all ethnic groups, unification serves as the premise and foundation for regional ethnic autonomy. Without national unification, there is no way to practice regional ethnic autonomy. While making sure that state law and administrative regulations are effectively followed, we need to guarantee the right of autonomous regions to exercise autonomy, provide them with specific support, and help solve their individual problems.

The second is the combination of ethnic factors and regional factors. Regional ethnic autonomy involves both ethnic factors and regional factors. We must make it clear that regional ethnic autonomy

is not exclusive to one ethnic group, and that an ethnic autonomous area does not refer to an area that belongs to a single ethnic group. If we fail to understand this, we will take a wrong path.

*(from the speech at the Central Conference on Ethnic Affairs,
September 28, 2014)*

IV

Religion is, as always, one of the priorities that our Party must handle properly in governing the country. Our initiatives in regard to religion play a particularly important role in the overall work of the Party and the country. They have an impact on the development of our cause, on the blood and flesh bond between the Party and the people, on social harmony and ethnic solidarity, and on national security and unification. In this area we are doing well on the whole. Our Party's basic guidelines on religion have been carried out, the relations between the Party and religious circles grow stronger, the rule of law has been improved in our work with religions, and religious activities are conducted in a smooth and orderly way. The facts prove that our Party's theories, guidelines and policies on religion are correct.

To do our work well, we must follow the Party's basic guidelines on religion, comprehensively implement the Party's policies on freedom of religious belief, manage religious affairs by law, adhere to the principle of religious groups managing their own affairs, and encourage religions to adapt to socialist society. The Party's basic guidelines on religion result from its adherence to Marxist views on religion, from a consideration of the prevailing conditions in China and the realities of religion in China, and from a reflection on successes and failures in how we have dealt with religion. The prime purpose and ultimate goal in implementing policies on freedom of religious belief is to unite believers and non-believers to the maximum extent. In order to encourage religions to adapt to our socialist society, we need to lead believers to love the country and the people, maintain the

unification of the country and the solidarity of the Chinese nation, follow and serve the highest national interests and the common interests of the Chinese nation, embrace the leadership of the CPC and the socialist system, adhere to the Chinese socialist path, practice core socialist values, promote Chinese culture and endeavor to integrate religious tenets with Chinese culture, abide by state laws and regulations and voluntarily comply with the law-based management by the state, participate in reform and opening up and socialist modernization, and contribute to the realization of the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

To do our work well and better carry out the Party's basic guidelines on religion, we need to provide good guidance. This is of crucial importance. To do so, we should think carefully and understand problems thoroughly and accurately. In other words, we should give sound, vigorous, and effective guidance so that we will maintain the initiative in our work with religions.

*(from the speech at the National Conference on Religion,
April 22, 2016)*

Improve the Work of the United Front*

May 18, 2015

In the new era, we must master the law 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 the United Front work, the policy and measures adopted should be conducive to upholding and consolidating CPC leadership and rule. 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 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 to solve their problems. This is our Party's responsibility and an important prerequisite for the Party's leadership over the United Front.

To improve the work of the United Front in the current 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. "One cannot be taken as two, while only two can achieve unity."¹ 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

* Part of the speech at the Central Conference on the United Front.

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 inclusiveness and difference. We should take a clear-cut stand against any problem that is detrimental to CPC leadership, socialist political power, and national systems and the rule of law, and harmful to the fundamental interests of all 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 create a wider inclusive circle with a longer radius.

To improve the work of the United Front in the current era, we must be good at befriending prominent non-CPC individuals. This is an important part of such work. Party and government leaders, and officials of the United Front work should master this approach. We conduct the 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 of the United Front is to win over more people; we use the United Front to strengthen the forces for the common goal.

Including members of other political parties, prominent individuals without any party affiliation, people from ethnic minority groups and religious circles, people from New Social Groups², and people from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and overseas, the United Front numbers 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 the performance of the United Front, we need to consider how many friends we have made, whether they are up to our expectation, 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 and 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 friendship with them. We should uphold principles, disciplines 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.

Notes

¹ Cai Shen: *The Great Law (Hong Fan Huang Ji)*. Cai Shen (1167-1230) was a scholar of the Southern Song Dynasty.

² This refers to people working in emerging industries, including management personnel and professionals in private and foreign-funded enterprises, employees of intermediate agencies, and the self-employed. — Tr.

The Party's Work with Social Organizations*

July 6, 2015

Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a cause for all Chinese people, and the Party's work with social groups undertakes a solemn mission in this regard. Organizations such as trade unions, the Communist Youth League and women's federations must free their minds, be persistent in reform and innovation, forge ahead with determination and a down-to-earth approach, continue and enhance their work under the Party's leadership, and remain progressive, pioneering and people-oriented. They should also mobilize and organize the people to unite around the Party more closely, turn public aspirations for a better life into a great motivating power, and open a new chapter in realizing the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

This is the first time that the CPC Central Committee has held such a conference, and the meeting's major tasks are to identify and analyze new issues concerning the Party's work with social groups in the new era, to implement the "Opinions on Strengthening and Improving the Party's Work with Social Organizations", to summarize successful experience, to solve outstanding problems, and to promote reform and innovation. The work of social groups is an important part of the Party's work. It is through social groups that the Party mobilizes the people to achieve its central tasks. This is one of our Party's great inventions, as well as a part of its major strengths. In each historical period of revolution, construction and reform, organizations including trade unions, the Communist Youth League and

* Main points of the speech at the CPC Central Committee's conference on the Party's work with social organizations.

women's federations, under the leadership of the CPC, have played a positive role, mobilized the people to firmly follow the Party's leadership, and made a great contribution to the cause of the Party and people. Prevailing conditions require that in the future, the Party's work with social groups should be improved, not weakened or allowed to stagnate. We must strengthen and improve it according to changing circumstances and new missions, and give full play to the role of the working class as the main force, the role of young people as the vital force, the role of womenfolk as "half the sky", and the role of talented individuals as the key human resource, thus fully arousing the enthusiasm of our 1.3 billion people. We must work better with social groups for the purpose of consolidating the class foundation and popular support for the Party's governance, and make sure that the Party always shares weal and woe with the people. We must give our help to social groups which will become more dynamic so that they can play an important role in the modernization of state governance and improvement of our capability.

We must fully commend past achievements in the Party's work with social groups, while at the same time be conscious of the need to address existing problems, especially the risk of becoming alienated from the people. Trade unions, the Communist Youth League, women's federations and other social groups should be bold and innovative, and consolidate and expand the achievements of the Program of Mass Line Education and the special education with the Three Guidelines for Ethical Behavior and Three Basic Rules of Conduct. They must focus on in-depth theoretical education, problem solving, and innovation of institutions, adjust their own thinking, enhance their public consciousness, and improve their working practices and performance.

We must maintain and enhance the political nature of the Party's work with social groups. The political role is the soul and primary feature of social groups. Social groups should always place them selves under the leadership of the Party and be consistent with the CPC Central Committee in politics, thought and action. They should

guarantee the Central Committee's authority, implement the party's will and propositions, abide by political disciplines and rules, withstand all trials and tribulations, guide the people to implement the Party's instructions and follow the Party's leadership, and unite their own people around the Party in the closest and most extensive way.

The path Chinese social groups have traversed is a concrete demonstration of the Party's work with social groups. 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. This is commensurate with China's national conditions and historical development trend. We must maintain the Party's leadership over social groups, ensure that social groups play a role of 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 persist in reform and innovation, and remain independent and self-reliant in their work according to law and their charters. Party organizations should encourage social groups to be fully effective, and social groups should be active and achieve good results in their work.

We must maintain and enhance the advanced nature of social groups. Trade unions, the Communist Youth League and women's federations are organizations under the Party's direct leadership. Shouldering the great responsibility of mobilizing the public to accomplish the Party's central task, they must focus on maintaining and enhancing their advanced nature. Social groups should grasp the theme of our time, which is striving for 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 time, and make accomplishments in the frontline of reform, development and stability. Social groups 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. Social groups 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.

Social groups in China 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 bear in mind theoretical and political awareness, organize, educate and guide the people, carry out more publicity among the people, and strive to unite the people, build consensus, pull their strength together, resolve conflicts, improve relationships, and stimulate motivation.

We must maintain and enhance the public nature of social groups, which is their defining uniqueness. In the work and activities of social groups, people should be leading actors rather than supporting casts or audience. Social groups should pay more attention to and care more for the people, pay frequent visits to them, have face-to-face and heart-to-heart contacts with them, and develop sincere relationships with them. Social groups must improve organizational work, especially at the grassroots level, and speed up the work in emerging social sectors. Social groups and their staff, especially those at leading positions, should work at the grassroots to learn about the people's true 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.

Social groups must look downward towards the grassroots, reform and improve the institutional setup, their management and operations, and give more help to the grassroots in terms of service and resources. They must keep in touch with related social organizations and offer them their guidance. Attention must be paid to the scope of participation and representation of the people at the grassroots in public activities. They should recruit more outstanding people from the general public, and place them mainly to the grassroots organizations.

Social groups should serve the overall interests of the Party

and the country, and think and act for these interests. At the same time they should focus their work on their responsibilities and their contacts with the people, and improve their work along with the change of the time. They should strengthen their sense of service and their ability to render service, find more service resources, work to meet the needs of the people, pay more attention to people in strained circumstances, and resolve the people's difficulties and anxieties, becoming trustworthy, reliable, intimate and inseparable friends of the people.

Party committees at all levels should recruit for social groups competent people of integrity regardless of their social status. They should improve the training and management method, select and appoint qualified leadership, and improve the overall quality of the staff. People working in social groups should increase their theoretical and ethical level, have firm belief in their ideals and convictions, be strict with themselves, implement the Three Guidelines for Ethical Behavior and Three Basic Rules of Conduct, and resist the Four Malfeasances.

Party committees at all levels should strengthen and improve the Party's leadership over social groups so as to enable them to better serve the overall interests of the Party and the country. They should maintain centralized leadership over social groups, joint management by Party committees and governments, division of responsibilities among departments, and the exemplary role of Party members, enabling social groups to fulfill their duties. Party committees and governments at all levels should create favorable conditions for the work of social groups. They should understand how social groups work, improve rules and regulations concerning Party committees' leadership over social groups, and raise the level of the Party's work with social groups.

Cultural Confidence

Transform and Boost Traditional Culture in a Creative Way*

September 24, 2014

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 country and a nation. Renouncing it is tantamount to severing our cultural lifeline. We should learn how to best carry forward our fine 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 conditions of the times, and in social systems. Consequently, it is natural that it contains things outdated or even dross.

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 a judgment in accordance with today's reality and the requirements of our era, instead of putting it into practice mechanically without thinking.

We should make the past serve the present, taking the past as a mirror for today, distinguishing what can be used, and what cannot, and carrying forward while assimilating, instead of esteeming the past

* 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.

over the present and using the past to negate the present. We should learn to transform and boost traditional culture in a creative way, to integrate old and new, and let both of them serve our current mission of cultivating the people.

—Xi Jinping

July 1, 2014

Beijing

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."¹ Deng Xiaoping made the remarks: "Our literature and art belong to the people," and "It is the people who nurture our writers and artists."² 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".³ 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."⁴

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 consumers and critics of literary and art works, and serving them is the duty of all writers and artists.

* Part of the speech at the Forum on Literature and Art

Firstly, people need literature and art, and their needs are multi-faceted. 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's why we say "Food is the god for the people."⁵ 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, 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. Writers and artists should artfully tell Chinese stories, spread the Chinese voice, parse the Chinese spirit,

and exhibit the Chinese image, giving foreign audiences a better understanding of China through their 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.

Secondly, 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. Vladimir 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."⁶ 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 *Origan of Ancient Poetry*⁷ sketches prehistoric hunting scenes; the *Book of Songs*⁸ depicts the toil of farmers in "The Seventh Month", the life of soldiers in "Gathering Thorn-ferns", and love between young people in "Crying Ospreys"; "Asking Heaven"⁹ explores the mystery of the universe; the *Song of the Chile*¹⁰ is about the life of nomads; *The Ballad of Mulan*¹¹ lauds the wit and grit of women. They are all based on real

⁶The 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"¹² by Qu Yuan, "Where to find decent homes? To shelter all poor scholars on earth

and bring a smile to their face"¹⁵ and "The rich wine and dine, the poor starve and die"¹⁶ by Du Fu; "Every grain on the plate comes from hard labor" by Li Shen¹⁷; and "For petty county officials like us, every concern of the people weighs in our heart" by Zheng Banqiao.¹⁸

It is the same with other cultures. *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the oldest literary work in the world, records the quest for the law of nature and mysteries of life by residents in the Tigris-Euphrates area. The epics of Homer¹⁹ sing praise of such virtues as bravery, justice, unselfishness and diligence. *The Divine Comedy*²⁰, *Decameron*²¹, and *The Life of Gargantua and Pantagruel*²² 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 one person feels and thinks does not necessarily represent how the majority of 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 of 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 of being close to local farmers and becoming one of them. In order to immerse

himself in rural life, Liu Qing resigned from his position of deputy party secretary of Chang'an County, Shaanxi Province, while remaining a member of the standing committee of the county Party committee, and moved to Huangfu Village. There he lived for 14 years, and wrote his novel *The Builder of 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.

Thirdly, writers and artists must have genuine love for their 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 Xun²¹ was devoted to his 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"²². 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."²³ 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 acknowledgement 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."²⁴ 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 1911 Revolution, 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."²⁵ 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 excess²⁶, and that all human feelings are subject to the constraints of propriety and morality²⁷. Literature and art will not hearten people to press on if they simply expose the darkness and account for the status quo without extolling brightness and ideals and offering moral guid-

ance. 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, nation building, 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.

Notes

¹ Mao Zedong: "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1965, p. 78.

² Deng Xiaoping: "Speech Greeting the Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. II, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1995, pp. 215 and 217.

³ Jiang Zemin: "Promote Socialist Literature and Art", *Selected Key Documents Since the 14th CPC National Congress*, Vol. III, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2011, p. 224.

⁴ Hu Jintao: "Speech at the Ninth National Congress of China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the Eighth National Congress of China Writers Association", *Selected Key Documents Since the 17th CPC National Congress*, Vol. III, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2013, p. 618.

⁵ Ban Gu: *Book of the Han Dynasty (Han Shu)*. Ban Gu (32-92) was a historian and writer of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

⁶ Clara Zetkin, "In Commemoration of Lenin", *Lenin on Literature and Art*, Chin. ed., People's Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 1960, p. 912.

⁷ Shen Deqian: *Origin of Ancient Poetry (Gu Shi Yuan)*. This is an anthology of ancient poems composed between the 21st century BC and AD 618. Shen Deqian (1673-1769) was a poet of the Qing Dynasty.

⁸ *Book of Songs (Shi Jing)* was the earliest collection of poems in China. It contains 305 poems collected over some 500 years from the early Western Zhou Dynasty (1046-771 BC) to the middle of the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 BC).

⁹ Qu Yuan: "Asking Heaven" (Tian Wen), *Songs of Chu (Chu Ci)*. Qu Yuan (c. 339-278 BC) was a poet and statesman of the Warring States Period.

¹⁰ *Song of the Chile (Chi Le Ge)* is a folk song of the Northern Dynasties (386-581).

¹¹ *The Ballad of Mulan (Mu Lan Shi)* is a long narrative folk song of the Northern Dynasties.

¹² Qu Yuan: "The Lament" (Li Sao), *Songs of Chu (Chu Ci)*.

¹³ Du Fu: "Song of the Thatched Cottage Broken by the Autumn Wind" (Mao Wu Wei Qiu Feng Suo Po Ge). Du Fu (712-770) was a poet of the Tang Dynasty.

¹⁴ Du Fu: "Expressing Feelings in Five Hundred Words on the Way to Fengxian County from the Capital" (Zi Jing Fu Feng Xian Xian Yong Huai Wu Bai Zi).

¹⁵ Li Shen: "Sympathy for the Peasants" (Min Nong Er Shou). Li Shen (772-

⁸ 846) was a poet of the Tang Dynasty.

¹⁶ See note 2, p. 163.

¹⁷ The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

¹⁸ Written by Dante Alighieri (c. 1265-1321).

¹⁹ Written by Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375).

²⁰ Written by Francois Rabelais (c. 1483-1553).

²¹ Lu Xun (1881-1936) was a litterateur, thinker and revolutionary as well as one of the founders of modern Chinese literature.

²² Lu Xun: "Self-Mockery", *Complete Works of Lu Xun*, Vol. VII, Chin. ed., People's Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2005, p. 151.

²³ Fan Zhongyan: "The Yueyang Tower" (Yue Yang Lou Ji). Fan Zhongyan (989-1052) was a statesman and literary scholar of the Northern Song Dynasty.

²⁴ Cao Xueqin: *A Dream of Red Mansions* (Hong Lou Meng). Cao Xueqin (1715-1763) was a novelist of the Qing Dynasty.

²⁵ Yang Wanli: "Descending Hengshan Mountain and Looking Up at Jinhua Mountain" (Xia Heng Shan Tan Tou Wang Jin Hua Shan). Yang Wanli (1127-1206) was a writer and poet of the Southern Song Dynasty.

²⁶ *The Analects of Confucius* (Lun Yu).

²⁷ *Preface to Mao's Version of the Book of Songs* (Mao Shi Xu).

When the People Are Firm in Their Convictions, the Nation Will Flourish*

February 28, 2015

When the people are firm in their convictions, the country will prosper and the nation will grow stronger. To realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, we must be wealthy in both material and cultural terms, and we must be consistent and persistent in our pursuit of socialist cultural and ethical progress and in providing all the people with a strong ideological guarantee, intellectual support, and moral sustenance.

Soon after the adoption of reform and opening up in 1978 the Party took on the strategic task of promoting socialist cultural and ethical progress, and adopted the strategic concept of “pushing for material progress on the one hand and cultural and ethical progress on the other, with great importance attached to both”. Over more than 30 years, the Chinese people have not only worked a miracle of material progress, but reaped the great benefit of cultural and ethical progress, during which a large number of outstanding role models, of whom you are representatives, have come to the fore.

The people of a country or a nation must have common ideals and convictions if they are to advance with aspiration. We should constantly and thoroughly promote socialism with Chinese characteristics within the Party and throughout society, advocate the themes of the times, encourage healthy trends, enhance the belief in our path,

* Main points of the speech at his meeting with representatives to the fourth conference of national model cities, towns, villages, and units for cultural progress and model ethical mentors for minors.

theory and system, and let the beacon of ideals and convictions blaze in the heart of every person in China.

We should stick to this strategic concept; deal with the relationship between material progress and cultural and ethical progress in a dialectical, comprehensive and balanced way; pursue cultural and ethical progress in all aspects of social life in our reform, opening up, and modernization; and at the same time cultivate and practice core socialist values and encourage our Communists to develop a sound world outlook, view of life, and values, and remain convicted to the communist ideals. We should enhance our social, professional, family, and individual ethics. We should create an environment where ethics are held in high esteem. We should endeavor to promote Chinese traditions, improve Party conduct, the working practices of government officials, social morality, and family traditions; and let the Chinese cultural genes multiply, especially among young people. All officials, public figures and role models should play an exemplary role in setting up the concept of cultural and ethical progress, striving to be model citizens of civil conduct and presenting a good image.

Cultural and ethical progress can only play a bigger role when we stand in the forefront of the times and set the standards of social morality and trends. At present, the minds of our people are active. All kinds of concepts collide with each other, and new technologies and new media such as the internet develop with each passing day. All of this requires us to assess and take advantage of the situation, and bring more vitality to cultural and ethical progress through innovation in the contents and carriers, and by improving the ways and means. We must achieve solid results through a down-to-earth approach in promoting cultural and ethical progress, which should center on improving the people's wellbeing. We should fight against going through the motions and excessive bureaucracy, and endeavor to meet the rising cultural needs of the people. Party committees at all levels should fulfill their duties and do their best to promote cultural and ethical progress.

Uphold and Consolidate the Party's Ideological Leadership*

May 18, 2015-May 17, 2016

I

The rapid development of the internet has seen the emergence of two groups of people – new media professionals and social media “opinion leaders”. Of the two, the former run online media, and the latter voice their opinions. Both groups are powerful enough to influence online discussions. As I have observed before, cyberspace is a major domain for publicity, thus a focus of competition. Therefore, we must take the initiative in this field and win over these two groups. To this end, we should work to enlist the most prominent figures among them in the United Front, establish regular contact, strengthen online and offline interaction, and seek a common political understanding.

*(from the speech at the Central Conference on the United Front,
May 18, 2015)*

II

The premise of Party schools identifying themselves with the Party is upholding the Party's ideals and convictions. Marxism and communism come above all else. Marxism is the guiding thought of the Party, and communism the lofty ideal. It was the conviction in

* Excerpts from speeches made between May 18, 2015 and May 17, 2016.

Marxism and pursuit of the communist ideal that gave birth to the CPC and Chinese socialism. When I was leading the work of drafting the "Report to the 18th CPC National Congress", I required the following addition: Communists' conviction in Marxism, socialism and communism is their political soul that sustains them in all tests.

We should never forget our origins and we must remain committed to our mission. Chinese communism has its origins in a belief in Marxism, communism and Chinese socialism and loyalty to the Party and the people. We need to consolidate our convictions and loyalty. The tortuous course of socialist practice across the world has shown that Marxist parties will collapse once they abandon their belief in Marxism, communism and socialism. The lack or absence of ideals and convictions will result in moral weakness, which leads to political corruption, greed, moral degradation and a decadent lifestyle.

All Party members must remain sober-minded about the ideals and convictions of the Party. "Whenever one is doubtful about one's own observations and is unsettled at heart, one cannot have a clear view of external things. When my doubts remain, I cannot have a clear judgment of right and wrong."¹ Party schools must make clear to the public their advocacy of Marxism, communism and Chinese socialism as well as the nature, tenets, traditions and practice of the Party. The Party Central Committee's approval of establishing a School of Marxism under the Central Party School manifests the principle of upholding Marxism and communism.

Hostile forces at home and abroad constantly try to undermine our Party, attempting to make us abandon our belief in Marxism, communism and socialism. A number of people, even including some Party members, cannot see the underlying dangers of accepting the "universal values" that have developed in the West over hundreds of years, along with certain Western political dogma. They argue we need not reject them since we would not suffer any significant harm by accepting them. Some even regard Western theories and discourse as the gold standard and thus unconsciously become trumpeters of Western capitalist ideology.

"When it is uncertain whether something is right or wrong, we may make a judgment through past experiences and measure it against things of late."² Since the end of the Cold War, some countries, affected by Western values, have been torn apart by war or afflicted with chaos. If we tailor our practices to Western capitalist values, measure our national development by means of the Western capitalist evaluation system, and regard Western standards as the sole standards for development, the consequences will be devastating — we will have to follow others slavishly at every step, or we subject ourselves to their abuse.

Party schools are not a paradise that is isolated from the real world. Students from across the country bring with them questions about all kinds of problems they have heard about or seen. Therefore, many major theoretical questions reach Party schools, posing the task of enhancing theoretical research. Party schools should analyze all trends of thought and give proper guidance; they should not be bystanders. Furthermore, as a pioneering force in safeguarding Marxism and Chinese socialism, Party schools should never hesitate to take a clear stance and resolve doubts and confusion.

(from the speech at the National Conference on Party Schools,

December 11, 2015)

III

In the principle of identifying themselves with the Party, Party schools should focus their efforts on the central tasks of the Party and conduct solid research in the Party's theories, helping consolidate the Party's leadership of ideological work and Marxism as the guiding ideology in China. Only with a clear theoretical understanding of the major issues can Party schools provide effective training. As the saying goes, "Observation fosters clear understanding; listening fosters deeper comprehension; thinking fosters sound judgment."³

Today's society sees an increasing diversity of ideas and values, the

coexistence of mainstream and non-mainstream theories, the mingling of progressive and outdated concepts, and a variety of new trends of thought. As I said, the publicity field can be roughly divided into red, black and grey areas. The red area is the domain where we have the initiative and must keep it. The black area is where we find malicious views in opposition to the Party, so we must resolutely fight back and reduce their negative influence. The grey area is an intermediate zone that we must make an all-out effort to win over and turn into red.

(from the speech at the National Conference on Party Schools,

December 11, 2015)

IV

The overwhelming majority of us can conscientiously and resolutely adhere to the guidance of Marxism. But there are some who fall short of thoroughly understanding Marxism, or effectively applying the Marxist stance, viewpoint and method to produce high-quality works. They are not capable of building a system of disciplines, an academic system, and a discourse system guided by Marxism, and they have yet to produce meaningful results.

Meanwhile nebulous or erroneous notions still exist among certain people. Some think Marxism is obsolete and has already been abandoned in China. And some argue that Marxism is nothing but ideological teaching, devoid of scientific principles or academic rigor. In practice Marxism is marginalized, trivialized and stereotyped in certain realms; it has disappeared from the textbooks in some fields of study and is no longer heard in academic discussions and debates. We must take these phenomena seriously.

Even in Western countries today Marxism still exerts great influence. At the turn of the century Karl Marx was voted the greatest thinker of the millennium in a BBC poll. American economist Robert Heilbroner wrote in his book *Marxism: For and Against* that we must look to Karl Marx for advice in exploring the future development of

human society, as it is still governed by the laws of development he expounded. Through the flux of time and progress in science, Marxism has restituted to its strength as a body of scientific thought, and its value in terms of truth and moral stature. Deng Xiaoping made the thoughtful observation: "I am convinced that more and more people will come to believe in Marxism, because it is a science."⁴

All people who work in China's philosophy and social science sector should willingly follow the guidance of Marxism. Furthermore, they should conscientiously abide by the theories of Chinese socialism in their teaching and research, cultivating a clear theoretical consciousness, firm political beliefs, and a scientific approach to thinking.

(from the speech at the Seminar on Philosophy and Social Sciences,

May 17, 2016)

Notes

¹ Xian Zi.

² *Ibid.*

³ Annotations by Wang Anshi in *Scholars' Annotations to Dao De Jing* (*Dao De Jing Ji Zhu*). Wang Anshi (1021-1086) was a thinker, writer and statesman of the Northern Song Dynasty.

⁴ Deng Xiaoping: "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 370.

Improve All Aspects of the Party's Media Leadership*

February 19, 2016

Publicity through media is an important responsibility of the CPC. It is of great significance to the governance and stability of the country. We should adapt to changes in the domestic and international situations, and identify the role of media in the Party's overall work. In this field, we must uphold the leadership of the Party, keep the correct political orientation, maintain a people-centered work ethic, follow the rules of news dissemination, and develop innovative methods. In this way can we effectively improve the coverage, guidance, and influence of the Party's news media, and increase its public trust.

Over a long period of time, the major media under the CPC Central Committee have stood side by side with the Party and the people, and kept abreast of new developments. They have spread the truth of Marxism, advocated the Party's ideas, and conveyed the people's voices, thereby playing a critical role in stages of revolution, reform and development. They have promoted the general tenor of the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012 and the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions of the CPC Central Committee in 2013, 2014 and 2015. They have highlighted the major decisions and plans of the CPC Central Committee, and reported the activities and attitudes of the public, spreading mainstream values and positive energy. They have motivated Party members and all Chinese people to work together for the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

The Party's publicity through media concerns the nature and path of socialism, the implementation of the Party's theories, lines,

* Main points of the speech at the Seminar on the Party's Media Work

principles, and policies, the progress of all aspects of the Party and the country's work, the cohesion between the Party and the people and the bonds that link them, and the future of the Party and the country. Therefore we must steer our Party's publicity through media based on the Party's overall plans, give it full attention, and work out precise and effective measures to improve it.

Right now the Party's media has the following responsibilities:

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

To fulfill this mission, we must keep to the right political orientation and take it as our top priority, remain committed to the Party spirit and principles, adhere to the Marxist view of journalism, maintain the right tone in guiding public opinion, and put focus on positive publicity.

To remain committed to the Party spirit and principles, the fundamental prerequisite is the Party's leadership over publicity. Media run by the Party and the government are responsible for Party and government publicity; they must therefore be led by the Party. They must represent the Party's will and advocacy, safeguard the authority of the CPC Central Committee and the unity of the Party, and love, protect, and serve the Party. People working in the Party's media must remain in alignment with the CPC Central Committee in political ideas, and maintain a high level of accord in their thinking and actions. They should maintain that Party spirit and the people's interests are integrated, lead the people in conscientiously acting in accordance with the Party's theories, lines, principles, and policies, reflect good experience created by the people and the actual problems they face.

enrich their spiritual world, and increase their mental strength. The view of journalism is the soul of news media. We should improve education on the Marxist view of journalism, encourage journalists to publicize the Party's ideas and policies, record the changes of the times, promote social progress, and exercise public supervision for fairness and justice.

We must maintain the right tone in all aspects of publicity. 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 must follow this principle, as must supplements, features and advertisements. Reports on politics and news must follow this principle, as must reports on leisure and society. Domestic news reports must follow this principle, as must international news reports.

Maintaining unity and stability, boosting morale, and encouraging publicity that is primarily positive is the basic principle of the Party's news media work. Positive publicity should be attractive and appealing. Truth is the lifeblood of news reports. Journalists should faithfully describe facts. They should accurately report individual events and tell the whole story. Public scrutiny through the mass media is consistent with promoting positive publicity. News media should face up to problems in our work and social evils, eliminate vice and exalt virtue, and condemn unhealthy tendencies. Critical reports should also give accurate facts and objective analysis.

As conditions evolve, the Party's publicity must be innovative in concept, content, genre, form, methods, and means of news reporting, as well as in channels, systems, and mechanism of media operation, making news coverage more targeted, timely and effective. The Party's news media should be adapted to the trend of individualized and differentiated dissemination, and create a new framework in guiding public opinion. We should advance integrated development by utilizing the advantages of new media communication. We should seize opportunities, keep good pace, and adopt sound methods and pay close attention to the ideal timing, extent and impact of publicity.

We should strengthen our ability to communicate with international audiences, and have a stronger voice in the international community. We should find better ways to introduce China to the world, improve our foreign publicity strategies, and develop flagship media with greater international influence.

The key to media competition is talent. The core of media strength is also talent. We should build a corps of journalists equipped with firm political faith, superb professionalism, a sound work ethic, and loyalty to the Party and the people. Journalists must be politically-minded, find their position in serving the overall interests of the country, be conscious of their social responsibilities, and keep reminding themselves who they serve, who they rely on, and who they are. Journalists should improve their expertise, learn more and meet more challenges, and strive to become well-rounded experts. They should improve their style of work and writing, be concentrated, observe realities, and speak truth with sincerity, so as to produce works with thought, warmth and quality. Journalists should strengthen their self-discipline, cultivate their ethical qualities, and maintain personal integrity. For our part, we should reform the employment system in press institutes, trust journalists politically, give them the space to display their talent at work, concern ourselves with their lives, and ensure that they are rewarded for their work.

Enhancing and improving the Party's leadership over news media is the fundamental guarantee for the sound and healthy development of our publicity. Party committees at all levels should shoulder their political responsibility and exercise leadership. Leading officials should improve their ability to communicate with media, and to advocate policies, solicit public opinion, identify social conflicts, guide public sentiment, mobilize the people, and improve their work.

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 works 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 will need to 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."¹ 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.

* Part of the speech at the Seminar on Cyber Security and IT Application

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 organs 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 jobs 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 need to 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 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 publicity, and work to foster a positive, healthy, upright online culture. We need to 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 other laws. I have repeatedly emphasized that power needs to be confined in the cage of regulations. An important means of doing this will be to exert the role of public scrutiny, including scrutiny on the internet. Party and government organs 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 government or at individual officials, and regardless of whether it is mild-mannered or unpleasant to hear.

Notes

Wang Chong's Discourses Weighed in the Balance (Lun Heng). Wang Chong (27-73)
Wang Chong, historian of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Develop Philosophy and Social Sciences with Chinese Features*

May 17, 2016

The distinctive feature and style of a country's philosophy and social sciences is the result 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 theses, 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 Chinese conditions, learn from other countries, show humanistic care, research into history, focus on the present, and look into the future. They should display salient Chinese features and style in such areas as guiding principles, range of disciplines, academic 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:

* Part of the speech at the Seminar on Philosophy and Social Sciences.

(1) Marxist resources. These include axioms of Marxism, the achievements of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and its cultural manifestations – the CPC 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, eco-environment, diplomacy, national defense and the CPC development. These constitute the primary substance of philosophy and social sciences of Chinese features. They are also the fastest-growing areas in Chinese philosophy and social sciences.

(2) The best of traditional Chinese culture, a valuable resource for the development of philosophy and social sciences with Chinese features.

(3) The philosophy and social sciences of other countries, including all the wholesome results of studies worldwide, which provide the required 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 national 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 theories and in our system all boil 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 thought 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 suggestions 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. Karl Marx and Frederick 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 science, 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 Vladimir Lenin and the series 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 worshiping 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 reality of China, cleave to the practical, historical, dialectic and developmental perspectives, and discover, test and advance truth through practice.

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

Mindlessly imitating others cannot lead us to philosophy and social sciences adapted to our own conditions, or solutions for 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."¹

We must put forward subjective, original theories and views on the basis of studying Chinese conditions, and construct disciplinary, academic and discourse systems with our own features. 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 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*, not the *answer*, constitutes the main difficulty. ... the *questions* ... are the voices of the time ...; they are the supremely *practical* utterance proclaiming the state of its soul."²

I have read many classics of philosophy and social sciences. Among them are *Politeia* by Plato³, *Politics* by Aristotle⁴, *Utopia* by Thomas More⁵, *City of the Sun* by Tommaso Campanella⁶, *Two Treatises of Government* by John Locke⁷, *The Spirit of Laws* by Montesquieu⁸, *The Social Contract* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau⁹, *Federalist Papers* by Alexander Hamilton¹⁰, James Madison, and John Jay, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel¹¹, *On War* by Clausewitz¹², *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith¹³, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* by Malthus¹⁴, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* by Keynes¹⁵, *Theory of Economic Development* by Joseph Schumpeter¹⁶, *Economics* by Paul Samuelson¹⁷, *Capitalism and Freedom* by Milton Friedman¹⁸, and *Economic Growth of Nations* by Simon Kuznets¹⁹. 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 we can achieve it". We have continuously put forward new theories in light of new practices,

which provide us with scientific 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 governance system and capacity for governance; developing the socialist market economy, socialist democratic politics and socialist consultative democracy; constructing a socialist legal system with Chinese features; 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; implementing an overall national security strategy; forging a community of shared future for mankind; advancing the initiative of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road; upholding the greater good and pursuing shared interests; strengthening the Party's governance capacity; following the Chinese path to build stronger armed forces; and meeting the Party's goals for the army in the current era. China's philosophy and social science sector has made a significant contribution to these conceptions and theories, and achieved 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 building socialist modernization, to analyze and study such major issues

as those concerning 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 it is expected to produce new theories based on scientific rationale and new practices of regular methods. 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, economy, politics, culture, society, 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 primary disciplinary system, academic system and discourse system.

To date Chinese philosophy and social sciences have established their primary disciplinary system, but some pressing issues still exist. For instance, certain subjects have nothing much to do with social development; the primary disciplinary system 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 generally improve the primary disciplinary system. For this goal we should first strengthen Marxist subjects. Second, 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 primary disciplinary system with Chinese features and international significance. Third, we should pay great attention to important subjects in which we are strong. Fourth, 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. Fifth, 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 another.

In summary, we should endeavor to foster a philosophy and social science 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 science 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 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 worldview and outlook on life and 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 science 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 science 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 science 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.

Notes

¹ Mao Zedong: "Interview with Journalist Gunther Stein", *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. III, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1996, p. 192.

¹ Karl Marx, "The Question of Centralization in Itself and with Regard to the Supplement to No. 137 of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, Tuesday, May 17, 1842", *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 1, Eng. ed., Lawrence & Wishart Electric Book, 2010, p. 182.

² Plato (427-347 BC) was a philosopher of ancient Greece.

³ Aristotle (384-322 BC) was a philosopher and scientist of ancient Greece.

⁴ Thomas More (1478-1535) was a British statesman and humanist.

⁵ Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) was an Italian philosopher, poet and litterateur.

⁶ John Locke (1632-1704) was a British philosopher.

⁷ Montesquieu (1689-1755) was a French enlightenment thinker and lawyer.

⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) was a French enlightenment thinker, philosopher, educator and man of letters.

⁹ Alexander Hamilton (1755 or 1757-1804) was a political activist in the early period of the United States.

¹⁰ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) was a German philosopher.

¹¹ Carl von Clausewitz (1780-1831) was a German military theorist.

¹² Adam Smith (1723-1790) was a British philosopher.

¹³ Thomas Malthus (1766-1834) was a British economist.

¹⁴ Keynes (1883-1946) was a British economist.

¹⁵ Joseph Schumpeter (1883-1950) was an Austrian-born American economist.

¹⁶ Paul Samuelson (1915-2009) was an American economist.

¹⁷ Milton Friedman (1912-2006) was an American economist.

¹⁸ Simon Kuznets (1901-1985) was a Russo-American economist.

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, theories, 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 reality have proven 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

* 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.

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 *Book of Songs*, *Songs of Chu*, *fu* poetry of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), poems 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 of the times, respond to the call of the times, listen to the voice of the times, 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 harbinger of social progress, heralding periods of 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. Our core socialist values fully represent the spirit of contemporary China and serve as the cultural and ethical cornerstone that cements 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 a beautiful 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. Our art and literature should exhibit energetic efforts on behalf of reform and opening up, socialist modernization, and a fruitful, 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. There is a Chinese verse: "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 struggling in search of inspiration and profound ideas should seek them in historical materials.

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 unbi-

dled 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 are the most valuable in our tradition. Literary and artistic works that make travesty of history indicate that the author is not serious about history, that he is not serious about his 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 we eat the fruit, we think of the tree that bore it; when we drink water, we think of its source."²

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 features, in a distinctive Chinese style and Chinese ethos.

Notes

¹ Lu Ji: *The Art of Writing (Wen Fu)*. Lu Ji (261-303) was a writer and calligrapher of the Western Jin Dynasty.

² Yu Xin: "Poems to the Tune of Zhi" (*Zhi Diao Qu*). Yu Xin (513-581) was a writer during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Family Values, Family Education and Family Tradition*

December 12, 2016

The Chinese nation has always valued the family. As an ancient saying goes, "The family is essential under Heaven."¹ 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 thriflily; 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 Chinese family civility.

Thanks to continuous reform and opening up, and further economic and social development, 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 enhance civility in Chinese families and make it an important foundation for the country's development, progress, and

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

social harmony. 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 civility promotes social civility. 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 war, 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 feelings 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 education. 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"², and "Love your children the right way, or you will cause them harm."³ Young people are the hope of 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 picture-story book series – *The Legend of Yue Fei*. One of its more than 10 volumes 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 button 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 culture. 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 lie. 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 old saying goes, "Families doing good deeds will reap benefits; those doing bad deeds will suffer misfortune."⁴ The admonitions of Zhuge Liang (181-234) to his son, the family instructions of Yan Zhitui (531-c. 591), and the family mottos of Zhu Xi (1130-1200) 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 last touching testaments 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 rewards today should treasure the honor and work harder to mobilize all Chinese families to strive together for improved 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 total 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.

Notes

¹ Xun Yue: *Extended Reflections (Shen Jian)*. Xun Yue (148-209) was a historian and thinker of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

² Zuoqiu Ming: *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals (Zuo Zhuan)*. Zuoqiu Ming (556-451 BC) was a historian of the Spring and Autumn Period.

³ Sima Guang: *Historical Events Retold as a Mirror for Government (Zi Zhi Tong Jian)*. Sima Guang (1019-1086) was a statesman and writer of the Northern Song Dynasty.

⁴ *Book of Changes (Yi Jing)*.

⁵ Yang Shanzhou (1927-2010) was secretary of the CPC Baoshan Prefectural Committee in Yunnan Province. After retiring in 1988 he stayed in a forest farm in Daliangshan of Shidian County, where he led workers in a campaign of afforestation that produced more than 3,700 hectares of trees. In 2009, he handed over forest management rights worth more than RMB300 million to the government free of charge. In 2011, he was named posthumously a national moral model and an outstanding Party member.

The Wellbeing of the People

1988

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Improve the Wellbeing of the People*

March 9, 2015-May 25, 2016

I

People's wellbeing is inseparable from their daily life. As a hammer drives a nail, we must work hard constantly to improve people's wellbeing. We must implement every policy we have approved, one by one and year on year, and do concrete work in responding to people's demands, letting them see the progress and enjoy the benefits.

*(from the speech at the deliberation session of the Jilin delegation
to the Third Session of the 12th National People's Congress,
March 9, 2015)*

II

Our success in securing and improving the wellbeing of the people can increase social consumption and expand domestic demand; improving standards of living is in essence promoting development. We should rely on the driving force of industry and necessary policy incentives to encourage entrepreneurship and increase employment, and strive to raise the income of urban and rural residents. We should focus on issues that most concern the people, including education, health care, social security and food safety, and we should improve them step by step in practical ways. We should improve standards of living and accelerate economic growth in tandem by increasing employment and promoting entrepreneurship, developing social

* Excerpts from speeches made between March 9, 2015 and May 25, 2016.

undertakings, and achieving success in poverty alleviation. We should pay more attention to public security, keeping in mind that it secures people's wellbeing. We must make sure that there are no weak links, loopholes, or hidden dangers in public security work. We should deliver care to the children and old people who are left behind at home and need help after the other members of the families have gone to work in cities. We should improve our work and take measures to upgrade management and services, letting them live comfortably in the big family of socialism.

*(from the speech during a fact-finding trip to Guizhou Province,
June 16-18, 2015)*

III

The work of securing and improving the wellbeing of the people will never end. Instead, there are always new starting points. We must take targeted measures that are more inclusive and effective to help people solve problems and enjoy greater benefits and justice. We should proceed from reality, focus on relevant projects that are general, fundamental and directed to the public interest, be more effective in developing public services, strengthen the welfare network, and eliminate hidden problems, so as to ensure that people live and work in peace and contentment and that society is stable and orderly.

*(from the speech during a fact-finding trip to Jiangxi Province,
February 1-3, 2016)*

IV

In the context of growing pressure from the economic downturn and increasing social strains, it is particularly important to guarantee the basic living standards and welfare of the people. We should start with the problems that people regard as the most serious, visible, and urgent, and make our work on improving wellbeing more targeted,

effective and sustainable. As supply-side structural reform continues, some workers will be laid off, so we must focus on employment, create more jobs, implement and improve assistance measures, and help people find jobs. We should open up more channels to recruit people in difficulty by encouraging enterprises to hire more, by creating jobs that are welfare in nature, and by implementing social policies that guarantee the basic living standard of the people, so that there will be no families with no member in work.

*(from the speech during a fact-finding trip to Anhui Province,
April 24-27, 2016)*

V

In the face of a complex domestic and international economic situation, we should focus on securing and improving people's well-being, and do everything to maintain the standard of living. More consideration should be given to this when allocating public funds. We must ensure that there is enough money for public welfare, and never reduce it. We should pay more attention to key issues, like employment, education, health care, housing, old-age pension, poverty reduction, and other major concerns of the people. Before introducing policies and measures, we should carry out in-depth investigation and make thorough analysis, listen to different opinions, and take into account the interests of all parties. Following implementation, we should track feedback and identify problems for the improvement of the policies. We must increase the transparency of our policies so that the public will be aware of, understand and help to implement them.

*(from the speech during a fact-finding trip to Heilongjiang Province,
May 24-25, 2016)*

Address the People's Most Immediate Concerns*

April 28, 2015-December 31, 2016

I

The Party and the state must implement a proactive employment policy by creating more jobs, improving the environment and quality of employment, and increasing the remuneration of workers, in particular those working at grassroots level. We should establish and enhance mechanisms for protecting the rights and interests of the people, and focus on such key issues as employment, vocational training, income distribution, social security, and occupational safety and health. We should pay more attention to grassroots workers, migrant workers, and workers in need, and improve measures for removing any barriers preventing workers from taking part in, and enjoying the benefits of development, while helping them realize decent working conditions. Furthermore, we should maintain close ties with the people through frank communication and solid work, make every effort needed to address their gravest needs and problems, and solve their most pressing concerns and those that are essential to their immediate interests.

(from the speech at a meeting celebrating May 1st International Labor Day and commending national model workers, April 28, 2015)

* Excerpts from speeches made between April 28, 2015 and December 31, 2016.

II

Workplace safety marks a red line that we should never cross in our development. As I have said before, development should never proceed at the expense of human lives. This is a principle that the whole of society should follow. We should be fully aware that workplace safety is an arduous, complex and pressing issue, and we must adhere to the principle of putting people and their lives first. The workplace safety responsibility system should be fully enforced, as should measures on safety management, supervision, inspection, and risk prevention, along with incentives and punishments. We must ensure that all Party committees and governments perform their leadership duties responsibly, that relevant government departments conduct proper oversight, and that enterprises assume the primary responsibility for workplace safety. As regards major risk-prone sites and industries, we should carry out targeted initiatives to strengthen safety and prevent risks by removing the root causes. Our main targets include high-speed rail, urban rail, oil and gas pipelines, urban gas networks, mines, chemical plants, and fireworks factories, as well as high-rises with fire risks and poor urban villages. To consolidate workplace safety, we must improve the mechanism for conducting thorough inspections on a regular or irregular basis without advance notice, and enforce the accountability system to make sure that whoever conducts the inspection takes full responsibility by signing his or her name on the inspection report. We must take strict measures to eliminate every identified risk so as to ensure complete safety.

(from the speech at the 23rd group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, May 29, 2013)

III

Equality in education is the basis of social equality. We must enable all our people to share fully and fairly in the benefits of educational development, ensuring education equality to enhance social

quality. We should increase support for basic education, strengthen preschool education, balance the development of the free nine-year compulsory education in primary and middle schools, and make available high school education for all students. In optimizing the allocation of educational resources, we should take steps to narrow the gaps in educational resources between urban and rural areas, different regions, and different schools. We must increase government aid to basic education in old revolutionary base areas, areas mainly populated by ethnic minorities, remote areas, and poverty-stricken areas. In particular, we should guarantee funds for schools in poverty-stricken areas and improve the grants system for students from poor families. We should also take targeted measures to reduce poverty through education. We will help children from poor families to access education in order to prevent poverty being passed down from generation to generation, and to give all children the confidence and hope they need to create a bright future.

*(from the speech during a visit to Beijing Bayi School,
September 9, 2016)*

IV

Public security has been improving over the past few years, with a sustained decrease in violent crimes and a steadily enhanced sense of security among the people. However, some problems remain prominent, and in particular illegal fundraising, information leakage, and cyber fraud are widespread. Today's crimes increasingly relate to information technology, mobility and intelligence. Occasionally there are crimes of extreme violence committed by individuals trying to take revenge on society or spread terror. We are a long way from eliminating crimes of severe violence despite intensified efforts to fight them.

We should take systematic and comprehensive measures to deal with these crimes in accordance with the law and by addressing their root causes. In order to identify harmful tendencies in a timely

manner we should improve the crime prevention and control system, and enhance our analysis and judgment of public opinion, public security developments, and hot and sensitive issues. We should take effective measures to prevent and control risks and protect the lives and property of the people. We should make an all-out effort to prevent and fight terrorism, ethnic separatism and religious extremism, and strengthen our anti-terrorism efforts and international cooperation in this regard. In so doing, we aim to build an impregnable anti-terrorism network. All terrorist activities must be eradicated once identified. We must use legal means to fight the infiltration, sabotage, and subversive activities of hostile forces, and prevent them from becoming real threats to our public security.

(from the speech at the second full assembly of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, October 27, 2016)

V

We must make sure that there is a social cushion in place to meet the most basic needs of the people, and focus on their most pressing concerns, while improving related policies and guiding public opinion to strengthen social security. We should enhance social policies and public services for employment, old-age care, education, healthcare, and environmental protection. We should increase assistance to special groups and people with special difficulties to meet their basic living needs. We should make proper arrangements for workers laid off as a result of eliminating industrial overcapacity, help workers who have been transferred to a new job with a much lower income, and provide for the basic needs of the 40/50 age group [which consists of workers laid-off by SOEs and other enterprises, females above 40 years old, and males above 50, all of whom have difficulty in finding new jobs]. We must adjust the policies for structural reform and employment funds to increase funding for areas with greater difficulties and experiencing fiscal pressure in resettling laid-off workers. In addition,

we should improve systems for social development to give the people a stronger sense of gain and thus contribute to social stability and harmony.

*(from the speech at the Central Conference on Economic Work,
December 14, 2016)*

VI

To solve the real estate problem, we should follow the principle that housing is for people to live in rather than for speculation, keeping on the right track towards the right goal. Through a combination of financial, land, taxation, investment and legislation measures, we should accelerate our efforts to design and establish a basic system and a long-term mechanism, suited to China's reality and the market laws, for curbing real estate bubbles and preventing drastic rises and falls in real estate prices.

*(from the speech at the Central Conference on Economic Work,
December 14, 2016)*

VII

As we greet the New Year, my greatest concern goes to my fellow countrymen who still live in poverty. Do they have adequate food and housing so that they can enjoy a happy New Year and Spring Festival? I know that some people are still facing difficulties regarding employment, their children's education, healthcare, and housing among others. It is the responsibility of the Party and the government to solve these problems. The whole Party and all of society should continue to care for and help people living in poverty and facing difficulties. We will enable more people to enjoy the benefits of reform and development and live a better life.

(from the 2017 New Year message, December 31, 2016)

Expanding the Middle-Income Group*

May 16, 2016

Expanding the middle-income group is key to realizing a moderately prosperous society. It is also an indispensable requirement of transformation of the growth model, reform of economic structure, and maintenance of social harmony, stability and long-lasting national peace.

To expand the middle-income group, we should adhere to high-quality and high-return development and maintain macroeconomic stability, allowing us to lay the foundation of higher standards of living. We must carry forward the tenet of prosperity through hard work, and encourage people to follow it.

We must improve the income distribution system. Based on the system in which distribution according to work is dominant and a variety of modes of distribution coexist, we should balance the distribution between government, enterprises and individuals through combining distribution according to work with distribution according to factors of production.

Human capital should be strengthened through investing more in this sector, so as to improve education quality and establish a modern vocational education system.

We should give full play to the role of entrepreneurs by helping them address difficulties related to their enterprises, solving their problems, and ensuring that their input of various factors generates corresponding profits.

* Main points of the speech at the 13th meeting of the Leading Group for Financial and Economic Affairs under the CPC Central Committee.

More must be done to protect property rights and improve the modern property rights system. The protection of ownership, management rights, and corporate property rights of state-owned assets should be enhanced. We should strengthen people's sense of property security by further protecting the property rights of the non-state sector and intellectual property rights.

Promote a Healthy China*

August 19, 2016

If we cannot ensure the people's health, we cannot achieve moderate prosperity in all respects. We should prioritize public health, popularizing a healthy lifestyle, improving health services and security, building a healthy environment, and developing health industries. We should quicken our pace in implementing the healthy China program, striving to ensure all-round people's health at all times. These are the requirements of good health in realizing the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Health is a must for promoting well-rounded personal development, a prerequisite for social and economic development, a symbol of national prosperity and strength, and a common pursuit of the people. Since the founding of the CPC in 1921, we have seen protecting public health as a part of the cause of pursuing national independence and people's liberation. Since reform and opening up in 1978, China's health industry has grown rapidly; the medical service system has been improved; equal access to basic public health services has been enhanced; and our capacity to control disease has been greatly strengthened. After many years of efforts, we have improved people's conditions and blazed a development path suited to China's reality.

Faithful to the principles of "giving priority to saving lives, healing the sick, and helping the dying with total devotion and ultimate love", our healthcare workers serve the people wholeheartedly. Especially when fighting severe epidemics and natural disasters, they face danger fearlessly, proceed without hesitation, and even sacrifice their

* Main points of the speech at the National Health Conference

own lives to save others. They have won the admiration of all of society.

Due to industrialization, urbanization, and an ageing population, and with the changing spectrum of diseases, environment, and lifestyle, China is facing a complex situation in which threats from multiple diseases coexist and various factors affecting people's health intertwine. We have to deal with health problems facing both developed and developing countries. Unresolved problems will threaten public health, restrict economic growth, and undermine social harmony and stability.

In promoting a healthy China, we should follow the Chinese health development path and tackle major problems. We should adhere to sound public health principles, prioritizing community-level health work and driven by reform and innovation; focus on disease prevention; and develop both traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine. We should incorporate healthcare into all our policies, and ensure the people contribute to the cause and share the benefits. We should maintain basic not-for-profit healthcare, 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 from disease prevention through treatment, rehabilitation, and health promotion. We should improve the quality and capacity of healthcare services which are accessible to all. We should balance the roles of government and market; the government should be operational in providing basic healthcare services, while the market should be dynamic in other healthcare areas.

We should enhance disease prevention, raising the public's awareness to prevent and control epidemics, and striving to provide the public with life-cycle healthcare services. We should attach importance to the prevention and control of major diseases, improving related strategies to minimize the number of patients. We should direct attention to the health of children, improving healthcare in kindergartens, primary schools and middle schools; increasing healthcare publicity to enhance students' awareness of disease prevention; and providing

nutritious meals to young students in poverty-stricken areas to ensure their healthy growth. We should pay attention to the health of special groups, protecting women's and children's health; providing consistent health management services and medical services to senior citizens; striving to achieve the goal of providing rehabilitation services to every disabled person; caring about the health of migrant population; and implementing poverty relief projects through better healthcare. We should advocate a healthy lifestyle, promote the idea of all-round wellness, shift the focus from treating ailments to healthcare, improve the healthcare education system, enhance the health awareness of the public, and integrate fitness and healthcare across the country. We should increase efforts in the basic research of mental health, promote popular understanding of mental health and mental illness, and regulate psychotherapy, psychological counseling and other mental health services.

A good eco-environment is essential to the survival and health of mankind. To practice the philosophy of green development, we should implement strict eco-protection mechanisms; improve monitoring, investigation, and risk evaluation mechanisms for environment and public health; focus on addressing air, soil and water pollution; accelerate afforestation across the country; and resolve serious environmental problems affecting public health. We should carry forward the tradition of patriotic cleaning campaigns, continue with the urban and rural clean environment campaign, increase efforts in improving rural living conditions, and build a healthy and livable environment. We should enforce food safety laws, improve the food safety system, and strengthen food safety supervision from farmland to dining table. We should enhance the idea of safe development, improve the public safety system, and reduce the threat to public health and people's lives posed by public safety incidents.

China's healthcare reform has now entered a critical phase where tough problems must be tackled. We should implement the healthcare reform tasks specified at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2013. We should continue to build the basic

healthcare system, making breakthroughs in five basic mechanisms – tiered medical treatment, modern hospital management, medical insurance for all citizens, pharmaceutical supply, and comprehensive supervision. We should revitalize and further develop traditional Chinese medicine (TCM), giving it equal emphasis with Western medicine; promote complementary and coordinated development between Western medicine and TCM; and encourage the innovative transformation and development of TCM culture. We should motivate medical personnel by improving their payment, career structure, working conditions, and social status, take care of their physical and mental health, increase their sense of pride in their profession by various means, and foster a social atmosphere of respecting medical staff and valuing healthcare. Our healthcare workers should practice core socialist values, strengthen professional ethics and self-discipline, and provide the best public healthcare services. We should act firmly against crimes related to medical and health issues, especially violence towards medical staff, and protect their safety.

Building a healthy China is the CPC's solemn promise to the people. Party committees and governments at all levels should start this campaign to win popular support, take on responsibilities, and earnestly implement our goals. We should include healthcare reform into the comprehensive drive for deeper reform; standardize related planning, objectives and evaluation; and encourage local governments to conduct differentiated trials according to local realities. We should establish a comprehensive health index evaluation system to systematically evaluate the influence of all socio-economic development plans and policies and major construction projects on public health. We should complete the public health information service system, and apply big data analysis in healthcare management.

Over the years, China has achieved huge progress in fulfilling our international obligations and participating in global health governance, presenting the world with a major country meeting its responsibilities and upholding international humanism. We have thereby won praise from the international community. We should take an active part in

research and negotiations on health-related international standards and criteria, improve our international aid mechanism to respond to worldwide major public health emergencies, and enhance healthcare cooperation with the countries along the Belt and Road routes.

Secure the People's Basic Needs*

October 27, 2016

The ultimate purpose of economic development is to ensure and improve people's wellbeing.

Chairman Mao Zedong said in 1934, "... all the practical problems in the masses' everyday life should claim our attention. If we attend to these problems, solve them and satisfy the needs of the masses, we shall really become organizers of the wellbeing of the masses, and they will truly rally round us and give us their warm support."¹

Nowadays our work to improve the people's wellbeing is faced with substantial changes in the macro environment and the level of needs. In the past, all people wanted was to have enough food, schools to attend, and a place to live. Now the people have more diversified needs, aspiring to have a steadily increasing income, good medical services, equal educational opportunities, better housing, a beautiful environment, and clean air.

To adapt our work to these changes, we must meet the people's most basic needs and focus on their most pressing concerns, while improving related policies and guiding the public to have realistic and reasonable expectations for life. We should start with those concerns essential to people's immediate interests by taking direct, targeted measures that are effective and achieve wide coverage. We must focus on improving the people's basic wellbeing and coordinate our efforts to ensure better education, income distribution, employment, social security, medical service and healthcare, and housing.

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

We should pay particular attention to securing stable employment. To this end, we must make proper arrangements through multiple channels for workers who have been laid off or transferred due to actions to eliminate industrial overcapacity. We must help those with special difficulties to find new jobs, and ensure that in every family that currently has no one in employment, at least one member secures a stable job. We must see that the pension is paid on time and in full, leaving no one and no aspect overlooked. We must intensify our measures, and through a proper accountability system ensure solid progress in poverty elimination and provide for the basic needs of those living in poverty. We should also make proper arrangements for victims of natural disasters and expedite post-disaster reconstruction to enable them to return to a happy and stable life as soon as possible.

Notes

¹ Mao Zedong: "Be Concerned with the Well-being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work", *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. 1, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1965, pp. 147-148.

Towards World-Class Universities and Disciplines*

December 7, 2016

Education in political philosophy at institutions of higher learning is about the purposes of and approaches to higher education. Building strong moral character should be taken as the central task of higher education. We should integrate moral and political education into every aspect of the entire education process, striving to elevate China's higher education to a new level.

A country thrives when its education is well developed. Higher education is a key gauge of a nation's development and potential. We cannot overlook education if we are to achieve the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. We have more urgent need than ever before for higher education, science, and elite brains. The CPC Central Committee has resolved to build world-class universities and disciplines, which means scaling up China's higher education and core competitiveness.

China, with its unique history, culture and conditions, has to follow its own path of higher education, and build institutions of higher education founded on Chinese socialism. China's higher education should be closely integrated with its actual development goals, and head in the same direction as its future development. Higher education should serve the people, the CPC's governance of China, the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics, reform and opening up, and socialist modernization.

China's universities and colleges shoulder the responsibility of training new generations who are morally, intellectually, physically and

* Main points of the speech at a national conference on education in political philosophy at institutions of higher learning.

aesthetically equipped to carry on the socialist cause. Therefore, these educational institutions must not waver from the correct political direction. To promote a code of ethical conduct, to set up role models, and to cultivate talent are the fundamental tasks of universities and colleges. Only those that can provide society with outstanding brains can become world-leading institutions. Therefore enhancing the all-round ability of Chinese universities and colleges to generate talent is the key to turning them into prestigious international brain banks, and the driver of all other work in higher education institutions.

Chinese universities and colleges are institutions founded on Chinese socialism under the leadership of the CPC. To build better universities and colleges, we should follow the guiding role of Marxism and thoroughly carry out the CPC's educational policies. We should disseminate the scientific theory of Marxism, further refine Marxist education, and help students lay a foundation of scientific thinking for their lifelong development. We should promote and practice the core socialist values, and guide teachers and students to be firm believers, active communicators, and model practitioners of these values. We should ensure that universities and colleges remain harmonious and stable and nurture a rational, peaceful and harmonious mindset on campus. Humanistic care and psychological consultation should be offered to keep higher education institutions peaceful and harmonious. We should consistently build positive school spirits and academic attitude, and ensure that every campus is well-managed and its atmosphere is honest and upright.

Education in political philosophy is essentially designed to help people adopt the right kind of mindset. This means it focuses on the students, cares for and serves them, and aims at enhancing their moral standards and political awareness and refining their character and manners, in order to facilitate their all-round development towards wholesome and capable individuals.

We should guide students to acquire a clear understanding of international and domestic developments, help them grasp the historical necessity of social progress and Chinese socialism, and build up

their faith and confidence in communist ideals and the common goal of building Chinese socialism. We should also foster in them an accurate understanding of Chinese socialism in comparison with other social systems in the world and an objective and comprehensive knowledge of contemporary China and the outside world. We should cultivate their awareness of China's historical mission and the responsibilities of our time, and inspire them, through the Chinese Dream, to pursue their own dreams as their contribution to the causes of our country and our people, and to forge ahead as pioneers. Moreover, we should help them develop a correct understanding of how to integrate great ideals and practical work and stimulate them to achieve their dreams through diligence in acquiring knowledge and skills.

Education in political philosophy at universities and colleges should be adapted to the needs of the times, to new developments and to particular circumstances. We must be committed to improving our work and following the best ways to conduct education in political philosophy and to impart knowledge and foster high moral standards in the best interests of the students. As the main channel of such education, courses on political philosophy should be improved and reinforced, in order to have greater appeal to students and target their needs and expectations for development. Other courses should be coordinated with these courses to contribute to moral and political education.

We should accelerate comprehensive efforts to build a set of academic disciplines and high-quality textbooks of Chinese philosophy and social sciences, and establish a new academic discourse system and an authoritative and transparent system for evaluating the results of research in such fields towards a social science system with multiple levels, elements and facets.

More effort should be made to cultivate morality with a refined moral culture developed through a wide range of inspirational and constructive activities on campus as well as diversified experience of social practice. We should enliven our education by employing new media and new technology, and give it a stronger modern appeal by

integrating the strengths of traditional education in political philosophy with information technology.

Teachers are the engineers of the human soul, who undertake the essential mission of molding minds. Preachers must have a thorough understanding of and a firm faith in what they preach. University and college teachers should first receive education themselves to become disseminators of advanced ideas and culture, strong supporters of CPC leadership, and mentors who can lead the students towards sound development. We must strengthen our teachers' ethics and standards, so that they integrate education with moral cultivation, teach by word and deed, devote their attention to both research and social issues, and adhere to academic ethics while enjoying academic freedom. We should encourage teachers to base their conduct, academic studies and teaching on ethics and standards.

To enhance China's higher education, universities and colleges must firmly uphold CPC leadership in higher education. Party committees of institutions of higher education must ensure that their institutions keep to the right path, lead the way in political philosophical education, and make sure that college graduates are prepared to contribute to and carry forward the socialist cause. Party committees should make education in political philosophy at universities and colleges a priority of their work, strengthen leadership and guidance in this regard, and coordinate all departments and parties concerned to combine their efforts.

Secretaries of local Party committees and Party leadership groups of departments concerned should pay more visits to universities and colleges, increase face-to-face communication and exchanges with teachers and students, and address their questions about theory and reality. Party secretaries should also strengthen contact and communication with academics at universities and colleges, give them more care and encouragement, establish and maintain friendships with them, and listen to what they have to say and take their views seriously. Party committees at universities and colleges must exercise leadership in school work and enforce Party leadership and discipline.

at the school level. They are responsible for keeping their institutions on the right track, securing overall development and stability, and making major decisions and ensuring their implementation. We should strengthen grassroots Party organizations at higher education institutions, make innovations in their systems and mechanisms, and improve their ways of working, so as to improve their ability to carry out education in political philosophy. We should make sure that the admission of new Party members from among teachers and students of universities and colleges is done properly. We should also strengthen the education and management of Party members, so that all teachers and students with Party membership remain loyal to the Party, follow the Party's guidelines, and work for the Party.

Over the years, people working on education in political philosophy at higher education institutions have worked diligently in a spirit of dedication, making an important contribution to the development of higher education. On our road ahead we should widen the channel for selecting professionals to work in this field, strengthen their education and training by practice, and improve the incentive mechanism. We should make an all-out effort to build a high-quality team of Party and administrative officials in higher education institutions, officials of Communist Youth League organizations, teachers of courses on education in political philosophy, teachers of philosophy and social sciences, counselors, class advisers, and psychological consultants, and we should ensure a steady supply of candidates for this work.

Keep Hold of the Strategic Initiative for Our National Security*

February 17, 2017

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 the path of national security with Chinese features. 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 consider 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 national security commission, adopting a holistic approach to national security, and laying out strategies, guidelines and plans for national security, which have resulted in remarkable achievement 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 pressing ahead with our national development, the development of the Party, and the 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.

* Main point of the speech at a meeting on national security

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, make overall plans for national security on the basis of guarding against risks, and by taking advantage of the current period of strategic opportunities. The overall global trend towards multipolarity, economic globalization and democratic international relations remains unchanged. We should help guide the international community to establish a truly just and equitable world order. No matter how the world changes and develops, we must maintain our strategic confidence, faith and patience. We should adopt a global vision in national security, coordinate development and security, 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 cyber security. We need to improve the integrated system for maintenance of law or 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, manufacturing, fire prevention and hazardous chemicals, guarding against any serious accidents. We must consolidate our lines of defense for cyber security, and protect key information infrastructure. Moreover, we should facilitate the market-oriented development of core technologies for cyber security, 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 be concerned with people working for national security and provide necessary conditions and policies.

Social Governance Under Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*

September 19, 2017

Development is one overriding principle; stability is another. We should attach equal importance to both. We should firmly adhere to the path of social governance under socialism with Chinese characteristics. We will leverage the Party's leadership and China's socialist system, which are our advantage, in strengthening social governance. We will step up institution building and strengthen the rule of law in social governance, and make such governance smarter and more rational. We will further improve our system of social governance under Chinese socialism so as to ensure that our people can live and work in tranquility and our country can enjoy enduring social stability and peace.

The comrades commended today have all made an outstanding contribution to developing and applying new approaches to social governance, and building a peaceful China. You are role models for those involved in the maintenance of law and order and for the whole of society as well. I believe this ceremony of commendation will play a major role in fostering healthy social trends and encouraging more people working on the front line of law and order maintenance to perform and fulfill their missions entrusted by the Party and the people.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, our Party and state have undergone historic changes and made historic achievements. Such achievements would not have been possible without the

* Main points of the speech at his meeting with representatives to the national conference commanding model units and individuals for maintaining law and order.

joint efforts of all Party members and people of all ethnic groups under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee. Such achievements embody the wisdom and hard work of all the officials and staff in the field of law and order maintenance.

Over the past five years, you have upheld socialism with Chinese characteristics and earnestly implemented the strategies and decisions of the CPC Central Committee. While focusing on the central task of economic development and serving the overall interests of the country, you have come up with new approaches, new initiatives and new measures for social governance. You have endeavored to maintain security and stability while laying groundwork for long-term social governance. You have successfully prevented and resolved many prominent problems that would have negatively impacted social stability otherwise. What you have done makes our people feel more secure and assured, rendering significant contribution to a stable environment for China's reform and development. A great many model workers have emerged.

The groups and individuals commended today are outstanding representatives of the many model workers. Among you, some have worked diligently and dutifully to fulfill their political responsibility for promoting local development and ensuring local security. Some have kept the safety and interests of the people in mind and come forward in times of danger or emergency to safeguard happiness and welfare of thousands of families. Some are pacesetters and have developed innovative methods to improve efficiency in social governance, address problems and weakness, and defuse risks. Some of you have worked at grassroots-level for decades without complaint, contributing to local stability and harmony.

From what you have done, I can see your strong political integrity, your sincere feelings for the people, your remarkable professionalism and your robust work style. You have helped to safeguard national security, social harmony and people's wellbeing with your dedication. Some of your colleagues have even shed blood and sacrificed their lives. You deserve the titles of loyal guards of the Party and the

people, defenders of peaceful China, and builders and protectors of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The Party and the people are grateful to you.

I have three expectations of you.

First, conscientiously uphold the Party's leadership, enhance political integrity, develop a better understanding of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and act consistently with the Central Committee's policies and decisions; firmly uphold the authority of the Central Committee and its centralized and unified leadership. Always keep in mind the overall interests of the Party and the nation while analyzing and addressing issues in social governance. You should always be mindful of existing difficulties and challenges and take resolute measures to prevent and defuse any major risks.

Second, carefully analyze and accurately assess the current situation in the world, in China and in the Party. Strengthen and develop new approaches to social governance in light of prevailing circumstances in China and the features of our time, and follow the laws of governance. Explore better solutions to social problems in China and ensure a vigorous, harmonious and orderly society.

Third, strengthen institution building and the rule of law in social governance, and make such governance smarter and more rational. Develop a deeper understanding of society and social governance. Apply advanced concept, scientific attitude, specialized measures, and well-defined standards to social governance so as to improve holistic governance and promote synergy of different initiatives. Build up the capacity of forecasting, early warning, and preventing of risks, and strengthen predictability, accuracy and efficiency in social governance. Enhance law-based social governance and promote the rule of virtue. Guide and regulate activities in society and work towards a society where the rule of law and virtue prevails.

Party committees and governments at all levels should prioritize the strengthening and development of new approaches and initiatives for social governance, and improve the social governance responsibil-

iv system. They should study and address issues relating to the system of social governance and related institutions in a timely manner. They should also care more for those working in the field of law and order maintenance and help them to have a sense of belonging and honor in their work, and a sense of happiness in life so that they will work with greater confidence to make new successes worthy of the trust of the Party and the people.

Beautiful China

Promote Ecological Progress and Reform Environmental Management*

October 26, 2015

“Dual control” of energy, water resources and construction land. We must take effective measures to promote ecological progress and address growing resource constraints, serious environmental pollution, and ecological degradation, and be pragmatic and solid in our work so as to achieve results. Dual control is an effective measure. It means putting a ceiling on both the total amount and the intensity of energy use, water consumption, and construction land utilization per unit of GDP. If we can ensure the success of the ceiling, we will save energy and water and land resources, reduce pollutant emissions at source, force the transformation of the growth model, and raise the level of the green economy.

The intensity of energy consumption per unit of GDP was taken as a binding indicator for the first time in the 11th Five-year Plan (2006-2010); the 12th Five-year Plan (2011-2015) decided to rationally control total energy consumption. As it stands now, these decisions have proved to be both necessary and effective. Considering the grim situation in terms of our resources and environment, we should continue to apply dual control over energy consumption, expand it to water resources and construction land, treat it as a binding indicator, establish a target responsibility system, and clarify and assign responsibilities in a rational way.

* Part of the speech “Explanation of the ‘Recommendations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for the 13th Five year Plan for Economic and Social Development’” at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

We should also explore the establishment of a market-based dual-control mechanism, a budget management system and a system of compensated use and trading, and strive to exercise dual control with more use of the market.

The pilot project of crop rotation and fallow land system. After long-term development, the exploitation of arable land in China is too intense. In some places, a serious decline in land fertility, water and soil erosion, over-exploitation of groundwater, soil degradation, and non-point source pollution have become prominent problems that constrain the sustainable development of their agriculture. Domestic grain stocks are currently high, which has led to heavy warehousing subsidies. In addition, the international market has seen falling grain prices, which have dropped below the production cost in domestic market. The crop rotation and fallow land system should be adopted in some places when grain supply is abundant both at home and abroad. This will be beneficial to land restoration, sustainable agricultural development, balancing grain supply and demand, stabilizing rural income, and reducing financial pressure.

In implementing the crop rotation and fallow land system, we can focus on pilot projects in groundwater funnel areas and areas of heavy metal pollution and serious ecological degradation in accordance with the financial resources available and food supply and demand, arrange for certain areas of arable land to lie fallow, and give the required food or cash subsidies to the farmers concerned. In carrying out this pilot program we should make sure that national food security and the incomes of farmers are not affected. This program should not reduce the arable land area, divert it to nonagricultural purposes, or weaken China's overall agricultural production capacity, but rather it should ensure that there will be adequate output and supply in time of need. At the same time we must ensure that agriculture goes global more quickly, and domestic farm produce must increase. Since the crop rotation and fallow land system is complicated, we must first carry out pilot programs.

The system that places the monitoring, supervision, and law enforcement activ-

ties of environmental protection bodies below the provincial level under the leadership of environmental bodies at the next level up. Serious pollution to the environment, especially to the atmosphere, water and soil, has become an apparent threat to the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. It is people's earnest wish to stop environmental deterioration and improve the quality of the environment; it is also an important goal of the 13th Five-year Plan (2016-2020) to which we must attach great importance, and which we must effectively promote. The existing block-based local environmental management system has led to the following consequences: Some places value development far above environmental protection and intervene in the monitoring and supervision over law enforcement by environmental protection agencies. As a result, it is difficult to implement the environmental protection responsibility system, or laws are not properly observed or strictly enforced, or lawbreakers are not prosecuted by some local regions and government agencies.

To sum up, the existing environmental protection system has failed to address the following four difficulties:

- the difficulty in implementing its supervisory responsibility over local governments and the relevant departments;
- the difficulty in preventing the interference of local protectionism in the monitoring and scrutiny of law enforcement;
- the difficulty in adapting to the new requirement of coordinating and addressing cross-region and cross-basin environmental issues; and
- the difficulty in regulating and strengthening local environmental protection bodies.

The system that places the monitoring, supervision, and law enforcement activities of environmental bodies below the provincial level under the leadership of environmental bodies at the next level up is mentioned in the Recommendations. It includes the following key provisions:

- provincial environmental protection agencies directly manage the monitoring and scrutiny agencies at city (prefectural) and

- county level, and bear their personnel and work expenses;
- city (prefectural) level environmental protection bureaus follow a dual management system with provincial-level environmental protection departments (bureaus) taking the lead; and
 - county-level environmental protection bureaus are no longer independent but are detached offices of environmental protection bureaus at the city (prefectural) level.

All this is a major reform of China's environmental management system, which is conducive to enhancing the unity, authority, and effectiveness of environmental law enforcement. We will promote this reform nationwide on the basis of pilot programs and endeavor to complete the task before the end of the 13th Five-year Plan period.

Eco-Environmental Protection Is an Integral Component of Development*

August 24, 2016

It is high time that we intensified eco-environmental protection. And we are capable of accomplishing this task now.

On the one hand, eco-environmental problems that have accumulated over years of rapid development are prominent, generating much public discontent. Ecological destruction and pollution affect both sustainable economic and social development and public health. It is an outstanding issue that needs to be addressed with great effort.

On the other hand, we now have the resources and capabilities to solve this problem. In the past, due to low productivity, we had to reclaim land from forest, grassland, and sea to increase grain output, but since our people now have adequate food and clothing, eco-environmental protection should and must become an integral component of development.

* *Written by Xi Jinping, during a visit to Qinghai Province.*

Clear Waters and Green Mountains Are Invaluable Assets*

November 28, 2016

Ecological progress is an important component of our overall approach to building socialism with Chinese characteristics and the Four-pronged Strategy. All regions and departments should diligently implement the new development concepts, 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 ecological 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 our 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 ecological environment. Party committees and governments at all levels, along with other relevant bodies, must treat ecological 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

* Comments on ecological progress.

Committee on ecological development are thoroughly implemented, and strive to contribute to a better environment for a beautiful China and to global ecological safety.

Green Development Model and Green Way of Life*

May 26, 2017

Promoting the green development model and a green way of life is an essential requirement of our new development concepts. We must give top priority to ecological progress in our overall plan, follow the basic state policy of resource conservation and environmental protection, and give high priority to saving resources, protecting the environment, and promoting its natural restoration. We must develop a resource-saving and eco-friendly land-utilization planning system, industrial structure, mode of production, and way of life. We should strive for the coordinated development and common progress of the economy, society, and environmental protection, and create a good environment for our people to work and live in.

Humanity must respect, protect, and stay in harmony with nature in its development activities; 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 law of nature can we effectively avoid going astray in our exploitation and utilization of nature. 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 environmental problems have arisen. These problems have become prominent deficiencies and have become pressing concerns to the public. We must redouble our efforts to address them.

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

Promoting the green development model and a green way of life represents a profound revolution in people's mindset on development. This requires us to adopt and implement the new development concepts, and strike a proper balance between economic growth and environmental protection. We should protect the 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 the ecosystems will help improve quality of life, sound and sustainable 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.

We must be aware that it is an important, pressing, but difficult task to adopt the green development model and a green way of life. We must place it high on our agenda and speed up the building of a rational, appropriate, and well-designed plan for land use, an industrial system for green, circular, and low-carbon development, a complete supporting system for ecological 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 the ecosystems, covering ecological function security, basic 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.

In regard to promoting the green development model and a green way of life, I want to propose the following six key tasks:

First, accelerate the shift of the economic growth model. To fundamentally improve the ecosystems, we must abandon the model based on an increase in material resource consumption, extensive development, high energy consumption, and high emissions. We

should rely on innovation to pursue a more innovation-driven development which is oriented towards the future and gives full play to first-mover advantage. This is an important part of supply-side structural reform.

Second, intensify the comprehensive control of environmental pollution. We will resolve the pressing problems of air, water, and soil pollution on a priority basis, and redouble our efforts in environmental pollution prevention and control. We will carry out the Action Plan on Air Pollution Prevention and Control, strengthen water pollution prevention and control, conduct soil pollution control and soil restoration projects, reinforce prevention and control of wide-spread pollution in agriculture, and intensify comprehensive environmental governance in urban and rural areas.

Third, accelerate environmental protection and restoration. We must prioritize conservation and promote natural restoration, carry out an integrated program of protection and restoration for mountains, waters, forests, farmlands and lakes, launch large-scale land greening campaigns, 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. We should establish a mindset of conserving, recycling, and efficiently using resources, and strive to obtain maximum social and economic benefits at a minimum cost in resources and environment.

Fifth, advocate and popularize green consumption. Ecological progress is a matter for everyone. Each of us should pursue and advance ecological progress. We should enhance publicity and education on the need to promote ecological progress, and raise environmental consciousness among the people, encourage them to develop a green way of life and a consumption model characterized by econo-

my, moderate consumption, and low carbon, and foster a social trend in favor of eco-conservation.

Sixth, refine the overall mechanism for ecological progress with complete supporting systems. To promote green development and guarantee ecological progress, it is imperative to have the strictest possible institutions and legislation in place. We must improve the natural resource assets management system, strengthen natural resources and environmental regulation, implement environmental inspections and an eco-compensation system, and refine the system of public participation in the protection of the environment.

Officials have a key role to play in implementing eco-conservation programs. 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 must clearly identify, in accordance with laws and regulations, the items for which officials at all levels are to be held accountable throughout their lifetime. In doing so, we will follow the principles of objectivity and fairness, rational conclusions, and balance between power and responsibility. Any official responsible for damage to the environment must be held accountable. All Party committees and governments must attach great importance to this and provide stronger leadership. Party discipline inspection commissions and organization departments, together with the government's oversight agencies, must assume their responsibilities and join efforts to form a synergistic force.

Carry Forward the Spirit of Saihanba, a Model in Afforestation*

August 14, 2017

In response to the call of the Party, the workers of the Saihanba Forest Farm of Hebei Province have dedicated themselves to hard work over 55 years in a desert where "the sun and the sky are shaded by yellow sandstorm, and flying birds find no trees for shelter", and have finally created a miracle by turning wasteland into forests. Through their actions they have made manifest the idea that "green hills and clear waters are as valuable as gold and silver"; they have forged a Saihanba spirit of bearing the mission in mind, working hard, and pursuing green development. Their dedicated efforts and moving stories serve as a model in our drive for ecological progress.

Our whole Party and all of society must adhere to the idea of green development and carry forward the Saihanba spirit. We need to work on this for generations to come, persevere in our efforts, and strive to create a new pattern of harmonious development between mankind and nature. In so doing, we will build our country into a more beautiful land, and leave to future generations a beautiful environment of blue skies, green mountains and clean waters.

* Comments on the exemplary deeds of the workers of Saihanba Forest Farm, Hebei Province.

Military Development

Strengthen and Improve the Political Work of 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”. There must on no account be any weakening of our efforts in the arduous task of preparing for combat readiness, in meeting the challenges of reforming national defense and the army, and in continuing the army’s political work.

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 the 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 Party Central Committee’s requirements of comprehensively promoting the rule of law and strict Party 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.

* Part of the speech at a military conference on political work

"Once the key link is grasped, everything else falls into place; once the horse is before the cart, the cart will follow."¹ 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."² 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 part of the education of the people. We should adapt ourselves to the objectives and requirements of building our military and the characteristics and laws of political work, to foster a new generation of revolutionary forces dedicated to the Party's ideals and leadership, capable of winning wars, 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 love the Party, the country, the people, and the military, as long as we adopt an unequivocal approach towards major issues of prin-

iple, 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 should uphold Party spirit and principles. Belief in Party spirit and principles 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 must love 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 upholding Party spirit and principles and resolve intra-Party conflicts and problems. One of the significant outcomes of the campaign to implement 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 consolidate wholesome conduct, engage in positive, healthy criticism and self-criticism, and build a confident ethos of unity 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 the acquiescent mentality and inappropriate tendencies.

According to ancient Chinese sayings, "Proper execution of orders is the making of a majestic military"³ and "Setting up rules beforehand outweighs punishment afterwards."⁴ The key to upholding Party spirit and principles 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.

Upholding Party spirit and principles 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 Party spirit and principles. 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. The evaluation system of the performance of Party committees and commanding officers should be improved, in order to create a favorable environment for improving combat capability. We must introduce effective measures and relevant policies in public opinion, daily activities, and official promotion so as to establish 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 the central task of economic development 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."⁵

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 featured good examples. During the Red Army period (1927-1937), political work was the responsibility of Party representatives, who enjoyed a high reputation.

Luo Ronghuan⁶ 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."⁷

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 put the power of truth together with the power of their personalities, to be pragmatic, and to be fair and honest. In this regard, the Central Military Commission (CMC) should set a good example for the military.

Notes

¹ Yang Quan: *Discourse on Truth and Matter (Wu Li Lun)*. Yang Quan was a philosopher during the Western Jin Dynasty (265-317).

² Su Xun: *Collected Essays in the Jiayou Period (Jia You Ji)*. Su Xun (1009-1066) was a writer of the Northern Song Dynasty.

³ Liu Xiang: *Garden of Stories (Shuo Yuan)*. Liu Xiang (77-6 BC) was an economist and writer of the Western Han Dynasty.

⁴ *Wei Liao Zi*, an ancient Chinese text on military strategy.

⁵ Lu Jia: *New Thoughts (Xin Yu)*. Lu Jia (c. 240-170 BC) was a thinker and statesman of the Western Han Dynasty.

⁶ Luo Ronghuan (1902-1963) was a proletarian revolutionary, strategist, and marshal of the PRC.

⁷ Luo Ronghuan: "The Gutian Meeting and the Political Work of Our Military", *Selected Military Works of Luo Ronghuan*, Chin. ed., Chinese People's Liberation Army Publishing House, Beijing, 1997, p. 551.

Strengthen the Armed Forces Through Reform*

November 24, 2015

Driving deeper reform in national defense and the military is a call of the times to realize the Chinese Dream, as well as a strong military dream, a sure path to a strong military, and a crucial step for the future of our armed forces. We need to carry out the Party's goal of building a strong military under the prevailing conditions, call on the armed forces and related sectors to carry out the strategy of strengthening the armed forces through reform with full confidence, united in will, thought, and action, and keep resolutely to the path of strengthening the armed forces with Chinese features.

The history of the people's army is one of reform and innovation. Under the leadership of the Party, the armed forces have gone from small to large, from weak to strong, and from victory to victory, without ever slowing the pace of reform and innovation. The reason why the armed forces have stayed vigorous is that they have kept pace with the times and maintained a commitment to reform. Now, as the country progresses from a large country to a large and powerful one, national defense and military development stands at a new and historic starting line. We must take into account the broader international picture, size up our own conditions, and properly deal with the profound and complicated changes in the world. We must uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics, advance the Four-pronged Strategy, implement the goal of building strong armed forces and the military strategies and policies, and fulfill our military missions and tasks. All these require us to have greater wisdom and courage for

* Main points of the speech at a meeting of the Central Military Commission on re-strengthening the armed forces

deeper reform in defense and the military. All officials and people pay close attention to defense and military reform and give it their active support, while army officers and soldiers firmly support such reform with warm expectations. In general, both subjective and objective conditions are favorable for deeper defense and military reform; it is a rare opportunity.

We need to understand the general requirements for reform. The guiding principles for reform includes the essence of the Party's 18th National Congress and the third, fourth and fifth plenary sessions of the 18th CPC Central Committee, 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 Strategy, with building a strong military in the new era as the Party's goal, we will carry out our military strategies, work to break down institutional, structural and policy barriers, modernize the organization of the armed forces, and further unleash the combat capacity 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 national security and development interests, which will provide a strong guarantee for realizing the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream.

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, the CMC has, since the 18th CPC National Congress, made overall plans for building revolutionary, modern and standardized armed forces, coordinated the building and use of military forces, planned for economic development and improvement in national defense, created military strategies and policies in the new era, put forward a series of major policies and principles, and made a series of major decisions and plans. Through reform, we will carry out these strategic plans and designs well, so as to provide a powerful driving force and an institutional guarantee for realizing our goal of building a strong military.

To meet the political requirements of building the military in the current era, we will integrate the leadership of the armed forces with efficient command. To this end, a new structure will be established in which the CMC takes charge of the overall administration of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), the Chinese People's Armed Police, the militia, and reserve forces, where military theater commands focus on combat, and where different military services pursue their own development. We need to maintain the correct political direction, outline a series of institutional designs and arrangements to consolidate and improve the basic principle under which the Party has absolute leadership of the armed forces and the systems that support it, and strengthen the CMC's centralized and unified leadership to ensure that the CPC Central Committee exercises overall leadership over the military and the CMC exercises combat command. We will design measures to integrate the administrative system and the joint battle command system, and establish a three-tier "CMC-theater command-troops" command system and a "CMC-services-troops" administration system. Major measures include: modify the system of the CMC headquarters and establish multiple departments; set up a general command center for the army and improve the administrative system of all branches and services of the armed forces; regroup current regional military commands into theater commands and establish a joint battle command organization under each military theater command; and improve the CMC's joint combat command organization.

To run the military by law and enforce strict discipline, we need to focus on regulating power within the military, which demands a strict system to confine and supervise the use of power. Decision-making, enforcement and supervisory powers should be separated and assigned in the principle of mutual checks and coordination. It is paramount to address the issue that discipline enforcement and inspection, auditing, and judicial supervision processes of the military are not sufficiently independent and authoritative, so as to eradicate the breeding grounds of corruption by means of stricter rules and systems. A new discipline inspection commission will be established

within the CMC, and disciplinary inspectors will be sent to CMC departments and theater commands, in order to carry out the dual leadership system of the discipline inspection commission. The CMC will reorganize the audit office, and the system of resident audit will be fully carried out. A new political and legal affairs commission will be set up under the CMC, the military judicial system will be adjusted, and military courts and procuratorates will be set up based on geographical areas to ensure independent and fair exertion of judicial power.

We will optimize the size, structure and composition of our troops for higher quality and efficiency, with the aim of building an elite fighting force. Following the principle of streamlining the military and enhancing efficiency, we will cut troop numbers by 300,000 and downsize administrative and non-combat personnel in the military, to make the armed forces smaller but more efficient. The proportion and structure of forces among different services will be streamlined, and the composition will be reformed 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. An efficiency-centered revolution of the military's management will be rolled out to establish modern ideas, improve the system, and optimize the process, so that the army is managed more professionally, meticulously and scientifically.

We need to occupy the strategic commanding heights in future military rivalries, give full play to innovation-driven development, and promote new ideas to drive the army's fighting capability. Developing defense science and technology is a basic but pioneering project. We need to identify the right breakthrough points, plan ahead, explore and pilot research in both major technologies and new concepts with foresight, actively seek a competitive edge in military technologies, and improve combat effectiveness with innovation.

We need to better develop, manage and use military personnel, and promote systematic reform and policy innovation for personnel development, so as to bring about a situation where capable people come

forth in large numbers and everyone can display his or her talents. While upholding the Party's leadership over the management of officials and competent personnel, we should improve human resource classification, integrate management functions of human resources, and strengthen collective and unified management of military personnel, so that the military's human resources can help improve the army's capability in combat. We will carry out deeper reform in military academies, and improve the new system for cultivating military personnel, consisting of school education, field training and vocational education. We will further reform management systems for officers, soldiers, and non-combat personnel, as well as systems of medical care, insurance, housing, and payments for servicemen. We will improve policies and systems for the human resources and logistics of the military, and establish policies and systems that can showcase professional characteristics of military members and strengthen the sense of honor and pride in servicemen. By doing so, we can better enhance morale and stabilize the forces.

We should focus on civil-military integration, advance major reform tasks covering both military and civilian services, and promote integrated development of the economy and national defense. To break down institutional barriers for civil-military integration, we will work to establish an efficient organization and management system that is under unified leadership and enjoys coordination between the military and local authorities, a working system in which the state is the dominant force, demands are the driving force and the market is the operating force, and a framework of policies and institutions 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 will improve the institutional framework for the militia and reserve forces, and the mobilization for national defense. We need to strengthen national management and relevant policies so as to provide improved services to veterans. The military must not engage in providing commercial services to the public.

Deeper defense and military reform is an overhaul, a revolution. According to a timeline set in the overall plan, by 2020 we must complete overhauling the leadership and the joint command system, and achieve concrete results in optimizing the scale and structure of the military, improving policies and systems, and promoting civil-military integration. By that point, we should have in place modern military forces which are able to win the information war, effectively fulfill missions and tasks, and further improve the military system with Chinese features. With a strong sense of history and of mission, and in a spirit of "leaving a mark in the iron tools we clutch and footprints in the stones we tread", the whole armed forces should address this crucial battle of reform with determination, and achieve results that will satisfy the Party and the people.

We will unify our thinking, continue our ideological and political work throughout the entire process of reform, and strengthen political awareness, consciousness of the overall situation, and the need to obey command at all levels of our troops. Enlisted officers and men should be guided to actively support and embrace the reform program. High-ranking military officers must take the lead in stressing political awareness, bearing in mind the general situation, observing discipline, promoting reform, striving to fulfill their duties, and resolutely defending the authority of the CPC Central Committee and the CMC in making plans for reform. To strengthen organizational leadership, Party committees at all levels should consider it their political duty to implement reform initiatives. The principal leader of every Party committee should be the first person responsible, and the upper level should supervise each level below it. In Party development, the military should ensure its smooth progress by designing tasks and measures with reform. To this end, we need to ensure corresponding security work, connect legislation with reform, and accelerate enactment, revision, abolition and interpretation of rules and regulations, so that reform will progress along the path of rule of law and different levels operate in an orderly way in the new framework. For officers, we must make reasonable plans to decide their promotion,

transfer or removal, and pay attention to and address their practical problems. Veteran officers are valuable assets to the Party and the armed forces; we shall work hard to ensure provision of services to them and secure their needs.

At present, the CMC should focus on reform, and leaders of all levels should plan, arrange and encourage work in all sectors with reform as the main priority. We should step up efforts to implement the guiding principles of the political work conference of the armed forces, improve working practices, continue the anti-corruption struggle, complete the follow-up of various inspections and clearing operations, and connect the advance of reform with the education on the Three Guidelines for Ethical Behavior and Three Basic Rules of Conduct. We will strengthen the management of the military, and maintain its security and stability while making it unified and centralized. In accordance with the new requirements that economic and social development has raised for national defense and the military, we will step up efforts to make the 13th Five-year Plan for army building and development.

All Party and state departments, Party committees and governments at all local levels should have a stronger sense of the overall situation, and regard supporting deeper reform of national defense and the military as their duty. For example, they can create special or preferential policies to arrange jobs for veterans and retiring military personnel. Through concerted efforts, the Party, government, the military, and civilians will be able to carry out various tasks of national defense and military reform, and make new progress in fully implementing the strategy of strengthening the armed forces through reform. Through all this, we will make a new and greater contribution to realizing the Chinese Dream as well as a strong military dream.

Deeper Civil-Military Integration*

June 20, 2017

Upgraded as a national strategy, civil-military integration is a major result of 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. It is of the utmost importance to strengthen centralized and unified leadership and uphold a holistic view of national security and the military strategic guideline with a problem-oriented approach in this new era. The top-level design should be an overall plan for the integrated use of infrastructure, key facilities, and resources based on essential requirements. Meanwhile, we should reform institutions and mechanisms, integrate military systems with concrete elements, and improve the general standards for both military and civilian development, so as to put in place a comprehensive and highly-efficient network of integration and build an integrated national strategic system and capability.

This is a period of strategic opportunities for civil-military integration. It is also a critical period for this integration to advance in scope and scale and achieve leapfrog development. This situation will prevail for some time to come. All departments concerned should seize the opportunity, broaden their vision and accelerate high-quality integration. These are some of the key points: unified leadership, further integration, innovative ideas, and in-depth cooperation.

* Main points of the speech at the first plenary session of the Central Commission for Civil-Military Integration.

Deeper civil-military integration must be based on our national and military conditions. We should blaze a trail of integration with Chinese characteristics. The concept, decisions and plans of civil-military integration must be fully implemented in all sectors of the economy and national defense and in all processes. Integration should bring into full play one of the key strengths of our socialist system - its efficiency in pooling resources to solve major problems. Integration must combine state guidance with the role of the market, and rally strength through proper planning, institutional innovation, policy support and legal guarantees. The integration of military and civilian development can support and drive both national defense and economic and social development, which will ultimately maximize the comprehensive benefit to both sides.

The ultimate approach to deeper civil-military integration is reform and innovation. We should start with greater opening up and removal of self-imposed partitions to make breakthroughs in the reform of institutions and policies, and reshape the system of integration and overall planning in key areas. Civil-military integration must be combined with the strategy of innovation-driven development. The building of an innovation system for this integration has to be accelerated. Pilot innovation demonstration projects should be set up to expand the scale of civil-military integration and explore new approaches.

To further civil-military integration, we must be legal-minded and promote our work within legal frameworks, so that the relevant laws and regulations can regulate, guide and safeguard the integration. Therefore, the enactment, revision, repeal, and interpretation of laws and regulations should be expedited accordingly. We should improve the institutional environment for the development of integration. Barriers should be dismantled. Obstacles must be overcome. Access thresholds must be reduced. Meanwhile, market access rules have to be improved. Our policies should encourage more competent enterprises, high-caliber talent, technology, capital and services to play a bigger role in civil-military integration.

To further civil-military integration, we must focus on priority areas since development in these areas will play a leading role in driving overall development. There is tremendous potential for civil-military integration in such areas as infrastructure development, science, technology and industry for national defense, weaponry and equipment procurement, personnel training, outsourcing of military logistical support, and national defense mobilization. It is important to facilitate the integrated use of available resources and optimize the allocation of incremental resources, so that we will be able to benefit to the full from integration. The concept and requirements of integrated military and civilian development should be implemented in such fields as oceans, outer space, cyberspace, biology and new energy, which can serve both military and civilian purposes. The planning, building and utilization of infrastructure in these fields should be dual-purpose, too. Major problems should be dealt with promptly, so that military and civilian resources in the emerging sectors can be more compatible, better coordinated, and mutually accessible.

To further civil-military integration, we should put emphasis on implementation. Each and every one of us should have a strong sense of urgency and responsibility. "Seize the hour, seize the day", as the old saying goes. On key tasks and projects, we should be clear about our respective duties, and work hard to resolve problems with force and tenacity as a hammer drives a nail. The quality and benefit of integrated development should be under strict supervision and assessment. Relevant assessment systems, standards and codes should be formulated.

All provincial authorities and central departments should focus on the major decisions and plans of the CPC Central Committee in both thought and deed. With a stronger sense of mission and responsibility, we should have the courage to brave dangerous rapids, challenge vested interests, or "move the cheese", so to speak, address thorny problems, cross over hurdles, and blaze new trails. We should strengthen overall planning in the fields of management, policies, major reforms, infrastructure construction, and pilot demonstration

projects. Major problems crossing departments, sectors and regions should be resolved with effective coordination. All provinces and equivalent administrative units should expedite the establishment of leading offices for civil-military integration, and improve functions and work mechanisms, in order to lay an organizational foundation for the implementation of this major policy of the CPC Central Committee.

Continue to Strengthen Our Military*

August 1, 2017

History ever moves on. In the world today, the international situation is undergoing unprecedented change. 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 realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. At the same time, we must be fully aware that our way forward will not be smooth. Severe challenges, risks, difficulties and problems will continue to arise. These historical features presage a great struggle.

At this new historical 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 speed up the building of the people's military into a world-class force. We should stay true to our mission, keep moving forward, and make steady progress in strengthening our military the Chinese features.

– To strengthen our 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 cohesiveness, affinity, 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 the building and strengthening of the military. However the situa-

* Part of the speech at the rally marking the 90th anniversary of the founding of the PLA.

tion changes with the times, our military will always be the military of the Party and of the people. The military should enhance its political integrity, develop a better understanding of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, and act consistently with Central Committee policy. It should safeguard the authority of the Central Committee, uphold the fundamental principle and institution 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 strengthen our military, we must stick to 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 in 2012, our Party has put forward a series of new visions, new ideas, new concepts, and new requirements on national defense and the military, as the Party's thinking on the development of the military in the new era has taken shape. The military should fully implement the Party's military theory, educate the troops in the Party's thinking, and make steady progress. There is no end to practice, to seeking truth, and to theoretical innovation. Developing our military forces is a pioneering endeavor. We must always adapt to new situations, respond to new challenges, solve new problems, make breakthroughs in theory, and courageously explore new ways in practice, to enrich and develop the Party's approach to developing the military, so that the truth of Marxist military theory applied in practice will shine brighter in China.

— To strengthen our 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 safety, we cannot forget about danger; in peace, we cannot forget about 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 being its combat capability. 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, wars and strategy, in order to understand the laws of modern war and the laws of command and control, and thus enhance combat readiness. We must enhance combat readiness through rigorous training in real combat scenarios. The military must enhance 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, security and interests, and regional and world peace.

– To strengthen our military, we must count on political work, 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 New Gutian Meeting. Political work is the lifeline of the military, which will play an essential role in fostering a new generation of revolutionary force dedicated to the Party's ideals and leadership, capable of winning war fearless, and equipped with moral integrity, with men and women as strong as iron in their belief, faith, discipline and sense of respons

bility, 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 the system of a modern military with Chinese characteristics, and accelerate the development of a system of Chinese-style modern armed forces that are capable of winning IT-based 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 the building of the military and the improvement of combat capabilities. The military should be well aware of the rule of law. The establishment of a military law system has to be accelerated, so as to facilitate a fundamental change in the command and control of the military.

To strengthen our military, we must promote deeper civil-military integration and build a national strategy and ability to advance such integration. Upgraded as a national strategy, civil-military integration is a major result of 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. It is of the utmost importance to strengthen centralized and unified leadership and uphold a holistic view of national security and the military strategic guideline with a problem-oriented approach in this new era. The top-level design should be an overall plan for the integrated use of infrastructure, key facilities, and resources based on essential requirements. Meanwhile, we should reform institutions and mechanisms, integrate military systems with concrete elements, and improve the general standards for both military and civilian development, so as to put in place a comprehen-

sive and highly-efficient network of integration. 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 the common undertaking of the Party and the people. Party committees and government departments at all levels should be fully aware of the importance of national defense, and create a favorable environment for, take an active part in, and give their strongest support to the reform of national defense and the military.

— To strengthen our 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 loved 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. The military should keep the people in our hearts, keep the sacred duty of fighting for the people in our minds, and safeguard their peaceful lives and labors. We should carry forward the worthy tradition of close ties with the people, go through thick and thin with them to consolidate the ties, and always be the defender of the interests of the people. The military should take an active part in local economic and social development, being ready to serve the people with concrete actions and take on responsibilities in the face of urgent, difficult, dangerous and heavy tasks. The unity between military and government and between military and 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 people and military, and consolidate the rock-solid relations between military and government.

One Country, Two Systems

Progress in Practicing “One Country, Two Systems” in Macao*

December 20, 2014

Over the past 15 years, with the strong support of the central government and the mainland, and under the leadership of the chief executive and government of the Macao Special Administrative Region (MSAR), people from various sectors in Macao have united as one, made vigorous efforts to implement the principle of “one country, two systems” and achieved fruitful results.

— We are glad to see that the principles of “one country, two systems”, “Macao people administering Macao”, and a high degree of autonomy as well as the Basic Law of the MSAR have won massive support from the people of Macao and have been implemented in real earnest. The constitutional order of the MSAR as prescribed by the Constitution and the Basic Law is respected and upheld. The central government’s full jurisdiction is effectively exercised while the high degree of autonomy enjoyed by the SAR is fully guaranteed. Our compatriots in Macao are masters of their own house, entitled to broad freedoms and democratic rights in accordance with the law. Macao now enjoys orderly progress in democracy, rapid economic growth, rising living standards, and social harmony and stability. All-round progress has been made in its various social programs, and its exchanges with the outside world have continued to expand.

— We are glad to see that Macao’s exchanges and cooperation with the mainland are becoming ever-closer, and that Macao is continuing

* Part of the speech at the Meeting Celebrating the 15th Anniversary of Macao’s Return to China and the Inaugural Ceremony of the Fourth-term Government of the Macao Special Administrative Region.

to make its unique contribution to China's reform, opening up and modernization while sharing the opportunities and benefits brought by development of the mainland. Our fellow countrymen in Macao have gained a growing sense of identity and belonging. The close national bond of "blood being thicker than water" is becoming ever stronger. Love for China and love for Macao have become a prevalent value in Macao society.

— We are glad to see that as a historical city where Chinese and Western cultures meet, Macao displays a unique charm that belongs to a culture typical of southern China, yet with a distinctive European touch. Here, communities from various ethnic backgrounds live in harmony and help and learn from each other. Together, they present to the world a dynamic Macao beaming with vitality.

Since its return to China 15 years ago, Macao has achieved a series of remarkable successes of which our compatriots in Macao and people of all ethnic groups in China can be justifiably proud. The valuable experience gained by Macao along the way should be cherished and remembered by the entire nation.

Facts have shown that as long as we fully and correctly understand and implement the principle of "one country, two systems", strictly abide by the Basic Law, focus on economic growth and the wellbeing of the people, uphold inclusiveness and mutual assistance, and promote broad unity under the banner "love the country, love Macao", we will make steady and continuous progress along the right track, and Macao will have a better future.

The past 15 years have seen profound changes taking place in every aspect of life in Macao as well as in its external environment. At this new historical start, we need to consolidate Macao's economic and social development and strive for still greater progress. To achieve this, we need to build on past achievements and work with great enterprise to lay a more solid foundation for the enduring prosperity and stability of Macao. To this end, I hope Macao will succeed in the following four areas:

First, continue to make vigorous efforts to enhance the capability

and quality of law-based governance of the MSAR. Since its return to China, Macao, as a special administrative region, has constantly improved its governance system and capability. Meanwhile, we have also noted that the evolving situation and people's expectations have raised new and higher demands for the governance of the MSAR.

The course of human progress shows that law-based governance is the most reliable and stable way of governance. To achieve this, we need to make good use of law-based thinking and practice in our governance, increase public awareness of the rule of law, and in particular, improve the institutions and legal systems designed to support the implementation of the Basic Law of the MSAR. Efforts should be made to build a diligent, clean, efficient and fair government under the rule of law, and ensure that decision-making and policy implementation are carried out in accordance with the law, so that the development of Macao will stay in line with the rule of law. We need to strengthen the ranks of public officials, manage them well, and improve their ability to perform their duties in accordance with the law. We need to promote the concept of rule of law among the public and encourage them to jointly safeguard law-based order. At the same time we need to train a large number of professionals who are familiar with the Basic Law of the MSAR and possess strong legal expertise, so as to provide a strong backing of human resources for law-based governance in Macao.

Second, continue to build an overall strategy and promote suitably diverse and sustainable economic development in Macao. In recent years, Macao has enjoyed rapid economic and social progress. At the same time, certain deep-seated problems formed over the years have surfaced, and certain development risks have built up. It is important for Macao to adopt a future-oriented and long-term perspective that embraces both the nation and the globe, to formulate appropriate plans and blueprints for its future development, and to promote sound economic and social progress.

It is essential to have long-term plans, seize every opportunity created by the national effort to achieve deeper all-round reform, and

promote the diverse and sustainable economic development of Macao, based on its positioning as a global tourism and leisure hub and a service platform for economic and trade cooperation between China and Portuguese-speaking countries. This is important not only for the people of Macao, but also for the development of the Pan-Pearl River Delta region and even the whole country.

Macao needs to enhance top-level planning and specify concrete steps and measures for progress. It needs to follow a two-pronged approach, improving its own ability to develop while strengthening regional cooperation. On the one hand, it needs to find the courage and wisdom to solve difficult problems in its development, strengthen and improve regulation and supervision over the gaming industry, nurture new growth engines for its economy, and work hard for substantive results. On the other hand, it needs to make good use of the policies and measures that the central government has enacted to support Macao's development, and strengthen its cooperation with the mainland, particularly with Guangdong Province and the Pan-Pearl River Delta region. Macao needs to expand its development space, gain greater impetus for its development through regional cooperation, and strive for common development and progress with the mainland.

Third, continue to build a solid foundation and work for social harmony and stability. Harmony and stability constitute the basis for economic and social development and the wellbeing of the people. The SAR government and all the people of Macao must fully cherish and do everything they can to safeguard harmony and stability in Macao.

In governing Macao, the SAR government needs to put people first by fully understanding people's lives and needs and addressing their concerns and difficulties. It needs to properly respond to diverse demands in society, balance the interests of various groups, and foster a fairer and more equitable social environment. It needs to make sure that people have better access to the fruits of development, improve their quality of life, and increase their happiness index. Everyone in Macao should continue to love the motherland and love Macao,

support the chief executive and the SAR government in governing Macao in accordance with the law, strengthen social cohesion and positive energy, and work jointly for long-term prosperity and stability. Meanwhile, we need to guard against and oppose external infiltration and interference, so as to maintain a sound atmosphere of stability and unity in Macao.

Fourth, continue to be future-oriented and strengthen the education of the younger generation. It takes ten years to cultivate a tree but decades to cultivate talent. Young people in Macao represent the hope and future not only of Macao, but the whole country. We need to strengthen the education and upbringing of young people to ensure that the worthy tradition of loving the motherland and loving Macao will be carried forward from one generation to another and that the cause of "one country, two systems" will be continuously advanced. We need to care for our young people and attach great importance to creating favorable conditions for their growth and success.

China is a great country with a time-honored history and rich civilization. The fine traditional culture that the Chinese nation has created and carried forward in its thousands of years of history is the root and soul of the Chinese nation. In the education of our young people, priority should be given to the history, culture and national conditions of China, so that they will better appreciate these things: the wealth of the Chinese civilization, the glorious journey of the modern era through which China was salvaged from subjugation and turned into a strong country, the extraordinary endeavor and tremendous achievements of the PRC, and the intrinsic links between the principle of "one country, two systems", upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, and realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. In this way, they will fully understand that the destiny and the future of Macao are intricately bound with the mainland, and will thus have a stronger sense of national pride and deeper love for China and for Macao. As a result, they will commit themselves to the cause of "one country, two systems" with a greater sense of responsibility and mission.

“One country, two systems” is a basic state policy. A firm grasp of this policy is vital to ensuring the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao. It is also an important part of our endeavor to fulfill the Chinese Dream. It conforms with the fundamental interests of the country and the nation, the overall and long-term interests of Hong Kong and Macao, and the interests of foreign investors.

To continue to advance this policy, we must remain committed to the fundamental purpose of “one country, two systems”, jointly safeguard national sovereignty, security and development interests, and maintain the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao. We must continue to govern Hong Kong and Macao and implement the principle of “one country, two systems” in accordance with the law. We must adhere to the one-China principle while respecting the differences of the two systems, uphold the power of the central government while ensuring a high degree of autonomy in the SARs, and give play to the role of the mainland as the staunch supporter of Hong Kong and Macao while increasing their competitiveness. At no time should we focus only on one side to the neglect of the other. This is the only way to ensure sound and steady progress. An approach that makes the wrong start, like putting one's left foot into the right shoe, will lead us to nowhere.

To continue to advance the cause of “one country, two systems” is the common mission of the central government, the SAR governments, and all the people of China, including our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao. No matter what difficulties or challenges we may encounter, they will never shake our confidence or our determination to uphold the principle and advance the practice.

Join Hands to Consolidate Peace and Development in Cross-Straits Relations*

November 7, 2015

Today is a special day. This meeting between the leaders across the Taiwan Straits has turned a historic page in cross-Straits relations. Today will be remembered in history. There have been times when the Taiwan Straits lay under the shadow of military confrontation, separating compatriots and leaving many families in indelible pain or irreparable regret. However, the Straits cannot sever the bond between brothers, or stop the yearning of our compatriots for their homeland and family reunion. The power of kinship eventually broke the blockade across the Straits in the 1980s. Since 2008 cross-Straits relations have seen peaceful development, and over the past seven years the situation has been stable and peaceful. We have achieved many positive results in developing all our relations, thanks to efforts of both sides of the Straits and all our compatriots. It is due to the past seven years of development that we can make this historic step today.

The 66-year history of the development of cross-Straits relations shows that no matter what ordeals we have experienced, or how long we have been isolated from each other, no force can pull us apart. At this point, a decision has to be made on cross-Straits relations in regards to the direction and path of future development. The two sides should learn from past experiences, take on responsibility for the Chinese nation and for history, and make the right choice – one that can stand the test of history.

* Main points of the talk with Taiwan leader Ma Ying-jeou in Singapore

We are sitting together today to prevent a historical tragedy from repeating itself, to protect the fruits of peaceful development of cross-Straits ties, to enable compatriots across the Straits to continue to lead a life of peace and tranquility, and to enable our coming generations to share a bright future. Faced with new circumstances and standing at a new starting point of cross-Straits relations, the two sides should focus on the overall interests of the Chinese nation, follow the trend of the times, and join hands in consolidating the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. For this, I want to stress the following four points:

First, staying firmly committed to the common political basis. The key to the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations over the past seven years lies in the fact that both sides have honored the 1992 Consensus¹ and opposed "Taiwan independence". Without this basis, peaceful development will suffer major setbacks, or even complete failure.

The 1992 Consensus has clear authorization and recognition from the relevant bodies on the two sides across the Straits, and is widely supported by the public on both sides. The Consensus is important in that it embodies the one-China principle, with a clear definition of the essence of cross-Straits relations. It indicates that the mainland and Taiwan belong to one and the same China, and that their relationship is not one between countries, nor is it "one China, one Taiwan". Although the two sides are not yet unified, China has never been split in terms of sovereignty and territorial integrity. The two sides across the Straits belong to one country, and our compatriots across the Straits are one people. This historical fact and the legal basis have never changed, and will never change.

We hope that all political parties and organizations in Taiwan honor the 1992 Consensus. We are willing to communicate with any political party and organization, regardless of their past advocacies, as long as they recognize the 1992 Consensus and accept its core principles. Compatriots on both sides will not tolerate any act of secession-

sm. We have been and are always resolute on the principle of national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Second, continuing to consolidate the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. For some 30 years cross-Straits relations have undergone historic changes. Around 2008 cross-Straits relations embarked on a path of peaceful development, and reached their best point since the founding of the PRC in 1949. Peace instead of conflict, communication instead of isolation, and consultation and cooperation instead of zero-sum confrontation have become the common wish of compatriots on both sides. Relations across the Straits are no longer hostile or confrontational, as they once were.

The history of the development of cross-Straits relations tells us that it was the people who suffered the most from tension and conflicts across the Taiwan Straits, and that peaceful development and pursuit of mutual benefit will not only benefit the two sides, but also the future generations of the Chinese nation. Our compatriots across the Straits should cherish the fruits of peaceful development, completely defuse hostility, keep to the path of peaceful development, and strive to build an institutional framework for a stable and peaceful development of cross-Straits relations.

The two sides should strengthen communication and dialogue, enhance political mutual trust, and solve long-standing and problematic issues through consultation and discussion on an equal footing, while managing differences and disputes. The two sides should set up hotlines for timely communication on urgent matters to avoid misjudgment, and a first hotline can be set up between the heads of departments in charge of cross-Straits affairs.

Over the past 60 years the two sides across the Straits have followed different paths of development, and practiced different social systems. The judgment on the path and system will be made by history and the people. Both sides should respect each other's choice of development path and social system, and avoid disruption of cross-Straits communication and cooperation due to disputes on these matters.

We understand the needs of our compatriots in Taiwan with

regard to participation in international activities, and have solved many related problems. Reasonable arrangements can be made through pragmatic consultation between the two sides as long as they do not create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan".

The biggest threat to the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations now comes from the forces and activities for "Taiwan independence". They instigate hostility and confrontation across the Straits, undermine national sovereignty and territorial integrity, harm peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits, and deter the development of cross-Straits relations. They have nothing to offer but disaster to the Chinese on both sides of the Straits. We should stand firmly together to counter such moves.

Third, continuing to boost wellbeing of people on the two sides. We are one family, and harmony in the family leads to success in everything. The prime purpose and objective of our efforts to promote the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations is to enhance our bond and the people's wellbeing and bring better lives to the people of both sides. As long as any effort is directed towards enhancing our bond and the wellbeing of the people, promoting peaceful development across the Straits, and maintaining the overall interests of the Chinese nation, both sides should try their best and ensure better results.

We are willing to take the initiative to share development opportunities with our compatriots in Taiwan. Our two sides can strengthen macro policy communication, make use of our respective strengths, and expand the scale of economic cooperation, to make the cake bigger so that more people will benefit from it and have a sense of gaining. On matters such as trade and the establishment of offices at each other's cross-Straits affairs organs², the two sides can speed up negotiations and reach a consensus as soon as possible. We welcome our compatriots in Taiwan to participate in the Belt and Road Initiative, and welcome Taiwan to join the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in a proper form.

We should strengthen cultural and educational exchanges and

cooperation, carry forward the best traditions of Chinese culture, enhance our cultural bond, and cultivate talent for the future of the Chinese nation.

The peaceful development of cross-Straits relations lies in our people, and the future in our youth. There are still many of our fellow-countrymen in Taiwan who have never been to the mainland. We welcome them to visit the mainland and take part in cross-Straits exchange and communication. We should provide more opportunities and create better conditions for young people on both sides to study, seek employment, start businesses, and talk to each other, so that the people on the two sides, especially the youth, can become an important driving force for the development of cross-Straits relations and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

Fourth, continuing to work with one heart for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The Chinese nation has a 5,000-year history, but suffered continual oppression at the hands of the Western powers in modern times. A hundred and twenty years ago, Taiwan fell into the hands of foreign forces, throwing the whole nation into anguish. It was not until 1945, when we drove out the Japanese aggressors, that Taiwan was restored, ending half a century of humiliation. Through the lessons of history we can deeply feel that the two sides across the Straits are inalienable and have a shared future. The prosperity of the Chinese nation will bring good fortune to people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, while weakness and turbulence only foreshadow disaster for both. The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is closely linked to the future and destiny of the people on both sides.

Now we are closer than ever to realizing this great dream, and we have the capability to succeed. In only a few decades we have achieved a degree of development which took many others hundreds of years. I believe that our compatriots in Taiwan will surely be involved in realizing national rejuvenation.

This year marks the 70th anniversary of China's fight against Japanese aggression, a victory won with tremendous sacrifice on the part of the whole nation. The two sides across the Straits should encour-

age cooperation between historians to share materials and jointly draft books, in order to carry forward that spirit and defend national dignity and honor. The people across the Straits should remember history, commemorate the revolutionary martyrs, cherish peace, unite as one, and join hands in advancing the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations.

Notes

¹ This refers to an oral agreement reached at a November 1992 meeting between the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits based on the mainland and the Straits Exchange Foundation based in Taiwan. The meeting discussed how to express the one-China principle in negotiations on general affairs, and agreed that both sides would follow the one-China principle, each with its respective interpretation.

² This refers to the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits and the Straits Exchange Foundation.

“One Country, Two Systems”: Long-Term Prosperity and Stability for Hong Kong*

July 1, 2017

Time flies. It has been 20 years since Hong Kong’s return. According to China’s tradition, a man enters adulthood at the age of 20. So today, we are celebrating the coming of age of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), which has grown with the vigor of a bamboo or a pine tree. Looking back at the last two decades, we can proudly conclude that it is in large part thanks to our support, and to its own international vision and innovative spirit, that Hong Kong has continued to develop as a modern metropolis. The practice of “one country, two systems” in Hong Kong is a success recognized by all.

— Since its return, Hong Kong has joined us on our journey towards the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. As a special administrative region directly under the central government, Hong Kong was re-integrated into China’s national governance system on the very day of its return. The central government exercises jurisdiction over Hong Kong in accordance with China’s Constitution and the Basic Law of the HKSAR, and corresponding systems and institutions have been set up for the special administrative region. Hong Kong’s ties with the mainland have grown increasingly closer, as have interactions and cooperation. The people of Hong Kong have played an active part in China’s reform, opening up and modernization, and made their unique and important contribution to this endeavor. They have ever stronger confidence in China’s development and national rejuvenation.

* Part of the speech at the Meeting Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of Hong Kong’s Return to China and the Inaugural Ceremony of the Fifth-term Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

tion, and share with the people on the mainland the dignity and honor of our great country.

— Since its return, Hong Kong has maintained prosperity and stability. It has kept its distinct features and strengths. Its allure of being a vibrant metropolis where the East meets the West has remained as strong as ever. Under the principle of "one country, two systems", Hong Kong has retained its capitalist system and way of life, and its laws have remained basically unchanged. The people of Hong Kong, now masters of their own future, run their local affairs within the purview of the autonomy of the HKSAR. They enjoy more extensive democratic rights and freedoms than at any other time in its history.

Having withstood the impact of the Asian financial crisis, the SARS outbreak, and the global financial crisis, Hong Kong has emerged stronger as an international financial, shipping and trading center, and it has been consistently rated by many international institutions as one of the freest economies and most competitive regions in the world. Hong Kong has made substantial advances in many areas, increased its external interactions, and raised its international profile.

What has happened in Hong Kong fully demonstrates that "one country, two systems" provides the best solution to the historical question of Hong Kong and the best institutional arrangement to ensure Hong Kong's long-term prosperity and stability. "One country, two systems" has proved to be a workable solution and an achievable goal welcomed by the people.

"One country, two systems" is a great Chinese initiative. It offers a new thinking and a new formula to the international community in addressing similar issues. It is another contribution made by the Chinese nation to global peace and development. And it embodies the Chinese vision which values openness and inclusiveness. Upholding and implementing the principle of "one country, two systems" meet the interests of the people of Hong Kong, respond to the needs of maintaining its prosperity and stability, serve the fundamental interests

of the nation, and meet the shared aspirations of all Chinese. That is why I have made it clear that the central government will never waver in its commitment to "one country, two systems" and make sure that it is fully applied in Hong Kong without any distortion or alteration. This will enable us to keep advancing in the right direction.

"One country, two systems" is a pioneering initiative that has no precedent. Its application is a process of evolution. Currently, some new developments are occurring and new issues emerging regarding its application in Hong Kong. Hong Kong needs to improve its systems to uphold national sovereignty, and ensure its security and development interests. It needs to enhance education on and raise public awareness of Chinese history and culture. It has yet to build public consensus on some major political and legal issues.

Hong Kong also faces several challenges in economic development. Its traditional strengths are beginning to lose their edge, while new drivers of growth are yet to emerge. Problems of housing and other issues that affect people's lives have become more acutely felt. To address these challenges, meet the expectations of the people for a better life, and advance Hong Kong's development in all sectors, we must stay on a true and steady course, gain a full understanding of "one country, two systems" and implement it faithfully.

And this is what I want to talk to you about.

First, it is imperative to have a correct understanding of the relationship between "one country" and "two systems". "One country" is like the roots of a tree. For a tree to grow tall and luxuriant, its roots must run deep and strong. "One country, two systems" was advanced, first and foremost, to realize and uphold national unity. That is why in the negotiations with the United Kingdom, we were categorical that sovereignty is not for negotiation. Now that Hong Kong has returned to China, it is all the more important for us to firmly safeguard China's sovereignty, security and development interests.

In conducting day-to-day affairs, we must have a strong sense of "one country" and firmly observe the "one country" principle, and thereby correctly handle the relationship between the HKSAR and

the central government. Any attempt to endanger China's sovereignty and security, challenge the authority of the central government and the sanctity of the Basic Law of the HKSAR, or use Hong Kong as a channel for infiltration and sabotage against the mainland, is an act that crosses the red line, and is absolutely impermissible.

On the other hand, on the basis of "one country", the "two systems" should and can stay in harmony and reinforce each other. We must adhere to "one country" and respect the differences of the "two systems", uphold the power of the central government and ensure a high degree of autonomy in the HKSAR, give play to the role of the mainland as a staunch supporter of Hong Kong and enhance Hong Kong's own competitiveness. At no time should we focus only on one aspect to the neglect of the other. Only in this way can we ensure that the "one country, two systems" ship will maintain a steady course and reach its destination despite any rough seas.

Second, it is imperative to always act in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and the Basic Law of the HKSAR. Hong Kong's return completed a major transformation of its constitutional order. The Constitution and the Basic Law together form the constitutional basis of the HKSAR. The Constitution is the fundamental law of China. It embodies the common will of the Chinese people, and represents the legal origin of the system of special administrative regions. Enacted in accordance with the Constitution, the Basic Law provides for the system and policies that should be practiced in the HKSAR, codifies and institutionalizes "one country, two systems", and provides legal safeguards for its practice in Hong Kong.

In observing the order prescribed by the Constitution and the Basic Law, it is important both for the central government to exercise power and for the HKSAR to fulfill its own responsibilities. We should improve the relevant institutions and mechanisms for implementing the Basic Law, and raise public awareness of the Constitution and the Basic Law in Hong Kong, particularly among civil servants and young people. These steps are integral to practicing "one coun-

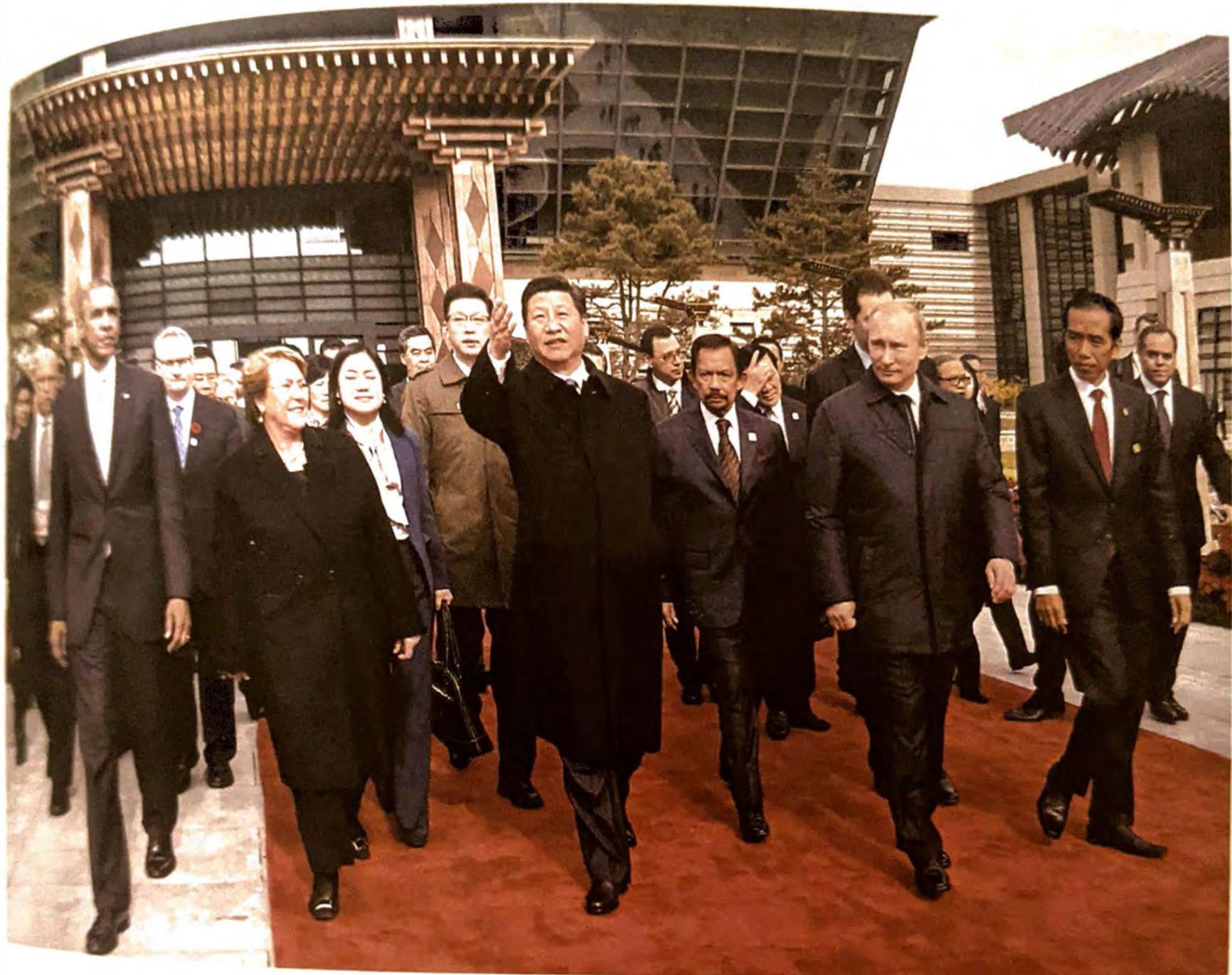
“One country, two systems”, advancing law-based governance nationwide, and upholding the rule of law in Hong Kong.

Third, it is imperative to stay focused on development as the top priority. Development, an abiding pursuit, is critical to Hong Kong's survival, and it holds the golden key to resolving issues there. “One country, two systems” was advanced to achieve two goals: namely, peacefully resuming the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong, and maintaining its status as an international financial, shipping and trading center in order to promote further growth. Currently, more focus should be given to development. Teenagers want to grow up happy. Young people want to bring out the best of their talent. People in mature years want to be successful, and seniors want to enjoy their golden years. Obviously, all this can only be achieved through development. Hong Kong enjoys the backing of the motherland and is open to the world. It therefore has many favorable conditions for development and distinctive competitive advantages. In particular, China's continuous and rapid development over the years provides an invaluable opportunity, an inexhaustible source of strength, and a broad space for Hong Kong's development. As a saying in Hong Kong goes, “After leaving Suzhou, a traveler will find it hard to get a ride on a boat”, meaning an opportunity missed is an opportunity lost. It is important to cherish the opportunity, seize it, and focus your energy on Hong Kong's development.

Fourth, it is imperative to always maintain a harmonious and stable social environment. “One country, two systems” gives expression to the vision of peace and harmony in Chinese culture. It embodies a very important tenet, namely, seeking broad common ground while setting aside major differences. Hong Kong is a pluralist society. So it comes as no surprise that there are different views and even major differences of opinion on some specific issues. However, politicizing everything or deliberately creating differences and provoking confrontation will not resolve these problems. On the contrary, it will only serve to hinder Hong Kong's economic and social development. Bear in mind the larger interests, communicate in a sensible way, and build

greater consensus – this is the best way to find solutions to issues over time.

On the part of the central government, we are ready to talk to anyone who loves the country, loves Hong Kong, and genuinely supports the principle of “one country, two systems” and the Basic Law of the HKSAR, no matter what political views or position they may hold. Harmony brings good fortune, while discord leads to misfortune. Hong Kong is an affluent society, but it also faces enormous challenges posed by profound changes in the global economic environment and intense and growing international competition. It cannot afford to be torn apart by reckless moves or internal rifts. The people of Hong Kong must unite, work together and help each other, and by so doing, you will ensure the success of Hong Kong, your common home.



Together with leaders and representatives of other member states on their way to planting the Asia-Pacific Forest of Partners, during the 22nd APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Beijing, November 11, 2014.



Ni and his wife, Peng Jiyuan, talking with students from Scotch Oakburn College at Launceston, during their visit to Tasmania, Australia, November 18, 2014.



Xi and his wife in a symbolic stroll with other Asian and African leaders to commemorate the historic 1955 Bandung Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, April 24, 2015.



Delivering a speech at the general debate of the 70th session of the United Nations General Assembly, at the UN headquarters in New York, September 28, 2015.



Greeting an elephant at a wildlife sanctuary in Zimbabwe, December 2, 2015.

THE OPENING CEREMONY OF
THE ASIAN INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT BANK
亚洲基础设施投资银行开业仪式



January 16th, 2016 Beijing, China
2016年1月16日 中国·北京



Unveiling the sculpted logo of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank at its opening ceremony in Beijing on January 16, 2016. Xi spoke at the opening ceremony.



World leaders arriving at the conference hall of the 11th G20 Summit held in Hangzhou, September 4, 2016. Xi addressed the opening of the summit.



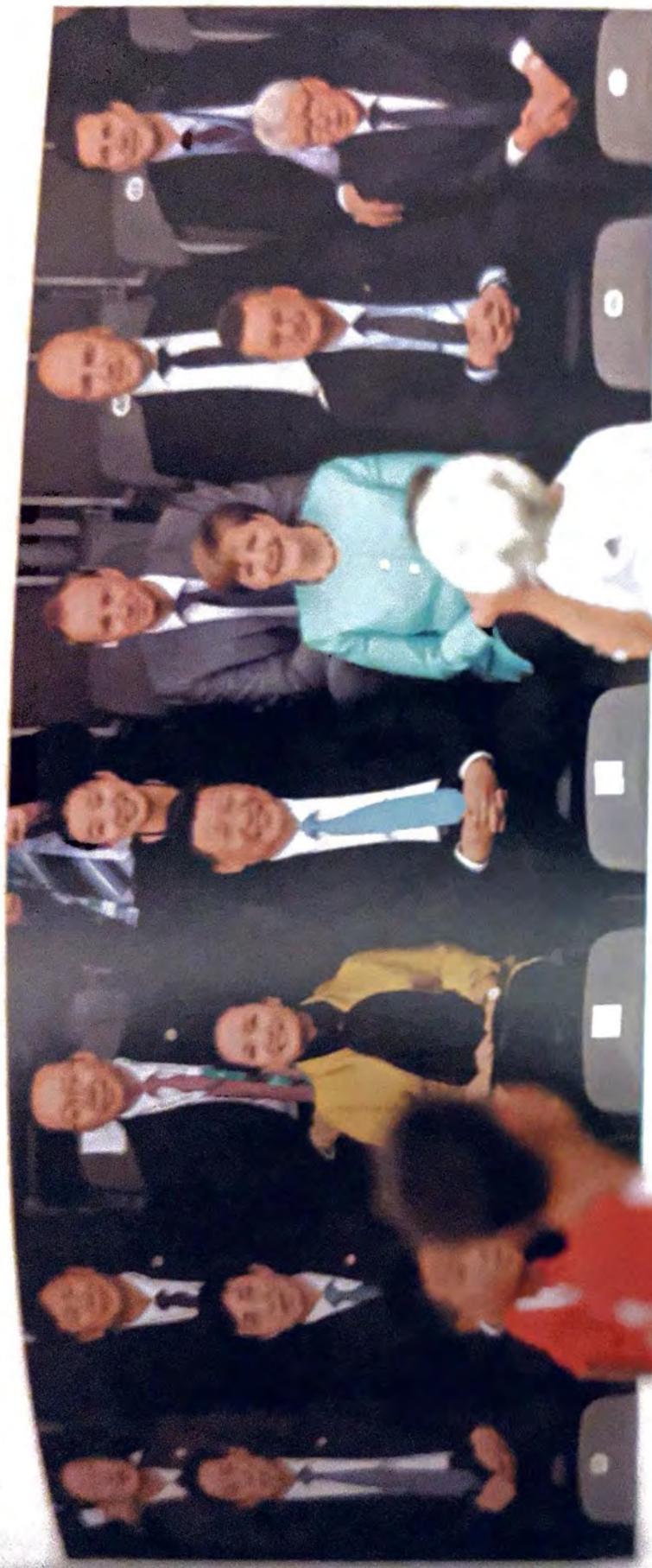
Xi and his wife with US President Donald Trump and his wife Melania Trump in the Mar-a-Lago resort in Florida, the United States, April 6, 2017.



Chairing and addressing the Roundtable Summit during the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation at Yanqi Lake in Beijing, May 15, 2017.



Russian President Vladimir Putin presenting Xi with the Order of St. Andrew the Apostle the First-Called, the highest order of Russia, after their talks at the Kremlin in Moscow, July 4, 2017.



Xi, his wife, and German Chancellor Angela Merkel watching a friendly football match between Chinese and German youth teams in Berlin, July 5, 2017.



Chairing and addressing the Ninth BRICS Summit in Xiamen, China, September 4, 2017, calling on the BRICS countries to build a stronger partnership for a bright future.

China's Diplomacy as a Major Country

China's Diplomacy Must Befit Its Major-Country Status*

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

* Main points of the speech at the Central Conference on Foreign Affairs.

of upholding the greater good and pursuing shared interests, and championed a new 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, good faith, mutual benefit and inclusiveness, and a policy of building relations with Africa based on sincerity, affinity, good faith and real results. 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 time, 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 inter-

national 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.

China must develop a distinctive diplomatic approach befitting its role as a major country. We should, summing up our past practice and experience, enrich and develop our diplomatic theories and practice, and conduct diplomacy with salient Chinese features and a Chinese vision. 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 uphold the greater good and pursue 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 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, guiding theories 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 neighborhood 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 and unified leadership of the Party, reform and improve foreign-affairs-related institutions 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.

Remember the Past and Our Martyrs, Cherish Peace, and Build a New Future*

September 3, 2015

The Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and World War II were a decisive battle between justice and evil, between light and darkness, and between progress and reaction. In that devastating war, the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression started first and lasted longest. In defiance of aggression, the unyielding Chinese people fought gallantly and finally won total victory over the Japanese militarist aggressors, thus preserving the achievements of China's 5,000-year-old civilization and defending the cause of peace for mankind. This remarkable feat on the part of the Chinese nation was rare in the annals of war.

The victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression was the first complete victory won by China in its resistance against foreign aggression in modern times. This great triumph crushed the attempt of the Japanese militarists to colonize and enslave China, and it put an end to the national humiliation of China suffering repeated defeats at the hands of foreign aggressors. This great triumph re-established China as a major country and won the Chinese people the respect of all peace-loving people around the world. This great triumph represented the rebirth of China, opened up bright prospects for the great renewal of the Chinese nation, and set our ancient country on a new journey.

During the war, through enormous national sacrifice, the Chinese people held their ground in the main Eastern theater of World War

* Part of the speech at the Commemoration of the 70th Anniversary of the Victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and World War II.

II, thus making a major contribution to overall victory. In their war against Japanese aggression, the Chinese people received extensive support from the international community. The Chinese people will always remember how the people of other countries contributed to victory in their War of Resistance.

The experience of war makes people value peace all the more. The aim of our commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and World War II is to bear history in mind, honor all those who laid down their lives, cherish peace, and build a new future.

Ravaging through Asia, Europe, Africa and Oceania, that war inflicted over 100 million military and civilian casualties. China suffered over 35 million casualties and the Soviet Union lost more than 27 million lives. The best way to honor those heroes who gave their lives to the cause of freedom, justice and peace, and to mourn the loss of innocent lives brutally taken during the war, is to make sure that this historical tragedy will never repeat itself.

War is like a mirror. Looking into it helps us better appreciate the value of peace. Today, peace and development have become the prevailing trend, but the world is far from tranquil. War is the sword of Damocles that still hangs over mankind. We must learn the lessons of history and dedicate ourselves to peace.

In the interest of peace, we need to foster a keen sense of a global community of shared future. Prejudice, discrimination, hatred and war can only cause disaster and suffering, while mutual respect, equality, peaceful development and common prosperity represent the right path to take. All countries should jointly uphold the international order and system underpinned by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, build a new model of international relations based on mutually beneficial cooperation, and advance the noble cause of global peace and development.

In the interest of peace, China will remain committed to peaceful development. We Chinese always love peace. No matter how much stronger it might become, China will never seek hegemony or expand

sion. It will never inflict its past suffering on any other nation. The Chinese people are resolved to pursue friendly relations with all other peoples, defend the gains of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and World War II, and make a greater contribution to mankind.

The People's Liberation Army of China is the people's army. All its officers and men must bear in mind their responsibility of serving the people whole-heartedly. They must faithfully fulfill the sacred duty of protecting the nation's security and people's wellbeing, and carry out the noble mission of upholding world peace. Here, I announce that China will cut the number of its troops by 300,000.

As an ancient Chinese saying goes, "After making a good start, we should ensure that the cause comes to fruition."¹ The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation requires the dedicated efforts of one generation after another. Having created a splendid civilization of over 5,000 years, the Chinese nation will certainly usher in an even brighter future.

Going forward, under the leadership of the CPC, all the people of China should take Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development as our guide to action. We should follow the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, pursue the Four-pronged Strategy, promote patriotism and the great spirit of resisting aggression, and forge ahead as one to reach our goals.

Let us bear in mind the great truth of history: Justice will prevail. Peace will prevail. The people will prevail.

Notes

¹ *Book of Songs (Shi Jing)*.

Improve Our Ability to Participate in Global Governance*

September 27, 2016

With the increase in global challenges and constant changes in the international balance of power, there is a growing demand for strengthening global governance and transforming the global governance system. We must seize the opportunity and take appropriate actions to foster an international order that is fairer, more equitable, and more rational, and to ensure that the common interests of our country and other developing countries are more securely assured, that external conditions are more favorable for the realization of the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, and that we make a greater contribution to the noble cause of peace and development of mankind.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, we have worked proactively to uphold the international order that is based on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and safeguard the fruits of victory in World War II that the Chinese people won at the expense of great national sacrifice. We have put forward the Belt and Road Initiative, launched new multilateral financial institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and facilitated the reform of the IMF quota and governance mechanism. We have also participated actively in creating governance rules in many emerging fields, including the oceans, the polar regions, the internet, outer space, nuclear security, action against corruption, and climate change, and promoted reform

* Main points of the speech at the 35th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

of the unfair and unreasonable aspects of the current global governance system.

The recent G20 Hangzhou Summit was the highest-level international summit hosted by China in recent years, unmatched in scale and influence. Leveraging the opportunity to set the agenda, we introduced new initiatives, and guided the summit to produce a series of pioneering, pacesetting and institutional outcomes. We showcased our unique characteristics, and extended our influence. As a result, the summit fulfilled the goal of charting the course for the world economy, providing momentum for global economic growth, and building a solid foundation for international cooperation. The summit provided us with an opportunity for the first time to comprehensively explain our philosophy on global economic governance, taking innovation as the core, giving prominence to development issues in global macroeconomic policy coordination, building a framework of global multilateral investment rules, releasing a president's statement on climate change, and introducing green finance to the G20 agenda. All of this has left a deep imprint of China in the history of the G20.

The pattern of global governance depends on the international balance of power, and the transformation of the global governance system originates from changes in the balance of power. We should take economic development as the central task, pool our efforts to manage our own affairs well, and improve our capability in dealing with international issues. We should actively participate in global governance and shoulder international responsibilities. We must do all we can within the limitations of our capabilities.

The existing global governance system has found it increasingly difficult to meet the requirements of the times, and the international community is calling for reform. This is a common cause of all countries and regions, so we must pursue the transformation of the global governance system by following the principles of extensive consultation, joint development, and shared benefits. We must endeavor to reach consensus on the transformation proposals, and turn it into concerted actions. We must continue to voice opinions on behalf of

developing countries and strengthen solidarity and cooperation with other developing countries.

We should start from what we are able to do and what is agreed upon. At this stage, we should expand the results of the Hangzhou Summit, reinforce and give full play to the role of the G20 as the main platform for global economic governance, and promote the transformation of the G20 into a long-term governance mechanism. We must continue to promote the Belt and Road Initiative and urge all related parties to strengthen planning and strategic coordination. We should further cooperation within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, strengthen mechanisms in the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-building Measures in Asia (CICA), the East Asia Summit, and the ASEAN Regional Forum, and integrate regional free-trade negotiation frameworks. We should also take a more active part in rule-making in emerging fields such as the internet, the polar regions, the deep sea and outer space, and give more support to programs and cooperation mechanisms related to educational exchange, dialogue between civilizations, and ecology.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, we have advocated the principle of upholding the greater good and pursuing shared interests; and facilitated the building of a new model of international relations featuring cooperation and mutual benefit, a community of shared future for mankind, and a partnership network that links all parts of the world. We have also advocated a common, comprehensive and sustainable security concept based on cooperation. These ideas have been well received in the international community. We should continue to explain to the international community our concept about reform of the global governance system. We will seek cooperation and mutually-beneficial results rather than confrontation or zero-sum game. In order to facilitate the transformation of the global governance system, we will try to identify the greatest common denominator, expand cooperation, promote consensus among all parties, and strengthen coordination and cooperation.

We must improve our ability to participate in global governance,

and in particular, our ability to make rules, set agendas, and carry out publicity and coordination. To play an effective role in global governance we need a large number of professionals who have a good knowledge of the policies and guiding principles of the Party, the government, and the national conditions, have a global outlook, have a good command of foreign languages, have a good understanding of international rules, and are skilled in international negotiations. We should strengthen the training of high-caliber personnel involved in global governance, ensure that we have adequate trained professionals, and build a talent pool, providing personnel support for our participation in global governance.

Peaceful Development and Cooperation with Other Countries

Asia-Pacific Partnership of Mutual Trust, Inclusiveness, Cooperation, and Win-Win Progress*

November 11, 2014

We are all APEC members. It meets the common interests of us all to foster an open economy in the Asia-Pacific featuring innovative development, interconnected growth, and converging interests. To achieve this goal, all the economies in the region need to work together to build an Asia-Pacific partnership of mutual trust, inclusiveness, cooperation, and win-win progress, and this will inject new energy into the economic development of both the Asia-Pacific and the wider world.

First, we should join together in charting the course for future development of the Asia-Pacific – it is vital to the interests of every APEC member. Having reached consensus on launching the process of the Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP), promoting connectivity, and pursuing innovative growth, we should now translate that consensus into action. We should draw up the development blueprint for the next 5, 10 or even 25 years and implement it step by step.

Second, we should meet global challenges as one. In the post-financial crisis period, we need to focus on the core task of sustaining growth and enhance macro policy coordination. We should also effectively address global issues such as epidemics, food security, and energy security. We should know each other better through sharing information, share best practices through exchange of experience, facilitate collective actions through consultation and coordination, and enhance regional cooperation through mutual assistance.

* Part of the opening speech at the 22nd APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting

Third, we should work together to build cooperation platforms. Partnership means pitching in together on common goals and major initiatives. We should build APEC into an institutional platform for promoting integration, a policy platform based on experience sharing, an open platform against trade protectionism, a development platform to intensify economic and technical cooperation, and a communication platform for boosting connectivity. A stronger and more dynamic APEC is possible only with support from all its members.

I wish to announce here that China will donate US\$10 million to support APEC in building its institution and capability, and in conducting practical cooperation in various fields.

Fourth, we should all pursue interconnected development. Partnership also means win-win cooperation and mutual learning. Some developing economies in the Asia-Pacific are now facing difficulties. If they cannot achieve individual development, wider development of the whole Asia-Pacific will not be sustainable. We need to increase financial and technical support to developing members, give full rein to the diversity among the Asia-Pacific economies, draw on each other's strengths, better leverage the amplifying effects of interconnected actions, and achieve common development.

Over the next three years, the Chinese government will provide 1,500 training opportunities to APEC developing members in support of capacity-building projects in trade, investment and other fields.

Towards a China-EU Partnership for Peace, Growth, Reform and Civilization*

May 6, 2015

Thanks to our joint efforts, the China-EU relationship has made remarkable progress since diplomatic relations were established 40 years ago. The two sides have maintained a consensus in promoting world peace and common development, with constant progress in terms of the depth and breadth of cooperation. As China and the EU grow in strategic significance, theirs is becoming one of the most important bilateral global relationships. A China-EU partnership for peace, growth, reform and civilization is in the interests of all EU citizens and the Chinese people, and will contribute to the peace and development of humankind. China attaches great importance to bilateral relations, and on the occasion of its 40th anniversary we would like to promote the partnership in these four respects to achieve a comprehensive strategic partnership for mutual benefit with EU leaders.

* Main points of a congratulatory message to EU leaders on the 40th anniversary of the establishment of China-EU diplomatic relations.

A New Era of China-Africa Cooperation and Common Development*

December 4, 2015

The world is undergoing profound changes. Economic globalization and information technology have helped greatly release social productivity. We have been presented with unprecedented opportunities for development. On the other hand, we are faced with unprecedented challenges, as hegemony, terrorism, financial turbulence and environmental crisis have become more pronounced.

In conducting China's relations with Africa, we apply the principles of sincerity, affinity, and good faith and uphold the values of the greater good and shared interests. We will work with our African friends to embrace a new era of mutually beneficial cooperation and common development. With this in mind, I propose that the new China-Africa strategic partnership be upgraded to a comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership. To forge this partnership, we should strengthen the following five "major pillars".

First, we should remain committed to political equality and mutual trust. A high degree of mutual trust is the foundation of China-Africa friendship. We should respect each other's choice of development path, and neither of us should try to impose our will on the other. On issues involving the core interests and major concerns of either side, we should jointly uphold equity and justice in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual support. China strongly believes that Africa belongs to the African people and that African affairs should be decided by the African people.

* Part of the speech at the opening ceremony of the Johannesburg Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.

Second, we should remain committed to mutually beneficial economic cooperation. We Chinese value friendship and justice as well as shared interests, and we place more importance on the former. Friendship and justice, which define China-Africa relations, require us to facilitate Africa's development efforts and ultimately deliver common development through mutually beneficial cooperation. We should fully leverage the strengths of mutual political trust and economic complementarity between China and Africa, and focus on cooperation in industrial capacity, networks of high-speed railway, expressway and regional civil aviation, and industrialization. This will enable China-Africa cooperation to develop in all areas and benefit both Chinese and African people.

Third, we should remain committed to mutually enriching cultural exchanges. Diversity makes the world beautiful. We are proud that both China and Africa have time-honored and splendid civilizations. We should strengthen cultural exchanges and mutual learning between China and Africa, and facilitate exchanges between young people, women, think tanks, the media, universities and other sectors of the two sides. We should promote cultural interaction, policy coordination and people-to-people exchanges to advance common progress and ensure lasting friendship between China and Africa from generation to generation.

Fourth, we should remain committed to mutual assistance in security. Poverty is the root cause of chaos while peace is the guarantor of development. Development holds the key to solving all problems. China supports African people in settling African issues themselves in the African way. We are of the view that in resolving security issues, both symptoms and root causes must be addressed in a holistic way. China stands ready to help Africa build the capacity to maintain and strengthen peace and security, and support Africa in its endeavors to speed up development, eradicate poverty, and realize durable peace.

Fifth, we should remain committed to solidarity and coordination in international affairs. China and Africa share a common position and interests in a wide range of international issues. We should

strengthen consultation and coordination, work for a fairer and more equitable global governance system, and safeguard our common interests. China will continue to stand up and speak for Africa at the United Nations and other forums, and support Africa in playing a greater role on the world stage.

To build a China-Africa comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership, China will implement ten cooperation programs with Africa in the next three years. Guided by the principles of government leadership, enterprise as the major actor, market operation, and mutually beneficial cooperation, China will introduce these programs to address three bottleneck issues holding back Africa's development, namely, inadequate infrastructure, lack of professional and skilled personnel, and shortage of capital. These programs will help accelerate Africa's industrialization and agricultural modernization, and thereby help Africa to achieve sustainable development on its own.

– The China-Africa industrialization program. China will actively promote partnering in the fields of industrial complementarity and industrial capacity between China and Africa, and encourage more Chinese enterprises to make investment in Africa. China will build or upgrade a number of industrial parks in cooperation with Africa, send senior experts and advisers to Africa, and set up regional vocational education centers and schools with a view to enhancing Africa's industrial capacity. In this context, China will also train 200,000 technical personnel and provide 40,000 training opportunities for African personnel in China.

– The China-Africa agricultural modernization program. China will share its experience in agricultural development with Africa and transfer readily applicable farming technologies. We will encourage Chinese enterprises to engage in large-scale farming, animal husbandry, and grain storage and processing in Africa to create more local jobs and increase rural incomes. China will carry out agricultural development projects in 100 African villages to raise rural living standards, send 30 teams of agricultural experts to Africa, and establish a “10+10” cooperation mechanism between Chinese and Africa

agricultural research institutes. China is gravely concerned about the poor harvests caused by El Nino in many African countries and will provide RMB1 billion of emergency food aid to the affected countries.

- The China-Africa infrastructure program. China will step up mutually beneficial cooperation with Africa in infrastructure planning, design, construction, operation, and maintenance. We support Chinese enterprises in their active participation in Africa's infrastructural development, particularly in sectors such as railways, roads, regional aviation, ports, electricity, and telecommunications, which will help enhance Africa's capacity for sustainable development. We will help African countries in establishing five transport universities.

- The China-Africa financial program. China will expand its Renminbi settlement and currency swap operations with African countries. It will encourage Chinese financial institutions to set up more branches in Africa, and increase its investment and financing cooperation with Africa in multiple ways so as to provide financial support and services for Africa's industrialization and modernization.

- The China-Africa green development program. China will support Africa in bolstering its capacity for green, low-carbon and sustainable development and help Africa in launching 100 projects to develop clean energy, protect wildlife, promote environment-friendly agricultural projects, and build smart cities. China-Africa cooperation will never be pursued at the expense of Africa's eco-system and long-term interests.

- The China-Africa trade and investment facilitation program. China will carry out 50 aid-for-trade projects to improve Africa's "software" and "hardware" capacity for its internal and external trade and investment. China is ready to negotiate comprehensive free trade agreements with countries and regional organizations in Africa covering trade in goods and services and investment cooperation. These agreements, once concluded, will boost China's import of African products. China will support African countries in enhancing law enforcement capacity in areas such as customs, quality inspection and taxation. We will also engage in cooperation

with Africa in standardization, certification and accreditation, and e-commerce.

— The China-Africa poverty reduction program. While intensifying its own poverty reduction efforts, China will increase its aid to Africa. We will carry out 200 "Happy Life" projects and poverty reduction programs focusing on women and children. We will cancel outstanding debts in the form of interest-free government loans borrowed by the least-developed African countries that would mature by the end of 2015.

— The China-Africa public health program. China will help Africa strengthen its public health prevention and control system and build up its capacity in public health, including the building of the African Center for Disease Control. We will support pacesetting cooperation between 20 Chinese hospitals and 20 African hospitals, and upgrade hospital departments. We will continue to send medical teams to Africa and provide medical assistance, such as the "Brightness Action" program for cataract patients, and maternal and child care. We will provide more of the anti-malaria compound artemisinin to Africa, and encourage and support local drug production by Chinese enterprises in Africa to increase Africans' access to medicines.

— The China-Africa cultural and people-to-people program. China will build five cultural centers in Africa and provide satellite TV reception to 10,000 African villages. We will provide Africa with 2,000 educational opportunities with diplomas or degrees and 30,000 government scholarships. Every year, we will sponsor visits by 200 African scholars and study trips by 500 young Africans to China, and train 1,000 media professionals from Africa. We will support the opening of more direct flights between China and Africa to boost our tourism cooperation.

— The China-Africa peace and security program. China will provide a grant of US\$60 million to African Union to support the building and operation of the African Standby Force and the African Capacity for the Immediate Response to Crisis. China will continue to participate in UN peacekeeping missions in Africa and support

African countries in their capacity building in areas such as national defense, counter-terrorism, riot prevention, customs and immigration control.

To ensure successful implementation of these ten cooperation programs, China has decided to provide financial support totaling US\$60 billion. This includes US\$5 billion of grants and interest-free loans; US\$35 billion of concessionary loans on more favorable terms and export credit lines; an increase of US\$5 billion to the China-Africa Development Fund and the Special Loan for the Development of African SMEs respectively; and the China-Africa Fund for Industrial Cooperation with an initial contribution of US\$10 billion.

This year marks the 15th anniversary of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). The past 15 years have seen fruitful progress across the board in China-Africa practical cooperation. In 2014, two-way trade and China's total non-financial investment in Africa had grown by multiples of 22 and 60 compared with the year 2000, which shows that China's contribution to Africa's economic development has risen significantly. FOCAC has become a pacesetter in China-Africa cooperation, a model of South-South cooperation, and a champion for greater international attention to and input in Africa.

China-Africa relations have today reached a stage of growth unmatched in history. We should take bold steps, scale the heights, and look afar. Let us join hands, pool the wisdom and strength of the 2.4 billion Chinese and Africans, and open a new era of China-Africa mutually beneficial cooperation and common development.

Increase Sino-Arab Dialogue and Expand Common Ground*

January 21, 2016

China follows a path of peaceful development, an independent foreign policy of peace, and a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up. It is our priority to take an active part in global governance, pursue mutually beneficial cooperation, assume international responsibilities and obligations, expand convergence of interests with other countries, and forge a community of shared future for mankind.

We will make good use of the coming five years, a crucial period for us, to build the Belt and Road and establish the guiding principles of peace, innovation, guidance, governance and integration. We would like to be builders of peace, promoters of development, boosters of industrialization, supporters of stability, and partners of people-to-people exchanges in the Middle East.

China is ready to work with Arab states to build the Belt and Road and expand common ground in our respective efforts to achieve national rejuvenation.

First, we should stand for peace and dialogue and take steps to promote stability. The Belt and Road Initiative calls for exchanges between nations and civilizations for better mutual understanding, rather than mutual resentment. It is important to remove rather than erect walls between nations, take dialogue as the golden rule, and be good neighbors.

The ancient Chinese philosopher Mencius said, “Ensuring the right conduct and upholding justice should be the paths to follow

* Part of the speech at the Arab League Headquarters.

across the land.”¹ With regard to China’s policy measures towards the Middle East, China decides its position on the basis of the merits of each case and the fundamental interests of the people in the Middle East. Rather than looking for a proxy in the Middle East, we promote peace talks; rather than seeking any sphere of influence, we call on all parties to join the circle of friends for the Belt and Road Initiative; rather than attempting to fill any “power vacuum”, we build a cooperative partnership network for win-win outcomes.

The Chinese people believe in the philosophy of change and adaptation. The Arabs also say “continuing in the same state is impossible”. We respect the Arab states’ aspiration for reform, and support Arab states in their efforts to independently explore the path of development. It is of vital importance to properly balance reform, development and stability. This is like camel racing, a popular sport in the Arab world. If the camel runs too fast at the beginning, it may be exhausted towards the end of the race. Yet if it starts too slow, it may lag behind in the end. Only the rider who keeps a good balance between speed and stamina can claim the final victory.

The spread of terrorist and extremist ideas poses a serious challenge to peace and development. Countries need to reach a consensus on the fight against terrorist and extremist forces. Terrorism knows no borders. There is no such a thing as good terrorism. And there should be no double standards in fighting terrorism. For the same reason, terrorism should not be linked with any specific ethnic group or religion, as it will only create ethnic and religious tensions. No policy can be effective on its own, and a comprehensive strategy that addresses both symptoms and root causes must be applied in the fight against terrorism.

To this end, China will set up a China-Arab research center on reform and development. We will hold a roundtable conference on inter-civilization dialogue and eradication of extremism within the framework of the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum, and organize exchange visits by 100 eminent religious leaders. We will enhance cooperation on cyber security, block the online transmission of audio

and video materials instigating violence and terrorism, and which participate in the formulation of an international counter-terrorism convention in cyberspace. We will provide US\$300 million of assistance to support such projects as law enforcement cooperation and police training to help relevant countries enhance their capacity in maintaining law and order.

Second, we need to advance structural adjustment and adopt new ways of cooperation. Given the ever fiercer global competition in development, we need to upgrade our cooperation. We need to advance the "oil and gas plus" cooperation model and tap further potential. China is ready to strengthen cooperation with Arab states across the entire industrial chain from upstream to midstream to downstream, renew long-term oil purchase agreements, and enter into strategic energy cooperation with Arab states that features mutual benefit, reliability and enduring friendship. It is important to set up a new mechanism for trade and investment and expand space for cooperation.

As China is already on the fast track of outbound investment and Arab states boast strong sovereign wealth funds, we can sign more currency swap and mutual investment agreements, expand Renminbi settlement business, accelerate investment facilitation, and steer the investment funds and private capital of our two sides towards major projects under the Belt and Road Initiative. It is important to step up high-tech cooperation and foster new driving forces for our cooperation. On the basis of existing technology transfer and training centers, the two sides can speed up the introduction of new and high technologies such as high-speed rail, nuclear power, aerospace, new energy, and genetic engineering, so as to add more value to the pragmatic cooperation between China and Arab states.

For this purpose, China will implement an action plan for new forms of cooperation, explore a model of package cooperation involving oil, loans and projects, extend the traditional oil and gas cooperation chain, and cooperate in the development of new and renewable energy. China will take part in the development of industri-

al parks in the Middle East with priority given to the Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone. By means of personnel training and joint planning and building of factories, we will integrate the whole process from processing and manufacturing to transportation and export. We will launch a China-Arab scientific and technological partnership program, and jointly build 10 laboratories in such areas as modern agriculture, information and communications technology (ICT) and health. We will hold a China-Arab States BeiDou Cooperation Forum.

Third, we need to advance industrialization in the Middle East and carry out industrial complementarity cooperation. Such cooperation is consistent with the overall trend of economic diversification in the Middle East. It can help Middle East countries embark on a new path of efficient, people-oriented and green industrialization.

Chinese equipment is of high quality, and yet low in cost. Combined with technology transfer, personnel training, and strong financing support, we can help countries in the Middle East develop urgently needed industries with relatively low costs, such as iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, construction materials, glass, car manufacturing, and power plants. These will fill the gaps in their industrial structure and foster new comparative strengths. China's competitive manufacturing capacity and the rich human resources in the Middle East, when combined, will deliver more and better job opportunities for the region.

This morning, I attended the inauguration ceremony of the second phase of the China-Egypt Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone. The project will bring to Egypt over 100 companies in such sectors as textiles, garments, oil equipment, motorcycles, and solar energy, and create over 10,000 jobs for Egypt.

In order to promote the industrialization in the Middle East, China will work with Arab states to launch an action plan for industrial cooperation. Under this initiative, China will set up a US\$15 billion special loan for industrialization in the Middle East to be used on industrial cooperation and infrastructure projects in regional

countries, and provide countries in the Middle East with US\$10 billion of commercial loans to support industrial cooperation. China will also provide US\$10 billion of concessional loans with even more favorable terms for regional countries. Meanwhile, China will launch a US\$20 billion joint investment fund with the UAE and Qatar to invest primarily in traditional energy, infrastructure development, and high-end manufacturing industries in the Middle East.

Fourth, we need to strengthen cultural exchanges and mutual learning and take actions to enhance friendship. Like the diverse species in Mother Nature, cultural diversity gives life to our planet. The Middle East is the meeting place of ancient human civilizations and home to diverse and splendid civilizations and cultures. China will never waver in its support for Middle East and Arab states in preserving their ethnic and cultural traditions, and will oppose all forms of discrimination and prejudice against specific ethnic groups or religions.

The Chinese and Arab civilizations each has its own system and distinctive features, yet they both embody the common ideals and aspirations of mankind for development and progress, and they both champion such values as moderation, peace, forgiveness, tolerance and self-restraint. We should promote dialogue among civilizations in a spirit of inclusiveness and mutual learning, and explore together values in our respective cultural tradition that remain relevant today as positive guidance for good relations.

The regions covered by the Belt and Road Initiative are vibrant in people-to-people exchanges. The close ties between our peoples must be nurtured through continued efforts. Yesterday, I met with ten long-standing Arab friends who have received the Award for Outstanding Contribution to China-Arab Friendship. It is the hard work of generations of friendly people from both sides that has enabled the seedlings of China-Arab friendship to grow into luxuriant and evergreen trees.

In order to ensure a smooth flow of talent and ideas along the Belt and Road, we will implement the “hundred, thousand and ten thousand” project for enhancing China-Arab friendship. Under the project, we will launch a “Silk Road Book Translation” program for

the translation of 100 Chinese and Arab classics into each other's languages. We will increase exchanges between our think tanks and invite 100 experts and scholars to visit each other's countries. We will provide 1,000 training opportunities for young Arab leaders and invite 1,500 leaders of Arab political parties to visit China to nurture young envoys and political leaders of China-Arab friendship. In addition, we will provide 10,000 scholarships and 10,000 training opportunities for Arab states and organize mutual visits for 10,000 Chinese and Arab artists.

Notes

¹ *The Mencius (Meng Zi)*.

A Brighter Future for China-Russia Relations*

June 25, 2016

Distinguished President Vladimir Putin,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

We gather here today to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the Treaty of Good-neighboringness and Friendly Cooperation Between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation. First of all, on behalf of the Chinese government and people and in my own name, I would like to extend warm greetings to people from various sectors of China and Russia who have been working to promote friendship between the two countries.

Fifteen years ago, on the basis of our experience and achievements in developing bilateral relations, China and Russia signed the Treaty of Good-neighboringness and Friendly Cooperation. The treaty established a new model of bilateral relations featuring non-alignment, non-confrontation, not targeting any third party, and everlasting friendship. This new model of bilateral relations has been solidified in a legal instrument, laying a solid legal foundation for the long-term development of China-Russia relations in the 21st century. Guided by the purposes and principles of the treaty, both sides soon solved the remaining border issues carried over from history and have established a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination featuring

* Speech at the meeting marking the 15th anniversary of the Treaty of Good-neighboringness and Friendly Cooperation Between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation.

equality, mutual trust, mutual assistance, common prosperity and everlasting friendship. This has brought tangible benefit to both peoples and made a positive contribution to peace, security and stability in the region and the world.

Over the past 15 years, guided by the spirit of the treaty, the China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination has rapidly moved forward to a high level, with fruitful results in cooperation in many fields.

— Our two countries have prioritized each other in our respective diplomatic agendas. We have lived in harmony, treated each other as equals, firmly supported each other on issues concerning our core interests, and respected each other's choice of the path of development that suits our national conditions, and enjoyed a high level of mutual political trust.

— Our two countries have each seen the other's development as an opportunity for our own, supported each other in independently managing our own affairs and growing stronger, and helped each other in an endeavor to achieve common development and common prosperity.

— We have set up a well-equipped high-level exchange mechanism for close communication, in-depth consultations and frank exchange of ideas on major issues of our mutual concern, to diffuse possible difficulties and problems in our cooperation and maintain our bilateral relations at a high level.

— We have carried out mutually beneficial economic cooperation. Our bilateral trade has increased more than ten-fold over the past 15 years. Our cooperation has expanded from traditional trade only to a wide range of other fields, such as investment, financing, energy, aviation and aerospace, high technology, high speed rail, and agriculture, from national to local, from simple trading business to joint research and development, joint manufacturing and others, and from border trade to cooperation in major strategic projects. As a result, our economic interests have become deeply intertwined.

— People-to-people and cultural exchanges between our two

countries have thrived. We have introduced a number of theme events, including the Chinese or Russian year, the Chinese or Russian language year, the Chinese or Russian tourism year and the youth exchange year. The event of media exchange year is in full swing now. All these events have helped our two peoples to increase favorable impressions of each other and further consolidated their traditional friendship.

— Our two countries have closely coordinated and collaborated with each other in regional and international affairs, and cooperated and supported each other in international and regional organizations, including the United Nations, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Conference on Interaction and Confidence-building Measures in Asia, BRICS, Russia-India-China Foreign Ministers' Meeting, and the G20. We have worked together to facilitate the process of political solutions to regional and international flashpoints, and to improve the global governance system. We have thus become key elements and constructive forces in promoting international peace and stability.

Our experience over the past 15 years has proved that the purposes and principles stipulated in the treaty conform to the fundamental interests of our two countries and peoples, and to the trend of the times for global peace and development. These purposes and principles can stand the test of changes in the world and prove to have strong vitality. They provide fundamental guarantee and an everlasting driving force for a healthy and steady development of the comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination between China and Russia.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

Today, 15 years after the signing of the treaty, our two peoples expect to see our bilateral relations develop further. President Putin and I have worked out new plans for further developing our comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination in keeping with the idea of everlasting friendship enshrined in the treaty, in response to the people's expectations and in light of the new situation.

— We will, taking advantage of the 15th anniversary of the treaty,

continue to maintain close high-level exchanges, enhance political and strategic mutual trust, and increase mutual support so as to build a strong strategic foundation for bilateral relations.

- We will ensure peace and tranquility in the area along the 4,300-kilometer-long China-Russia border and turn our border into a strong bond for friendship and cooperation through border cooperation.

- We will build on what we have achieved in economic cooperation, enhance the complementarity of the development strategies of our two countries and the complementarity between the Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union. In doing so, we will advance our economic cooperation to a higher level, which will benefit not only the Chinese and Russian peoples but also people on the Eurasian Continent.

- We will enhance people-to-people and cultural exchanges, in particular, by giving full play to the China-Russia Friendship, Peace and Development Committee, a main channel for people-to-people exchanges, increase contacts between the two peoples, and promote the concept of peace underlined by the treaty. In this way, people from all sectors of the two countries will know and understand each other better and pass down long-standing friendship from generation to generation.

We will uphold the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and basic norms of international relations, strengthen international strategic collaboration, and work for a fairer and more reasonable international order and for political settlement of international and regional flashpoints, so as to safeguard world peace, security and stability.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

The Treaty of Good neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation between China and Russia, a major milestone in the history of China-Russia relations, has had a positive impact on the world. We have every reason to believe that with the profound changes and complica-

ties in the international landscape, the treaty will prove to have great demonstration effects and strong vitality.

As the tides of history roll on, the call of the times cannot be ignored, aspirations of the world's peoples cannot be suppressed, and the trend towards peace and development is irresistible. Let us join hands in fulfilling the commitments made in the treaty, and forge ahead with an open mind towards a better future for China-Russia relations and a world blessed with peace, friendship and sunshine for the coming generations.

Thank you all.

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 "strong, sustainable and balanced growth through collective action" 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 enhancement of macro-policy coordination, innovation in growth models, more efficient global economic and financial governance, robust inter-

*Opening speech at the G20 Hangzhou Summit.

national 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 the 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 round of scientific and technological and industrial revolution 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 trade system has been adversely impacted. In spite of the marked progress in financial oversight reform, risks have continued to accumulate including high leverage and large bubbles. 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 world 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 its 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 forces to promote global economic growth, and help maintain financial stability. G20 members should adopt sounder and more balanced macro-economic policies in 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 enhance 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 new development models and tap growth impetus. The G20 should adjust its policy thinking, 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 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 anti-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 recyclable 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 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 anti-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 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.

Shoulder the Responsibilities of Our Time and Promote Global Growth Together*

January 17, 2017

President Doris Leuthard and Mr Roland Hausin,
Heads of state or government, and deputy heads of state,
Heads of international organizations,
Dr Klaus Schwab and Mrs Hilde Schwab,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

I am delighted to come to beautiful Davos. Davos, though a small town in the Alps, is an important window for taking the pulse of the global economy. People from around the world come here to exchange ideas and insights, which broaden their vision. This makes the WEF annual meeting a cost-effective brainstorming event, which I would call "Schwab economics".

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times."¹ 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.

* Keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the World Economic Forum 2017
Davos, Switzerland.

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 Thousand 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 movement 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."² In a philosophical sense, nothing is perfect in the world. Those who claim something is perfect because of its merits, or 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 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.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

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 gap between poor and rich and between North and South is 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 one 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; more importantly, we need to have 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 a new driving force 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 IT 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 inter-connected approach to develop a model of open and win-win cooperation. Today, mankind 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 inter-connected 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 say no to 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. 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 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 equity and justice. It is important to protect the 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."¹⁴ As long as we keep to the goal of building a community of shared future for mankind 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.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

China has become the world's second largest economy thanks to 38 years of reform and opening up. The right path leads to a bright future. China has come this far because under the leadership of the CPC, the Chinese people have blazed a development trail that suits China's actual conditions.

This is a path based on China's realities. China has in the past years succeeded in following the appropriate development path by drawing on both the wisdom of its civilization and the practices of other countries in both the East and West. In exploring this path, China has refused to remain insensitive to the changing times or to blindly follow in others' footsteps. All roads lead to Rome. No country should view its own development path as the only viable one, still less should it impose its own development path on others.

This is a path that puts people's interests first. China follows a

people-oriented development philosophy and is committed to bettering the lives of its people. Development is of the people, by the people and for the people. China pursues the goal of common prosperity. We have taken major steps to alleviate poverty and lifted over 700 million people out of poverty, and good progress is being made in our efforts to build a society of moderate prosperity in all respects.

This is a path of reform and innovation. China has tackled difficulties and met challenges on its way forward through reform. China has demonstrated the courage to take on difficult issues, navigate treacherous rapids, and remove institutional and systemic hurdles standing in the way of development. These efforts have enabled us to unleash productivity and social vitality. Building on progress of these 30 years and more of reform, we have introduced more than 1,200 reform measures over the past four years, injecting powerful impetus into China's development.

This is a path of pursuing common development through opening up. China is committed to a fundamental policy of opening up and pursues a win-win opening-up strategy. China has promoted an interconnected development, both inward and outward; while developing itself, China has shared its fruit with other countries and peoples.

China's outstanding achievements and the vastly improved living standards of the Chinese people are a blessing to both China and the rest of the world. The achievements through development over the past decades are owed to the hard work and perseverance of the Chinese people, a quality that has defined the Chinese nation for several thousand years. We Chinese know only too well that no one in the world will give us a free ride. For a big country with over 1.3 billion people, development can be achieved only with the dedication and tireless efforts of its own people. We cannot expect others to deliver development to China, and no one is in a position to do so.

When assessing China's development, one should not only see what benefits the Chinese people have gained, but also how much hard effort they have put in; not just what China has achieved, but also what China has contributed to the world. Then one will reach a

balanced conclusion about China's development.

Between 1950 and 2016, despite its modest level of development and living standards, China provided more than RMB400 billion of foreign assistance, undertook over 5,000 foreign assistance projects, including nearly 3,000 turn-key projects, and held over 11,000 training workshops in China for over 260,000 personnel from other developing countries. Since it launched reform and opening up, China has attracted over US\$1.7 trillion of foreign investment and has made overseas investment totaling over US\$1.2 trillion, making a huge contribution to global economic development. In the years following the outbreak of the global financial crisis, China contributed on average to over 30 percent of global growth every year. All these figures are among the highest in the world.

The figures speak for themselves. China's development is an opportunity for the world; China has not only benefited from economic globalization but also contributed to it. Rapid growth in China has been a sustained, powerful engine for global economic stability and expansion. The interconnected development of China and a large number of other countries has made the world economy more balanced. China's remarkable achievement in poverty reduction has contributed to more inclusive global growth. And China's continuous progress in reform and opening up has lent much momentum to an open world economy.

We Chinese know only too well what it takes to achieve prosperity, so we applaud the achievements of others and wish them a better future. We are not jealous of others' success; and we will not complain about others who have benefited so much from the great opportunities presented by China's development. We will open our arms to the people of other countries and welcome them aboard the express train of China's development.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

I know you are all closely following China's economic development, and let me give you an update on the state of China's economy.

Our economy has entered what we call a new normal, in which major changes are taking place in terms of growth rate, development model, economic structure and drivers of growth. But the economic fundamentals sustaining sound development remain unchanged.

Despite a sluggish global economy, China's economy is expected to grow by 6.7 percent in 2016, still one of the highest rates in the world. China's economy is far bigger in size than in the past, and the driving force behind it today could not be reached at the time when we had double-digit growth. Household consumption and the service sector have become the main drivers of growth. In the first three quarters of 2016, the added value of the tertiary industry made up 52.8 percent of GDP and domestic consumption contributed 71 percent of economic growth. Household incomes and employment have steadily risen, while per unit GDP energy consumption has continued to drop. Our efforts to pursue green development are paying off.

The Chinese economy faces certain downward pressure and many difficulties, including an acute mismatch between excess capacity and an upgrading demand structure, lack of internal drivers for growth, an accumulation of financial risks, and growing challenges in certain regions. We see these as temporary hardships that occur on the way forward. And the measures we have taken to address these problems are producing good results. We are firm in our resolve to forge ahead. China is the world's largest developing country with over 1.3 billion people, and their living standards are not yet high. But this reality also means China has enormous potential and space for development. Guided by the vision of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, we will adapt to the new normal, stay ahead of the curve, and make coordinated efforts to maintain steady growth, accelerate reform, adjust economic structure, improve people's living standards and fend off risks. With these efforts, we aim to achieve medium-high rate of growth and upgrade the economy to the higher end of the value chain.

— China will strive to enhance the performance of economic

growth. We will pursue supply-side structural reform as the general goal, shift the growth model, and upgrade the economic structure. We will continue to cut overcapacity, reduce inventory, deleverage financing, reduce costs, and strengthen weak links. We will foster new drivers of growth, develop an advanced manufacturing sector and upgrade the real economy. We will implement the Internet Plus action plan to boost effective demand and better meet the individualized and diverse needs of consumers. And we will do more to protect the ecosystem.

— China will boost market vitality to add new impetus to growth. We will intensify reform in priority areas and key links and enable the market to play a decisive role in resource allocation. Innovation will continue to feature prominently on our growth agenda. In pursuing the strategy of innovation-driven development, we will bolster the strategic emerging industries, apply new technologies and foster new business models to upgrade traditional industries; and we will boost new drivers of growth and revitalize traditional ones.

— China will foster an enabling and orderly environment for investment. We will ease market access for foreign investors, build high-standard pilot free trade zones, strengthen protection of property rights, and level the playing field to make China's market more transparent and better regulated. In the coming five years, China is expected to import US\$8 trillion of goods, attract US\$600 billion of foreign direct investment and make US\$750 billion of outbound investment. Chinese tourists will make 700 million overseas visits. All this will create a bigger market, more capital, more products and more business opportunities for other countries. China's development will continue to offer opportunities to business communities in other countries. China will keep its doors wide open. An open door allows both other countries to access the Chinese market and China itself to integrate with the world. And we hope that other countries will also keep their doors open to Chinese investors and keep the playing field level for us.

— China will vigorously foster an environment of opening up

for common development. We will advance the building of the Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific and negotiations on the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership to form a network of free trade arrangements that is oriented towards the wider world. China stands for concluding open, transparent and mutually beneficial regional free trade arrangements and opposes forming exclusive groups that are fragmented in nature. China has no intention of boosting its trade competitiveness by devaluing the Renminbi, still less will it launch a currency war.

More than three years ago, I proposed the Belt and Road Initiative. Since then, over 100 countries and international organizations have responded to it positively and supported the initiative. More than 40 countries and international organizations have signed cooperation agreements with China, and our circle of friends along the Belt and Road is growing larger. Chinese companies have made over US\$50 billion of investment and launched a number of major projects in the countries along the routes, spurring the economic development of these countries, and creating many jobs locally. The Belt and Road Initiative originated in China, but it has benefitted countries well beyond its borders.

In May this year, China will host in Beijing the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, which aims to discuss ways to boost cooperation, build cooperation platforms and share cooperation outcomes. The forum will also explore ways to address problems facing the global and regional economies, create fresh energy for pursuing interconnected development, and ensure that the Belt and Road Initiative delivers greater benefits to people of countries involved.

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

World history shows that the road of human civilization has never been a smooth one, and that humanity has made progress by surmounting difficulties. No difficulty, however daunting, will stop us from advancing. When encountering difficulties, we should not

complain about ourselves, blame others, lose confidence or shirk our responsibilities. We should join hands and rise to the challenge. History is created by the brave. Let us boost confidence, take action and march arm-in-arm towards a bright future.

Thank you all.

Notes

¹ Charles Dickens: *A Tale of Two Cities*. Charles Dickens (1812-1870) was a British author.

² Shen Deqian: *Origin of Ancient Poetry* (*Gu Shi Yuan*). This is an anthology of ancient poems composed between the 21st century BC and AD 618. Shen Deqian (1673-1769) was a poet of the Qing Dynasty.

³ See note 11, p. 163.

⁴ *Huai Nan Zi*.

There Are a Thousand Reasons to Make the China-US Relationship a Success*

April 6, 2017

I have kept in close communication with you Mr President Trump for some time, and we have had several telephone conversations and exchanged messages. I am glad to have this meeting with you in the US at your invitation. I would like to have an in-depth exchange of views with you on China-US relations and major international and regional issues, so as to reach consensus and chart the course for the development of bilateral relations in the new era.

Sound China-US relations will be of benefit not only to our two countries and our two peoples, but also to the world at large. There are a thousand reasons to make the China-US relationship a success, and not a single one to harm it. Since the normalization of China-US relations 45 years ago, in spite of ups and downs, they have made historic progress, which has delivered enormous practical benefits to our two peoples. How can we further develop them in the next 45 years? The question requires careful consideration, and the leaders of the two countries should make political decisions and historic commitments. I am ready to work with you, Mr President, for greater progress in China-US relations from a new starting point.

Cooperation is the only sound path for China and the US, and our two countries can certainly become good cooperation partners. In the next stage, both sides should carefully plan and arrange bilateral high-level exchanges. I welcome Mr President to pay a state visit to China in 2017. Both sides should maintain close contact through different

* Main points of the talk with US President Donald Trump

means, and make full use of the newly established high-level cooperation mechanisms on dialogue concerning diplomatic and security issues, comprehensive economic issues, law enforcement, cyber security, and social, people-to-people and cultural exchanges. We should make the "cooperation cake" bigger, define a list of priority cooperation areas, and strive to gather as many early harvests as possible. Our two countries should accelerate negotiations on the bilateral investment agreement, promote healthy development of two-way trade and investment, and explore pragmatic cooperation in infrastructure construction, energy, and other fields. The two sides should properly handle sensitive issues and constructively manage and control their differences. We should enhance communication and coordination on major international and regional issues, jointly promote a proper settlement of flashpoint issues in related areas, expand cooperation in nuclear nonproliferation and fighting transnational crimes, and strengthen communication and coordination within the UN, the G20, the APEC, and other multilateral mechanisms in order to safeguard world peace, stability and prosperity.

Usher in the Second Golden Decade of BRICS Cooperation*

September 4, 2017

BRICS cooperation has witnessed a glorious decade. Though separated by mountains and oceans, our five countries have been closely bound by a shared commitment to mutually beneficial cooperation.

As an ancient Chinese saying goes, “A partnership forged with the right approach defies geographical distance; it is thicker than glue and stronger than metal and stone.”¹ We owe the rapid development of BRICS cooperation to the right approach that we have adopted. Guided by this approach, we have respected and supported each other in following the path of development suited to our respective national conditions; we have pressed forward with economic, political and people-to-people cooperation in an open, inclusive and win-win spirit; and we have worked in unison with other emerging markets and developing countries to uphold international justice and equity and foster a sound external environment.

Past progress shows that BRICS cooperation has met our common need for development and is in keeping with the trend of history. Though we have different national conditions, we share a commitment to pursuing development and prosperity through partnership. This has enabled us to rise above differences and seek mutually beneficial results.

In the context of profound and complex changes in the world, BRICS cooperation has become more important. The people of our countries expect us to boost development and improve their wellbeing.

* Part of the speech at the BRICS Xiamen Summit

The international community expects us to make our contribution to world peace and common development. We must redouble our efforts to further BRICS partnership and usher in the second golden decade of BRICS cooperation.

First, we need to advance results-oriented economic cooperation. Results are the foundation of BRICS cooperation, and significant progress has been made in this regard. However, we have yet to tap the full potential. Statistics show that of the US\$197 billion in outbound investment we made in 2016, only 5.7 percent took place among our five countries. This means there is still considerable space for further cooperation.

We need to stay focused on results, and expand converging interests in trade and investment, currency and finance, connectivity, sustainable development, innovation and industry. This year, we have formulated the BRICS Trade in Services Cooperation Roadmap, the Outlines for BRICS Investment Facilitation, the BRICS E-Commerce Cooperation Initiative, the BRICS Action Plan for Innovation Cooperation, and the Action Plan for Deepening Industrial Cooperation Among BRICS Countries. We have launched the African Regional Center of the New Development Bank (NDB), decided to set up the BRICS model e-port network, and reached extensive agreement on taxation, e-commerce, local currency bonds, public-private partnership, and a network of financial institutions and services. Our practical cooperation has become more institutionalized and substantive, and delivered more tangible results.

I wish to announce here that China will launch the Economic and Technical Cooperation Plan for BRICS Countries with RMB500 million for the first term to facilitate policy exchange and practical cooperation in business and trade. China will contribute US\$4 million to the NDB Project Preparation Facility to support the business operation and long-term development of the bank. China will work with all parties to follow through on the outcomes and consensus achieved in the past, and make good use of existing mechanisms. Together, we must seize the historic opportunities of the new industrial revolution,

explore new areas and models of practical cooperation, and enhance our links to ensure sustained and steady progress of the BRICS cooperation mechanism.

Second, we need to strengthen the complementarity of our development strategies. Despite differences in our national conditions, our five countries are at a similar stage of development and share the same development goals. We all face an arduous task in growing the economy. Improving the complementarity of our development strategies will help bring out our comparative strengths in resources, markets and labor force, and release the growth potential of the five countries and the creativity of our three billion people, opening up a huge space for development.

We need to have a good plan at the macro level and take concrete actions in key areas. Acting in the spirit of extensive consultation, joint efforts and shared benefits, we need to identify those areas where our development policies and priorities converge, and continue to work towards the goal of connectivity in trade and investment, currency and finance, and infrastructure. With a focus on structural reform and sustainable development, we need to expand our converging interests and share experience on innovation, entrepreneurship, industrial development and manufacturing capacity to boost our respective economies. It is important to strike a balance between the speed of growth and the quality and efficiency of growth. By implementing the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, we have the opportunity to achieve balanced economic, social and environmental progress, and bring about interconnected and inclusive development.

Third, we need to promote a more just and equitable international order. Our ever closer ties with the rest of the world require that we play a more active part in global governance. Without our participation, many pressing global challenges cannot be effectively addressed. We should speak with one voice and jointly present our approaches to issues concerning international peace and development. This meets the expectation of the international community, and will help safeguard our common interests.

We should remain committed to multilateralism and the basic norms governing international relations, work for a new model of international relations, and foster a peaceful and stable environment for the development of all countries. We need to make economic globalization open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial to all, build an open world economy, support the multilateral trading regime, and oppose protectionism. We need to advance the reform of global economic governance, increase the representation and voice of emerging markets and developing countries, inject new impetus into the efforts to address the development gap between the North and South, and boost global growth.

Fourth, we need to promote people-to-people exchanges. Amity between peoples holds the key to sound state-to-state relations. Only with careful tending can the tree of friendship and cooperation flourish. Enhancing exchanges among our peoples and seeing the spirit of partnership embraced by all is a worthy cause that deserves our enduring commitment. A job well done in this regard will keep BRICS cooperation vibrant.

We are pleased to note that the important consensus reached at the leadership level on closer people-to-people exchanges is being translated into reality. This year has seen extensive people-to-people exchanges among our five countries, marked by the diverse activities of the BRICS Games, the BRICS Film Festival, the BRICS Culture Festival, and the High-level Meeting on Traditional Medicine. We hope that through our joint efforts, these activities will take place regularly and become institutionalized. We need to expand our outreach to get the public more involved and encourage more lively exchanges of diverse cultures.

The past decade has seen unremitting efforts on the part of the BRICS countries in pursuing development and deeper partnerships. It is but a beginning in the history of BRICS cooperation. As I said in my letters to you earlier this year, looking ahead, BRICS cooperation is set to expand and play an even bigger role in international affairs. Let us set sail from Xiamen, join hands to usher in the second golden

decade of BRICS cooperation, and deliver greater benefits to the peoples of our five countries and around the world.

Notes

¹ Qiao Zhou; *Morality* (*Liù Xun*), Qiao Zhou (201-270) was a scholar and official of the Three Kingdoms Period.

The Belt and Road Initiative

The Belt and Road Initiative and Connectivity Are Mutually Reinforcing*

November 8, 2014

Last fall I made a proposal on behalf of the Chinese government to build the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (the Belt and Road Initiative). The international community, and leaders present here in particular, have responded to the initiative positively. The initiative and the connectivity endeavor are compatible and mutually reinforcing. If the Belt and the Road are likened to the two wings of a soaring Asia, then connectivity represents its arteries and veins. With the implementation of the initiative now entering a stage of pragmatic cooperation, I wish to propose the following:

First, we should focus on Asian countries and realize connectivity in Asia first. The Belt and Road both trace their origins to Asia. They will find support in Asia and bring benefit to Asia. It is natural that we focus our attention on connectivity between Asian countries and strive to expand our common interests. The Belt and Road Initiative represents a joint undertaking by China and its Asian neighbors. China gives top priority to neighboring countries in its foreign policy and pursues amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness in building relations with them. China is ready to provide more public goods toward China's Asian neighbors through connectivity, and welcomes them to board China's train of development.

Second, we should develop a basic framework of Asian connectivity by leveraging economic corridors. Now, China has made a basic master plan for the Belt and Road Initiative. It includes the land and maritime economic corridors, which are still under development, on

* Part of the speech at the Dialogue on Strengthening Connectivity Partnership

the basis of full consultation among all parties. The proposed framework should accommodate the needs of all relevant countries and cover both land and sea-related projects. The framework, once developed, will be both extensive and inclusive, and it will have far-reaching impacts. China is ready to engage in further consultation with the countries involved with a view to improving the blueprint and laying a more solid foundation for our cooperation.

Third, we should gather an early harvest in Asian connectivity by making breakthroughs in transport infrastructure. The Silk Road project begins with roads. With roads in place, people and goods can flow. China attaches great importance to the railway and highway projects linking China to Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia, Mongolia, Tajikistan and other neighboring countries. These projects will be given priority in the planning and implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative. The more and the sooner people benefit from the initiative, the greater appeal and vigor the initiative will have.

Fourth, we should break through bottlenecks in Asian connectivity by building a financing platform. Most Asian countries are developing countries facing a shortage of funds for development. What is important is to use what is available effectively and spend the increment wisely, so that precious financial resources will be channeled to the most worthy projects. Here, I would like to announce that China has decided to commit US\$40 billion to the establishment of a Silk Road Fund. This new fund is designed to provide investment and financing support to countries along the Belt and Road for connectivity projects such as infrastructure, resources development, and industrial and financial cooperation. The Silk Road Fund is an open fund which allows establishment of sub-funds by the region, sector or project. Investors from both within and outside of Asia are welcome to participate in the Fund.

Fifth, we should strengthen the social foundation for Asian connectivity by promoting people-to-people exchanges. China welcomes dialogue between civilizations and faiths, encourages exchanges between cultures and peoples among all countries, stands

in favor of joint applications for World Cultural Heritage status by all countries along the Belt and Road, and wishes to see closer cooperation between local governments of provinces and cities in Asian countries. Asia boasts a wealth of resources in the field of tourism. As our citizens travel abroad in increasing numbers, we should incorporate the Silk Road into our tourism strategies and combine our cooperation in tourism with our efforts for better connectivity. Connectivity requires great numbers of professionals. In the coming five years, China will provide neighboring countries with training opportunities for 20,000 connectivity professionals in support of their efforts to cultivate their own experts. China is also ready to send more students and scholars to neighboring countries for studies and academic exchanges.

Promote the Belt and Road Initiative, Extend Reform and Development*

April 29, 2016

The Belt and Road Initiative is an important measure in enabling China to implement all-round opening up, and a major platform for promoting mutual benefit in the current era. We should redouble our efforts to implement the initiative from a higher ground and a broader perspective, on the basis of rich historical experience, and equipped with innovative ideas and concepts, so that the initiative will truly benefit peoples of all countries along the routes.

The Political Bureau has chosen this topic for today's group study session to help us understand the history and culture of the Silk Road and the Maritime Silk Road, and learn from historical experience in order to further the Belt and Road Initiative. The initiative has attracted considerable attention from the international community. The reasons for this are that the initiative responds to the call of the times and meets the desire of countries for faster development, and that it has a profound historical origin and popular foundation. For our own part, the initiative meets our country's need for economic growth, and is conducive to the development of border regions mainly inhabited by ethnic minorities.

The initiative has evoked the historical memory of participating countries. The ancient Silk Road was more a route of friendship than a route of trade. In the course of friendly exchanges between the Chinese and other peoples along the route, a Silk Road spirit featuring peace, cooperation, openness, inclusiveness, mutual learning and

* Main points of the speech at the 31st group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee.

mutual benefit has taken shape. We should inherit and carry forward the Silk Road spirit, combining China's development with that of other countries involved in the initiative, and the Chinese Dream with dreams of other peoples, and imbue it with new life.

To promote the initiative, we have to maintain a proper balance between the interests of our country and those of other countries, between the government, the market and society, between economic and trade cooperation and people-to-people exchanges, between opening up and national security, between implementation and publicity, and between national and local objectives.

China is the initiator and propeller of the Belt and Road Initiative, but the initiative is not China's business alone. Therefore, focusing on China's own development, it should also welcome other countries to board China's express train of development, and help them realize their own development objectives. We should pay greater attention to the interests of other countries while pursuing our own. We should stick to the sound values of upholding the greater good and pursuing shared interests, with high priority given to the greater good. We should not seek quick successes and instant benefits, nor should we engage in short-term behavior. We must adopt a holistic approach to the common interests of China and other countries and their respective interests and concerns. We must identify more areas for converging interests, and give full play to all participating countries. Our enterprises must give greater importance to their good reputation in their going-global activities, while seeking their investment returns. They must abide by laws of the recipient countries, and shoulder more social responsibilities.

To promote the initiative, we must give play to both the role of the government and that of the market. The government must play a leading role in promotion, coordination and building mechanisms. At the same time, it is important to put in place a market-based regional economic cooperation mechanism for enterprises. The government should encourage enterprises and other social forces to participate in the initiative, with a view to forming a cooperation model that

features guidance by the government, participation of enterprises and support of people's organizations.

People-to-people and cultural exchanges are also an integral part of the initiative. To implement the initiative, we must create an atmosphere in which people of all participating countries appreciate, understand and respect each other. Closer people-to-people ties represent an important element of the initiative as well as a popular and cultural foundation. We must promote economic cooperation and cultural exchanges simultaneously. We must work meticulously in the field of cultural exchanges, respecting the culture, history, customs and lifestyles of all countries, and increase friendly exchanges with peoples of the participating countries, so as to lay a good social foundation for the development of the initiative. We must enhance cooperation in the field of security, endeavor to build a community of shared interests, shared responsibility and shared future, and foster a favorable environment. We should direct our attention to promotional efforts and make them effective, try all means to explain and carry across the message of the initiative, and cultivate a good environment of public opinion in support of the initiative.

The implementation of the initiative requires both the overall objective of the state and local enthusiasm. Local planning and objectives should conform to the national objective and serve the overall interests. We should focus on opening wider to the outside world, enhancing our ability to participate in international competition, transforming the growth model, and restructuring the economy. We must base ourselves on local reality, identify and give play to the role of local governments, make practical progress, and expand the space for reform and development.

The Belt and Road Initiative Benefits the People*

August 17, 2016

We must review the experience gained and advance the Belt and Road Initiative with full confidence, focusing on policy coordination, connectivity of infrastructure, unimpeded trade, financial integration and closer people-to-people ties, highlighting the establishment of mutually beneficial and cooperative networks, new modes of cooperation, and multilateral cooperation platforms, and joining hands to build a road of green development, of health cooperation, of innovation and of peace. Like driving a nail with a hammer, we should push the initiative forward step by step to ensure peoples along the route benefit from the initiative.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Central Committee has identified, with an eye to development as planned for the 13th Five-year Plan period (2016-2020) and longer term, three major development strategies: the Belt and Road Initiative, the Coordinated Development of Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt. In 2014 we approved the Strategic Planning for the Building of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. In 2015 we released the "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road", which is to be complemented by local and departmental plans and which has attracted international attention.

At present, more than 100 countries and international organizations have joined the initiative. China has signed cooperation agreements on

* Main points of the speech at a conference on the Belt and Road Initiative

building the Belt and Road with more than 30 countries, and entered into international industrial cooperation with more than 20 countries. The United Nations and other international organizations have also positively responded to the initiative. There has been further financial cooperation involving the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the Silk Road Fund and others, and a number of influential landmark projects have been implemented. The initiative started from scratch, but is now progressing rapidly, yielding rich results beyond expectation.

Only a strong and prosperous country can open itself to the outside world with confidence, and openness in turn promotes further prosperity. China's achievements since the beginning of reform and opening up in 1978 have proved that openness is an important driver of its economic and social development. As China becomes the world's second largest economy and its economy enters the new normal, to maintain sustainable and healthy economic growth we must have a global vision, take a holistic approach to the situation both at home and abroad, and develop a grand and comprehensive opening-up strategy. We must embrace the world in a more proactive manner.

We will take advantage of the initiative to increase transnational connections and communications, and enhance cooperation in trade and investment, and in industry and equipment manufacturing. What is essential is to rebalance the world economy by fostering new demand and ensuring effective supply. Particularly in the current situation where the world economy has remained sluggish, it will help to stabilize the world economy if procyclical industrial and building capacity could be used by participating countries to meet the pressing demand for industrialization, modernization and infrastructure.

To promote the Belt and Road Initiative, first we must build up consensus. We should, through joint planning and shared development for mutual benefit, focus on key regions, countries and projects, concentrate on development, and strive to benefit not only the people of China but also – and more importantly – people from other coun-

tries along the route. China welcomes others on board its express train of development. All other countries and international organizations are welcome to join the initiative.

Second, we should ensure well-organized implementation of our plans, and work out measures and policies to promote the initiative. We should focus on innovation, improve supporting services, and give priority to such projects of strategic importance as the connectivity of infrastructure, the development and utilization of energy resources, the building of economic, trade and industrial cooperation zones, and the research and development of core industrial technologies.

Third, we should promote a coordinated and balanced development, between land and sea, between China and foreign countries, and between governments and enterprises. We will encourage Chinese enterprises to invest in other countries along the route, which are also welcome to invest in China. We will strengthen the complementarity between the initiative and national strategies, including the Coordinated Development of Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt. To take a holistic and integrated approach to the initiative on the one hand and other programs on the other, such as the development of west China, the revitalization of northeast China, the rise of central China, earlier starter of east China and the development and opening up of the border regions, we will be able to achieve all-round opening up and integrated development of east, central, and west China.

Fourth, we should launch key projects first. We may start with a few demonstration projects for early harvest, in particular, projects for infrastructure connectivity, cooperation in industrial capacity, and economic and trade zones, so that countries involved will have a true sense of achievement.

Fifth, we should promote financial innovation to facilitate the initiative, creating innovative international financing models, expanding financial cooperation, building multilevel financial platforms, and establishing a financial security system that is enduring, stable, and sustainable, and keeps risks under control.

Sixth, we should foster close people-to-people ties, carry forward

the Silk Road spirit, and promote cultural exchanges and mutual learning.

Seventh, we should enhance publicity on the achievements of the initiative and increase academic research, theoretical support, and channels for communications.

Eighth, we should strengthen security, improving risk assessment, monitoring, early warning, and emergency response. We should establish a sound working mechanism and define the implementation steps, so as to ensure that all departments, project management units or enterprises that are involved properly follow the arrangements and measures.

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 energy¹, 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.

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

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 route² linking the East and the West, a daring undertaking which came to be known as Zhang Qian's journey to 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, Turfan, 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 for trade only; 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 paper-making) 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 lie 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, mankind 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."³ 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 Mongo-

lia, the Two Corridors, 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 cooperation 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, and Gwadar and Piraeus ports 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 Belt and Road countries in 2014-2016 exceeded US\$3 trillion-worth, and China's investment in Belt and Road countries 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, or 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 systems, 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 conflicts, turbulence, crises and challenges. 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 funda-

mental 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 businesses 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 regime, advance the building of free trade areas, and promote liberalization 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 give think tanks a bigger role to play and establish think tank networks and partnerships. 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, BRICS New Development Bank, 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 peoples' 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 Assistance Fund for South-South Cooperation. 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 all the five continents, Asia, Europe, Africa, North America and South America, can be partners of 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.”⁴ 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 which says, “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.

Notes

¹ Gao Lian: *Eight Treatises on the Nurturing of Life* (*Zun Sheng Ba Jian*). Gao Lian was a dramatist of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

² Sima Qian: *Records of the Historian* (*Shi Ji*). Sima Qian (c. 145 or 135-? BC) was a historian and writer of the Western Han Dynasty.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Xun Zi*.

A Community of Shared Future



A New Partnership of Mutual Benefit and a Community of Shared Future*

September 28, 2015

Mr President,
Dear colleagues,

Seventy years ago, those before us fought heroically and secured victory in World War II, closing a dark page in the annals of human history. That victory was hard-won.

Seventy years ago, those before us, with vision and foresight, established the United Nations. This universal and most representative and authoritative international organization has carried mankind's hope for a new future and ushered in a new era of cooperation. This was a pioneering initiative never before undertaken.

Seventy years ago, those before us pooled together their wisdom and adopted the Charter of the United Nations, laying the cornerstone of contemporary international order, and establishing the fundamental principles of contemporary international relations. This was an achievement of profound impact.

Mr President,
Dear colleagues,

On September 3, 2015 the people of China, together with the rest of humanity, solemnly commemorated the 70th anniversary of victory in the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and World War II. As the main theater in the East, China made a national sacrifice of over 35 million casualties in its fight against the

* Speech at the General Debate of the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly at the Headquarters in New York, the United States

main forces of Japanese militarism. It not only saved itself and its people from subjugation, but also gave strong support to the forces combating aggression in the European and Pacific theaters, making a historic contribution to the ultimate victory.

History is a mirror. Only by drawing lessons from history can the world avoid repeating past calamity. We should view history with awe and through the prism of human conscience. The past cannot be changed, but the future can be shaped. Bearing history in mind is not perpetuating hatred. Rather, its purpose is to ensure that we do not forget the lessons. Remembering history does not mean being obsessed with the past. Rather, in doing so, we aim to create a better future and pass the torch of peace from generation to generation.

Mr President,

Dear colleagues,

Over the past seven decades the United Nations has experienced both successes and setbacks. It has witnessed efforts made by all countries to uphold peace, build their own countries, and pursue cooperation. Having reached a new historical starting point, the United Nations needs to address the central issue of how to better promote world peace and development in the 21st century.

The world is going through a historical process of accelerated evolution. The light of peace, development, and progress will be powerful enough to dispel the clouds of war, poverty and backwardness. The movement towards a multipolar world and the rise of emerging markets and developing countries have become an irresistible trend of history. Economic globalization and the advent of an information age have greatly unleashed and boosted productive forces. They have presented unprecedented development opportunities while giving rise to new threats and challenges which we must face squarely.

As an ancient Chinese adage goes, “When the Great Way rules, the land under Heaven belongs to the people.”¹ Peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy, and freedom are common values of humanity and also the lofty goals of the United Nations. Yet these goals are far from being achieved; therefore we must continue our endeavors.

In today's world, all countries are interdependent and share a common future. We should renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, build a new model of international relations featuring mutually beneficial cooperation, and create a community of shared future for mankind. To achieve this goal, we need to make efforts in the following areas:

— We should build partnerships in which countries treat each other as equals, engage in extensive consultation, and enhance mutual understanding. The principle of sovereign equality underpins the Charter of the United Nations. The future of the world must be shaped by all countries. All countries are equal. The large, the strong, and the rich should not abuse the small, the weak, and the poor. The principle of sovereignty is not just embodied in the inviolability of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries. It is also embodied in the right of all countries to make their own choice of social systems and development paths. It also means that all countries' endeavors to promote economic and social development and improve their people's lives should be respected.

We should commit ourselves to multilateralism and reject unilateralism. We should adopt a new vision of seeking positive outcomes for all, and reject the outdated mindset of zero-sum game or winner-takes-all. Consultation is an important form of democracy, and it should also become an important means of exercising international governance. We should try to resolve disputes and differences through dialogue and consultation. We should forge a global partnership at both international and regional levels, and embrace a new approach to state-to-state relations, one that features dialogue rather than confrontation, and seeks partnership rather than alliance. Major countries should follow the principles of no conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect, and mutually beneficial cooperation in handling their relations. Major powers should treat small countries as equals, and should try to balance between the greater good and their own interests by favoring the former over the latter.

— We should create a security environment featuring fairness, justice, joint efforts, and shared interests. In the age of economic globalization, the security of all countries is interlinked and they impact each other. No country can maintain absolute security by its own efforts only, neither can any country achieve stability by destabilizing other countries. The law of the jungle leaves the weak at the mercy of the strong; it is not the way for countries to conduct their relations. Those who adopt the self-serving approach of using force will find that they are shooting themselves in the foot.

We should abandon the Cold War mentality in all its manifestations, and foster a new vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable security. We should give full play to the central role of the United Nations and its Security Council in ending conflict and keeping peace, and adopt the dual approach of seeking peaceful solutions to disputes and taking coercive actions, so as to turn hostility into amity. We should advance international cooperation in both social and economic fields and take a holistic approach to addressing traditional and non-traditional security threats, so as to prevent conflicts from breaking out in the first place.

— We should promote open, innovative and inclusive development that benefits all. The 2008 global financial crisis has taught us that allowing capital to blindly pursue profit will result in chaos, and that global prosperity cannot be built on the shaky foundations of a market without moral constraints. The growing gap between rich and poor is both unfair and unsustainable. It is important for us to use both the invisible hand and the visible hand to form synergy between market forces and government functions, and strive to achieve both efficiency and fairness.

Development is meaningful only when it is inclusive and sustainable. To achieve such development requires openness, mutual assistance, and mutually beneficial cooperation. In the world today, close to 800 million people still live in extreme poverty, nearly 6 million children die before the age of five each year, and about 60 million children are unable to go to school. The recent UN Sustainable

Development Summit adopted the Post-2015 Development Agenda. We must translate our commitments into actions and work together to ensure that everyone is free from want, has access to development, and lives with dignity.

- We should increase inter-civilization exchanges to promote harmony, inclusiveness, and respect for differences. The world is more colorful as a result of its cultural diversity. Diversity breeds exchanges, exchanges create integration, and integration makes progress possible.

In their interactions, civilizations must accept their differences. Only through mutual respect, mutual learning, and harmonious coexistence can the world maintain its diversity and thrive. Each social model represents the unique vision and contribution of its people, and no model is superior to others. Different civilizations should engage in dialogue and exchanges instead of trying to exclude or replace each other. The history of humanity is a process of exchanges, interactions, and integration among different civilizations. We should respect all civilizations and treat each other as equals. We should draw inspiration from each other to boost the creative development of human civilization.

- We should build an ecosystem that puts Mother Nature and green development first. Humanity may utilize nature and even try to transform it. But we are ultimately a part of nature. We should care for nature and not place ourselves above it. We should reconcile industrial development with nature and pursue harmony between man and nature to achieve sustainable development throughout the world and the all-round development of humanity.

To build a sound ecology is vital for humanity's future. All members of the international community should work together to build a sound global eco-environment. We should respect nature, follow nature's ways, and protect nature. We should firmly pursue green, low-carbon, circular, and sustainable development. China will shoulder its share of responsibility and continue to play its part in this common endeavor. We also urge developed countries to fulfill their historical responsibilities, honor their emissions reduction

commitments, and help developing countries mitigate and adapt to climate change.

Mr President,

Dear colleagues,

More than 1.3 billion Chinese people are endeavoring to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. The dream of the Chinese people is closely related to the dreams of other peoples of the world. We cannot realize the Chinese Dream without a peaceful international environment, a stable international order, or the understanding, support, and help of the rest of the world. The realization of the Chinese Dream will bring greater opportunities to other countries and contribute to global peace and development.

China will continue to participate in building world peace. We are committed to peaceful development. No matter how the international landscape may evolve and how strong we may become, China will never pursue hegemony or expansion, nor will it seek to create spheres of influence.

China will continue to contribute to global development. We will continue to pursue common progress and the mutually beneficial strategy of opening up. We are ready to share our experience and opportunities with other countries and welcome them aboard our development train heading towards common development.

China will continue to uphold the international order. We will remain committed to the path of development through cooperation. China was the first country to put its signature on the Charter of the United Nations. We will continue to uphold the international order and system underpinned by the purposes and principles of that charter. China will continue to stand together with other developing countries. We firmly support greater representation and say for developing countries, especially African countries, in international governance. China's vote in the United Nations will always belong to the developing countries.

I wish to take this opportunity to announce China's decision to establish a 10-year, US\$1 billion China-UN peace and development

fund to support the work of the United Nations, advance multilateral cooperation, and make a greater contribution to world peace and development. I wish to announce that China will join the new UN Peacekeeping Capability Readiness System, and has thus decided to take the lead in setting up a permanent peacekeeping squad and building a peacekeeping standby force of 8,000 troops. I also wish to announce that China will provide a total of US\$100 million in free military aid to the African Union in the next five years to support the establishment of the African Standby Force and the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis.

Mr President,

Dear colleagues,

As the United Nations enters a new decade, let us unite ever more closely to build a new partnership of mutual benefit and a community of shared future for mankind. Let the vision of a world free of war and enjoying lasting peace take root in our hearts. Let the aspirations of development, prosperity, fairness, and justice spread across the world.

Thank you.

Notes

¹ See note 11, p. 163.

Build a Win-Win, Equitable and Balanced Governance Mechanism on Climate Change*

November 30, 2015

President Hollande,
Dear colleagues,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

Today, we are gathering here in Paris for the opening ceremony of the United Nations Conference on Climate Change. Our presence shows that terrorism cannot hold back mankind's efforts to address climate change and to pursue a better future. Let me take this opportunity to express my sincere sympathy to the French people¹ and my gratitude to President Hollande and the French government for their meticulous preparations for this conference.

Thanks to the joint effort by all parties since the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) entered into force over 20 years ago, global actions on climate change have made progress, although there are still numerous difficulties and challenges. This Paris Conference is hence convened to strengthen implementation of the UNFCCC and produce a comprehensive, balanced, ambitious and binding agreement on climate change. The conference is also expected to come up with equitable, reasonable, and effective global solutions to climate change, and explore pathways and governance models for mankind to achieve sustainable development. The French writer Victor Hugo observed in *Les Misérables* that "Supreme resources spring from extreme resolutions." ("Les ressources

* Speech at the opening ceremony of the Paris Conference on Climate Change.

suprêmes sortent des résolutions extrêmes.") I believe that with all parties making joint efforts with sincerity and confidence, the Paris Conference will yield satisfying results and meet the high expectations of the international community.

Dear colleagues,

Ladies and gentlemen,

A successful international agreement should not simply address immediate challenges; more importantly, it should also present a vision for the future. The Paris agreement should focus on strengthening post-2020 global actions on climate change and boost global efforts to pursue sustainable development.

– The Paris agreement should help meet the goals of the UNFCCC and chart the course for green development. The agreement should follow the principles and rules set out in the UNFCCC and contribute to its full and effective implementation. The agreement should place effective controls on the increase in atmospheric concentration of greenhouse gases, and set up incentive mechanisms to encourage countries to pursue green, circular and low-carbon development so as to achieve economic growth and effectively respond to climate change at the same time.

– The Paris agreement should help galvanize global efforts and encourage broad participation. The agreement should provide institutional arrangements to encourage countries to make concerted efforts. In addition to governments, it should also mobilize all sectors in society, including businesses and non-governmental organizations, to participate in international cooperation in climate change, thus raising public awareness of climate change and pooling resources for the effort to address the issue.

– The Paris agreement should help increase input of resources to ensure actions on climate change. To obtain financial and technical support for capacity building is essential for developing countries to address climate change. Developed countries should honor their commitment of mobilizing US\$100 billion every year from now until 2020 and provide stronger financial support to developing countries

afterwards. It is also important that climate-friendly technologies should be transferred to developing countries to help them build green economies.

– The Paris agreement should accommodate the national conditions in various countries and lay emphasis on practical results. It is imperative to respect differences among countries, especially developing countries, in domestic policies, capacity building, and economic structure. A one-size-fits-all approach must be avoided. Addressing climate change should not deny the legitimate needs of developing countries to reduce poverty and improve their people's living standards. The particular needs of developing countries must be given due attention.

Dear colleagues,

Ladies and gentlemen,

The Paris agreement is not the finishing line, but rather a new starting point. Global efforts on climate change, an important element of global governance, can serve as a mirror for us to reflect on the best model for future global governance, and on ways to build a community of shared future for mankind. Much valuable inspiration can be drawn therefrom.

– We should create a future of win-win cooperation, with every country making its contribution to the best of its ability. For global issues like climate change, a utilitarianism-oriented, take-more-give-less approach is in nobody's interest. The Paris Conference should reject the narrow-minded mentality of zero-sum game and call on all countries, the developed countries in particular, to assume a greater share of responsibilities for win-win outcomes.

– We should create a future of the rule of law, fairness, and justice. It is imperative to enhance the standing and role of international law in global governance, ensure effective observance and implementation of international rules, uphold democracy, equality, and justice, and build international rule of law. There are enormous gaps between developed and developing countries in historical responsibility for current problems, in the stage of development they have reached, and

in their ability to respond to climate change. Therefore the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities is all the more important now, and it must continue to be respected.

— We should create a future of inclusiveness, mutual learning, and common development. Facing global challenges, countries need to increase dialogue and, share and learn best practices. We should draw on each other's strengths to achieve common development through mutual learning, and for the benefit of all our people. At the same time, we should allow individual countries to seek their own solutions that best suit their respective national conditions in the spirit of seeking harmony without uniformity.

Dear colleagues,

Ladies and gentlemen,

China has been actively engaged in the global campaign on climate change. China is both sincere and determined to contribute its share to the success of the Paris Conference.

In the past few decades, China has seen rapid economic growth and significant improvement in the living standards of its people. However, this has taken a toll on the environment and resources. Having learned the lesson, China is making vigorous ecological endeavors to promote green, circular and low-carbon growth. We have integrated our climate change efforts into the country's medium- and long-term program of economic and social development. We attach equal importance to mitigation of and adaptation to climate change, and try to make progress on all fronts by applying legal and administrative means, technology, and market forces. China's installed capacity of renewable energy accounts for 24 percent of the world's total, with newly installed capacity accounting for 42 percent of the global total. China tops the world in terms of energy conservation and utilization of new and renewable energies.

“All things live in harmony and grow with nourishment.”¹² Chinese culture values harmony between man and nature and respects nature. Going forward, ecological endeavors will feature prominently in China's 13th Five-year Plan for Economic and Social Development.

China will work hard to implement the vision of innovative, coordinated, green, open, and inclusive development. On the basis of technological and institutional innovation, China will adopt new policies and measures to improve the mix of its industries, build a low-carbon energy system, develop green buildings and low-carbon transportation, and build a nationwide carbon emission trading market so as to foster a new pattern of modernization featuring harmony between man and nature. In its Intended Nationally Determined Contributions, China pledges to peak CO₂ emissions by around 2030 and strive to achieve this sooner if possible, and by 2030, to reduce CO₂ per unit of GDP by 60-65 percent over the 2005 level, to raise the contribution of non-fossil fuels in primary energy consumption to about 20 percent, and to increase the forest stock volume by around 4.5 billion cubic meters compared with 2005. This will require strenuous efforts, but we have the confidence and the resolve to fulfill our commitments.

China stands for upholding the greater good and pursuing shared interest, and takes an active part in international cooperation in climate change. Over the years, the Chinese government has earnestly fulfilled its policy commitments in terms of South-South cooperation regarding climate change to support developing countries, especially the least-developed countries, landlocked developing countries, and small island developing states, in confronting the challenge of climate change. In a show of greater support, China announced in September this year the establishment of an RMB20 billion South-South Climate Cooperation Fund. Next year, China will launch cooperation projects for developing countries, including setting up 10 pilot low-carbon industrial parks, starting 100 mitigation and adaptation programs and providing them with 1,000 training opportunities on climate change. China will continue to promote international cooperation in such areas as clean energy, disaster prevention and reduction, ecological protection, climate-smart agriculture, and low-carbon and smart cities. China will also help other developing countries to increase their financing capacity.

Dear colleagues,

Ladies and gentlemen,

Tackling climate change is a shared mission for humanity. All eyes are now on Paris. Let us join hands and contribute to the establishment of an equitable and effective global mechanism on climate change, global sustainable development at a higher level, and new international relations based on win-win cooperation.

Thank you.

Notes

¹ On November 15, 2015 Paris suffered a terrorist attack at the Bataclan Night Club that killed 130 people. – *Tr.*

² *Xun Zi.*

Work Together to Build a Healthy Cyberspace*

December 16, 2015

With the development of world multipolarity, economic globalization, cultural diversity, and IT application, the internet will play a bigger role in the progress of human civilization. At the same time, however, such problems as unbalanced development, inadequate rules, and inequitable order have become more evident in the field of the internet. The information gap between different countries and regions is widening, and the existing rules governing cyberspace struggle to meet the needs and interests of the majority of countries. Infringements of individual privacy and intellectual property rights as well as cybercrimes happen frequently around the world. Cyber surveillance, cyberattacks, and cyber terrorism have become a global scourge. In the face of these problems and challenges, the international community must enhance dialogue and cooperation in the spirit of mutual respect and mutual trust, promote transformation of the global internet governance system, and work together to foster a peaceful, secure, open, and cooperative cyberspace and put in place a multilateral, democratic, and transparent global internet governance system.

To make progress in the transformation of the global internet governance system, the following principles must be upheld:

- Respect for cyber sovereignty. The principle of sovereign equality enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations is one of the basic norms in contemporary international relations. It covers all aspects of state-to-state relations, and therefore it should also apply to cyberspace. We should respect the right of individual countries to indepen-

* Part of the speech at the opening ceremony of the Second World Internet Conference.

dently choose their own path of cyber development, model of cyber regulation, and internet public policies, and participate in international cyberspace governance on an equal footing. No country should pursue cyber hegemony, interfere in other countries' internal affairs, or support, engage in, or conspire around cyber activities that may undermine other countries' national security.

- Maintenance of peace and security. A secure, stable, and booming cyberspace is of great importance to all countries and the world as a whole. In the real world, there are still lingering wars, shadows of terrorism, and incidences of crime. Cyberspace should not become a battlefield for countries to wrestle with one another, still less should it become a hotbed of crime. Countries should work together to prevent and oppose the use of cyberspace for criminal activities such as terrorism, pornography, drug trafficking, money laundering, and gambling. We should crack down on all cybercrimes in accordance with relevant laws and international conventions, whether commercial cyber thefts or hacker attacks against government networks. No double standards should be allowed in ensuring cyber security. We cannot accept the security of just one or some countries while others are left insecure, still less should one country seek its own absolute security at the expense of the security of others.

- Promotion of openness and cooperation. As an old Chinese saying goes, "When there is mutual care, the world will be in good order; when there is mutual hatred, the world will be in chaos."¹³ To improve the global internet governance system and maintain order in cyberspace, we should observe the principles of mutual support, mutual trust, and mutual benefit, and reject the old mentality of zero-sum game or "winner takes all". All countries should advance opening up and cooperation in cyberspace and further substantiate and enhance their opening-up efforts. We should also build more platforms for communication and cooperation and identify more convergent points of interest, growth areas for cooperation, and opportunities for win-win outcomes. Efforts should be made to facilitate the complementarity of strengths and common development of all

countries in cyberspace so that more countries and people may get aboard the express train of the information age and benefit from internet development.

— Good order. As in the real world, both freedom and order are necessary in cyberspace. Freedom is what order is meant for and order is the guarantor of freedom. We should respect the right of internet users to exchange ideas and express their minds, and we should also build a good order in cyberspace in accordance with the law as it will help protect the legitimate rights and interests of all internet users. Cyberspace is not a place beyond the rule of law. Cyberspace is virtual, but players in cyberspace are real. Everyone should abide by the law, and the rights and obligations of parties concerned should be clearly defined. Cyberspace must be governed, operated, and used in accordance with the law, so that the internet can achieve healthy development under the rule of law. At the same time, greater efforts should be made to promote ethical standards and civilized behavior in cyberspace. We should give full play to the role of moral standards and teachings in guiding the use of the internet, to make sure that the best accomplishments of human civilization will nourish the growth of cyberspace and help rehabilitate the cyber ecology.

Cyberspace is a common space for human activities. The future of cyberspace should be in the hands of all countries. Countries should step up communication, broaden consensus, and extend cooperation to jointly build a community of shared future in cyberspace. To this end, I wish to propose five points.

First, speed up the building of global internet infrastructure and promote inter-connectivity. The essence of the internet is connectivity, and herein lies the value of information. Only when the IT infrastructure is well developed can information flow smoothly, can the digital divide between different countries, regions, and communities be narrowed, and the full flow of information resources ensured. China is now implementing the Broadband China strategy. It is estimated that by 2020, the broadband network in China will, by and large, cover every village. The “last kilometer” of internet infrastructure will be

linked up thanks to this strategy, and more people will have access to the internet. China stands ready to work with all parties concerned, increase investment and technical support to accelerate the building of global internet infrastructure, and enable more developing countries and their peoples to take advantage of the development opportunities brought by the internet.

Second, build an online platform for cultural exchange and mutual learning. Culture and civilization are enriched through exchange and mutual learning. The internet is an important carrier to spread the best of humanity's cultures and promote positive energy. China is ready to build, through the internet, a bridge of international cultural interaction and mutual learning for people of all countries to share the cultures of the world and their thoughts and feelings, and enhance mutual understanding. We will work with other countries to leverage the strength of the internet as a communication platform, so that people in other countries may come to know more about Chinese culture and the Chinese people can learn more of theirs. Together, we will promote the prosperity and development of cyber culture, which in turn will enrich people's minds and thoughts, and advance human civilization and progress.

Third, promote innovative development of the cyber economy for common prosperity. The world economy is on a difficult and tortuous path to recovery. The Chinese economy is also under some downward pressure. Solutions lie in innovation-driven development, which will open new horizons. China is now implementing the Internet Plus action plan, advancing the building of Digital China, developing the sharing economy, and supporting internet-based innovation in all forms, with a view to improving the quality and efficiency of development. The robust growth of the internet in China has provided a sizable market for enterprises and business starters of all countries. China's door of opening up will never close. Our policy towards foreign investment will not change. Our protection of the legitimate rights and interests of foreign invested enterprises will not change. And our commitment to providing better services to foreign

companies in their investment and business activities in China will not change. As long as they abide by China's laws, enterprises and business starters from all countries are warmly welcome to invest and do business in China. We are ready to step up cooperation with all countries. Through the development of cross-border e-commerce and the building of information economy demonstration zones, we will be able to spur the growth of worldwide investment and trade, and promote global development of the digital economy.

Fourth, maintain cyber security and promote orderly development. Security and development are like the two wings of a bird or the two wheels of a cart. Security ensures development, and development is the goal of security. Cyber security poses a global challenge. No country can distance itself or remain immune from such challenge. Maintaining cyber security is the shared responsibility of the international community. All countries should work together to contain the abuse of information technology, oppose cyber surveillance and cyber attacks, and reject an arms race in cyberspace. China will work with all other countries to step up dialogue and exchanges, and effectively manage differences. We will work with all parties for the formulation of international cyberspace rules acceptable to all parties and an international convention against terrorism in cyberspace, improve the legal support mechanism to fight cybercrime, and jointly uphold peace and security in cyberspace.

Fifth, build an internet governance system to promote fairness and justice. International cyberspace governance should feature a multilateral approach with multiparty participation. It should be based on consultation between all parties, leveraging the role of various players, including governments, international organizations, internet companies, technology communities, non-governmental institutions, and individual citizens. There can be no room for unilateralism. Decisions should not be made with one party calling the shots or only a few parties discussing among themselves. All countries should step up communication and exchange, improve dialogue and consultation mechanisms on cyberspace, and study and formulate global inter-

net governance rules, so that the global internet governance system becomes fairer and more reasonable and reflects in a more balanced way the aspiration and interests of the majority of countries. This World Internet Conference is being held precisely for the purpose of building a platform for all to govern and benefit from the global internet, and to work together for the healthy development of the internet.

Notes

¹ *Mo Zi*.

Towards a Community of Shared Future for Mankind*

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 a community of shared future for mankind, which is the call of our time.

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

* Speech at the United Nations Office at Geneva.

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 track 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 new home. We do not know when that hope will come true. For the time being 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 community of shared future for mankind 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 community of shared future for mankind.

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."¹ 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, 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 and thus ensuring genuine equality and justice in the world.

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 *Un Souvenir de 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 community of shared future for mankind. 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.”² 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 prevent wars and conflicts.

The Swiss writer and Nobel laureate Hermann Hesse stressed 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 hegemons 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. 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 neighbours 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."³ All countries should pursue common, comprehensive, and sustainable security through cooperation.

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 enhance 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? UNHCR 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 beggaring their neighbors, countries should stick together like passengers in the same boat. All countries – the main 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 scientific and technological revolution and industrial transformation, 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 regime, 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 extreme poverty by 2030. All this demonstrates that economic globalization is generally good. Of course, there are still problems, such as development disparity, governance dilemma, 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 2008 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."⁴ 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 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 man 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 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 peace 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 to others what you do not want others to do to 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."¹⁵ 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 opening-up strategy, 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 enhance 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 uphold justice and friendship and pursue shared interests, and boost pragmatic cooperation with other developing countries to achieve common development. We will further enhance mutually beneficial cooperation with our neighbors based on friendship, good faith, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness. We will pursue common development with African countries in a spirit of sincerity, affinity and good faith and with a result-oriented approach. 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 games and the Paralympics, and we won the bids. In addition, we have gained endorsement from the International Union for Conservation of Nature for over a dozen applications for world natural heritage sites as well as world cultural and natural 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."⁶ 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 community of shared future for mankind.

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.

Notes

¹ *Xun Zi*.

² *Strategies of the States* (*Zhan Guo Ce*).

³ Wei Shou: *Book of Wei* (*Wei Shu*). Wei Shou (507-572) was a historian and writer during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

⁴ Chen Shou: *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*San Guo Zhi*). Chen Shou (233-297) was an official and historian of the Western Jin Dynasty.

⁵ Yu Xin: “Poems to the Tune of Zhi” (*Zhi Diao Qu*). Yu Xin (513-581) was a poet during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

⁶ *Xun Zi*.

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