



XI JINPING

THE GOVERNANCE OF CHINA

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ISBN 978-7-119-14336-1



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FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

First Edition 2025

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ISBN 978-7-119-14336-1

© Foreign Languages Press Co. Ltd, Beijing, China, 2025

Published by Foreign Languages Press Co. Ltd
24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing 100037, China

<http://www.flp.com.cn>

Email: flp@CIPG.org.cn

Distributed by China International Book Trading Corporation

35 Chegongzhuang Xilu, Beijing 100044, China

P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Printed in the People's Republic of China



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Publisher's Note

Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era is a major theoretical innovation in the process of integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture (Two Integrations). The Thought represents Marxism applied to contemporary China and the 21st century. It combines the essence of Chinese culture with the ethos of the Chinese nation in the new era, and marks a new step forward in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. It is a sound guide to action for building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

At its 20th National Congress, the Communist Party of China (CPC) provided an incisive summary of the worldview and methodology of the Thought and its stances, viewpoints and methods, and elaborated on the nature of the Two Integrations and the means by which they are to be actioned. The Party called for efforts to explore new fields in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times, and laid out plans for strengthening unity and cohesion with its new theories.

In response to a precarious and complex international environment and the arduous tasks of advancing reform and development while ensuring stability at home, the CPC Central Committee with Xi Jinping at its core has ensured a holistic

approach to the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and coordinated the implementation of the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy. It has taken into account domestic and international dynamics, balanced development and security imperatives, promoted high-quality development, and taken further steps to advance and plan for deeper comprehensive reform. As a result, solid progress has been made in building China into a modern socialist country in all respects.

By integrating theory and practice in state governance, Xi Jinping has answered a series of important questions of the times concerning the Party and the country. His new ideas, perspectives and visions have further enriched and developed the Party's innovative theories.

The first four volumes of *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China* have played an important role in guiding the development of the Party and the country with new theories for the new era. They have helped the international community to better understand the development path that China has chosen, its philosophy of governance, and its approach to governance. The Publicity Department of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council Information Office, with the support of the Institute of Party History and Literature of the CPC Central Committee, and China International Publishing Group, have compiled a fifth volume of *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China*.

This volume is designed to help officials and the public further understand and apply Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, and to impress upon them the critical importance of affirming Xi Jinping's core position on the Party Central Committee and in the Party

as a whole, and affirming the guiding role of the Thought. This volume is aimed at strengthening their commitment to the Four Consciousnesses, the Four-sphere Confidence, and the Two Upholds, and guiding them to work in unity to realize the grand blueprint drawn at the 20th CPC National Congress. It is also intended that this volume will keep the international community abreast of the latest developments in the Thought and provide them with a better understanding of China's vision, approaches and ideas, to create synergy for implementing the Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative, and the Global Civilization Initiative, and building a community with a shared future for humanity.

This volume contains a compilation of 91 of Xi Jinping's spoken and written works from May 27, 2022 to December 20, 2024, including some that are being published for the first time, along with 41 photographs taken during this period. It is divided into 18 sections by topic, with the articles in each section arranged in chronological order. For ease of reading, notes are provided at the end of relevant articles.

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Uphold Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive in Unity to Build a Modern Socialist Country in All Respects^{*}

October 16, 2022

Comrades,

On behalf of the 19th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), I will now deliver a report to the 20th National Congress.

The 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China is a meeting of great importance. It takes place at a critical time as the entire Party and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups embark on a new journey to build China into a modern socialist country in all respects and advance towards the Second Centenary Goal¹.

The theme of this congress is: Uphold socialism with Chinese characteristics, fully implement the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, carry forward the great founding spirit of the Party², stay confident and build strength, uphold fundamental principles and break new ground, forge ahead with enterprise and fortitude, and strive in unity to build a modern socialist country in all respects and advance the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts.

Since its founding a century ago, the Communist Party of China has taken a remarkable journey. Our Party has dedicated itself to achieving lasting greatness for the Chinese nation and committed itself to the noble cause of peace and development for humanity.

^{*} Report to the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

Our responsibility is unmatched in importance, and our mission is glorious beyond compare. It is imperative that all of us in the Party never forget our original aspiration and founding mission, that we always stay modest, prudent and hardworking, and that we have the courage and ability to carry on our fight. We must remain confident in our history, exhibit greater initiative, and write an even more magnificent chapter for socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

I. The Work of the Past Five Years and the Great Changes in the First Decade of the New Era

The five years since the 19th National Congress have been truly momentous and extraordinary. The Party Central Committee has pursued a strategy of national rejuvenation amid global changes of a magnitude not seen in a century. It has convened seven plenary sessions, at which it adopted decisions and resolutions on major issues such as revising China's Constitution, deepening reform of Party and state institutions, upholding and improving the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernizing China's system and capacity for governance, formulating the 14th Five-year Plan for Economic and Social Development and the Long-range Objectives Through the Year 2035, and conducting a thorough review of the Party's major achievements and historical experience over the past century. At these sessions, major strategic plans were also made for advancing the cause of the Party and the country. The Central Committee has brought together the entire Party, the military, and the Chinese people and led them in effectively responding to grave, intricate international developments and a series of immense risks and challenges. With great effort and determination, we have steadily advanced socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

Over the past five years, we have continued to strengthen the overall leadership of the Party and the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee. We have devoted great energy to finishing

building a moderately prosperous society in all respects. We have fully and faithfully applied the new development philosophy on all fronts, focused on promoting high-quality development, and worked to create a new development dynamic. We have pursued reform at a swift and steady pace, made solid progress in developing whole-process people's democracy, and advanced law-based governance across all fields of endeavor. We have actively developed advanced socialist culture. We have ensured and improved public wellbeing as a matter of priority and pooled resources to wage a critical battle against poverty. We have made a big push to promote eco-environmental progress. We have worked with firm resolve to safeguard national security, fended off and defused major risks, and ensured social stability. We have devoted great energy to modernizing our national defense and the armed forces. We have conducted major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics on all fronts. And we have made sweeping efforts to advance the great new project of strengthening the Party.

We celebrated the centenary of the Communist Party of China and the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. We adopted the third resolution concerning the Party's history, organized Party-wide activities to study Party history, and inaugurated the Museum of the Communist Party of China. We called upon all Party members to study and apply the great founding spirit of the Party, and we encouraged them to create a brighter future by staying true to the Party's founding mission with greater resolve and purpose on the new journey ahead.

In responding to the sudden outbreak of Covid-19, we put the people and their lives above all else, worked to prevent both inbound cases and domestic resurgence, and tenaciously pursued a dynamic zero-Covid policy. By launching an all-out people's war to stop the spread of the virus, we have protected the people's health and safety to the greatest extent possible and made tremendously encouraging achievements in both epidemic response and economic and social development.

In the face of turbulent developments in Hong Kong, the

central government exercised its overall jurisdiction over the special administrative region as prescribed by China's Constitution and the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. The Law on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region was formulated and put into effect, ensuring that Hong Kong is administered by patriots. Thanks to these moves, order has been restored in Hong Kong, marking a major turn for the better in the region. Further headway has been made in developing the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area and supporting Hong Kong and Macao in growing their economies, improving living standards, and maintaining stability.

In response to separatist activities aimed at "Taiwan independence" and gross provocations of external interference in Taiwan affairs, we have resolutely fought against separatism and countered interference, demonstrating our resolve and ability to safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and to oppose "Taiwan independence". We have strengthened our strategic initiative for China's complete reunification and consolidated commitment to the one-China principle within the international community.

Confronted with drastic changes in the international landscape, especially external attempts to blackmail, contain, blockade, and exert maximum pressure on China, we have put our national interests first, focused on internal political concerns, and maintained firm strategic resolve. We have shown a fighting spirit and a firm determination to never yield to coercive power. Throughout these endeavors, we have safeguarded China's dignity and core interests and kept ourselves well-positioned for pursuing development and ensuring security.

Over the past five years, our Party has rallied the people and led them in solving a great number of problems that had long gone unsolved, securing many accomplishments that hold major future significance, and achieving impressive advances in the cause of the Party and the country.

Comrades,

Ten years have passed since the Party's 18th National Congress.

The past decade marked three major events of great immediate importance and profound historic significance for the cause of the Party and the people: We embraced the centenary of the Communist Party of China; we ushered in a new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics; and we eradicated absolute poverty and finished building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, thus completing the First Centenary Goal. These were historic feats – feats accomplished by the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people striving in unity, feats that will be forever recorded in the Chinese nation’s history, and feats that will profoundly influence the world.

A decade ago this was the situation we faced:

Great achievements had been secured in reform, opening up, and socialist modernization, and notable advances had been made in the great new project of strengthening the Party. All this had created solid foundations, favorable conditions, and key underpinnings for our continued progress.

At the same time, however, a number of prominent issues and problems – some of which had been building for years and others which were just emerging – demanded urgent action.

Inside the Party, there were many issues with respect to upholding the Party’s leadership, including a lack of clear understanding and effective action as well as a slide towards weak, hollow and watered-down Party leadership in practice. Some Party members and officials were wavering in their political conviction. Despite repeated warnings, form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance persisted in some localities and departments. Privilege-seeking mindsets and practices posed a serious problem, and some deeply shocking cases of corruption had been uncovered.

China’s economy was beset by acute structural and institutional problems. Development was imbalanced, uncoordinated, and unsustainable, and the traditional development model could no longer keep us moving forward. Some deep-seated problems in institutions and barriers built by vested interests were becoming more and more apparent.

Some people lacked confidence in the socialist political system with Chinese characteristics, and, all too often, we saw laws being ignored or not being strictly enforced.

Misguided patterns of thinking such as money worship, hedonism, egocentricity, and historical nihilism were common, and online discourse was rife with disorder. All this had a grave impact on people's thinking and the public opinion environment.

Our work to ensure the people's wellbeing was fraught with weak links. Tightening resource and environmental constraints and environmental pollution were pronounced.

The systems for safeguarding national security were inadequate, and our capacity for responding to various major risks was insufficient. Many shortcomings were affecting the modernization of national defense and the military.

The institutions and mechanisms for implementing the policy of One Country, Two Systems in Hong Kong and Macao were not well-developed, and China faced grave challenges to its national security.

These were just some of the problems we faced. Back then, many people, both in and outside of our Party, were worried about the future of the Party and the country.

In the face of these acute problems and challenges, which undermined the Party's long-term governance, the security and stability of the country, and the wellbeing of the people, the Party Central Committee fully assessed the situation, made resolute decisions, and took firm steps. Under its leadership, the entire Party, the military, and the Chinese people were brought together. We rolled up our sleeves and got down to work, forging ahead with resolve to carry out a great struggle with many new features of our times.

Over the past decade, we have stayed committed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development, and we have fully implemented the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era as well as the Party's basic line and basic policy. We have adopted a number of strategic measures,

developed a range of transformative practices, and made a series of breakthroughs and landmark advances. We have withstood risks, challenges and trials in the political, economic, ideological and natural domains, secured historic achievements and seen historic changes in the cause of the Party and the country, and taken China on a new journey towards building a modern socialist country in all respects.

– *We have established the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.* In doing so, we have laid out the basic policy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, put forward a series of new ideas, new thinking, and new strategies on national governance, and achieved a new breakthrough in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. We have endeavored to use this new theory to arm ourselves intellectually, guide our practice, and advance our work. This theory provides us with fundamental guidance for advancing the cause of our Party and our country in the new era.

– *We have strengthened Party leadership in all respects.* We have made clear that the leadership of the Communist Party of China is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the greatest strength of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, that the Party is the highest force of political leadership, and that upholding the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee is the highest political principle. We have made systematic improvements to the Party's leadership systems. All Party members have become more conscious of the need to maintain political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the leadership core, and act in accordance with the requirements of the CPC Central Committee. They have become more purposeful in closely following the central Party leadership in thinking, action, and political orientation, and they have continued to strengthen their political acumen, understanding, and capacity to deliver. All this has ensured the Party Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership and guaranteed that the Party fulfills its core role of exercising overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all sides. Now,

our Marxist party of over 96 million members enjoys greater unity and solidarity than ever.

– *We have developed well-conceived and complete strategic plans for advancing the cause of the Party and the country in the new era.* We have put forward the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation and proposed promoting national rejuvenation through a Chinese path to modernization. We have made well-coordinated efforts to advance our great struggle, our great project, our great cause, and our great dream. We have adopted the Five-sphere Integrated Plan⁴ and the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy⁵ as well as the general principle of pursuing progress while ensuring stability, and we have worked to both pursue development and safeguard security. We have identified the principal challenge facing Chinese society as the gap between imbalanced and insufficient development and the people’s growing expectation for a better life, and we have made it clear that closing this gap should be the focus of all our initiatives. With these efforts, we have made constant progress in enriching and developing a new model for human progress.

– *We have achieved moderate prosperity, the millennia-old dream of the Chinese nation, through persistent hard work.* With this, we have elevated China to a higher historic starting point in development. By galvanizing the entire nation to carry out targeted poverty alleviation, we have won the largest battle against poverty in human history. A total of 832 impoverished counties and close to 100 million poor rural residents have been lifted out of poverty, and, among them, more than 9.6 million poverty-stricken people have been relocated from inhospitable areas. We have, once and for all, resolved the problem of absolute poverty in China, making significant contributions to the cause of global poverty reduction.

– *We have put forward and applied a new development philosophy, worked hard to promote high-quality development, and pushed to foster a new development dynamic.* We have carried out supply-side structural reform, formulated a series of major regional strategies important to China’s overall development, and brought about a historic rise in China’s economic strength.

In the past decade, China's GDP has grown from RMB54 trillion to RMB114 trillion to account for 18.5 percent of the world economy, up 7.2 percentage points. China has remained the world's second largest economy, and its per capita GDP has risen from RMB39,800 to RMB81,000. It ranks first in the world in terms of grain output, and it has ensured food and energy security for its more than 1.4 billion people. The number of permanent urban residents has grown by 11.6 percentage points to account for 64.7 percent of the population. China's manufacturing sector is the largest in the world, as are its foreign exchange reserves. China has built the world's largest networks of high-speed railways and expressways and made major achievements in building airport, port, water conservancy, energy, information, and other infrastructure.

We have accelerated efforts to build our strength and self-reliance in science and technology, with nationwide R&D spending rising from RMB1 trillion to RMB2.8 trillion, the second highest in the world. Our country is now home to the largest cohort of R&D personnel in the world.

We have grown stronger in basic research and original innovation, made breakthroughs in some core technologies in key fields, and boosted emerging strategic industries. We have witnessed major successes on multiple fronts, including manned spaceflight, lunar and Martian exploration, deep-sea and deep-earth probes, supercomputers, satellite navigation, quantum information, nuclear power technology, new energy technology, airliner manufacturing, and biomedicine. China has joined the ranks of the world's innovators.

— *We have deepened comprehensive reform with tremendous political courage.* We have carried out critical tasks and enhanced top-level design for reform. We have dared to brave uncharted waters, take on tough problems, navigate potential dangers, and face new issues and challenges. We have broken the shackles of stale thinking, torn down barriers erected by vested interests, and removed institutional obstacles in all areas. This has enabled us to put in place foundational institutional frameworks in all sectors, to achieve historic, systemic and

holistic transformations in many fields, and to complete a new round of reform in Party and state institutions. The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics has become more mature and well-defined, and China's system and capacity for governance have been further modernized.

— *We have pursued a more proactive strategy of opening up.* We have worked to build a globally oriented network of high-standard free trade areas and accelerated the development of pilot free trade zones and the Hainan Free Trade Port. As a collaborative endeavor, the Belt and Road Initiative has been welcomed by the international community both as a public good and a cooperation platform. China has become a major trading partner for more than 140 countries and regions, it leads the world in total volume of trade in goods, and it is a major destination for global investment and a leading country in outbound investment. Through these efforts, we have advanced a broader agenda of opening up across more areas and in greater depth.

— *We have kept to the path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics.* We have comprehensively developed whole-process people's democracy, made all-round progress in improving the institutions, standards and procedures of our socialist democracy, and advanced socialist consultative democracy by way of extensive participation. We have reinforced the foundations that undergird the people's running of the country, injected fresh vitality into democracy at the community level, and consolidated and expanded the patriotic united front. We have made new accomplishments in promoting ethnic unity and progress, fully implemented the Party's basic policy on religious affairs, and provided better protections for human rights. We have intensified efforts to advance socialist rule of law in our country, and a comprehensive framework for law-based governance has taken shape. We have sped up work on developing the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. We have made major progress in reforming the judicial system, thus providing more effective protection for social fairness and justice. These efforts have opened new ground for advancing the rule of law in China.

– *We have established and upheld a foundational system for ensuring the guiding role of Marxism in the ideological domain.* The Party’s new theory for the new era has been embraced by the people, the core socialist values⁶ are resonating with the public, fine traditional Chinese culture is undergoing creative transformation and development, cultural programs are flourishing, and the online environment has seen continuous improvement. All this has brought overarching and fundamental changes in China’s ideological landscape.

We celebrated the 90th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Liberation Army, the 40th anniversary of the launch of reform and opening up, the 70th anniversary of victory in the Chinese People’s War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression and the Global War Against Fascism, and the 70th anniversary of the Chinese People’s Volunteers’ entry into the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea. The Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics and Paralympics were a great success. Our young people are filled with greater optimism and enterprise, and there is a notably stronger sense of cultural confidence and a higher level of morale throughout the Party and the nation.

– *We have implemented a people-centered philosophy of development.* We have worked continuously to ensure people’s access to childcare, education, employment, medical services, eldercare, housing, and social assistance, thus bringing about an all-round improvement in people’s lives. China’s life expectancy has reached 78.2 years, its per capita disposable annual income has risen from RMB16,500 to RMB35,100, and more than 13 million urban jobs have been created each year on average over the past 10 years. We have built the largest education, social security, and healthcare systems in the world. These achievements have allowed us to make historic strides in making education universally available, bring 1.04 billion people under the coverage of basic old-age pension schemes, and ensure basic medical insurance for 95 percent of the population. Timely adjustments have been made to the childbirth policy. More than 42 million housing units in run-down urban areas and more than 24 million dilapidated rural houses have been rebuilt, marking a significant improvement

in housing conditions in both urban and rural areas. The number of internet users has reached 1.03 billion. We have ensured a stronger and lasting sense of gain, fulfillment and security for our people, and we have made further progress in achieving common prosperity for all.

– *We have acted on the idea that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets.* We have persisted with a holistic and systematic approach to conserving and improving mountain, water, forest, farmland, grassland, and desert ecosystems, and we have ensured stronger ecological conservation and environmental protection across the board, in all regions, and at all times. China's ecological conservation systems have been improved, the critical battle against pollution has been advanced, and solid progress has been made in promoting green, circular and low-carbon development. This has led to historic, transformative and comprehensive changes in ecological and environmental protection and has brought us bluer skies, greener mountains, and cleaner waters.

– *We have applied a holistic approach to national security.* We have steadily improved the leadership, legal, strategy and policy systems for national security. We have not yielded any ground on matters of principle, and we have resolutely safeguarded China's sovereignty, security, and development interests. National security has thus been strengthened on all fronts. We have further improved the social governance system based on collaboration, participation, and shared benefits. We have effectively contained ethnic separatists, religious extremists, and terrorists and secured important progress in the campaigns to combat and root out organized crime. We have responded effectively to major natural disasters. The Peaceful China initiative has entered a new stage.

– *We have set the Party's goal of building a strong military in the new era.* We have implemented the Party's philosophy on strengthening the military for the new era, followed the military strategy for the new era, and upheld absolute Party leadership over the people's armed forces. We held the Gutian Conference on Military Political Work in 2014 and improved political conduct through rectification initia-

tives. Having established combat effectiveness as the sole criterion, we have acted with resolve to focus the entire military's attention on combat readiness. We have coordinated efforts to strengthen military work in all directions and domains and devoted great energy to training under combat conditions. We have carried out bold reforms of national defense and the armed forces, restructuring the military leadership and command systems, the modern armed forces system, and the military policy system. We have moved faster to modernize our national defense and the armed forces and reduced the number of active service personnel by 300,000. With new systems, a new structure, a new configuration, and a new look, the people's armed forces have become a much more modern and capable fighting force, and the Chinese path to building a strong military is growing ever broader.

— *We have fully and faithfully implemented the policy of One Country, Two Systems.* We have upheld the policy of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong and the people of Macao administer Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy. We have helped Hong Kong enter a new stage in which it has restored order and is set to thrive, and we have seen both Hong Kong and Macao maintain good momentum for long-term stability and development. We have put forward an overall policy framework for resolving the Taiwan question in the new era and facilitated cross-Straits exchanges and cooperation. We have resolutely opposed separatist activities and foreign interference. We have thus maintained the initiative and the ability to steer in cross-Straits relations.

— *We have pursued major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics on all fronts.* We have promoted the development of a community with a shared future for humanity and stood firm in protecting international fairness and justice. We have advocated and practiced true multilateralism. We have taken a clear-cut stance against hegemonism and power politics in all their forms, and we have never wavered in our opposition to unilateralism, protectionism, and abusive acts of any kind. We have improved China's overall diplomatic agenda and worked actively

to build a global network of partnerships and foster a new model of international relations. We have demonstrated China's sense of duty as a responsible major country, actively participating in the reform and development of the global governance system and engaging in all-round international cooperation in the fight against Covid-19. All this has seen us win widespread international recognition. China's international influence, appeal, and power to shape have risen markedly.

— *We have made significant advances in exercising full and rigorous internal Party governance.* Guided by the belief that it takes a good blacksmith to forge good tools, we kicked off our efforts by formulating and implementing the central Party leadership's Eight Rules⁷ on improving conduct. We have put forward and implemented the general requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era. We have set reinforcing our Party's political foundations as the overarching guide for all other initiatives of Party development, and we have made sure that our ideological work is aligned with our institution building efforts. Internal Party activities have been conducted in earnest, and we have continued to carry out intensive education initiatives. We have formulated and implemented the Party's organizational line for the new era and placed an emphasis on political commitment in selecting and appointing officials. Political inspections have been strengthened, and a sound system of Party regulations has taken shape. These moves have enabled the entire Party to maintain firm ideals and convictions and have strengthened the Party's organizational system and tightened discipline and rules.

We have worked ceaselessly to improve Party conduct and enforce Party discipline. We have hammered away at the task of rectifying form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance; opposed privilege-seeking mindsets and practices; and taken strong action to address misconduct and corruption that occur on people's doorsteps. Thanks to these efforts, unhealthy tendencies that had long gone unchecked have been reversed, and deep-seated problems that had plagued us for years have been remedied.

We have waged a battle against corruption on a scale unprec-

edented in our history. Driven by a strong sense of mission, we have resolved to “offend a few thousand rather than fail 1.4 billion” and to clear our Party of all its ills. We have taken coordinated steps to see that officials do not have the audacity, the opportunity, or the desire to engage in corruption, and we have used a combination of measures to “take out tigers”, “swat flies”, and “hunt down foxes”, punishing corrupt officials of all types. We have achieved an overwhelming victory and fully consolidated the gains in our fight against corruption. All this has helped remove serious hidden dangers in the Party, the country, and the military and ensured that the power granted to us by the Party and the people is always exercised in the interests of the people.

Through painstaking efforts, the Party has found a second answer to the question of how to escape the historical cycle of rise and fall. The answer is self-reform. We have significantly boosted the Party’s ability to cleanse, improve, renew and temper itself, addressed the problem of lax and weak self-governance in Party organizations at the root, and steadily fostered and developed a political atmosphere of integrity within the Party. By doing so, we are ensuring that the Party will never change its nature, its conviction, or its character.

As we fully affirm the remarkable achievements we have made in the cause of the Party and the country, we must not lose sight of the shortcomings in our work and the many difficulties and problems confronting us. They are mainly as follows:

Imbalances and insufficiencies in development remain a prominent problem. There are many bottlenecks hindering high-quality development, and China’s capacity for scientific and technological innovation is not yet strong enough. Many major issues need to be resolved in order to guard against financial risks and ensure that food, energy, and industrial and supply chains are secure and reliable.

There are still many tough issues to be addressed in the reform of key areas. Quite a few challenges exist in the ideological domain. There are still wide gaps in development and income distribution between urban and rural areas and between regions. Our people face

many difficulties in areas such as employment, education, medical services, childcare, eldercare, and housing. Ecological conservation and environmental protection remain a formidable task.

Some Party members and officials lack a strong sense of responsibility, the capacity to grapple with tough challenges, and the readiness to get down to work. Pointless formalities and bureaucratism remain rather pronounced. Eradicating breeding grounds for corruption is still an arduous task.

We have already put in place a series of measures to deal with these problems, and we must redouble our efforts to see them fully resolved.

Comrades,

The great achievements of the new era have come from the collective dedication and hard work of our Party and our people. Here, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I express our heartfelt gratitude to all of our Party members, to the people of all ethnic groups, to all other political parties, people's organizations, and patriotic figures from all sectors of society, to our fellow compatriots in the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions, in Taiwan, and overseas, and to all our friends around the world who have shown understanding and support for China's modernization drive.

The great transformation over the past 10 years of the new era marks a milestone in the history of the Party, of the People's Republic of China, of reform and opening up, of the development of socialism, and of the development of the Chinese nation. Over the course of a century of endeavor, the Communist Party of China has tempered itself through revolution and grown stronger. It has grown better at providing political leadership, giving theoretical guidance, organizing the people, and inspiring society, all the while maintaining a close bond with the people. Throughout the Party's history, as the world has undergone profound changes, it has always remained at the forefront of the times. As we have responded to risks and tests at home and abroad, the Party has always remained the backbone of the

nation. And as we have upheld and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics, the Party has always remained the strong leadership core.

The Chinese people are more inspired than ever to forge ahead, more resolved than ever to work hard, and more confident than ever of securing success. They are filled with a stronger sense of history and initiative. With full confidence, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people are driving the great transformation of the Chinese nation from standing up and growing prosperous to becoming strong. We have advanced reform, opening up, and socialist modernization and have written a new chapter on the miracles of fast economic growth and long-term social stability. China now has more solid material foundations and stronger institutional underpinnings for pursuing development. The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is now on an irreversible historic course.

Scientific socialism is brimming with renewed vitality in 21st century China. Chinese modernization offers humanity a new choice for achieving modernization. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have provided humanity with more Chinese insight, better Chinese input, and greater Chinese strength to help solve its common challenges and have made new and greater contributions to the noble cause of human peace and development.

II. A New Frontier in Adapting Marxism to the Chinese Context and the Needs of the Times

Marxism is the fundamental guiding ideology upon which our Party and our country are founded and thrive. Our experience has taught us that, at the fundamental level, we owe the success of our Party and socialism with Chinese characteristics to the fact that Marxism works, particularly when it is adapted to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. The sound theoretical guidance of Marxism is the source from which our Party draws its firm belief and conviction and which enables our Party to take timely actions.

Adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times is a process of seeking, revealing and applying truth. With new changes and practical demands emerging both in and outside of China since the 18th National Congress, there was an urgent need for us to provide in-depth theoretical and practical answers to a series of epochal questions on the cause of the Party and the country as well as the Party's governance of China.

With the courage to make theoretical explorations and innovations, our Party has, from an entirely new perspective, deepened its understanding of the laws that underlie governance by a communist party, the development of socialism, and the evolution of human society. It has developed major new theories, which are encapsulated in the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. The main elements of this theory are summarized in the 10 clarifications⁸, the 14 commitments⁹, and the 13 areas of achievement¹⁰ that were articulated at the 19th National Congress and the Sixth Plenary Session of the 19th Party Central Committee, all of which we must adhere to over the long term and continue to enrich and develop.

Chinese Communists are keenly aware that only by integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture and only by applying dialectical and historical materialism can we provide correct answers to the major questions presented by the times and discovered through practice and can we ensure that Marxism always retains its vigor and vitality.

To uphold and develop Marxism, we must integrate it with China's specific realities. Taking Marxism as our guide means applying its worldview and methodology to solving problems in China; it does not mean memorizing and reciting its specific conclusions and lines, and still less does it mean treating it as a rigid dogma. We must continue to free our minds, seek truth from facts, move with the times, and take a realistic and pragmatic approach. We must base everything we do on actual conditions and focus on solving real problems arising in our reform, opening up, and socialist modernization endeavors in the new

era. We must keep responding to the questions posed by China, by the world, by the people, and by the times; in doing so, we should find the right answers suited to the realities of China and the needs of our day, reach conclusions that are compatible with objective laws, and develop new theories that are in step with the times, so as to provide better guidance for China's practice.

To uphold and develop Marxism, we must integrate it with China's fine traditional culture. Only by taking root in the rich historical and cultural soil of the country and the nation can the truth of Marxism flourish here. With a history stretching back to antiquity, China's fine traditional culture is extensive and profound; it is the crystallization of the wisdom of Chinese civilization. Our traditional culture espouses many important principles and concepts, including pursuing common good for all; regarding the people as the foundation of the state; governing by virtue; discarding the outdated in favor of the new; selecting officials on the basis of merit; promoting harmony between humanity and nature; ceaselessly pursuing self-improvement; embracing the world with virtue; acting in good faith and being friendly to others; and fostering neighborliness. These maxims, which have taken shape over centuries of work and life, reflect the Chinese people's way of viewing the universe, the world, society, and morality and are highly consistent with the values and propositions of scientific socialism.

We must stay confident in our history and culture, make the past serve the present, and develop the new from the old. We must integrate the essence of Marxism with the best of traditional Chinese culture and with the common values that our people intuitively apply in their everyday lives. We should keep endowing Marxist theory with distinctive Chinese features and consolidating the historical basis and public support for adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. With this, we will ensure that Marxism puts down deep roots in China.

Just as there are no bounds to practice, there is no end to theoretical innovation. It is the solemn historic responsibility of today's Chinese

Communists to continue opening new chapters in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times. To keep advancing theoretical innovation on the basis of practical experience, we must, first of all, gain a good command of the worldview and methodology of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and adhere to and make good use of its stances, viewpoints and methods.

— *We must put the people first.* People-centeredness is an essential attribute of Marxism. Our Party's theories are from the people, for the people, and beneficial to the people. The people's creative practices are the inexhaustible source of our theoretical innovations. Theories that are detached from the people will be feeble and ineffective, and theories that cannot deliver for the people will be stale and lifeless. We must stand firmly with the people, respond to their wishes, respect their creativity, and pool their wisdom to develop theories that they like, accept and adopt and that become powerful tools guiding them in understanding and changing the world.

— *We must maintain self-confidence and stand on our own feet.* There has never been an instruction manual or ready-made solution for the Chinese people and the Chinese nation to turn to as they fought to end the great sufferings endured following the Opium War of 1840 and have moved on towards the bright future of rejuvenation. The Party has led the people in independently blazing the path to success over the past century, and the success of Marxism in China has been realized by Chinese Communists through our own endeavors. One point underpinning these successes is that China's issues must be dealt with by Chinese people in light of the Chinese context. We must remain firm in our conviction in Marxism and socialism with Chinese characteristics and strengthen our confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. With a stronger sense of historic responsibility and creativity, we should make greater contributions to the development of Marxism. We should never act blindly without assessing how conditions have evolved or allow ourselves to become ossified or closed off,

nor should we mechanically imitate others or indiscriminately absorb foreign ideas.

– *We must uphold fundamental principles and break new ground.* We are advancing a great cause that none have attempted before. Only by upholding fundamental principles can we avoid losing our bearings or making catastrophic mistakes. Only by breaking new ground can we meet the call of the day and shape the trends of our times. We should approach Marxism with a scientific mindset and in the spirit of truth. We must never waver in upholding the basic tenets of Marxism, the overall leadership of the Party, and socialism with Chinese characteristics. We should keep pace with the times and adapt to the evolution of practice. We should approach each and every new thing with great enthusiasm and never stop broadening and deepening our understanding of the world. We must dare to say what has never been said and do what has never been done, and we must use new theory to guide new practice.

– *We must adopt a problem-oriented approach.* Problems represent the voice of the times. The fundamental task of theory is to respond to problems and provide guidelines for finding solutions. The problems we face today are considerably more complex, and resolving them has become much more difficult. This presents a completely new challenge for theoretical innovation. We must be more conscious of problems, especially new problems that are discovered through practice, deep-seated problems affecting reform, development and stability, pressing concerns of the people, major issues in the evolving global landscape, and prominent issues we face in strengthening the Party. We should keep developing new thinking, new approaches, and new ways to effectively resolve problems.

– *We must apply systems thinking.* All things are interconnected and interdependent. We must view them with the understanding that they are universally connected, part of a complete system, and constantly evolving if we are to grasp the laws governing their development.

As a major developing country, China is still in the primary stage of socialism and is going through an extensive and profound social

transformation. A small move made to advance reform and development or to adjust interests may affect the bigger picture. We should be able to see the present from a historical perspective, look beyond the surface to get to the crux of issues, and properly manage the relationships between overall and local interests, between the present and the future, between macro and micro concerns, between primary and secondary issues, and between the special and the ordinary. We should improve our ability to adopt a strategic perspective and apply a historical, dialectical and systematic approach to thinking; we should get better at thinking creatively, thinking in terms of the rule of law, and considering worst-case scenarios. By doing so, we can develop a well-conceived approach to planning and advancing the endeavors of the Party and the country on all fronts in a forward-looking and holistic manner.

– *We must maintain a global vision.* The Communist Party of China is dedicated to pursuing happiness for the Chinese people and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation. It is also dedicated to human progress and world harmony. We should expand our global vision and develop keen insight into the trends of human development and progress, respond to the general concerns of people of all countries, and play our part in resolving the common issues facing humanity. With an open mind, we should draw inspiration from all of human civilization's outstanding achievements and work to build an even better world.

III. The New Journey of the New Era: Missions and Tasks of the Communist Party of China

From this day forward, the central task of the Communist Party of China will be to lead the Chinese people of all ethnic groups in a concerted effort to realize the Second Centenary Goal of building China into a great modern socialist country in all respects and to advance the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts through a Chinese path to modernization.

Based on our decades of exploration and practice since the

founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, especially since the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, as well as the new breakthroughs made in theory and practice since the 18th National Congress, we have succeeded in advancing and expanding Chinese modernization.

Chinese modernization is socialist modernization pursued under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. It contains elements that are common to the modernization processes of all countries, but it is more characterized by features that are unique to the Chinese context.

– *It is the modernization of a huge population.* China is working to achieve modernization for more than 1.4 billion people, a number larger than the combined population of all developed countries in the world today. This is a task of unparalleled difficulty and complexity; it inevitably means that our pathways of development and methods of advancement will be unique. We will, as always, bear China's realities in mind as we address issues, make decisions, and take action. We will neither pursue grandiose goals nor go by the rulebook. We will stay patient in advancing the course of history and take steady and incremental steps to sustain progress.

– *It is the modernization of common prosperity for all.* Achieving common prosperity is a defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and involves a long historical process. The immutable goal of our modernization drive is to meet the people's aspirations for a better life. We will endeavor to maintain and promote social fairness and justice, bring prosperity to all, and prevent polarization.

– *It is the modernization of material and cultural-ethical progress.* Material abundance and cultural-ethical enrichment are fundamental goals of socialist modernization. Material want is not socialism, nor is cultural impoverishment. While continuing to consolidate the material foundation for modernization and improve the material conditions for people's wellbeing, we will strive to develop advanced socialist culture, foster strong ideals and convictions, and carry forward China's cultural heritage. We will thus promote all-round

material abundance as well as people's well-rounded development.

– *It is the modernization of harmony between humanity and nature.* Humanity and nature make up a community of life. If we extract from nature without limit or inflict damage on it, we are bound to face its retaliation. China is committed to sustainable development and to the principles of prioritizing resource conservation and environmental protection and letting nature restore itself. We will protect nature and the environment as we do our own lives. We will continue to pursue a model of sound development featuring improved production, higher living standards, and healthy ecosystems to ensure the sustainable development of the Chinese nation.

– *It is the modernization of peaceful development.* In pursuing modernization, China will not tread the old path of war, colonization and plunder taken by some countries. That brutal and blood-stained path of enrichment at the expense of others caused great suffering for the people of developing countries. We will stand firmly on the right side of history and on the side of human progress. Dedicated to peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit, we will strive to safeguard world peace and development as we pursue our own development, and we will make greater contributions to world peace and development through our own development.

The essential requirements of Chinese modernization are as follows: upholding the leadership of the Communist Party of China and socialism with Chinese characteristics, pursuing high-quality development, developing whole-process people's democracy, enriching the people's cultural lives, achieving common prosperity for all, promoting harmony between humanity and nature, building a community with a shared future for humanity, and creating a new model for human progress.

To build China into a great modern socialist country in all respects, we have adopted a two-step strategic plan:

- realize basic socialist modernization from 2020 through 2035;
- build China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful from 2035 through the middle of this century.

China's overall development objectives for the year 2035 are as follows:

- significantly increase economic strength, scientific and technological capabilities, and composite national strength, and substantially grow the per capita GDP to be on par with that of a mid-level developed country;
- join the ranks of the world's most innovative countries, with great strength and self-reliance in science and technology;
- build a modern economy, form a new development dynamic, and basically achieve new industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernization;
- achieve basic modernization of the system and capacity for governance, improve the system for whole-process people's democracy, and build a law-based country, government and society;
- become a leading country in education, science and technology, talent, culture, sports and health, and significantly enhance national soft power;
- ensure that the people are leading better and happier lives, bring per capita disposable income to new heights, substantially grow the middle-income group as a share of the total population, guarantee equitable access to basic public services, ensure basic modern standards of living in rural areas, achieve long-term social stability, and make more notable and substantive progress in promoting the people's well-rounded development and prosperity for all;
- broadly establish eco-friendly ways of work and life, steadily lower carbon emissions after reaching a peak, and fundamentally improve the environment; largely accomplish the goal of building a beautiful China;
- comprehensively strengthen the national security system and national security capabilities, and achieve basic modernization of national defense and the armed forces.

After realizing basic modernization, we will continue to work hard

and build China into a great modern socialist country that leads the world in terms of composite national strength and international influence by the middle of the century.

The next five years will be crucial for getting our efforts to build a modern socialist country in all respects off to a good start. Our main objectives and tasks for this period are as follows:

- make breakthroughs in promoting high-quality economic development; achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology, and make major progress in creating a new development dynamic and building a modern economy;
- make new strides in reform and opening up, make further progress in modernizing China's system and capacity for governance, further improve the socialist market economy, and put in place new systems for a higher-standard open economy;
- further enhance the institutions, standards and procedures of whole-process people's democracy, and improve the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics;
- enrich the intellectual and cultural lives of our people, and enhance the cohesion of the Chinese nation and the appeal of Chinese culture;
- ensure personal income grows basically in step with economic growth and pay rises in tandem with increases in productivity, ensure much more equitable access to basic public services, and develop a better multitiered social security system;
- substantially improve urban and rural living environments, and make notable progress in building a beautiful China;
- further consolidate national security, fulfill the centenary goal of the People's Liberation Army by 2027, and make solid progress in building a peaceful China;
- further increase China's international standing and influence, and enable China to play a greater role in global governance.

Building a modern socialist country in all respects is a great and arduous endeavor. Our future is bright, but we still have a long way to go. At present, change on a scale unseen in a century is accelerat-

ing across the world. A new revolution in science, technology and industry is well under way, and a significant shift is taking place in the international balance of power, presenting China with new strategic opportunities in pursuing development. At the same time, however, the once-in-a-century pandemic has had far-reaching effects; a backlash against globalization is rising; and unilateralism and protectionism are mounting. The global economic recovery is sluggish, regional conflicts and disturbances are frequent, and global issues are becoming more acute. The world has entered a new period of turbulence and change.

At home, we face many deep-seated problems regarding reform, development and stability that cannot be avoided or bypassed. In our efforts to strengthen the Party, and especially to improve conduct, build integrity, and combat corruption, we are confronted with many stubborn and recurrent problems. External attempts to suppress and contain China may escalate at any time.

Our country has entered a period of development in which strategic opportunities, risks and challenges are concurrent and uncertainties and unforeseen factors are rising. Various “black swan”¹¹ and “gray rhino”¹² events may occur at any time. We must therefore be more mindful of potential dangers, be prepared to deal with worst-case scenarios, and be ready to withstand high winds, choppy waters, and even dangerous storms. On the journey ahead, we must firmly adhere to the following major principles:

– *Upholding and strengthening the Party’s overall leadership.* We must resolutely uphold the Party Central Committee’s authority and its centralized, unified leadership and see that Party leadership is exercised in all aspects and every stage of the endeavors of the Party and the country. This will ensure that our Party always remains the pillar that the Chinese people can lean on in times of difficulty, that our socialist modernization advances along the right path, and that we have the political cohesion and confidence in our development to inspire the people to strive in unity. It will see us forming a mighty force to overcome all difficulties with one heart and one mind.

– *Following the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics.* We must continue to pursue economic development as our central task, uphold the Four Cardinal Principles¹³, remain committed to reform and opening up, and stay independent and self-reliant. We must keep to our path and not sway in our commitment. We must not return to the isolation and rigidity of the past, or veer off course by changing our nature or abandoning our system. We must develop our country and our nation with our own strength, and we must maintain a firm grasp on the future of China’s development and progress.

– *Applying a people-centered development philosophy.* We must protect the people’s fundamental interests, improve their wellbeing, and work tirelessly to ensure that development is for the people and by the people and that its fruits are shared by the people. We must do a better job of seeing that the gains of modernization benefit all our people fairly.

– *Remaining committed to deepening reform and opening up.* We must intensify efforts to advance reform and explore new ground, and we must remain steadfast in expanding opening up. We must work hard to remove deep-seated institutional barriers so as to fully tap into the strengths of socialism with Chinese characteristics and continuously imbue our socialist modernization endeavors with fresh dynamism and vitality. We must do better in translating our country’s institutional strengths into effective governance.

– *Carrying forward our fighting spirit.* We must foster a firmer sense of purpose, fortitude and self-belief in the whole Party and the Chinese people so that we cannot be swayed by fallacies, deterred by intimidation, or cowed by pressure. We must meet obstacles and difficulties head-on, ensure both development and security, and dig deep to surmount the difficulties and challenges on the road ahead. Let us harness our indomitable fighting spirit to open up new horizons for our cause.

Comrades,

Today, we are closer, more confident, and more capable than ever of reaching the goal of rejuvenating the Chinese nation. At the same time, we must be prepared to work even harder to get there. All of

us in the Party must forge ahead with confidence and determination; proactively identify, respond to, and steer changes and prevent and defuse risks; and keep on striving to secure new successes in building a modern socialist China in all respects.

IV. Accelerating the Creation of a New Development Dynamic and Pursuing High-Quality Development

To build a modern socialist country in all respects, we must, first and foremost, pursue high-quality development. Development is our Party's top priority in governing and rejuvenating China, for without solid material and technological foundations, we cannot hope to build a great modern socialist country in all respects. We must fully and faithfully apply the new development philosophy on all fronts, continue reforms to develop the socialist market economy, promote high-standard opening up, and accelerate efforts to foster a double development dynamic with the domestic economy as the mainstay and the domestic economy and international engagement providing mutual reinforcement.

Pursuing high-quality development as our overarching task, we will make sure that our implementation of the strategy to expand domestic demand is integrated with our efforts to deepen supply-side structural reform; we will boost the dynamism and reliability of the domestic economy while engaging at a higher level in the global economy; and we will move faster to build a modern economy. We will raise total factor productivity, make China's industrial and supply chains more resilient and secure, and promote integrated urban-rural development and coordinated regional development, so as to effectively upgrade and appropriately expand China's economic output.

1. Building a high-standard socialist market economy

We must uphold and improve China's basic socialist economic system. We must unswervingly consolidate and develop the public sector and unswervingly encourage, support and guide the development of the non-public sector. We will work to see that the market plays

the decisive role in resource allocation and that the government better plays its role.

We will deepen reform of state-owned capital and state-owned enterprises (SOEs); accelerate efforts to improve the configuration of the state-owned sector and adjust its structure; work to see state-owned capital and enterprises get stronger, do better, and grow bigger; and enhance the core competitiveness of SOEs.

We will provide an enabling environment for private enterprises, protect their property rights and the rights and interests of entrepreneurs in accordance with the law, and facilitate the growth of the private sector. We will improve the modern corporate system with distinctive Chinese features, encourage entrepreneurship, and move faster to help Chinese companies become world-class outfits. We will support the development of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises.

We will intensify reforms to streamline government administration, delegate power, improve regulation, and upgrade services. We will build a unified national market, advance reforms for the market-based allocation of production factors, and put in place a high-standard market system. We will refine the systems underpinning the market economy, such as those for property rights protection, market access, fair competition, and social credit, in order to improve the business environment.

We will improve the system of macroeconomic governance, give full play to the strategic guidance of national development plans, and enhance coordination between fiscal and monetary policies. We will work to expand domestic demand and better leverage the fundamental role of consumption in stimulating economic growth and the key role of investment in improving the supply structure. We will improve the modern budget system, optimize the tax structure, and improve the system of transfer payments.

We will deepen structural reform in the financial sector, modernize the central banking system, and strengthen and refine modern financial regulation. We will reinforce the systems that safeguard financial

stability, place all types of financial activities under regulation in accordance with the law, and ensure no systemic risks arise.

We will improve the functions of the capital market and increase the proportion of direct financing. We will take stronger action against monopolies and unfair competition, break local protectionism and administrative monopolies, and conduct law-based regulation and guidance to promote the healthy development of capital.

2. Modernizing the industrial system

In pursuing economic growth, we must continue to focus on the real economy. We will advance new industrialization and move faster to boost China's strength in manufacturing, product quality, aerospace, transportation, cyberspace, and digital development. We will carry out industrial foundation reengineering projects and research projects on major technologies and equipment; support specialized enterprises that use advanced technologies to produce unique and innovative products; and move the manufacturing sector towards higher-end, smarter, and greener production.

We will consolidate our leading position in industries where we excel, work faster to shore up weaknesses in sectors vital to China's development security, and improve our capacity for securing the supply of strategic resources. We will promote the integrated and clustered development of strategic emerging industries and cultivate new growth engines such as next-generation information technology, artificial intelligence, biotechnology, new energy, new materials, high-end equipment, and green industry.

We will build a new system of efficient and high-quality services and promote further integration of modern services with advanced manufacturing and modern agriculture. We will accelerate the development of the internet of things and build an efficient and smooth logistics system to help cut distribution costs.

We will accelerate the development of the digital economy, further integrate it with the real economy, and build internationally competitive digital industry clusters. We will build a modern infrastructure system with a better configuration and structure, more effective

functions, and greater system integration.

3. Advancing rural revitalization across the board

The most challenging and arduous tasks we face in building a modern socialist China in all respects remain in our rural areas. We will continue to put agricultural and rural development first, pursue integrated development of urban and rural areas, and facilitate the flows of production factors between them. We will move faster to build up China's strength in agriculture and steadily promote the revitalization of businesses, talent, culture, ecosystems and organizations in the countryside.

We must reinforce the foundations for food security on all fronts. We will ensure that both Party committees and governments assume responsibility for ensuring food security and that China's total area of farmland does not fall below the red line of 120 million hectares. We will work to gradually develop all permanent basic cropland into high-standard cropland. We will invigorate the seed industry, support the development of agricultural science, technology and equipment, and refine the mechanisms for ensuring the incomes of grain growers and for compensating major grain-producing areas. With these efforts, we will ensure that China's food supply remains firmly in our own hands.

We will adopt an all-encompassing approach to food, develop protected agriculture, and build a diversified food supply system. We will foster rural industries with local features to create more channels for increasing rural incomes. We will consolidate and expand our achievements in poverty alleviation and help areas and people that have just shaken off poverty build their own momentum for growth. We will develop infrastructure and public services in rural areas in a well-planned and coordinated way and build a beautiful and harmonious countryside that is desirable to live and work in.

We will consolidate and improve the basic rural operation system, develop new rural collective economies, cultivate new types of agribusiness and commercial agricultural services, and support appropriately scaled agricultural operations. We will advance reform of the

rural land system and grant farmers more adequate property rights and interests. We will safeguard the lawful land rights and interests of rural residents who have moved to urban areas and obtained permanent residency, and we will encourage law-based, voluntary and paid transfers of such rights and interests. We will improve the systems for supporting and protecting agriculture and the rural financial services system.

4. Promoting coordinated regional development

We will thoroughly implement the coordinated regional development strategy, major regional strategies, the functional zoning strategy, and the new urbanization strategy. We will improve the distribution of the major productive forces and develop a cross-regional economic configuration and a territorial space system that promote high-quality development, with complementarity between different regions and between different types of territorial space.

We will make further progress in the large-scale development of the western region, achieve new breakthroughs in the full revitalization of the northeast, accelerate the rise of the central region, and encourage the eastern region to modernize more quickly.

We will support old revolutionary base areas and areas with large ethnic minority populations in speeding up development. We will promote development in border areas to boost local economies, raise local living standards, and ensure local stability.

We will promote coordinated development in the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, the development of the Yangtze River Economic Belt, the integrated development of the Yangtze River Delta, and ecological conservation and high-quality development in the Yellow River Basin. We will build the Xiongan New Area to a high standard and drive forward the development of the Chengdu-Chongqing economic zone.

We will improve the functional zoning system and the development of territorial space. We will advance people-centered new urbanization and work faster to grant permanent urban residency to eligible people who move from rural to urban areas.

We will leverage the role of city clusters and metropolitan areas

to promote coordinated development of large, medium and small cities and push forward with urbanization that is centered on county seats. Guided by the principle that cities should be built by the people and for the people, we will improve urban planning, construction and governance and move faster to change the development models of super-large and mega cities. We will carry out urban renewal projects and improve urban infrastructure to build livable, resilient and smart cities.

We will develop the marine economy, protect the marine ecological environment, and step up efforts to build China into a strong maritime country.

5. Promoting high-standard opening up

We will leverage the strengths of China's enormous market, attract global resources and production factors with our strong domestic economy, and amplify the interplay between domestic and international markets and resources. This will position us to improve the level and quality of trade and investment cooperation.

We will steadily expand institutional opening up with regard to rules, regulations, management and standards. We will upgrade trade in goods, develop new mechanisms for trade in services, and promote digital trade, in order to accelerate China's transformation into a strong trading nation.

We will make appropriate reductions to the negative list for foreign investment, protect the rights and interests of foreign investors in accordance with the law, and foster a world-class business environment that is market-oriented, law-based and internationalized. We will promote the high-quality development of the Belt and Road Initiative.

We will better plan regional opening up, consolidate the leading position of eastern coastal areas in opening up, and more widely open the central, western and northeastern regions. We will accelerate the construction of the New International Land-Sea Trade Corridor in the western region. We will work faster to develop the Hainan Free Trade Port, upgrade pilot free trade zones, and expand the globally oriented network of high-standard free trade areas.

We will promote the internationalization of the Renminbi in an orderly way, deeply involve ourselves in the global industrial division of labor and cooperation, and endeavor to preserve the diversity and stability of the international economic landscape and economic and trade relations.

V. Invigorating China Through Science and Education and Building a Talent Powerhouse for the Modernization Drive

Education, science and technology, and talent are the foundational and strategic pillars for building a modern socialist country in all respects. We must regard science and technology as our primary productive force, talent as our primary resource, and innovation as our primary driver of growth. We will fully implement the strategies for invigorating China through science and education, for building a talent-strong country, and for pursuing innovation-driven development. We will open up new areas and new arenas in development and steadily foster new growth drivers and new strengths.

We will continue to give high priority to the development of education, build China's strength and self-reliance in science and technology, and rely on talent to pioneer and propel development. We will speed up work to build our country into a powerhouse of education, science and technology, and talent. We will continue efforts to cultivate talent for the Party and the country and comprehensively improve our ability to nurture talent at home. All this will see us producing first-class innovators and attracting the brightest minds from all over the world.

1. Developing education that meets the people's expectations

Education is of critical importance to the future of our country and our Party. What kind of people we should cultivate, how, and for whom – these are the fundamental issues that education must address.

The most basic aim of education is to foster virtue. We will fully implement the Party's educational policy, carry out the basic task of fostering virtue through education, and nurture a new generation

of capable young people with sound moral grounding, intellectual ability, physical vigor, aesthetic sensibility, and work skills who will fully develop socialism and carry forward the socialist cause.

We will continue to follow a people-centered approach to developing education, move faster to build a high-quality educational system, advance students' well-rounded development, and promote fairness in education. We will accelerate high-quality, balanced development and urban-rural integration in compulsory education. We will better allocate educational resources across regions, strengthen public-benefit preschool education and special needs education, ensure the diversified development of senior high schools, and improve the financial aid system so it covers students at all stages of schooling.

We will promote collaborative innovation in vocational education, higher education, and continuing education and promote integration between vocational education and general education, between industry and education, and between science and education. We will better establish vocational education as a category in the educational system. We will do more to develop basic disciplines, emerging disciplines, and interdisciplinary subjects and speed up the development of world-class universities and strong disciplines with Chinese features. We will better guide and regulate the development of private schools.

We will intensify efforts to promote standard spoken and written Chinese. We will advance comprehensive reform in education, strengthen the creation and management of teaching materials, refine the systems for school management and educational assessments, and improve mechanisms for school-family-society collaboration in education.

We will strengthen the professional integrity, conduct and ability of our teachers, foster public respect for educators, and encourage public support for education. We will promote the digitalization of education and build a society and country of learning where lifelong learning is pursued by all.

2. Improving systems for scientific and technological innovation

Innovation will remain at the heart of China's modernization drive. We will improve the system in which the Party Central Committee exercises unified leadership over science and technology work. We will improve the new system for mobilizing resources nationwide to make key technological breakthroughs. We will boost China's strength in strategic science and technology, better allocate innovation resources, and better define the roles of national research institutes, advanced-level research universities, and leading high-tech enterprises to improve their configuration. We will establish a system of national laboratories, coordinate the development of international and regional centers for scientific and technological innovation, enhance basic scientific and technological capacity, and ensure better strategic input from the science and technology sector, so as to boost the overall performance of China's innovation system.

We will deepen structural scientific and technological reform and reform of the system for appraisal of scientific and technological advances. We will increase investment in science and technology through diverse channels and strengthen legal protection of intellectual property rights, in order to establish a foundational system for all-round innovation. We will nurture a culture of innovation, encourage dedication to science, cultivate fine academic conduct, and foster an enabling environment for innovation.

We will expand science and technology exchanges and cooperation with other countries, cultivate an internationalized environment for research, and create an open and globally competitive innovation ecosystem.

3. Accelerating the implementation of the innovation-driven development strategy

Setting our sights on the global frontiers of science and technology, national economic development, the major needs of the country, and the health and safety of the people, we should speed up efforts to achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology.

To meet China's strategic needs, we will concentrate resources on original and pioneering scientific and technological research to achieve

breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields. In order to enhance China's innovation capacity, we will move faster to launch a number of major national projects that are of strategic, overall and long-term importance. We will strengthen basic research, prioritize original innovation, and encourage researchers to engage in free exploration.

To inspire greater creativity, we will invest more effectively in science and technology and advance reform of the mechanisms for the allocation and use of government research funds. We will promote closer enterprise-led collaboration between industries, universities, and research institutes, stay goal-oriented, and promote the industrial application of scientific and technological advances. We will reinforce the principal role of enterprises in innovation, give full play to the guiding and supporting role of key high-tech enterprises, create an enabling environment for the growth of micro, small and medium-sized technological enterprises, and promote deeper integration of the innovation, industrial, capital and talent chains.

4. Implementing the strategy for building China into a talent powerhouse

Cultivating a large workforce of high-quality talent who have both integrity and professional competence is of critical importance to the long-term development of China and the Chinese nation. A wealth of talent is vital to the success of a great cause. We should follow the principle of the Party managing talent, and we should respect work, knowledge, talent and creativity. We will adopt more proactive, open and effective policies on talent and encourage our talent to love the Party, dedicate themselves to the country and contribute to its cause, and serve the people. We will improve the strategic distribution of human resources and make concerted efforts to cultivate talented people in all fields, so as to create a large, well-structured, and high-quality workforce.

We will move faster to build world hubs for talent and innovation, promote better distribution and balanced development of talent across regions, and strive to build up our comparative strengths in global competition for talent. We will speed up efforts to build a

contingent of personnel with expertise of strategic importance and cultivate greater numbers of master scholars, science strategists, first-class scientists and innovation teams, young scientists, outstanding engineers, master technicians, and highly skilled workers.

We will increase international personnel exchanges and make the best use of talent of all types to fully harness their potential. We will further reform the systems and mechanisms for talent development and ensure we value talented people, nurture them, attract them, and put them to good use. No effort should be spared and no rigid boundaries drawn in the endeavor to bring together the best and the brightest from all fields for the cause of the Party and the people.

VI. Advancing Whole-Process People's Democracy and Ensuring that the People Run the Country

China is a socialist country of people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class based on an alliance of workers and farmers; all power of the state in China belongs to the people. People's democracy is the lifeblood of socialism, and it is integral to our efforts to build a modern socialist country in all respects. Whole-process people's democracy is the defining feature of socialist democracy; it is democracy in its most extensive, genuine and effective form.

We must firmly stay on the path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics, uphold the unity between Party leadership, the running of the country by the people, and law-based governance, and ensure the principal position of the people, so as to give full expression to their will, protect their rights and interests, and spark their creativity.

We will improve the systems through which the people run the country. We will encourage the people's orderly participation in political affairs and guarantee their ability to engage in democratic elections, consultations, decision-making, management and oversight in accordance with the law. We will inspire the people's motivation,

initiative and creativity, so as to consolidate and develop a lively, stable and united political atmosphere.

1. Strengthening the systems through which the people run the country

We must uphold and improve our country's fundamental, basic and important political systems, expand democratic channels, and diversify the forms of democracy, so as to ensure that people participate in various ways in the management of state, economic, cultural and social affairs in accordance with the law.

We will support and ensure the people's exercise of state power through people's congresses, and we will ensure that people's congresses at all levels are formed through democratic elections, responsible to the people, and subject to their oversight.

We will support and ensure that people's congresses and their standing committees lawfully exercise the powers of enacting laws, conducting oversight, making decisions, and appointing and removing officials. We will improve the system under which people's congresses conduct oversight of administrative, supervisory, adjudicatory and procuratorial offices, and we will uphold the unity, sanctity and authority of the law.

We will see that deputies to people's congresses are better able to carry out their work and that they strengthen ties with the general public. We will improve working mechanisms for drawing on public opinion and pooling the wisdom of the people and ensure that local legislative outreach offices are well-run. We will intensify reform and development of trade unions, Chinese Communist Youth League organizations, women's federations, and other people's organizations and give full play to their role as bridges connecting the Party and the people. We will follow a Chinese path of human rights development, actively participate in global human rights governance, and promote all-round advancement of human rights.

2. Fully developing consultative democracy

Consultative democracy is an important way by which whole-process people's democracy is practiced. We will improve the system

of consultative democracy, make coordinated efforts to promote consultations carried out by political parties, people's congresses, government departments, committees of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), people's organizations, communities, and social organizations, and improve various institutional consultative platforms, so as to promote extensive, multilevel and institutionalized development of consultative democracy.

We will uphold and improve the system of CPC-led multiparty cooperation and political consultation and ensure the integration of Party leadership, the united front, and consultative democracy. We will give play to the CPPCC's role as a specialized consultative body and see that it coordinates efforts to promote democracy and unity while making proposals on state affairs and building consensus. Improvements will be made to institutions, standards and procedures to help the CPPCC ensure that in-depth consultations and interactions are conducted, opinions are fully expressed, and broad consensus is built. Efforts will be also made to improve the systems and mechanisms through which CPPCC committees conduct democratic oversight and their members stay engaged with people from various sectors.

3. Actively developing democracy at the primary level

Primary-level democracy is an important manifestation of whole-process people's democracy. We will improve the mechanisms for community-level self-governance under the leadership of primary-level Party organizations, build up the strength of primary-level organizations, and improve the institutional and working systems for direct democracy at the primary level to see that urban and rural communities can more effectively manage, serve, educate and oversee themselves.

We will increase transparency in government affairs, establish more channels for people from various sectors to participate in community-level governance in an orderly way, and ensure that the people manage public affairs and run public-interest programs at the primary level in accordance with the law.

We will rely wholeheartedly on the working class and improve the

system of democratic management in enterprises and public institutions, which takes basic shape in the form of workers' congresses, so as to protect workers' lawful rights and interests.

4. Consolidating and developing the broadest possible patriotic united front

The people's support is of the utmost political importance, and the united front is an effective instrument for rallying the people's support and pooling their strength. We will build a broad united front to forge great unity and solidarity, and we will encourage all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation to dedicate themselves to realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

We will leverage the strengths of our country's new type of socialist political party system. Following the principles of long-term coexistence, mutual oversight, sincerity, and sharing the rough times and the smooth, we will strengthen our Party's unity and cooperation with other political parties and prominent individuals without party affiliation. We will also support other political parties in improving themselves and performing their roles more effectively.

We will, with a focus on forging a strong sense of the Chinese nation as one community, continue to take the correct and distinctive Chinese approach to handling ethnic affairs, uphold and improve the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and improve the Party's work on ethnic affairs, so as to comprehensively promote ethnic unity and progress.

We will remain committed to the principle that religions in China should conform to China's realities and provide active guidance to religions so that they can adapt to socialist society. We will strengthen communication on theoretical and political issues with intellectuals who are not Party members and improve our work concerning people from New Social Groups in an effort to provide better political guidance for pursuing common goals.

We will cultivate a cordial and clean relationship between government and business across the board and facilitate the healthy development of the non-public sector and those working in it.

We will improve and strengthen our work related to Chinese nationals overseas to give shape to a powerful joint force for advancing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

VII. Exercising Law-Based Governance on All Fronts and Advancing the Rule of Law in China

The comprehensive advancement of law-based governance has been a profound revolution in China's governance. Law-based governance is important for the Party's success in governing and rejuvenating the country, for the wellbeing of the people, and for the long-term stability of the Party and the country. We must give better play to the role of the rule of law in consolidating foundations, ensuring stable expectations, and delivering long-term benefits, and we must strive to build a modern socialist country in all respects under the rule of law.

We must follow a path of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, develop a Chinese system of socialist rule of law, and establish China as a socialist country under the rule of law. We must, with a focus on protecting and promoting social fairness and justice, pursue coordinated progress in law-based governance, law-based exercise of state power, and law-based government administration and take integrated steps to build a country, government and society based on the rule of law. We will make all-round efforts to ensure sound legislation, strict law enforcement, impartial administration of justice, and society-wide observance of the law and see that all work of the state is carried out under the rule of law.

1. Improving the socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics with the Constitution at its core

Law-based governance and law-based exercise of state power begin with compliance with the Constitution. We must remain firmly committed to leadership of the Party, to the state system of people's democratic dictatorship, and to the political system of people's congresses, all of which are mandated by the Constitution. We will better implement the Constitution and conduct constitutional oversight,

and we will improve the systems for ensuring full compliance with the Constitution, so as to give better play to the Constitution's important role in China's governance and uphold its authority.

We will step up legislation in key, emerging and foreign-related fields and advance the rule of law in domestic and foreign-related affairs in a coordinated manner, so that good laws are made to promote development and ensure good governance. We will make further headway in making laws in a well-conceived and democratic way and in accordance with the law; we will take coordinated steps to enact, revise, abolish, interpret and codify laws; and we will see that legislative work is more systematic, holistic, coordinated and responsive. Improvements will be made to the record and review system for normative documents. We must ensure sound, democratic and law-based decision-making and fully implement the procedural system for making major decisions.

2. Steadily advancing law-based government administration

Building a law-based government is a key task and major part of comprehensively advancing law-based governance. We will transform government functions, improve the government responsibility system and organizational structure, and establish legal footing for government institutions, functions, powers, procedures and responsibilities, so as to enhance the efficiency and credibility of government administration. We will deepen reform of public institutions.

With regard to administrative law enforcement, we will advance structural reform to ensure that it is strict, procedure-based, impartial and civil across the board, and we will intensify it in key areas involving the people's immediate interests. We will refine law enforcement procedures and the standards for administrative discretion, enhance oversight mechanisms and oversight capacity, and strictly implement responsibility and accountability systems. We will also improve the systems and mechanisms for coordinated law enforcement at the community level.

3. Ensuring strict and impartial administration of justice

An impartial judiciary is the last line of defense for social fairness

and justice. We will deepen comprehensive and integrated reform of the judicial system, fully and faithfully enforce judicial accountability, and accelerate the development of a fair, efficient and authoritative socialist judicial system. We will see that the people feel justice has been served in each and every judicial case.

We will ensure the well-regulated exercise of judicial power and improve the systems and mechanisms that enable public security bodies, procuratorates, courts, and administrative agencies for justice to perform their respective functions and to coordinate with and check one another. Checks and oversight on judicial activities will be enhanced to ensure judicial justice. Procuratorial bodies will step up legal oversight, and the system of public-interest litigation will be improved.

4. Stepping up efforts to establish the rule of law throughout society

A society based on the rule of law is the foundation on which we can build a country under the rule of law. We will promote socialist rule of law and carry forward fine traditional Chinese legal culture, and we will encourage all our people to truly revere, readily observe, and firmly defend socialist rule of law. We will develop a modern public legal service system that covers both urban and rural populations and carry out intensive activities to raise public awareness of the rule of law. We will advance law-based governance at multiple levels and in multiple areas and enhance the rule of law in social governance. We will see that leading officials play an exemplary role and work hard to make respecting, studying, observing, and applying the law common practice throughout society.

VIII. Building Cultural Confidence and Strength and Securing New Successes in Developing Socialist Culture

To build a modern socialist country in all respects, we must develop a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics and be more confident in our culture. In our efforts to turn China into a country

with a strong socialist culture, we will focus on upholding socialism with Chinese characteristics, rallying public support, fostering a new generation of young people, developing Chinese culture, and better presenting China to the world. We will develop a sound, people-oriented socialist culture for our nation that embraces modernization, the world, and the future. We will ignite the cultural creativity of the entire nation and build a powerful source of inspiration for realizing national rejuvenation.

We should uphold the foundational system for ensuring the guiding role of Marxism in the ideological domain. We will ensure that culture serves the people and serves socialism. We will follow the principle of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend, and we will encourage creative transformation and innovative development of traditional Chinese culture. Guided by the core socialist values, we will develop advanced socialist culture, promote revolutionary culture, and carry forward fine traditional Chinese culture. In doing so, we will be well-placed to meet people's ever-growing intellectual and cultural needs, consolidate a common intellectual foundation for the whole Party and all Chinese people to strive in unity, and continuously grow China's cultural soft power and the appeal of Chinese culture.

1. Developing a socialist ideology that has the power to unite and inspire the people

Ideological work is about forging the character of a country and the soul of a nation. We must ensure that the Party firmly exercises leadership over this work and that the responsibility system for it is fully implemented. We will cement and expand the mainstream thoughts and ideas that inspire hard work in the new era.

We will refine the working systems for arming Party members, educating the people, and guiding our practice with the Party's new theories. We will make further progress in the project to study and develop Marxist theory. In philosophy and the social sciences, we will work faster to develop Chinese systems of academic disciplines, research and discourse, and we will cultivate a pool of talented philos-

ophers and social scientists.

We will improve the systems for communications across all forms of media and create a new environment of mainstream public opinion. We will improve the system for conducting comprehensive cyberspace governance and foster a healthy online environment.

2. Extensively applying the core socialist values

The core socialist values have immense power to rally the people's support and pool their strength. We will carry forward the long line of inspiring principles for the Chinese Communists that originated with the great founding spirit of the Party; put resources related to the Party's heritage to great use; conduct extensive public awareness activities to promote the core socialist values; enhance commitment to patriotism, collectivism and socialism; and foster a new generation of young people to shoulder the mission of realizing national rejuvenation.

We will develop and institutionalize regular activities to foster ideals and convictions, and we will carry out public awareness initiatives on the history of the Party, the People's Republic of China, reform and opening up, and the development of socialism, in order to foster love for the Party and the country. These efforts will help strengthen the people's commitment to our common ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

We will draw on the core socialist values to forge inner strength and inspire our people, improve the system of theoretical and political work, and integrate the moral and political education curriculum across all levels, from elementary schools to universities.

We will uphold both the rule of law and the rule of virtue and see that the core socialist values are incorporated into efforts to advance the rule of law, into social development, and into the people's daily lives.

3. Enhancing civility throughout society

We will continue the civic morality campaign, carry forward traditional Chinese virtues, foster stronger family ties, values and traditions, and raise the intellectual and moral standards of minors.

We will build public commitment to the greater good, public morality, and personal integrity. These efforts will help raise public moral standards and enhance public civility.

To promote cultural-ethical progress, we will take coordinated steps to raise awareness, apply principles, and develop initiatives and advance efforts in both urban and rural areas. We will foster an ethos of work, enterprise, dedication, creativity and frugality throughout society and cultivate new trends and new customs for our times.

We will increase people's knowledge of science and encourage everyone to read. The system and working mechanisms for volunteer services will be improved. We will promote integrity and credibility in society and work to perfect relevant long-term mechanisms.

We will see that Party and state awards and honors play a guiding and exemplary role and that a public atmosphere prevails in which people emulate paragons of virtue, look up to heroes, and strive to become pioneers.

4. Developing cultural programs and the cultural sector

We will encourage people-centered cultural creation and production of more outstanding works that inspire the people, and we will nurture a great number of writers and artists of both moral and artistic stature as well as a large contingent of talented personnel in culture and the arts.

We will make sure the cultural sector prioritizes social benefit while also producing economic returns, deepen reform of the cultural management system, and improve economic policy for the cultural sector.

We will implement a national cultural digitization strategy, improve the modern system of public cultural services, and launch new public-benefit cultural programs. We will improve the modern systems for cultural industries and markets and implement major cultural projects to spur the development of the sector.

We will put more effort into protecting cultural artifacts and heritage, better protect and preserve historical and cultural heritage in the course of urban and rural development, and build and make good

use of national cultural parks. We will encourage positive interplay between culture and tourism and advance deeper integration of the two sectors.

We will launch extensive public fitness initiatives, improve physical education for our young people, promote all-round development of recreational and competitive sports, and move faster to build China into a country strong in sports.

5. Extending the reach and appeal of Chinese civilization

We will stay firmly rooted in Chinese culture. We will collect and refine the defining symbols and best elements of Chinese culture and showcase them to the world. We will accelerate the development of China's discourse and narrative systems, better tell China's stories, make China's voice heard, and present China as a country worthy of friendship, trust and respect.

We will strengthen our international communications capabilities, make our communications more effective, and strive to strengthen China's voice in international affairs so it is commensurate with our composite national strength and international status. We will deepen exchanges and mutual learning with other civilizations and better present Chinese culture to the world.

IX. Improving the People's Wellbeing and Raising Quality of Life

The country is the people and the people are the country. As the Communist Party of China has led the people in fighting to establish and develop the People's Republic, it has really been fighting for their support. Bringing benefit to the people is the fundamental principle of governance. Working for the people's wellbeing is an essential part of the Party's commitment to serving the public good and exercising governance for the people. We must ensure and improve the people's wellbeing in the course of pursuing development and encourage everyone to work hard together to meet the people's aspirations for a better life.

We must strive to realize, safeguard and advance the fundamental

interests of all our people. To this end, we must do everything within our capacity to resolve the most practical problems that are of the greatest and most direct concern to the people. We will stay engaged with our people and their communities, adopt more measures that deliver real benefits to the people and win their approval, and work hard to resolve the pressing difficulties and problems that concern them most. We will improve the basic public services system to raise public service standards and make public services more equitable and accessible, so as to achieve solid progress in promoting common prosperity.

1. Improving the system of income distribution

The system of income distribution is the foundational system for promoting common prosperity. We will keep distribution according to work as the mainstay with multiple forms of distribution existing alongside it, and we will build an institutional framework under which primary distribution, redistribution, and third distribution are well coordinated and mutually complementary. We will work to raise the share of personal income in the distribution of national income and give more weight to work remuneration in primary distribution.

We will ensure more pay for more work and encourage people to achieve prosperity through hard work. We will promote equality of opportunity, increase the incomes of low-income earners, and expand the size of the middle-income group.

We will improve the policy system for distribution based on factors of production, explore multiple avenues to enable the low- and middle-income groups to earn more from production factors, and increase the property income of urban and rural residents through more channels.

We will enhance the roles of taxation, social security, and transfer payments in regulating income distribution. We will improve the personal income tax system and keep income distribution and the means of accumulating wealth well-regulated. We will protect lawful income, adjust excessive income, and prohibit illicit income.

We will provide guidance and support for enterprises, social orga-

nizations, and individuals who have the desire and ability to actively participate in charitable and public-interest initiatives.

2. Implementing the employment-first strategy

Employment is the most basic component of the people's wellbeing. We need to intensify efforts to implement the employment-first policy and improve related mechanisms to promote high-quality and full employment. We will refine the public services system for employment and the system of providing employment support for key groups and do more to help those in difficulty find employment and meet their basic needs.

We will integrate the urban and rural employment policy systems, remove institutional and policy barriers that impede the flow of labor and talent, and eliminate unjustified restrictions and discrimination that undermine equal employment. In this way, we will ensure that everyone has the opportunity to pursue a career through hard work.

We will improve the system of lifelong vocational training and tackle structural unemployment. We will improve the system for creating jobs by encouraging business startups and support and regulate the development of new forms of employment.

We will improve labor laws and regulations, the mechanisms for labor relation consultations and mediation, and the systems for safeguarding workers' rights and interests, and we will do more to protect the rights and interests of those in flexible employment and new forms of employment.

3. Improving the social security system

The social security system provides a safety net for people's livelihoods and helps ensure social stability. We will further improve the multitiered social security system that covers the entire population in urban and rural areas and see that it is fair, unified, reliable, well-regulated and sustainable.

We will improve the unified national management system for basic old-age pension funds and develop a multitiered and multi-pillar old-age pension system. The statutory retirement age will be gradually raised. We will expand the coverage of social insurance programs,

improve the mechanisms for financing and adjusting benefits for basic old-age pension and basic medical insurance, and work towards provincial-level unified management of funds for basic medical insurance, unemployment insurance, and workers' compensation.

We will promote the orderly linking up of medical insurance programs at different levels, improve serious illness insurance and medical assistance schemes, and see that medical expenses are settled where they are incurred. We will institute an insurance system to support long-term care and vigorously develop commercial medical insurance.

We will move faster to improve the nationally unified public platform for social insurance services. Improvements will be made to the system whereby social security funds are kept safe through supervision and their value is maintained and increased over time. The multitiered and categorized social assistance system will be improved.

We will remain committed to the fundamental national policy of gender equality and protect the lawful rights and interests of women and children. For people with disabilities, we will improve the social security and service systems and promote all-round development of related programs.

Adhering to the principle that housing is for living in and not for speculation, we will move faster to build a housing system featuring multiple suppliers and various channels of support that encourages both housing rentals and purchases.

4. Advancing the Healthy China initiative

People's health is a key indicator of a prosperous nation and a strong country. We must give strategic priority to ensuring the people's health and improve policies on promoting public health.

We will improve the population development strategy, establish a policy system to boost birth rates, and bring down the costs of pregnancy and childbirth, child rearing, and schooling.

We will pursue a proactive national strategy in response to population aging, develop eldercare programs and services, and provide

better services for elderly people who live alone. By doing so, we can ensure that basic eldercare is accessible to the entire elderly population.

We will further reform the medical and healthcare systems and promote coordinated development and regulation of medical insurance, medical services, and pharmaceuticals. We will expand the availability of quality medical resources and ensure they are better distributed among regions. Giving priority to prevention, we will strengthen health management for major chronic diseases and enhance the capacity for disease prevention and treatment as well as health management at the community level.

We will deepen reform of public hospitals to see that they truly serve the public interest and better regulate the development of private hospitals. We will build up the ranks of medical and healthcare personnel with an emphasis on rural areas and urban communities.

We will place importance on mental and psychological health. We will promote the preservation and innovative development of traditional Chinese medicine.

We will develop new mechanisms for enhancing collaboration and integration between hospitals and institutions for disease prevention and control. We will also improve the public health system, improve our early warning system for major epidemics, and strengthen the systems for epidemic prevention, control and treatment as well as our emergency response capacity so as to effectively contain major infectious diseases.

We will further advance the Healthy China initiative and public health campaigns and promote sound, healthy lifestyles.

X. Pursuing Green Development and Promoting Harmony Between Humanity and Nature

Nature provides the basic conditions for human survival and development. Respecting, adapting to, and protecting nature is essential for building China into a modern socialist country in all

respects. We must uphold and act on the principle that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets, and we must remember to maintain harmony between humanity and nature when planning our development.

We will advance the Beautiful China initiative and take a holistic and systematic approach to the conservation and improvement of mountains, waters, forests, farmlands, grasslands and deserts. We will carry out coordinated industrial restructuring, pollution control, ecological conservation, and climate response, and we will promote concerted efforts to cut carbon emissions, reduce pollution, expand green development, and pursue economic growth. We will prioritize ecological protection, conserve resources and use them efficiently, and pursue green and low-carbon development.

1. Accelerating the transition to a model of green development

A green and low-carbon economy and society are crucial to high-quality development. We must work faster to adjust and improve the industrial structure, the energy mix, and the composition of the transportation sector. We will implement a comprehensive conservation strategy, conserve resources of all types and use them efficiently, and move faster to put in place a system for recycling waste and used materials. Fiscal, taxation, financial, investment and pricing policies and standards will be improved to support green development. We will boost green and low-carbon industries and improve the system for market-based allocation of resources and environmental factors. We will accelerate the R&D, promotion and application of advanced energy-saving and carbon emission reduction technologies, encourage green consumption, and promote green and low-carbon ways of production and life.

2. Intensifying pollution prevention and control

We will continue to control pollution in a lawful, targeted and science-based way, and we will make further efforts to keep our skies blue, waters clear, and lands clean. Pollutants will be controlled in a better-coordinated way, and we will basically eliminate serious air pollution. We will make concerted efforts to improve aquatic

environments, water resources, and aquatic ecosystems, strengthen ecological conservation of major rivers, lakes and reservoirs, and generally eliminate black, malodorous water bodies in cities. We will strengthen prevention and control of soil contamination at the source and control new pollutants. The environmental infrastructure will be upgraded and living environments in both urban and rural areas will be improved. The pollutant discharge permit system will be implemented across the board, and more will be done to modernize the environmental governance system. We will rigorously prevent and control environmental risks and strengthen central government environmental inspections.

3. Enhancing diversity, stability and sustainability in our ecosystems

Major projects for preserving and restoring key ecosystems will be carried out at a faster pace in priority areas, including key national eco-environmental functional zones, ecological conservation red lines, and nature reserves. We will develop the national park-based nature reserve system and carry out major biodiversity protection projects. Large-scale greening programs will be rolled out in a well-planned way, and reform of collective forest tenure will be deepened. We will promote the natural regeneration of grasslands, forests, rivers, lakes and wetlands, enforce the 10-year fishing ban on the Yangtze River, and improve the system of fallowing and crop rotation.

We will establish mechanisms to realize the market value of ecosystem goods and services and improve the compensation system for ecological conservation. Biosafety and biosecurity management will be strengthened, and efforts will be made to prevent and treat harm caused by invasions of exotic species.

4. Working actively and prudently towards the goals of reaching peak carbon emissions and carbon neutrality

Reaching peak carbon emissions and achieving carbon neutrality will mean a broad and profound systemic socio-economic transformation. Based on China's energy and resource endowment, we will advance initiatives to reach peak carbon emissions in a well-planned and phased way in line with the principle of building the new before

discarding the old. We will exercise better control over the volume and intensity of energy use, particularly of fossil fuels, and transition gradually towards controlling both the volume and intensity of carbon emissions.

We will promote clean, low-carbon and high-efficiency energy use and push forward the clean and low-carbon transition in industry, construction, transportation, and other sectors. We will thoroughly advance the energy revolution. Coal will be used in a cleaner and more efficient way, and greater efforts will be made to explore and develop petroleum and natural gas, discover more untapped reserves, and increase production. We will speed up the planning and development of a system for new energy sources, properly balance hydropower development and ecological conservation, and develop nuclear power in an active, safe and orderly manner. We will strengthen our systems for energy production, supply, storage and marketing to ensure energy security. We will improve the statistics and accounting system and the cap-and-trade system for carbon emissions. The carbon sink capacity of ecosystems will be boosted. We will get actively involved in global governance in response to climate change.

XI. Modernizing China's National Security System and Capacity and Safeguarding National Security and Social Stability

National security is the bedrock of national rejuvenation, and social stability is a prerequisite for building a strong and prosperous China. We must resolutely pursue a holistic approach to national security and promote national security in all areas and stages of the work of the Party and the country, so as to ensure national security and social stability.

We must take the people's security as our ultimate goal, political security as our fundamental task, economic security as our foundation, military, technological, cultural and social security as important pillars, and international security as a support. We will take coordinated steps to ensure external and internal security, homeland and public secu-

ity, traditional and non-traditional security, and our own security and common security. We will both uphold national security and create the conditions for ensuring it. We will strengthen popular support for national security and social stability, improve the mechanisms for our participation in global security governance, and advance the Peaceful China initiative to a higher level. With this new security architecture, we will be able to better safeguard China's new development dynamic.

1. Improving the national security system

We must uphold the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership over national security work and make sure that our leadership system for national security is high-performing and authoritative. The mechanisms for coordinating national security work will be strengthened. Improvements will be made in the legal, strategy and policy systems for national security as well as the risk monitoring and early warning systems and the national emergency management system.

We will also improve the systems that safeguard security in key sectors and the coordination and command systems for major projects. We will strengthen the safeguards for ensuring economic, major infrastructure, financial, cyber, data, biological, resource, nuclear, space and maritime security. Mechanisms for countering foreign sanctions, interference, and long-arm jurisdiction will be strengthened. We will improve the allocation of national security resources and create a coordinated, multidimensional and highly effective system for protecting national security across all domains.

2. Strengthening our capacity for safeguarding national security

We will resolutely safeguard the security of China's state power, systems, and ideology and build up security capacity in key areas. We will ensure the security of food, energy and resources as well as key industrial and supply chains. We will strengthen our capacity to ensure overseas security and protect the lawful rights and interests of Chinese citizens and legal entities overseas. We will safeguard China's maritime rights and interests and resolutely defend our country's sovereignty, security, and development interests. We will enhance our capacity to prevent and mitigate major risks and will remain on

high alert against systemic security risks. We will crack down hard on infiltration, sabotage, subversion, and separatist activities by hostile forces.

We will conduct extensive public communications about the importance of national security and improve the ability of leading officials at all levels to ensure security in the pursuit of development. This will raise the people's awareness and readiness regarding national security and strengthen the public line of defense.

3. Enhancing public safety governance

We will follow the principles of putting safety first and placing emphasis on prevention, and we will establish an overall safety and emergency response framework. The public safety system will be improved, and we will drive a shift in public safety governance towards a model of prevention. Workplace safety risk controls will be strengthened, and safety supervision in key sectors and areas will be bolstered. We will enhance our capacity for disaster prevention, mitigation and relief and for responding to and providing support during major public emergencies. Regional emergency response capacity will be strengthened. We will tighten supervision over food and drug safety and improve the systems of supervision, early warning, and prevention and control for biosafety and biosecurity. Protection of personal information will be strengthened.

4. Improving the social governance system

We will improve the social governance system based on collaboration, participation, and shared benefits, so as to make social governance more effective. We will apply and further develop the Fengqiao model¹⁴ for promoting community-level governance in the new era, and we will improve the mechanisms for appropriately addressing disputes between members of the public under the new circumstances. We will improve our work in handling public complaints and maintain open and regular channels for learning about people's concerns, handling their claims, and protecting their rights and interests. Primary-level social governance platforms featuring grid-based management, meticulous services, and IT support will be improved

to strengthen urban and rural community governance. We should see that problems are resolved as they emerge at the community level.

We will work faster to modernize and enhance social governance in cities. We will take a holistic approach to ensuring law and order, we will consistently combat and root out organized crime, and we will lawfully crack down on various illegal and criminal activities that cause grave public concern. We will boost public participation in crime prevention and control and create an atmosphere that honors individuals who rise to the occasion during emergencies. This will foster a community of social governance in which everyone fulfills their responsibilities and shares in the benefits.

XII. Achieving the Centenary Goal of the People's Liberation Army and Further Modernizing National Defense and the Military

Achieving the centenary goal of the People's Liberation Army by 2027 and more quickly elevating our people's armed forces to world-class standards are strategic tasks for building a modern socialist country in all respects. To this end, we must apply the Party's philosophy on strengthening the military for the new era, implement the military strategy for the new era, and maintain the Party's absolute leadership over the people's armed forces.

We will continue to enhance political loyalty in the military, strengthen the military through reform, science and technology, and personnel training, and run the military in accordance with the law. We will simultaneously carry out operations, boost combat preparedness, and enhance our military capabilities. We will continue integrated development of the military through mechanization, informatization, and the application of smart technologies and work faster to modernize military theory, organizational forms, personnel, and weaponry and equipment. We will enhance the military's strategic capabilities for defending China's sovereignty, security, and development interests and see that the people's armed forces effectively fulfill their missions and tasks in the new era.

We will strengthen the Party across the board in the people's armed forces to ensure that they always obey the Party's command. We will improve the institutions and mechanisms for implementing the system of ultimate responsibility resting with the chairman of the Central Military Commission.

We will continue to arm our military service members with the Party's new theories and carry out activities so that they gain a good command of the philosophy on strengthening the military and contribute their share to building a strong military. We will encourage military personnel to learn more about the history of the military, promote a thriving military culture, and redouble efforts to foster our military's fighting spirit.

We will strengthen Party organizations in the people's armed forces, carry out regular activities and put in place institutions to improve the military's political work, and make unremitting efforts to improve conduct, enforce discipline, and combat corruption in the military.

We will intensify troop training and enhance combat preparedness across the board to see that our people's armed forces can fight and win. We will study and gain a good grasp of the characteristics of informatized and intelligent warfare and the laws that govern it, provide new military strategic guidance, and develop strategies and tactics for a people's war.

We will establish a strong system of strategic deterrence, increase the proportion of new-domain forces with new combat capabilities, speed up the development of unmanned, intelligent combat capabilities, and promote coordinated development and application of the network information system.

We will improve the command system for joint operations and enhance our systems and capacity for reconnaissance and early warning, joint strikes, battlefield support, and integrated logistics support.

We will intensify military training under combat conditions, laying emphasis on joint training, force-on-force training, and high-tech training. We will become more adept at deploying our military forces

on a regular basis and in diversified ways, and our military will remain both steadfast and flexible as it carries out its operations. This will enable us to shape our security posture, deter and manage crises and conflicts, and win local wars.

We will strengthen all-round military governance. We will build on and expand the gains of national defense and military reform, improve the structure and composition of the armed forces, and refine the framework of military policies and institutions.

In fulfilling major tasks for national defense and military development, we will coordinate our operations, capacity building, and combat preparedness. We will speed up the development of modern logistics, implement major projects to develop defense-related science and technology, weaponry, and equipment, and move faster to translate scientific and technological advances into combat capabilities.

We will deepen the reform of military universities and colleges, build a strong system for training new types of military personnel, and develop new ways to manage military human resources. We will strengthen mechanisms and strategic planning for running the armed forces in accordance with the law and improve the Chinese system for law-based administration of military affairs. We will refine strategic management, improve the performance of the military system, and put defense resources to better use.

We will consolidate and enhance integrated national strategies and strategic capabilities. We will better coordinate strategies and plans, align policies and systems, and share resources and production factors between the military and civilian sectors. We will improve the system and configuration of science, technology, and industries related to national defense and step up capacity building in these areas.

We will raise public awareness of the importance of national defense. We will improve our national defense mobilization capacity and the development of our reserve forces, and we will modernize our border, coastal and air defense. We will better motivate service personnel and their family members through military honors and do more to protect their rights and interests. Better services and support

will be provided to ex-service personnel. We will consolidate and boost unity between the military and the government and between the military and the people.

Our people's armed forces are a heroic fighting force that enjoys the full trust of the Party and the people. They have the confidence and the ability to safeguard China's sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity; the confidence and the ability to provide strategic support for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation; and the confidence and the ability to make yet greater contributions to world peace and development.

XIII. Upholding and Improving the Policy of One Country, Two Systems and Promoting National Reunification

The policy of One Country, Two Systems is a great innovation of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It has proved to be the best institutional arrangement for ensuring sustained prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao after their return to the motherland. This policy must be adhered to over the long term.

We will fully, faithfully and resolutely implement the policy of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong and the people of Macao administer Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy. We will remain committed to law-based governance in Hong Kong and Macao and maintain constitutional order in these two special administrative regions as stipulated in China's Constitution and their basic laws.

We will uphold and improve the systems for implementing the One Country, Two Systems policy and ensure that the central government exercises overall jurisdiction over the two regions. We will see that Hong Kong and Macao are administered by patriots and that the laws and enforcement mechanisms for safeguarding national security are implemented there.

We will ensure both the central government's overall jurisdiction and a high degree of autonomy in the special administrative regions.

We will uphold executive-led government in Hong Kong and Macao and support the chief executives and governments of the two regions in exercising law-based administration, enhancing their overall governance and management capacity, and improving their judicial and legal systems. We will ensure that the capitalist system and way of life remain unchanged in Hong Kong and Macao in the long run and work to promote long-term prosperity and stability in the two regions.

We will support Hong Kong and Macao in growing their economies, improving their people's lives, and resolving deep-seated issues and problems in economic and social development. We will give full play to the strengths and distinctive features of the two regions to see them consolidate and elevate their international position in finance, trade, shipping, aviation, innovation and technology, culture and tourism, and other fields.

We will encourage Hong Kong and Macao to conduct deeper, closer and broader exchanges and cooperation with other regions and countries. We will continue to develop the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area and support Hong Kong and Macao in better integrating themselves into China's overall development and playing a greater role in realizing national rejuvenation.

We will inspire more people in Hong Kong and Macao to love both the country and their own regions, be more patriotic, and forge a broader united front at home and abroad in support of the One Country, Two Systems policy. We will crack down hard on anti-China elements who attempt to create chaos in Hong Kong and Macao. We will take resolute action to prevent and stop interference in the affairs of Hong Kong and Macao by external forces.

Resolving the Taiwan question and realizing China's complete reunification is, for the Party, a historic mission and an unshakable commitment. It is also a shared aspiration of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation and a natural requirement for realizing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. We will implement our Party's overall policy for resolving the Taiwan question in the new era, maintain the initiative and the ability to steer in cross-Straits relations, and

unswervingly advance the cause of national reunification.

The policies of peaceful reunification and One Country, Two Systems are the best way to realize reunification across the Taiwan Straits; this best serves the interests of Chinese people on both sides of the Straits and the entire Chinese nation. We will adhere to the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus¹⁵. On this basis, we will conduct extensive and in-depth consultations on cross-Straits relations and national reunification with people from all political parties, sectors, and social strata in Taiwan, and we will work with them to promote peaceful development of cross-Straits relations and advance the process of China's peaceful reunification.

We will stand closely with our Taiwan compatriots, give firm support to patriots in Taiwan who desire reunification, and join hands to keep pace with the trends of history. We will safeguard the overall interests of the Chinese nation and take resolute steps to oppose "Taiwan independence" and promote reunification. Our great country will forever stand firm behind all patriots who support reunification.

Blood runs thicker than water, and fellow Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are one family bound by blood. We have always shown respect and care for our Taiwan compatriots and worked to deliver benefits to them. We will continue to promote economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation across the Straits, advance our integrated development in all fields, and improve systems and policies that contribute to the wellbeing of our Taiwan compatriots. We will encourage people on both sides of the Straits to work together to promote Chinese culture and forge closer bonds.

Taiwan is China's Taiwan. Resolving the Taiwan question is a matter for the Chinese, a matter that must be resolved by the Chinese. We will continue to strive for peaceful reunification with the greatest sincerity and the utmost effort, but we will never promise to renounce the use of force, and we reserve the option of taking all measures necessary. This is directed solely at interference by outside forces and the few separatists seeking "Taiwan independence" and their separatist activities; it is by no means targeted at our Taiwan compatriots.

The wheels of history are rolling on towards China's reunification and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Complete reunification of our country must be realized, and it can, without doubt, be realized!

XIV. Promoting World Peace and Development and Building a Community with a Shared Future for Humanity

Today, our world, our times, and the course of history are changing in ways like never before. The historic trends of peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit are unstoppable. The will of the people and the general trends of our day will eventually lead to a bright future for humanity. And yet, the hegemonic, high-handed, and abusive acts of using strength to intimidate the weak, taking from others by force and subterfuge, and playing zero-sum games are exerting grave harm. The deficit in peace, development, security and governance is growing. All of this is posing unprecedented challenges for human society. The world has once again reached a crossroads in history, and its future course will be decided by all the world's peoples.

For its part, China has always been committed to its foreign policy goals of upholding world peace and promoting common development, and it is dedicated to promoting a community with a shared future for humanity.

China remains firm in pursuing an independent foreign policy of peace. It has always decided its position and policy on issues based on their own merits, and it has strived to uphold the basic norms governing international relations and safeguard international fairness and justice.

China respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries. It stays true to the principle of equality of all countries big or small, strong or weak, and rich or poor, and it respects the development paths and social systems independently chosen by all the world's peoples.

China stands firmly against all forms of hegemonism and power politics, the Cold War mentality, interference in other countries' internal affairs, and double standards.

China pursues a defensive national defense policy, and its development strengthens the world's forces for peace. No matter what stage of development it reaches, China will never seek hegemony or engage in expansionism.

China adheres to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in pursuing friendship and cooperation with other countries. It is committed to promoting a new model of international relations, deepening and expanding global partnerships based on equality, openness and cooperation, and broadening the convergence of interests with other countries. China works to enhance coordination and positive interaction with other major countries to build major-country dynamics featuring peaceful coexistence, overall stability, and balanced development. Acting on the principles of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness and the policy of forging friendships and partnerships with its neighbors, China strives to enhance friendly ties, mutual trust, and converging interests with its neighboring countries. Guided by the principles of sincerity, real results, amity, and good faith and with a commitment to the greater good and shared interests, China endeavors to strengthen solidarity and cooperation with other developing countries and safeguard the common interests of the developing world.

The Communist Party of China stands ready to boost exchanges and cooperation with political parties and organizations of other countries based on the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Our Party encourages people's congresses, CPPCC committees, the military, local governments, and people's organizations to expand their external exchanges.

China is committed to its fundamental national policy of opening to the outside world and pursues a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up. It strives to create new opportunities for the world with its own development and to contribute its share to building an open global economy that delivers greater benefits to all peoples.

China adheres to the right course of economic globalization. It

strives to promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, advance bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation, and boost international macroeconomic policy coordination. It is committed to working with other countries to foster an international environment conducive to development and create new drivers for global growth. China opposes protectionism, the erection of fences and barriers, decoupling, disruption of industrial and supply chains, unilateral sanctions, and maximum-pressure tactics.

China is prepared to invest more resources in global development cooperation. It is committed to narrowing the North-South gap and supporting and assisting other developing countries in accelerating development.

China plays an active part in the reform and development of the global governance system. It pursues a vision of global governance featuring shared growth through discussion and collaboration. China upholds true multilateralism, promotes greater democracy in international relations, and works to make global governance fairer and more equitable.

China is firm in safeguarding the international system with the United Nations at its core, the international order underpinned by international law, and the basic norms governing international relations based on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. It opposes all forms of unilateralism and the forming of blocs and exclusive groups targeted against particular countries.

China works to see that multilateral institutions such as the WTO and APEC better play their roles, cooperation mechanisms such as BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) exert greater influence, and emerging markets and developing countries are better represented and have a greater say in global affairs.

China is actively involved in setting global security rules, works to promote international security cooperation, and takes an active part in UN peacekeeping operations. China plays a constructive role in safeguarding world peace and regional stability.

Building a community with a shared future for humanity is the

way forward for all the world's peoples. An ancient Chinese philosopher observed, "All living things can flourish without harming each other, just as the sun, the moon, and the seasons rotate according to their own laws without hindering the others." Only when all countries pursue the cause of common good, live in harmony, and engage in cooperation for mutual benefit will there be sustained prosperity and guaranteed security. It is in this spirit that China has put forward the Global Development Initiative and the Global Security Initiative, and it stands ready to work with the international community to put these two initiatives into action.

China is committed to building a world of lasting peace through dialogue and consultation, a world of universal security through collaboration and shared benefits, a world of common prosperity through mutually beneficial cooperation, an open and inclusive world through exchanges and mutual learning, and a clean and beautiful world through green and low-carbon development.

We sincerely call upon all countries to hold dear humanity's common values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom; to promote mutual understanding and forge closer bonds with other peoples; and to respect the diversity of civilizations. Let us allow cultural exchanges to transcend estrangement, mutual learning to transcend clashes, and coexistence to transcend feelings of superiority. Let us all join forces to meet all types of global challenges.

Although this is an era fraught with challenges, it is also an era brimming with hope. The Chinese people are ready to work hand in hand with people across the world to create an even brighter future for humanity.

XV. Exercising Full and Rigorous Internal Party Governance and Advancing the Great New Project of Strengthening the Party in the New Era

Our Party has a pivotal role in building China into a modern socialist country in all respects and in advancing the rejuvenation of

the Chinese nation on all fronts. As the largest Marxist governing party in the world, we must always stay alert and determined to tackle the special challenges that a large party like ours faces, so as to maintain the people's support and consolidate our position as the long-term governing party.

Since our Party's 18th National Congress, we have exercised full and rigorous internal governance and solved many of our prominent problems. Nevertheless, the tests the Party faces in governance, reform and opening up, the market economy, and the external environment will exist for a long time to come, as will the dangers of a lack of drive, incompetence, disengagement from the people, inaction, and corruption.

All of us in the Party must bear in mind that full and rigorous internal governance is an unceasing endeavor and that self-reform is a journey to which there is no end. We must never slacken our efforts and never allow ourselves to become weary or beaten. We must persevere with full and rigorous internal governance, continue to advance the great new project of strengthening the Party in the new era, and use our own transformation to steer social transformation.

We must meet the overall requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era, improve the systems for exercising full and rigorous internal governance, and comprehensively advance our efforts to cleanse, improve, renew and temper ourselves. This will enable our Party to stay true to its original aspiration and founding mission and remain the strong leadership core in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

1. Upholding and strengthening the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee

The Party's leadership is comprehensive, systematic and integrated; therefore, it must be exercised in a comprehensive, systematic and integrated way.

We will improve the leadership systems by which the Party exercises overall leadership and coordinates the efforts of all sides and refine the mechanisms through which the Party Central Committee's major

decisions and plans are implemented. This will ensure that all Party members closely follow the Central Committee in terms of political stance, orientation, principles and path and that the Party's solidarity and unity are maintained.

We will improve the Central Committee's decision-making, deliberative, and coordinating institutions, so as to strengthen its centralized, unified leadership over major initiatives.

In strengthening our Party's political foundations, we will enforce strict political discipline and rules, ensure that Party committees and Party leadership groups at all levels fully assume their principal responsibilities, and strengthen the political acumen, understanding, and capacity to deliver of Party organizations and Party officials at all levels.

We will continue to conduct sound, democratic and law-based governance, practice democratic centralism, and develop new and improved ways of exercising leadership. We will enhance the Party's ability to chart the course, make overall plans, design policy, and promote reform, and we will keep everyone motivated.

We will make internal Party activities more politically oriented, up to date, principled, and effective. We will make full use of criticism and self-criticism and keep working to improve the political environment in the Party.

2. Enhancing cohesion and forging the Party's soul with the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era

Arming our members with the Party's new theories is a fundamental task of strengthening ourselves theoretically. To this end, we will continue to use the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era to achieve unity in thinking, will and action. We will launch programs for Party members to study the Party's new theory and build the Party into a Marxist party of learning.

We will strengthen the ideals and convictions of our Party members, see that they are committed to the Party's purpose, and resolve the fundamental question of the worldview, outlook on life, and values they should embrace. We will be firm believers and loyal

practitioners of the noble ideal of communism and the common ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

We will apply what we have learned in practice, act on our beliefs, and turn the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era into a powerful force for strengthening our ideals and convictions, enhancing our commitment to the Party, guiding our practice, and advancing our work.

We will combine theoretical study with regular, long-term study of the Party's history and see that Party members and officials strengthen their understanding, commitment, integrity and action through continued study of Party history and carry forward our revolutionary traditions and heritage. We will launch theoretical study programs for Party members, especially leading officials at and above the county and director level.

3. Improving the systems and regulations for the Party's self-reform

We will continue to run the Party with systems and regulations. We should take the Party Constitution as our fundamental guide and give full play to the core role of democratic centralism in order to improve the framework of Party regulations, increase their authority, and fully enforce them. We will put in place mechanisms for upholding truth, correcting errors, uncovering problems, and remedying failings.

We will improve the all-encompassing, authoritative, and highly effective oversight system under the Party's unified leadership and refine the mechanisms for overseeing power and keeping it in check. We will generate synergy between various forms of oversight with intra-Party oversight serving as the mainstay, and we will ensure that power is exercised in broad daylight.

We will conduct concrete, targeted and regular political oversight and keep leadership teams and their heads under effective oversight. We will see that political inspections serve as a powerful tool and that follow-up rectifications are made accordingly and their results are put to practical use. We will work to ensure that political responsibility

for full and rigorous internal Party governance is fulfilled and that accountability mechanisms have real teeth.

4. Cultivating officials capable of shouldering the mission of national rejuvenation

To build a modern socialist country in all respects, we must have a team of officials who are politically committed and who have the competence to meet the needs of the new era and lead China's modernization drive.

We must adhere to the principle of the Party supervising officials. We must select officials on the basis of both integrity and ability, with greater weight given to integrity, and on the basis of merit regardless of background, thus fully applying the criteria for judging competent officials in the new era.

We will follow the right approach to selecting and appointing officials, select those who are high-caliber, professional, loyal, upright and responsible, and ensure that strong and competent leadership teams are put in place at all levels. We will take political commitment as the primary criterion for selection and carry out solid vetting of officials' political commitment to ensure that they are politically reliable and corruption-free.

We will strengthen the ability of officials by tempering them through practice and giving them professional training, and we will focus on honing their skills by assigning them major tasks. This will help to ensure that officials become more capable of pursuing high-quality development, serving the people, and guarding against and defusing risks.

We will redouble our efforts to build the fighting spirit and ability of officials, particularly their ability to prevent risks, rise to challenges, and withstand pressure. This will enable them to take the lead in shouldering responsibility and to excel in their daily work, step forward at critical moments, and act with courage in times of danger.

We will improve the system for assessing officials' performance and see that officials have a correct understanding of what it means to perform well. We should also see that officials can be demoted as

well as promoted and dismissed as well as recruited, thereby creating an environment in which the competent are elevated, the outstanding are rewarded, the mediocre are demoted, and the incompetent are dismissed.

It is of critical importance to the Party's future that we have qualified successors to carry forward our cause. With this in mind, we will improve the regular working mechanisms for training and selecting promising young officials. We should encourage young officials to work and gain experience in local communities and areas where conditions are harsh, and we should make such assignments an important part of their training.

We will attach importance to cultivating and selecting female officials and give full play to their important role. We will also attach importance to cultivating and appointing officials from ethnic minorities and carry out work related to non-CPC officials in a well-coordinated way. We will ensure that retired officials are well taken care of.

We will improve our management of public servants and better allocate staffing resources for Party and state institutions. We should both be strict with our officials and care for them, and we should strengthen overall management and regular supervision of them. We should apply the "three distinctions"¹⁶ to encourage them to be bold in taking on responsibilities and to demonstrate enterprise in their work. We should concern ourselves with officials working in local communities, particularly those working in areas where conditions are harsh.

5. Enhancing the political and organizational functions of Party organizations

The Party's advantages and strength lie in its close-knit organizational system. Party organizations at all levels must perform the duties prescribed to them by the Party Constitution, implement the Party's guidelines, principles and policies and the Central Committee's decisions and plans, and effectively organize and rally people from all walks of life.

In strengthening Party organizations, we need to keep a clear

focus on the primary level, using Party development initiatives to propel rural revitalization and intensifying Party development efforts in urban communities. We will guide community-level governance through Party development, keep working to strengthen weak and lax Party organizations at the primary level, and see that primary-level Party organizations play a key role in ensuring the exercise of the Party's leadership.

Party development will be improved across the board in Party and state offices and will be advanced in public institutions. We will make sure that Party leadership in SOEs and financial firms is strengthened in the process of their improvements to corporate governance. Party development will also be stepped up in mixed-ownership and non-public enterprises. The management systems for Party development in trade associations, academic societies, and chambers of commerce will be improved. Party development efforts will also be enhanced in new types of economic entities and social organizations and among groups in new forms of employment.

We will pay particular attention to recruiting young people, industrial workers, farmers and intellectuals into the Party. Training and management will be improved for Party members, especially those among floating populations. We will implement the systems for intra-Party democracy, protect Party members' rights, and motivate them to become role models. At the same time, we must earnestly and prudently handle Party members who do not measure up to standards so as to preserve our Party membership's progressive and wholesome nature.

6. Taking strict steps to improve Party conduct and enforce Party discipline

Good conduct is critical to the survival of a governing party. We must carry forward the proud traditions and venerable conduct of the Party. In doing so, we will encourage Party officials, especially leading officials, to take the lead in conducting in-depth research and studies and to immerse themselves in hard work, take concrete measures, and deliver solid outcomes. We will steadfastly implement the central Party

leadership's Eight Rules on improving conduct and see that leading officials, or the "key few", set an example for those below them. We will continue to tackle form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance, with a focus on the first two. We will resolutely root out privilege-seeking mindsets and behavior. In improving Party conduct, we will identify problems specific to certain areas, sectors, and periods of time, go to great lengths to tackle prevalent and recurrent problems, and make consistent and sustained efforts.

We must make all-round efforts to tighten Party discipline. We will urge leading officials, especially high-ranking ones, to be strict with themselves, earnestly fulfill their responsibilities, and conduct rigorous management within their jurisdictions. Regarding violations of Party discipline, each and every infraction identified must be strictly investigated and handled. We will work in concert to consolidate Party members' political commitment, improve Party conduct, and tighten Party discipline. This will enable Party members to maintain firm ideals and convictions, strengthen their commitment to the Party, and bolster their resistance to corruption and moral decline. We will foster within our Party members an inner strength to never be corrupted by wealth or power, never deviate from principle even in poverty or humble positions, and never yield to the threat of force.

7. Winning the tough and protracted battle against corruption

Corruption is a cancer to the vitality and ability of the Party, and fighting corruption is the most thorough kind of self-reform there is. As long as the breeding grounds and conditions for corruption still exist, we must keep sounding the bugle and never rest, not even for a minute, in our fight against corruption.

We will continue to take simultaneous, coordinated and comprehensive steps to ensure that officials do not have the audacity, the opportunity, or the desire to engage in corruption. We must show zero tolerance in opposing corruption and punishing wrongdoing, and we must take more forceful action to both prevent new cases and root out existing ones. We will investigate and deal with corruption that involves both political and economic elements, resolutely prevent

leading officials from acting for any interest group or power group, and crack down on any collusion between officials and businesspeople that undermines the political ecosystem or economic development. There must be no mercy for corruption.

We will intensify efforts to uproot corruption in sectors with a high concentration of power, funds and resources. Firm action will be taken to swat “flies”, or corrupt low-ranking officials, whose misconduct directly affects people’s lives. We will strictly investigate and handle cases of corruption where leading officials’ spouses, children, children’s spouses, other relatives, or staff use their influence to seek personal gain. We will punish both bribe takers and givers and combat new and disguised forms of corruption. We will deepen international cooperation to combat corruption and establish an integrated mechanism for pursuing fugitives, preventing escape, and retrieving stolen assets.

To address both the symptoms and root causes of corruption, we will advance national anti-corruption legislation and promote a culture of integrity in the new era. We will provide education and guidance aimed at strengthening the vigilance of Party members and officials so that they have no desire to engage in corruption and so they live and work with honesty and integrity. We will closely integrate and coordinate harsh punishment, regulation over the exercise of power, and education and guidance, so as to continually secure more institutional achievements and greater efficiency in fighting corruption.

Comrades,

The times are calling us, and the people expect us to deliver. Only by pressing ahead with unwavering commitment and perseverance will we be able to answer the call of our times and meet the expectations of our people.

All of us in the Party must remember: Upholding the Party’s overall leadership is the path we must take to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics; building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the path we must take to realize the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation; striving in unity is the path the Chinese people

must take to create great historic achievements; implementing the new development philosophy is the path China must take to grow stronger in the new era; and exercising full and rigorous internal governance is the path the Party must take to maintain its vigor and pass new tests on the road ahead.

We have come to this understanding through long years of practice. It is a conclusion of paramount importance that we must cherish, uphold, and never deviate from. Under its guidance, we will ensure that the great ship of socialism with Chinese characteristics catches the wind, cuts through the waves, and sails steadily into the future.

Unity is strength, and only in unity can we succeed. To build China into a modern socialist country in all respects, we must unleash the tremendous creativity of the Chinese people in their hundreds of millions. All of us in the Party must stay true to our fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, maintain a people-centered mindset, and carry out the mass line. We must respect the pioneering spirit of our people and ensure that we are acting for the people and relying on the people in everything we do. We must follow the principle of “from the people, to the people”, maintain a close bond with the people, and accept their criticism and oversight. We must breathe the same air as the people, share the same future, and stay truly connected to them. We must strengthen the great unity of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and the great unity of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation at home and abroad. By doing so, we will create a powerful collective force working with one heart and one mind to realize the Chinese Dream.

A nation will prosper only when its young people thrive. China’s young people of today are living in a remarkable time. They have an incomparably broad stage on which to display their full talents, and they have incomparably bright prospects of realizing their dreams.

All of us in the Party should regard our work concerning young people as a matter of strategic significance. We will equip young people with the Party’s theories, inspire them with the Party’s original aspiration and founding mission, and become their confidants,

advocates and guides for the future.

And to you young people: You should steadfastly follow the Party and its guidance, aim high but stay grounded, and dare to think big and take action but make sure you can deliver. You should strive to be the new era's great young generation, a generation with ideals, a sense of responsibility, grit, and dedication. As you endeavor to build China into a modern socialist country in all respects, your youth and vitality will bloom in full splendor.

Comrades,

The Party has made spectacular achievements through its great endeavors over the past century, and our new endeavors will surely lead to more spectacular achievements.

Let the whole Party, the entire military, and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups stay closely rallied around the Party Central Committee. Let us keep in mind that empty talk will do nothing for our country; only solid work will make it flourish. Let us maintain firm confidence, unite as one, and forge ahead with resolve. And let us strive in unity to build a modern socialist country in all respects and advance national rejuvenation on all fronts.

Notes

¹ At its 18th National Congress in November 2012, the CPC put forward the Two Centenary Goals for building socialism with Chinese characteristics – to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the centenary of the CPC in 2021 and to develop China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the centenary of the PRC in 2049. At its 19th National Congress in October 2017, the CPC drew up a two-step strategy for the Second Centenary Goal. In the first stage from 2020 to 2035, we will build on the foundations of the moderately prosperous society with a further 15 years of hard work to ensure that basic socialist modernization is realized. In the second stage from 2035 to the middle of the 21st century, having achieved basic modernization, we will work hard for a further 15 years and develop China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful. At the ceremony marking the centenary of the

CPC on July 1, 2021, General Secretary Xi Jinping declared that China had achieved the First Centenary Goal and would move forward towards the Second Centenary Goal of building a great modern socialist country in all respects. At its 20th National Congress in October 2022, the Party stated that from then forward, its central task would be to lead the Chinese people of all ethnic groups in a concerted effort to realize the Second Centenary Goal and to advance the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts through a Chinese path to modernization.

² At the ceremony marking the centenary of the CPC in July 2021, Xi Jinping stated, “A hundred years ago, the pioneers of communism in China established the Communist Party of China and developed the great founding spirit of the Party, which is comprised of the following principles: upholding truth and ideals, staying true to our original aspiration and founding mission, fighting bravely without fear of death, and remaining loyal to the Party and faithful to the people. This spirit is the Party’s source of strength.”

³ This refers to the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Major Achievements and Historical Experience of the Party over the Past Century, adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee in November 2021.

⁴ This refers to China’s overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics, that is, to promote coordinated progress in the economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental fields.

⁵ This refers to China’s strategic plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics, that is, to make comprehensive moves to achieve moderate prosperity in all respects, to further reform, to advance the rule of law, and to strengthen internal Party governance. Now that China has achieved moderate prosperity in all respects, the strategy has been changed to making comprehensive moves to build a modern socialist country, to further reform, to advance the rule of law, and to strengthen internal Party governance.

⁶ This refers to prosperity, democracy, civility and harmony; freedom, equality, justice, and the rule of law; patriotism, dedication, good faith, and amity. Prosperity, democracy, civility and harmony are values that underpin our nation; freedom, equality, justice, and the rule of law are values that buttress our society; patriotism, dedication, good faith, and amity are values that underlie individual conduct.

⁷ The Eight Rules were adopted in December 2012 by the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee to improve their work practices and maintain close ties with the people. They are summarized as follows: improving investigation and fact-finding trips, streamlining meetings and other activities, reducing documents and briefings, standardizing arrangements for visits abroad, improving security procedures, improving news reports, imposing restrictions on publishing their own writings, and practicing diligence and frugality. Details for the implementation of

the Eight Rules were successively revised by the Political Bureau of the 19th CPC Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

⁸ At the 19th CPC National Congress, held in October 2017, the core content of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era was summarized into eight clarifications. The Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Major Achievements and Historical Experience of the Party over the Past Century, deliberated and adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee in November 2021, expanded the eight clarifications to 10 clarifications as follows:

- (1) The leadership of the Communist Party of China is the defining feature and the greatest strength of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the Party is the highest force for political leadership. Therefore, all Party members must strengthen their consciousness of the need to maintain political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the leadership core, and act in accordance with the requirements of the CPC Central Committee; remain confident in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics; and uphold the core position of General Secretary Xi Jinping on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole, and uphold the authority and the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee with Xi Jinping at its core.
- (2) The overarching task of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is to realize socialist modernization and national rejuvenation; on the basis of finishing building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, a two-step approach should be taken to build China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful by the middle of the 21st century, and to promote national rejuvenation through a Chinese path to modernization.
- (3) The principal challenge facing Chinese society in the new era is the gap between imbalanced and insufficient development and the people's growing expectation for a better life; the Party must therefore remain committed to a people-centered philosophy of development, develop whole-process people's democracy, and make more notable and substantive progress towards achieving well-rounded human development and common prosperity for all.
- (4) China's overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is to promote coordinated progress in the economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental fields; China's strategic plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is to make comprehensive moves to build a modern socialist country, to further reform, to advance the rule of law, and to strengthen internal Party governance.

- (5) The overall goal of driving deeper all-round reform is to develop and improve the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and to modernize China's system and capacity for governance.
- (6) The overall goal of advancing the rule of law on all fronts is to establish a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and to build a socialist country under the rule of law.
- (7) China must uphold and improve its basic socialist economic system, ensure that the market plays the decisive role in resource allocation and the government better fulfills its functions, have an accurate understanding of this new stage of development, apply a new vision of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, accelerate efforts to create a new development dynamic with the domestic economy as the mainstay and the domestic economy and international engagement providing mutual reinforcement, promote high-quality development, and coordinate development and security.
- (8) The Party's goal of building a strong military in the new era is to develop the people's armed forces into world-class forces that obey the Party's command, can fight and win, and maintain exemplary conduct.
- (9) Major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics aims to serve national rejuvenation, promote human progress, and facilitate efforts to foster a new model of international relations and build a community with a shared future for humanity.
- (10) Full and rigorous internal governance is a policy of strategic importance for the Party, and the general requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era include making all-round efforts to reinforce the Party's political foundations, buttress ideological commitment, consolidate the organization, improve conduct, and enforce discipline, while always focusing on opportunities to create stronger institutions and stepping up efforts to combat corruption; fulfilling its political responsibility for exercising internal governance; and leading a social transformation through the Party's self-reform.

⁹ This refers to:

- (1) ensuring Party leadership over all work;
- (2) committing to a people-centered approach;
- (3) continuing to drive deeper comprehensive reform;
- (4) implementing the new development philosophy;
- (5) ensuring that the people are the masters of the country;
- (6) ensuring that every dimension of governance is law-based;
- (7) upholding the core socialist values;

- (8) ensuring and improving living standards through development;
- (9) ensuring harmony between humanity and nature;
- (10) pursuing a holistic approach to national security;
- (11) upholding absolute Party leadership over the people's armed forces;
- (12) upholding the policy of One Country, Two Systems and promoting national reunification;
- (13) building a community with a shared future for humanity;
- (14) exercising full and rigorous internal Party governance.

The 14 commitments form the basic policy that underpins our endeavors to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

¹⁰ This refers to the historic achievements made and changes effected in the following areas while advancing the cause of the Party and the country in the new era:

- (1) upholding the Party's overall leadership;
- (2) exercising full and rigorous internal Party governance;
- (3) pursuing economic development;
- (4) expanding reform and opening up;
- (5) reinforcing the political foundations;
- (6) advancing law-based governance;
- (7) driving cultural progress;
- (8) promoting social progress;
- (9) spurring eco-environmental progress;
- (10) strengthening national defense and the armed forces;
- (11) safeguarding national security;
- (12) upholding the One Country, Two Systems policy and promoting national reunification;
- (13) bolstering the diplomatic front.

¹¹ Swans were believed only to be white for much of history, until the discovery of a black swan challenged this notion. A "black swan" event refers to an unexpected and rare occurrence that has a major impact and can trigger adverse chain effects, requiring reinterpretation of past experience.

¹² A gray rhino looks slow and lumbering, but is capable of starting a surprise attack that often catches people off guard. A "gray rhino" event refers to a highly probable, high-impact threat that tends to be overlooked and neglected, resulting in a failure to address the risk in a timely manner and often leading to disastrous consequences.

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ In the early 1960s, the officials and citizenry of Fengqiao District in Zhuji, Zhejiang, created the Fengqiao model, which focused on addressing problems locally rather than passing them up to higher authorities. This model has developed over the intervening decades, especially after the 18th CPC National Congress, and is now a model for promoting community-level governance and social harmony. Relying on the people and helping them settle disputes and solve problems among themselves, local Party committees and governments are able to maintain social stability and promote development.

¹⁵ This refers to an oral agreement reached at a November 1992 meeting between the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits and the Straits Exchange Foundation. They agreed that both sides of the Straits would uphold the one-China principle. The essence of the Consensus is that “both sides of the Taiwan Straits belong to China, and both sides will work together for the realization of reunification of the country”. The Consensus clarified the fundamental nature of cross-Straits relations and laid the political foundations for developing the relationship.

¹⁶ This refers to the distinctions 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 trying out things not specifically banned, 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.

National Rejuvenation Through Chinese Modernization

A Long and Glorious Journey Towards Our Dreams*

October 23, 2022

A moment ago we concluded the First Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee which elected a new central leadership. I was reelected general secretary of the Central Committee. Now I would like to present to you the six other members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau: Li Qiang, Zhao Leji, Wang Huning, Cai Qi, Ding Xuexiang, and Li Xi.

Zhao Leji and Wang Huning were members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the 19th CPC Central Committee, and the other colleagues were members of the Political Bureau of the 19th CPC Central Committee, so I think they should all be familiar to you.

On behalf of the CPC's new central leadership, let me take this opportunity to extend our sincere thanks to the whole Party for their trust. We will always bear in mind our Party's nature and purpose, and our mission and responsibility. We will work diligently in performing our duties so that we may prove worthy of the confidence the Party and the people have placed in us.

Thanks to the concerted efforts of the entire Party and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups, we have achieved the First Centenary Goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects within the set timeframe. Now we are embarking confidently on a new journey towards the Second Centenary Goal of building China into a

* Main part of the speech at a press conference by members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

modern socialist country, and striving to advance the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation through a Chinese path to modernization.

– On the journey ahead, we must always maintain an enterprising spirit. Building a modern socialist country is the long-cherished goal and dream of the Chinese nation, which carries within it all the hard work and struggle of the Chinese people. Chinese modernization is the result of many years of effort and reflects the experience gained by the CPC and the Chinese people. It is a grand and arduous undertaking, yet it is precisely its enormity and complexity that make it great and glorious.

Countless Chinese have dedicated themselves to this worthy cause, building their success from modest beginnings through perseverance and hard work. We will always remember their dedication and sacrifice. For our part, we must work hard and rise to the challenge. We must show greater initiative in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, write new chapters in the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, and strive to achieve the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

– On the journey ahead, we must ensure that in everything we do, we work for the people and rely on the people. All our tremendous achievements to date have been made by relying closely on the people, and we will continue to look to their support in the future to secure new achievements.

The journey ahead is long and arduous, but with determined steps, we will reach our destination. We will not be daunted by high winds, turbulent waters, or dangerous storms, for the people will always be our backing and source of confidence. We will always stand together with the people and share an unbreakable bond with them. By making their priorities our own and turning their wishes into reality, we will continue working to realize their aspirations for a better life.

– On the journey ahead, we must always advance reform within the Party. A political party can only achieve lasting greatness if it remains committed to its original aspiration through whatever hardships it might endure; it can only become invincible if it remains committed to reforming itself whatever successes it might previously

have achieved. The revolutionary travails and tempering of the past century, especially those of the first decade of the present new era, have made our Party stronger and more dynamic.

As we encounter new challenges and trials on the journey ahead, we must remain alert, always prudent and sober-minded as if we were an examinee. We must make consistent efforts to exercise full and rigorous internal Party governance. We must ensure that our century-old Party will become ever more vigorous through self-reform and continue to be the most solid buttress that supports the Chinese people.

– On the journey ahead, we must always champion humanity's common values. The world is grappling with unprecedented challenges. We have consistently called on the peoples of the world to take hold of and shape the future of humanity. When all countries seek the common good, we can achieve harmonious coexistence and win-win cooperation and join hands to create a brighter future.

We will work with the people of other countries around the world to champion humanity's common values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom, to promote world peace and development, and to advance the development of a community with a shared future for humanity.

Just as China cannot develop in isolation from the world, the world needs China for its development. Through four decades of relentless effort in reform and opening up, we have created the two outstanding successes of rapid economic growth and enduring social stability. The Chinese economy has great resilience, potential and flexibility. Its strong fundamentals are conducive to long-term development and will remain unchanged. China will become more and more open. We will maintain steadfast commitment to deeper all-round reform, broader opening up, and high-quality development. A prosperous China will create more opportunities for the world.

Ahead of us stretches a long and glorious journey towards our dreams. The roadmap has been drawn, and the call to march forward has sounded. We must forge ahead with enterprise and fortitude, and endeavor to create an even brighter future.

Make New Progress in the Cause of the Party and the Country*

December 6, 2022

The passing of Comrade Jiang Zemin is an immeasurable loss to the CPC, the military, and all Chinese people. The CPC Central Committee calls on all Party members, all men and women in uniform, and all the people of China to carry forward his legacy, and turn our grief into strength through actions that advance the cause of the Party and the country on the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

– Marxism is the fundamental ideology upon which the CPC and the country are founded and thrive. The most valuable asset that Jiang Zemin has left us is the Theory of Three Represents. “I raised this issue after having pondered it for quite some time,”¹ he said. “The thought of Three Represents was not produced out of thin air; rather, it is the result of 13 years of constant exploration and breaking new ground in theory and practice.”² The Theory of Three Represents is a guiding principle that the Party must uphold for a long time to come. On our new journey ahead, we must continue to adapt the basic tenets of Marxism to China’s realities and the best of its traditional culture. To maintain the vigor and vitality of Marxism, we must proceed from reality in all matters and constantly provide answers to questions concerning the present and future of China and its people and the wider world.

– The leadership of the CPC guarantees that the Party and the people will overcome all obstacles in pursuit of our cause. Jiang

* Part of the speech at the memorial meeting for Jiang Zemin.

Zemin once said: “As a veteran CPC member, I sincerely hope that all of us in the Party, especially those in the central leadership, put the Party above anything else at all times and consciously uphold and safeguard its leadership in all fields of work. This is where the hope of the Party and the country lies.” On the new journey ahead, we must always retain the clear head and determination of an examinee. We must strengthen our commitment to the Four Consciousnesses³, the Four-sphere Confidence⁴, and the Two Upholds⁵. To ensure that the Party always serves as the strong leadership core in upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, we must carry forward the great founding spirit of the Party, stay true to our original aspiration and founding mission, and exhibit courage in self-reform.

– The path of socialism with Chinese characteristics allows China to rapidly bridge gaps and emerge as a global leader. In his speech at the ceremony marking the 80th anniversary of the founding of the CPC in 2001, Jiang Zemin emphasized that the most valuable lesson we had learned from our Party’s 80 years of experience was that we must keep to our own path. To drive forward national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization on the new journey ahead, we must follow our chosen path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, adhere to the Party’s underlying theories, basic guidelines, and fundamental principles, stay confident and self-reliant, and maintain the right political direction while breaking new ground.

– The people are the fundamental force that determines the future of the Party and the country. Throughout his life, Jiang Zemin remained loyal to the people and always kept the people in mind. He called for the Party to “take the masses as our foundation”⁶ and emphasized on many occasions, “The interests of the overwhelming majority of the people are the most crucial and most decisive factor. This is the basic viewpoint of Marxism...”⁷ This requires us to always strive to realize, protect and develop the fundamental interests of all the people. To make greater and more substantive progress in achieving well-rounded individual development and prosperity for all on the

new journey ahead, we must always put the people first, serve them wholeheartedly, uphold the people-centered philosophy of development, develop whole-process people's democracy, maintain a seamless bond with the people, and stand with them at all times.

– Reform and opening up plays a decisive role in determining the future of contemporary China. Jiang Zemin emphasized, “Bringing forth new ideas concerning institutions, science and technology, culture and other fields through theoretical innovation, exploring the way forward in praxis, never becoming self-satisfied, and never slackening our efforts – this is the way we should run the Party and state for a long time to come.”⁸ On the new journey ahead, we must be adept at and accurate in identifying, responding to, and initiating changes. We must implement the new development philosophy, create a new development dynamic, promote high-quality development, and comprehensively advance reform and opening up. We must continue to improve the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernize our system and capacity for governance. In this way, we will be able to gain the competitive edge, seize the initiative, and secure the future.

– China cannot develop in isolation from the rest of the world, nor can the world achieve overall prosperity without China. Jiang Zemin emphasized that we must adapt to the trends of history, work to establish a new international political and economic order that is just and equitable, strive for a long-term peaceful international environment, safeguard China's national security and interests on all fronts, and continue to make new and greater contributions to the lofty cause of peace and development for humanity. On the new journey ahead, we must maintain a global vision, remain committed to peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit, and champion the common values of humanity. We must promote the high-quality development of the Belt and Road Initiative, work to build a new model of international relations and a community with a shared future for humanity, and move forward together with all progressive forces in the world.

– Having the courage to fight and the fortitude to win is what has made our Party and the Chinese people invincible. Jiang Zemin emphasized: “The Party is now leading the people in the great struggle of socialist modernization, and we are bound to encounter many complex circumstances. Grave situations at home and abroad and the conflicts and struggles between different social and ideological systems often test every Party member.”⁹ “We must be true heroes to overwhelm all enemies.”¹⁰ “We could not bow our heads.”¹¹ On the new journey ahead, we must race against time, strive for success, maintain a fighting spirit, and press forward all the harder, knowing the path ahead is not smooth. We must be proactive in responding to challenges, and foster a firmer sense of purpose, fortitude and self-belief in the whole Party and the Chinese people, so that we will not be swayed by falsehoods, deterred by intimidation, or cowed by pressure. We must meet obstacles and difficulties head-on.

Notes

¹ Jiang Zemin: “Intensify Training of Young and Middle-Aged Leading Cadres Who Meet the Requirements of the New Century”, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2013, p. 43.

² Jiang Zemin: “Comments Concerning the Draft Political Report of the Sixteenth CPC National Congress”, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2013, p. 499.

³ This refers to maintaining political commitment, thinking in terms of the general picture, following the leadership core, and acting in accordance with the requirements of the CPC Central Committee.

⁴ This refers to confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

⁵ This refers to upholding the core position of General Secretary Xi Jinping on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole, and upholding the authority and the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee with Xi Jinping at its core.

⁶ Jiang Zemin: “Take the Masses as Our Foundation”, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. I, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2010, p. 352.

⁷ Jiang Zemin: “Speech at a Meeting Celebrating the 80th Anniversary of the

Founding of the Communist Party of China”, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2013, p. 274.

⁸ Jiang Zemin: “Build a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Initiate a New Phase in Socialism with Chinese Characteristics”, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2013, p. 521.

⁹ Jiang Zemin: “Strive to Make the Party into a Stauncher Vanguard of the Working Class”, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. I, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2010, pp. 89-90.

¹⁰ Jiang Zemin: *Excerpts from Jiang Zemin’s Speeches on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2002, p. 710.

¹¹ Jiang Zemin: “Hold the Initiative in Fierce International Competition”, *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 2013, p. 434.

Chinese Modernization: Our Path to a Great Country and National Rejuvenation*

February 7, 2023

The central Party leadership has decided to convene this study session for members and alternate members of the newly elected CPC Central Committee and principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level, with the objective of promoting the study and application among senior officials of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress. Your exemplary role will motivate all Party members and the people nationwide to align their thinking to the Thought and guiding principles, thereby uniting all efforts to meet the goals established at the congress.

These guiding principles are very rich in content. I have elaborated on them and set forth requirements for their study and application on various occasions. In my view, the articulation and thorough exposition of the theory of Chinese modernization is a significant innovation by the congress and the latest breakthrough of scientific socialism. Today, I would like to make a few points on comprehending and advancing Chinese modernization.

* Main part of the speech at a study session on applying Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress, attended by members and alternate members of the newly elected CPC Central Committee and principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level.

I. A Significant Result of the Enduring Efforts of the Chinese People Under CPC Leadership

The Chinese nation boasts a civilization dating back more than 5,000 years, which long stood at the forefront of the world. However, the policy of national seclusion, which began in the later stages of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), resulted in China missing out on the opportunities presented by the Industrial Revolution and the subsequent wave of scientific and technological revolution. This, coupled with internal strife and the impact of Western modernization, led to China's decline. The Opium War of 1840 was the tipping point for the country, reducing it to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and inflicting dreadful sufferings on the people.

To relieve their plight and escape the oppression and manipulation they faced, the Chinese people rose up in resistance. Noble-minded patriots explored various approaches to national rejuvenation. Some led the Self-strengthening Movement, which attempted to "learn from the foreigners in order to best them"¹; others launched the Reform Movement of 1898, hoping to strengthen the country through widespread reform. Dr Sun Yat-sen spearheaded the Revolution of 1911, which sought to modernize China by creating a bourgeois republic and fostering industrial development. Ultimately, despite their best efforts, each of these endeavors fell short. The mission of modernizing China thus fell to the CPC.

However, achieving modernization within a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society proved an impossible task. During the New Democratic Revolution (1919-1949), our Party united the people and led them in ferocious battles fought with unyielding determination. Through the Northern Expedition (1926-1927), the Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927-1937), the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression (1931-1945), and the War of Liberation (1946-1950), we successfully toppled the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism, and established the People's Republic of China (PRC) with the people as the masters. This triumph secured

our nation's independence and liberated our people, creating the essential social conditions for China's drive for modernization.

Following the founding of the PRC, our Party continued to lead the people in carrying out socialist revolution – dismantling the feudal system that had persisted for thousands of years and establishing socialism as the country's basic system. This transformation represented the most comprehensive and profound social change in Chinese history, and laid the political and institutional foundations for China's drive for modernization. During this period, China lagged so far behind much of the rest of the world that even basic household items like kerosene, matches and nails had to be imported from other countries.

To remedy this problem as quickly as possible, the Party explored all possible paths, setting the goal of building China into a great socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. Through the implementation of multiple five-year plans, we established an independent and relatively complete industrial system and economic system, and achieved significant breakthroughs in cutting-edge defense technology, exemplified by the development of China's first atomic bomb, missile, and man-made satellite. The original and innovative theories developed by the Party and the remarkable progress achieved during socialist revolution and construction provided the theoretical groundwork, valuable experience, and material base for China's modernization efforts.

As the country entered the new period of reform and opening up and socialist modernization, our Party made the historic decision to shift its own and the nation's focus to economic development and reform and opening up, starting a new Long March towards modernization. But how could we narrow the yawning gaps in economic performance and science and technology between China and the developed Western nations? How could we catch up with the times and expedite our modernization? Our Party was clear-headed from the outset. Instead of blindly imitating Western models, as some developing countries did, we emphasized the importance of charting

a distinctive path towards modernization adapted to China's realities.

To facilitate socialist modernization, our Party has steadfastly upheld its basic guidelines, while promoting innovation grounded in practical experience across theoretical, institutional, cultural and other domains. By adopting a socialist market economy, we have made historic leaps in economic development, transforming China from a nation with underdeveloped productive forces into the world's second largest economy. This has elevated the living standards of the Chinese people, moving from bare subsistence to a basic level of moderate prosperity, and ultimately achieving moderate prosperity in all respects. This has also endowed China's rapid modernization with renewed institutional support, injecting vitality and preparing essential material conditions.

Since its 18th National Congress in 2012, the Party has continued to build on its established foundations. By taking a problem-oriented approach and addressing prominent challenges and issues in our modernization efforts, we have furthered reform on all fronts and constantly broken new ground in both theory and practice. As a result, we have advanced Chinese modernization and broadened its scope.

Over the decade since then, we have expanded our understanding and formed the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, which represents a fresh breakthrough in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, and provides us with fundamental guidance for advancing Chinese modernization. We have arrived at a more profound comprehension of the essence and nature of Chinese modernization. We have defined its distinctive characteristics, essential requirements, and major principles, and designed a preliminary theoretical framework. This has clarified and refined our approach to modernization, making it more accessible and achievable.

We have steadily reinforced our strategic initiatives, including a two-step strategic plan² for building China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced,

harmonious, and beautiful by the middle of the century. We have rolled out the Five-sphere Integrated Plan, the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy, and strategies for invigorating China through science and education, building China into a talent powerhouse, and pursuing rural revitalization, among others. These initiatives have provided solid strategic foundations for China's drive towards modernization.

We have also introduced a range of transformative measures, achieving breakthroughs across various fields and reaching significant milestones. Our success in eliminating absolute poverty and building a moderately prosperous society in all respects marks a monumental achievement for the Party and a historic transformation for the nation. This victory has provided stronger institutional guarantees and firmer material foundations and invigorated the nation's spirit in the drive for Chinese modernization.

In summary, Chinese modernization represents a significant achievement, hard-earned through the uncompromising efforts of the people under the leadership of the Party. We must cherish it, uphold it, and broaden and develop it without fail.

II. Socialist Modernization Led by the CPC

The report to the 20th CPC National Congress points out that Chinese modernization is socialist modernization pursued under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. This is the defining feature of Chinese modernization. Why is it important to emphasize the leading role of the Party in Chinese modernization? It is important because Party leadership has a direct bearing on the fundamental orientation, future trajectory, and ultimate success of Chinese modernization.

Party leadership defines the fundamental nature of Chinese modernization. The nature, purpose, founding mission, convictions, and policies of our Party determine that Chinese modernization is socialist modernization, not modernization in any other form. Under socialism with Chinese characteristics, our Party has upheld

the basic tenets of scientific socialism while also endowing it with distinctive Chinese characteristics and contemporary features. Our Party has firmly followed the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics to ensure that Chinese modernization advances along the right track. With Marxism as its fundamental guide, our Party has expanded its understanding of the laws that underlie governance by a communist party, the development of socialism, and the evolution of human society, opening up a new frontier in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times and providing sound guidance for Chinese modernization.

Our Party has upheld and improved the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, further modernized the state governance system and capacity, and formed a set of institutions that include the fundamental, basic and important systems of Chinese socialism, thereby providing a strong institutional guarantee for the steady progress of Chinese modernization. Our Party has also upheld and developed a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics, to ignite the cultural creativity of the entire nation and provide a powerful source of inspiration for Chinese modernization. It is fair to say that only by firmly upholding Party leadership can we create a bright and prosperous future for Chinese modernization. Without it, Chinese modernization will veer off course, lose its soul, or even result in catastrophic mistakes.

Party leadership ensures that Chinese modernization advances steadily in line with set goals. Our Party has stayed true to its founding mission of working for the wellbeing of the Chinese people and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, and integrated high ideals with phased targets, which, once set, have been tenaciously pursued with hard work and dedication.

After the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, we advanced gradually and consistently towards our goal of building a modern socialist country, and enriched and refined the goal in line with our practice. Based on a review of our achievements and experiences in reform and opening up and in the new era, we clearly defined goals

and requirements for China's development to be met by 2035 and drew up a grand blueprint for building a great modern socialist country and advancing national rejuvenation at our Party's 20th National Congress.

From this historical process, it is clear that building a modern socialist country has been a consistent goal of our Party and has been pushed forward by one generation after another, resulting in remarkable achievements that have entered the annals of history.

Party leadership unlocks powerful momentum for advancing Chinese modernization. Reform and opening up has been a crucial move in making China what it is today. It is also integral to the success of Chinese modernization. Since the launch of reform and opening up, our Party has taken proactive action to steadily transform those aspects of the relations of production that are out of alignment with the productive forces and those aspects of the superstructure that are incompatible with the economic base. It has advanced institutional reform across the board and established and developed robust institutions and mechanisms suited to the conditions of contemporary China. This has unleashed all the vitality of labor, knowledge, technology, management and capital, and enabled all sources of social wealth to fulfill their potential.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, our Party has expanded comprehensive reform with tremendous political courage. We have adopted a problem-oriented approach and dared to brave uncharted waters, tackle tough problems, navigate dangerous currents, and confront new challenges. We have broken the shackles of stale thinking, torn down barriers erected by vested interests, and removed institutional obstacles in all areas. Reform has been transformed from limited exploration and partial breakthroughs into an integrated drive that advances across the board. This has resulted in historic, systemic and holistic transformations in many fields, creating an inexhaustible source of momentum for Chinese modernization.

Party leadership brings together a mighty force for advancing Chinese modernization. Our Party is keenly aware that Chinese

modernization is a shared undertaking of all Chinese people, and thus they are the main actors in this process. We must rely closely on our people, respect their creativity, and pool their wisdom and strength to move Chinese modernization forward.

Upholding the Party's mass line, we have focused on identifying the people's needs, responding to their concerns, reflecting their wishes, and improving their wellbeing when addressing issues, making decisions, and taking actions. In this way, we will win their wholehearted support for our Party's theories, guidelines, principles and policies. We regard the people's aspiration for a better life as our goal. We have followed a people-centered philosophy of development, worked hard to ensure and improve public wellbeing, and made every effort to resolve the pressing difficulties and problems that concern the people most, so that the gains of Chinese modernization benefit all our people fairly.

Our Party has advanced whole-process people's democracy, expanded democratic channels, diversified the forms of democracy, and encouraged the people's orderly participation in political affairs. These have ensured that the people can participate in various ways in the management of state, economic, cultural and social affairs in accordance with the law and join in modernization with full enthusiasm as masters of the country. By encouraging and inspiring the people with the vision of Chinese modernization, our Party has effectively promoted harmony between different political parties, ethnic groups, religions, social strata, and compatriots both at home and abroad, strengthened unity among all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation both in the country and overseas, and forged a mighty force for building a modern socialist country.

III. A Sure Path to Building a Great Country and Rejuvenating the Nation

A country's choice of path to modernization is determined by its historical traditions, social systems, development conditions, and

external environment, among other factors. As countries differ in their conditions, they may take different paths to modernization. As we have seen, to achieve modernization, a country must not only follow the general laws that apply; more importantly, it must keep in mind its own realities and distinctive characteristics. Chinese modernization has characteristics that are common to the modernization processes of all countries as well as characteristics that are unique to the Chinese context. The report to the 20th CPC National Congress articulates the five distinctive characteristics of Chinese modernization, profoundly capturing the essence of the concept. Both a theoretical summary and a guide to action, this offers a sure path for China to build itself into a great modern socialist country and achieve the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

A sure path does not mean that there will be no obstacles along the way to modernization. To fully leverage the five distinctive characteristics of Chinese modernization and turn them into unique strengths calls for arduous efforts.

First, modernization for a huge population. This is a salient characteristic of Chinese modernization. As countries differ in population size, they face different tasks which vary in degree of difficulty and complexity, and their paths of development and ways to advance are necessarily different. Today, only slightly more than 20 countries around the world, with a combined population of about one billion, have achieved modernization. China is working to achieve modernization for more than 1.4 billion people, exceeding the combined population of the world's developed countries. This will largely reshape the landscape of global modernization. Chinese modernization is unprecedented in human history in terms of both scale and difficulty.

A huge population provides ample human resources and a vast market, but it also poses many problems and challenges. Ensuring that all our people are fed is a tough challenge to begin with, and there are other issues to be resolved, such as employment, income distribution, education, medical care, housing, eldercare, and childcare.

None of these issues can be easily solved and each of them involves an enormous number of people. When we are addressing problems, making decisions, and taking actions, we need to keep in mind our population size as well as the gaps in development between urban and rural areas and between different regions. We should neither pursue overambitious goals nor stick to old ways. We need to be patient in advancing our course and take steady and incremental steps to sustain progress.

Second, modernization for common prosperity. This is a defining characteristic of Chinese modernization, and what distinguishes it from Western modernization. The biggest problems with Western modernization are that it is capital-centered rather than people-centered and that it seeks to maximize capital gains rather than serve the interests of the people. This has created a huge gap between the rich and the poor and led to severe polarization. In their efforts to achieve modernization, some developing countries have approached the developed country threshold only to fall into the middle-income trap and become mired in prolonged stagnation, or even experience severe regression. A major cause of this is that these countries failed to solve the problems of polarization and stifled social mobility.

Chinese modernization aims to ensure that development is for the people and relies on the people, and that its fruits are shared by the people. China has made important progress in promoting prosperity for all. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, we have won the critical battle against poverty and lifted close to 100 million rural people out of poverty. We have developed a complete set of guidelines, principles, institutions, policies and measures to deliver prosperity for all. As we work to pursue high-quality development and strive to make the “cake” bigger and better, we need to share it more fairly, solving problems that affect people’s wellbeing in areas such as employment, income distribution, education, medical care, housing, eldercare, and childcare. We need to build an institutional framework under which primary distribution, redistribution, and third distribution are well coordinated and mutually complementary. We need to take more effec-

tive measures to regulate income distribution and wealth accumulation and conduct law-based regulation and guidance to promote the healthy development of capital. Through such efforts, we can expand the middle-income group over time, narrow income disparities, and ensure more benefits of modernization are shared equitably among all our people so that no polarization will occur. Achieving prosperity for all is a long-term mission, so we must make consistent efforts to deliver continued progress, and we must not stop until we reach our goal.

Third, modernization that balances material progress and cultural-ethical progress. Both material abundance and cultural-ethical enrichment are lofty goals of Chinese modernization. Material shortage is not compatible with socialism, nor is cultural and ethical impoverishment. Western countries' early pursuit of modernization accrued wealth, but led to a lack of faith and insatiable material desires. An important cause of the Western predicament today is their failure to check greed, which is the nature of capital, and their failure to resolve their deep-seated problems of rampant materialism and spiritual impoverishment.

Chinese modernization, in addition to creating abundant material wealth, also strives for cultural and ethical enrichment to boost our people's confidence in Chinese values and culture. We must attach equal importance to material progress and cultural-ethical progress and ensure that the two reinforce each other and advance together. This will give our people an intellectual foundation to strive together, the initiative to break new ground, and the inspiration to pursue progress and our shared values. In response to the people's growing cultural needs, we must develop a socialist ideology that has the power to rally and inspire the people, foster ideals and convictions, heighten public understanding of the history of the CPC, the PRC, reform and opening up, and the development of socialism, nurture and promote the core socialist values, and develop advanced socialist culture. We should encourage the creation of more outstanding literary and artistic works, enrich people's cultural lives, enhance public civility, and promote well-rounded individual development.

Fourth, modernization with harmony between humanity and nature. Respecting, adapting to, and protecting nature and promoting harmony between humanity and nature are distinctive characteristics of Chinese modernization. Since the advent of modern times, Western modernization has typically involved a stage of wanton plundering of natural resources and destruction of the environment. While creating enormous material wealth, it has often caused serious problems such as environmental pollution and resource depletion. Because of its severe dearth of per capita share of energy and resources, China will face growing energy, resource and environmental constraints in accelerating development. This means that China cannot follow the path of Western modernization.

In pursuing modernization, China is committed to sustainable development. Guided by the policy of giving priority to resource conservation and environmental protection, and letting nature restore itself, China consistently pursues sound development targeting increased economic output, higher living standards, and healthy ecosystems, thus opening up broad prospects for realizing the sustained development of the Chinese nation. We should embrace and act on the principle that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets and take a holistic and systematic approach to conserving and improving mountains, waters, forests, farmlands, grasslands and deserts. We should prioritize eco-environmental protection, conserve resources and use them efficiently, and pursue green and low-carbon development. We should accelerate the transition to a green development model, strengthen the diversity, stability and sustainability of our ecosystems, and work both actively and prudently towards the goals of peak carbon and carbon neutrality. We should enable high-quality development with high-quality ecosystems.

Fifth, modernization that follows peaceful development. Chinese modernization is characterized by the pursuit of peaceful development, mutually reinforcing progress of our own development and world peace and development, and the building of a community with a shared future for humanity. Western modernization was fraught with bloody

crimes such as war, slavery, colonization and plunder, which inflicted untold misery on developing countries. Having suffered from aggression, abuse and humiliation by Western powers, we Chinese are keenly aware of the value of peace and will never follow the path of the West.

In advancing Chinese modernization, we will maintain independence and rely on our own efforts. We will strengthen ourselves with the hard work and creativity of all our people and pursue development by boosting internal drivers and making peaceful use of external resources. We will never oppress other nations or loot the wealth and resources of other countries in any form. Rather, we will provide support and assistance to other developing countries to the best of our ability. We will always uphold peace, development, cooperation, and shared benefit, follow a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up, and continue to create new opportunities for the world through China's development. We should become actively involved in the reform and development of the global governance system, practice true multilateralism, champion the common values of humanity, pursue the Global Development Initiative and the Global Security Initiative, and endeavor to make a greater contribution to world peace and development.

Since the founding of the PRC in 1949, and particularly since the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, we have completed in a few decades the process of industrialization that took developed Western countries centuries to complete. We have achieved the miracles of rapid economic growth and enduring social stability, thus opening up bright prospects for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. This shows that Chinese modernization works and that it is the only path to building China into a great country and rejuvenating the Chinese nation.

IV. A New Model for Human Progress

Chinese modernization is deeply rooted in the best of traditional Chinese culture and reflects the progressive nature of scientific

socialism. By embracing the strengths of various civilizations, it represents the evolving trajectory of human civilization and presents prospects distinct from the Western approach to modernization. It is a new model for human progress. As the latest major achievement of scientific socialism, Chinese modernization has attracted extensive international interest.

It presents a fresh path to modernization for the global community. Modernization first emerged in Western capitalist countries, and the majority of developed countries are in Europe and America or those significantly influenced by Western civilization. This has led to the common misconception that equates modernization with Westernization, and modernity with Western civilization. However, the truth is that global civilizations are diverse, and no uniform model or standards of modernization exist. Chinese modernization has dispelled the myth that modernization is synonymous with Westernization. It presents an alternative pathway to modernization, broadens the choices available for developing countries as they pursue their own modernization, and offers a Chinese solution to humanity's quest for better social systems.

It transcends Western experience and theories of modernization. Capitalist civilization is built on the exploitative system of capitalism, and therefore it cannot overcome or deprive itself of its inherent cruelty masked by a veneer of civility. In essence, the conflict between the private ownership of the means of production and the socialization of production is intrinsic to the capitalist system. Although capitalism and the Western model of modernization are constantly evolving, their fundamental nature – prioritizing capital above all else, advocating the law of the jungle, tolerating the divide between rich and poor, and championing hegemonism and power politics – remains unchanged. This immutable nature is increasingly exhibiting its detrimental effects. The distinctive worldview, values, historical perspectives, and concepts of civilization, democracy and eco-civilization contained and applied in Chinese modernization represent a significant innovation in both the theory and practice of modernization.

It therefore offers a new option for other developing countries. The pursuit of modernization is a right and the natural aspiration of all peoples in all countries, but the key lies in finding a path suited to their national conditions and guided by the laws governing the development of human society.

From the end of World War II to the early 1990s, some developing countries, ignoring their unique realities and histories, blindly copied the Western model. This approach was ill-suited to their circumstances, and most ended up in prolonged economic stagnation and persistent social and political unrest.

Choosing the right development path is a constant question in many developing nations. Recognizing the preliminary success and remarkable achievements of Chinese modernization, alongside the evident contrast in economic growth and social stability between China and Western nations since the advent of the new era, developing countries can now embrace fresh hopes and alternatives. Chinese modernization is our response to the critical question of how to awaken the “sleeping lion” and realize national rejuvenation, which can only be achieved by attending to our own affairs along our own chosen path. We have not exported – and do not intend to export – Chinese modernization or the “Chinese model”. Nevertheless, Chinese modernization serves as a paradigm for developing nations seeking to modernize independently, and it will undoubtedly inspire some to learn from our approach.

V. Major Issues to Be Addressed for Further Progress

Advancing Chinese modernization is an endeavor that requires a coordinated, systematic and holistic approach to a series of major issues. Here, I would like to emphasize six points:

First, top-level design and experimentation. The report to the 20th CPC National Congress expounds on the distinctive characteristics, essential requirements, and major principles of Chinese modernization, all of which represent a case of top-level design. Chinese

modernization is to be phased sector by sector. A top-level design is a must for achieving the development goals at successive stages, and implementing the development strategies in different sectors. To produce a top-level design for plans and policies that will be up to date, dynamic and innovative, and ensure consistent and coordinated efforts to achieve long-term and short-term goals, we must develop keen insights into the trends of world development, accurately identify the common aspirations of the people, and continuously explore the laws behind economic and social development.

Chinese modernization is an ongoing process of exploration. There are still many uncharted territories. We need to be bold in our efforts and advance this cause through reform and innovation. We should never act blindly without assessing how conditions have evolved, nor should we wait in the hope of windfalls. All provincial authorities and central departments should forge ahead in a spirit of enterprise and innovation based on their actual conditions. We should encourage bold exploration and pioneering work, particularly in frontier fields and uncharted territories. We should come up with new ways of thinking and effective measures to address new challenges and problems so that successful experiences can be replicated and applied in wider areas.

Second, strategies and tactics. Our Party uses strategies and tactics as powerful tools in leading the people to transform the world, seek change through action, and advance development. The key to our Party's success in creating a glorious history, achieving lasting greatness, and prevailing against numerous challenges and threats lies in its use of sound strategies and tactics. This recipe for success must be put to good use in advancing modernization.

We must be forward-looking in formulating strategies. An accurate understanding of development trends, and keen insights into the opportunities and challenges that may lie ahead, enable us to forecast and guide the future with well-conceived strategies. They must be overarching. Their goals, plans and measures must address major problems that bear on the prospects of the undertakings of

the Party and the state and have an overall impact. They must be consistent. Once in place, they must be constantly respected and thoroughly implemented – they must not be changed at will. To make this possible, we need to raise our political awareness, adopt a global perspective, and bear in mind the priorities of the country. A better understanding of the relationship between the past, present and future and the relationship between China and the world will improve our capacity for strategic thinking, leading to strategies that are more realistic and effective, and providing strong support to Chinese modernization.

Tactics contribute to the proper implementation of strategies. New problems and uncertainties arise constantly in the ever-changing environment and conditions under which our strategies are implemented. This requires flexible tactics, while the strategies themselves remain immutable. By adapting to changing circumstances and making sound decisions, we can seize the strategic initiative.

Third, upholding fundamental principles and breaking new ground. Attaching equal importance to both is an important approach to governance for our Party in the new era. Only by upholding fundamental principles can we avoid losing our bearings or making catastrophic mistakes. Only by breaking new ground can we meet the call and shape the trends of our times. On the Chinese path to modernization, we seek development while preserving traditions, and break new ground while upholding fundamental principles. On the new journey, we must, first and foremost, nurture the roots and consolidate the foundations of Chinese modernization. To ensure that modernization keeps to the right course, we must commit to the distinctive characteristics, essential requirements, and major principles of Chinese modernization; follow the Party's underlying theories, basic guidelines, and fundamental principles; and apply all the major principles and implement all the major policies adopted since the 18th CPC National Congress.

Meanwhile, innovation must be the priority in overall national development. In meeting the call of the times, we should address

major theoretical and practical issues, identify, respond to, and steer changes, and drive innovations in our theories, practices, institutions and culture, among others. This will open up new areas and new arenas in development, and steadily create new growth drivers and new strengths. We should foster a culture that values and encourages innovation, so that it becomes the norm throughout society. In order to become true leaders and promoters of innovation, officials at all levels must adjust any mindset, administrative practice, or method that hinders innovation-driven development.

Fourth, efficiency and equity. Chinese modernization aims to achieve higher efficiency than capitalism while delivering better social equity, in order to balance and reinforce the two.

We must uphold and improve China's basic socialist economic system, and continue to consolidate and develop the public sector while encouraging, supporting and guiding the development of the non-public sector. The market will play the decisive role in resource allocation and the government will better fulfill its functions. We will build a unified national market, advance reforms for the market-based allocation of production factors, and put in place a market system operating to the highest standards. We will create a market-oriented, law-based and internationalized business environment. We will continue to optimize the allocation of production factors such as labor, capital, land and resources in order to improve total factor productivity.

To ensure that all enjoy equal rights to participation and development, we will accelerate the building of an equity system that delivers equal rights, equal opportunities, and fair rules for all. We will continue to reform the judicial system so that the people can see that justice is served in every law, every law enforcement action, and every court proceeding. We will remove institutional barriers to social mobility and facilitate smooth channels for people to move up the social ladder. To achieve more solid progress in common prosperity, we will improve the basic public services system, raise public service standards, and make the delivery of public services more balanced and accessible.

Fifth, vitality and order. Maintaining the balance between vitality and order is a global challenge on the path to modernization. In its modernization China must and can achieve a dynamic balance between the two without producing chaos. We will advance institutional reform in all sectors to fully unleash the creative potential of society. We will encourage talent from all fields, such as scientists, entrepreneurs and artists – and particularly young people – to create and innovate.

We will actively develop intra-Party democracy and protect the rights of Party members. We will take effective measures to deal with problems such as reluctance to take on responsibilities due to lack of will, courage or ability, and we will inspire Party members and officials to perform their duties well. To spark creativity throughout society, we will strengthen the guidance of public opinion, instilling the belief that good fortune, success, and wellbeing come from hard work. There are a number of undesirable mentalities that we must avoid. These include distaining the value of labor, living off the fruits of others' efforts, a belief in "something for nothing", a desire to get rich quick, or simply an inclination to "lie flat".

We will coordinate development and security. We will pursue a holistic approach to national security and strengthen our national security system and capabilities. We will firmly ensure the security of our state power, political system, ideology, and key areas. We will strengthen public security governance, improve the social governance system, and make social governance more effective.

We will develop whole-process people's democracy. We will properly handle disputes among the people, seek to resolve them as soon as they emerge at the grassroots, guide the people to express their concerns in a rational manner and via lawful means, and protect their legitimate rights and interests. We will adopt a holistic approach to law and order, take resolute action against illegal and criminal activities that cause grave public concern, and ensure that the people can live and work in peace and contentment.

Sixth, self-reliance and opening up. To move Chinese modernization

forward, we must remain committed to the principles of independence and self-reliance, develop the country and nation with our own strength, and maintain a firm grasp on the future of China's development.

We will accelerate our effort to foster a new development dynamic in order to realize smooth domestic economic flows. We will leverage the strengths of China's enormous market, attract global resources and production factors, and amplify the interplay between domestic and international markets and resources. We will safeguard economic security, in particular food security, energy security, and industrial and supply chain security.

We will improve the new system for mobilizing resources nationwide to increase our country's strength in strategic science and technology. To meet China's strategic needs and achieve breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields, we will concentrate resources on original and pioneering scientific and technological research.

We will advance high-standard opening up and raise the level and quality of trade and investment cooperation. We will steadily expand institutional opening up with regard to rules, regulations, management and standards. We will promote the high-quality development of the Belt and Road Initiative. We will optimize the planning of regional opening up, upgrade pilot free trade zones, and expand the globally oriented network of high-standard free trade areas. We will be deeply involved in global industrial cooperation and division of labor. We will endeavor to preserve the diversity and stability of the international economic landscape and economic and trade relations, and expand space for Chinese modernization.

VI. The Call for a Great Struggle

Having the courage to confront challenges is an innate political gene of our Party and part of its character tempered over the past century. We relied on this trait to create an illustrious history and will continue to depend on it to ensure a bright future. As we

advance Chinese modernization – an unprecedented and pioneering endeavor – we will undoubtedly encounter risks, challenges, obstacles and threats, both foreseeable and unforeseeable. Therefore, we must remain vigilant about potential dangers, have a plan in place for worst-case scenarios even during periods of calm, and demonstrate the courage and competence to confront challenges head-on. With unwavering perseverance, we must continue to explore new horizons for our cause. History has shown us repeatedly that safety and prosperity are secured only when we actively strive for them; they diminish when we compromise from a position of weakness. It is for this reason that I have repeatedly emphasized the necessity of carrying forward our fighting spirit.

We must be clear-headed on matters of strategy and be well aware of the various risks and challenges. Our country has entered a period of development defined by both strategic opportunities and significant risks and challenges. We are facing rising uncertainties and unforeseen factors, which make the risks and challenges we encounter, and the problems we must preempt and resolve, increasingly complex and intense.

Internationally, change on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating. The unprecedented pandemic of Covid-19 has had a far-reaching impact, a backlash against globalization is surging, unilateralism and protectionism are becoming more evident, and global economic recovery is sluggish. The world has entered a new period of turbulence and transformation.

Domestically, we face many deep-seated and unavoidable problems in promoting reform, development and stability. Balancing the response to Covid-19 with economic and social development remains a formidable challenge, and our economy is facing the triple pressures of shrinking demand, disruptions to supply, and weakening confidence. Risks and hidden dangers that may jeopardize social stability exist in great numbers, and “black swan” and “gray rhino” events could occur any time.

Inside the Party, some deep-rooted problems remain unresolved at

their core. Even a slight easing of our efforts poses a constant risk of regression into previous problems, and new challenges are continuing to arise. The Four Tests³ and the Four Risks⁴ for the Party are likely to remain relevant for an extended period. In particular, our efforts to improve Party conduct, promote integrity, and combat corruption must deal with many persistent and recurring issues. The Party's self-reform is a journey to which there is no end, and not for one minute can we let our guard drop in the governance of the Party. In the face of these risks, challenges and problems, we must remain especially clear-minded and vigilant. We must stand ready on high alert. Inattention and negligence are not to be countenanced.

We must maintain strategic confidence and strengthen our resolve to confront challenges. But where does this resolve come from? It derives partly from our growing national strength – but more importantly, from our steadfast ideals and convictions, our unwavering quest for truth, and our adherence to the Party's original aspiration and founding mission. As a country that has always stood on the right side of history and human progress, we must confidently counteract blockades, containment and suppression. We are committed to building an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world of lasting peace, universal security, and shared prosperity. We will continue to play a constructive role in safeguarding world peace and regional stability, and as we continue along the right path, our actions will advance global justice. Hegemonism, power politics, unilateralism, and protectionism are contrary to the call of the times. They run counter to the will of the people and will lose their support.

We must confront problems and challenges head-on and work through any difficulties in our efforts to promote reform, pursue development, and maintain stability. Our cause has always progressed through the resolution of problems, and only with unwavering determination to overcome all obstacles, whether towering mountains or expansive rivers, can we ensure the steady and sustained progress of our endeavors.

Similarly, we must demonstrate strong moral fiber to take resolute

action against prominent problems within the Party. Full and rigorous internal Party governance is a critical element of self-reform and the fundamental means to maintain the progressive and wholesome nature of a Marxist political party. Only by enforcing strict requirements, education, management and supervision, can we maintain our Party's unity, solidarity and vitality.

We must maintain the strategic initiative and boost our capacity to address challenges. Senior officials must possess acute vision and have a keen ability to discern potential threats from subtle signs, like detecting a passing deer from the rustling of the grass, the approach of a tiger from the shifting wind in the pine woods, or the onset of autumn from a single leaf's changing hue. The diverse risks and hidden dangers we face today are characterized by strong interconnection, close correlation, and rapid dissemination. Even minimal negligence can result in the butterfly effect, escalating from minor risks into major threats, shifting from localized concerns into widespread issues, and extending from the economic and social realms to the political sphere.

Therefore, we should consider the broader spectrum of risks and hidden dangers across all areas and in all aspects. By conducting regular analysis and sound assessment of potential risks, we can develop a complete policy toolkit, take proactive measures, and employ a forward-thinking approach. Our vigilance against potential hazards must not be limited to our own department or region of responsibility, but should extend to risks in other areas. We must never allow the temporary absence of incidents to breed an air of complacency, nor allow ourselves to become negligent of long-standing risks and hidden dangers or only recognize them after they have mutated into tangible dangers. Once risks arise, we must act quickly and decisively, and give timely instructions to prevent small issues from escalating into big issues, and big issues from spiraling out of control.

We should identify the right approaches, never yielding any ground on matters of principle while remaining flexible in tactics. We should meet every challenge with an appropriate response, seize the

initiative, and take preemptive actions to create a situation that favors us. Just as a skilled swimmer is shaped by the hours dedicated to the pool, leading officials, especially younger ones, should be encouraged to broaden their horizons and hone their skills through the theoretical study, political engagement, hands-on practice, and professional training that will enable them to deal with complex and testing issues. We should evaluate officials through their performance in challenging circumstances, and recognize those who display courage, competence and capability. In particular we should look for those who are ready to take on responsibilities and resolve tough problems, and who have no fear of upholding principles at the risk of offending others. Such officials should be promoted to suitable positions without hesitation.

Advancing Chinese modernization is a long-term endeavor that requires our deeper understanding on many issues. We should intensify our efforts in theoretical research and practical action to ensure that our understanding, policies and measures properly align with the objective laws. By doing this, we will gradually move closer to a “realm of freedom” in the pursuit of Chinese modernization.

Notes

¹ Wei Yuan: *Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms* (*Hai Guo Tu Zhi*). Wei Yuan (1794-1857) was a thinker and man of letters of the Qing Dynasty.

² This refers to the plan to realize basic socialist modernization from 2020 through 2035, and to build China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful from 2035 through the middle of this century. – *Tr.*

³ This refers to tests of the capacity to exercise governance, carry out reform and opening up, develop the market economy, and respond to external developments.

⁴ This refers to lack of drive, incompetence, disengagement from the people, and inaction and corruption.

Address to the First Session of the 14th National People's Congress

March 13, 2023

Fellow deputies,

I was reelected at this session to serve as president of the People's Republic of China. I would like to convey my sincere gratitude for the trust bestowed upon me by all of you and all Chinese people.

This is my third term as president, a prestigious position. The trust of the people is the most powerful of the forces propelling me forward; it also places significant responsibilities upon my shoulders. I will faithfully perform the duties vested in me by the Constitution, dedicate myself entirely to serving the country's needs and the people's interests, and strive to honor the trust you and the people have placed in me.

Fellow deputies,

Over the course of its 5,000-year history, the Chinese nation has weathered significant hardships and realized extraordinary achievements. From the mid-19th century, China was gradually reduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal and fragmented society, succumbing to oppression and humiliation inflicted by foreign powers. Ravaged by relentless wars and conflicts, the country fell into ruin, plunging the people into a dire plight. After its founding, the CPC united the Chinese people and led them in ending national humiliation. Through sustained efforts over the course of a century, the Chinese people have emerged as masters of their destiny, undergoing the tremendous transformation from standing up and becoming prosperous to growing in strength. The Chinese nation is now on an irreversible path towards rejuvenation.

From now until the middle of this century, the primary goal for all Party members and the people of the whole country is to build China into a great modern socialist country and advance national rejuvenation in all respects. Our generation has now undertaken this historic task. In accordance with the strategic plans outlined at the Party's 20th National Congress, we must adopt a holistic approach to the Five-sphere Integrated Plan, ensure coordinated implementation of the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy, and expedite the drive towards Chinese modernization. We will work together on the new journey in a spirit of enterprise, achieving results that respond to the needs of our times, to our responsibilities to the future, and to the expectations of our people. Our generation is called on to make our contribution to the realization of our goal.

Fellow deputies,

We must steadfastly pursue high-quality development on the new journey towards building a great country and rejuvenating the nation. We must apply the new development philosophy in full, to the letter, and in all fields, and move faster to foster a new development dynamic. We will rigorously implement the strategies for invigorating China through science and education, for building a talent-strong country, and for driving development through innovation. We will bolster our strength and self-reliance in science and technology, promote industrial transformation and upgrading, better coordinate urban-rural and cross-regional development, transition towards a green and low-carbon economy and society, and achieve higher-quality and balanced economic growth. Through these efforts, we will consistently increase our country's economic strength, scientific and technological capabilities, and composite national strength.

We must always put the people first. The people are the decisive force in building China into a great modern socialist country in all respects. We will promote whole-process people's democracy and uphold the unity of Party leadership, the people's status as masters of the country, and law-based governance. We will improve the institutional framework that underpins the people's position as masters

of the country, actualize their will, protect their rights and interests, and spark their enthusiasm, initiative and creativity. To ensure that the gains of modernization are shared by all in a fair way, and that more substantial and tangible progress is made in promoting common prosperity, we will apply the people-centered philosophy of development, improve income distribution and social security systems, strengthen basic public services, meet the people's basic living needs, and resolve the pressing difficulties and problems that concern them most. We will consolidate and develop the unity of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups at home and abroad, and mobilize all positive factors to create a formidable synergy for building a great country and rejuvenating the nation.

We must better balance development and security. Security is the bedrock for development, and stability is a prerequisite for building a strong and prosperous country. To guarantee the new development dynamic with a new security architecture, we must adopt a holistic approach to national security and strengthen its framework, bolster our capability to safeguard national security and manage public security, and strengthen our social governance system. We will modernize our national defense and armed forces in all respects, building the people's military into a great wall of steel that can effectively safeguard the sovereignty, security, and development interests of our country.

We must make solid progress in implementing the policy of One Country, Two Systems and promoting national reunification. Lasting prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao are indispensable for building China into a great country. We are committed to fully, faithfully and resolutely implementing the policy of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong and the people of Macao administer Macao in accordance with the law and with a high degree of autonomy. We support the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions in developing their economies, improving their residents' wellbeing, and better integrating into the country's overall development. Realizing complete reunification of our country is the shared aspiration of all

Chinese people, and is essential for national rejuvenation. We will implement the Party's overall strategy for resolving the Taiwan question in the new era, which encompasses the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus, the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, and resolute opposition to external interference and separatist activities seeking "Taiwan independence". We must advance national reunification without fail.

We will strive to build a community with a shared future for humanity. China's development benefits the rest of the world, and China cannot develop in isolation. We will steadily expand high-standard opening up, leveraging global markets and resources to foster our own growth while promoting shared development throughout the world. Always standing on the right side of history, we will remain committed to peace, development, and win-win cooperation, practice true multilateralism, and promote the common values of humanity. We will actively participate in the reform and development of the global governance system, contribute to building an open global economy, and put into action the Global Development Initiative and the Global Security Initiative. These efforts will add more stability and positive energy to global peace and development, and also create a favorable international environment for our own progress.

Fellow deputies,

To govern the country well, the Party must first govern itself well. Only a strong Party can guarantee the prosperity of our country. We must uphold the Party's leadership and the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership, and effectively strengthen the Party in the process of building a great country. We will consistently maintain a clear-headed and resolute approach to the complex challenges unique to such a large political party. We must have the courage to reform ourselves, exercise full and rigorous internal Party governance, resolutely combat corruption, and uphold Party unity and solidarity. We will ensure that our Party never betrays its nature and mission, and can therefore provide a strong guarantee for building a great country and rejuvenating the nation.

Fellow deputies,

The grand goal of building a great country and rejuvenating our nation is inspiring, and it encourages us to forge ahead. We will maintain a sense of urgency and boost confidence in our history, take timely actions that align with current trends, uphold fundamental principles while breaking new ground, maintain strategic resolve, work hard to overcome all difficulties, and consistently strive for a great country and national rejuvenation.

Thank you.

Develop Marxism Through the Party's Theoretical Innovation*

June 30, 2023

The Party's 20th National Congress has set the whole Party the task of further adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, emphasizing that this is our solemn historic responsibility in contemporary China. Our aim in studying this topic is to increase our understanding of the rules governing the Party's theoretical innovation, and further clarify the positioning, direction and approaches of these efforts, so that we can achieve further results in this field on our new journey in the new era.

In retrospect, the reason that our Party has been able to make significant progress during the periods of revolution, construction and reform over the past century, and to lead the people in completing arduous tasks that would have defied any other political force, is that we have mastered the scientific theory of Marxism and adapted it to new realities to advance theoretical innovation. This has armed the Party with the power of truth. At the fundamental level, we owe the success of our Party and socialism with Chinese characteristics to the fact that Marxism works, particularly when it is adapted to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. This is a conclusion we have drawn from history.

In the process of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, the Party has developed a series of major theories, including Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the

* Main part of the speech at the sixth group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

Theory of Three Represents, the Scientific Outlook on Development, and the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. Its unswerving adherence to freeing the mind, seeking truth from facts, advancing with the times, and taking a realistic and pragmatic approach has injected vitality into Marxism in China. Based on a review of the Party's historical experience, the report to the 20th CPC National Congress sets out and elaborates on effective methodologies for promoting theoretical innovation, such as the 'Two Integrations'¹ and the Six Musts². They serve as the guidelines for our innovative thinking, and we must respect them and follow them.

First, always remaining steadfast in upholding the essence and roots of theoretical innovation. The imperative of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times determines that we must never abandon Marxism, which is the essence of our innovation, nor the best of traditional Chinese culture, which is the roots. Commitment to the essence and roots forms the foundation and precondition for theoretical innovation, the goal of which is to better uphold these core elements. The objective of this commitment is to facilitate better development, and the development helps fulfill the commitment. New thinking must come with new concepts and interpretations. However, it is essential that we never abandon our traditions. Betrayal of our indigenous culture and the basic tenets of Marxism would mean severing our roots and abandoning our essence, which would be a fatal mistake. My view on breaking new ground while upholding fundamental principles is that we must not return to the isolation and rigidity of the past, and that we should never abandon our socialist system. Doing so will only lead to dead ends.

We must uphold Marxism as the bedrock upon which our Party and our country are founded and thrive, and ceaselessly develop Marxism in the rich loam of Chinese history and culture. We must remain confident in our history and culture, make the past serve the present, and develop the new from the old. Guided by Marxism, we must endeavor to unlock the profound riches of over 5,000 years of Chinese civilization, energize the vigorous elements of our traditional culture,

and imbue them with new life. Moreover, we must infuse the spirit and wisdom of the Chinese nation into Marxism more profoundly. In doing so, we will effectively integrate the essence of Marxism with the best of traditional Chinese culture. The theoretical edge we gain from this synthesis will propel us to new intellectual heights.

Emphasizing the importance of the essence and roots of the Party's theories, however, does not mean being closed, rigid or conservative in our outlook. Marxism does not exclude any verity. No matter when and where such knowledge comes into being, it takes in all truths to enrich and develop its own framework. We should broaden our theoretical horizons, learning from and utilizing the achievements of all civilizations with an open mind, as the sea accepts every river. In a bid to innovate and develop our Party's theories, it is essential that we embrace excellent ideas and cultural resources from the "sum of human knowledge"³, and create an inclusive and eclectic framework for onward progress.

Second, providing sound and timely answers to new questions emerging in our era. The times are the mother of thought, and practice is the source of theory. All theories of historic significance must satisfy the requirements of their era. Theories employed to observe, grasp and guide the spirit of their era cannot be divorced from their times; they must echo its prevailing voices. They must constantly synthesize experiences derived from practice and distill them into insightful concepts. The worth of a theory does not lie in the ostentatious language it employs, nor in its logical self-consistency and self-validation, but in its ability to address practical questions and steer practical development. Marxism is a doctrine of practice. The innovations we pursue should be rooted in practice, rather than fantasies dreamed up in ivory towers. We must always seek to discover and develop truths through practice, and realize and verify truths within the realm of practice.

Today's world is experiencing change on a scale unseen in a century. Similarly, China is also undergoing the most extensive and profound social transformations in its history. The country is at a crucial point

in its quest for national rejuvenation, as it progresses along the path of Chinese modernization – a grand, unique, innovative and historic transformation. The momentous changes reshaping the international landscape and our national rejuvenation are deeply interwoven, and they are accelerating. Human society as a whole faces an array of urgent common challenges, and as a nation, we also have a spectrum of new and critical issues to address concerning reform, development, social stability, national defense, domestic and foreign affairs, and governance of the Party, the country, and the military. The questions concerning the present and future of China and its people and the wider world pose challenges that are more complex and demanding than ever before. There is an urgent need for us to provide our answers by combining theory with practice. Today, the task of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times has become even more onerous.

We should comprehend the world's historical trends and future trajectories from a longer-term and broader perspective. In addition, we should understand the development trends and laws of human society in general and China in particular, and be acutely aware of the historical process and practical needs of Chinese modernization. We should expand our understanding of the principles underlying high-quality development and the new development dynamic in the context of China's current developmental stage, the latest wave of scientific and technological revolution, and ongoing international economic growth. We should also expand our understanding of the Party's strategic thinking on self-reform by analyzing the successes and setbacks encountered by Marxist parties worldwide, and by tackling the actual challenges encountered in the Party's long-term governance. This will enable us to develop principles and present comprehensive and systematic solutions to address contemporary challenges. Through all these efforts, Marxism in contemporary China and the 21st century will exhibit ever more potent and compelling proof of the power of truth.

Third, focusing on developing the Party's innovative theories into a

coherent and academically sound system. This is an intrinsic requirement and important pathway for theoretical innovation. Marxism wields far-reaching influence because it uncovers the truths of social development with profound theoretical depth and proves the scientific nature of its theories through systematization. Karl Marx once described his writings as an artistic whole, and Vladimir Lenin depicted Marxist philosophy as an integral whole like a single piece of steel. Frederick Engels authored *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* and other works to systematically expound the basic tenets of Marxism, illuminating the intrinsic integrity of Marxism's three essential components. Engels, through his comprehensive theoretical expositions, defended and advanced the scientific nature of Marxism, and averted and rectified the trends of fragmentation and vulgarization of its doctrine by building it into a complete system. All of this demonstrates the crucial role of systematization and theorization in upholding and advancing Marxism.

The report to the 19th CPC National Congress captures developments in theory since the 18th CPC National Congress, and encapsulates them in the eight clarifications⁴ and the 14 commitments. These were expanded at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee, and were finally summarized as the 10 clarifications, the 14 commitments, and the 13 areas of achievement in the report to the 20th CPC National Congress. The congress also refined and expounded scientific methodologies for advancing the Party's theoretical innovation, such as the 'Two Integrations and the Six Musts. This progression demonstrates the constant enrichment, expansion, systematization and theorization of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. This Thought constitutes a comprehensive framework that encompasses perspectives on a series of topics such as the economy, the rule of law, eco-civilization, the military, and diplomacy. We should continue to enrich and develop this Thought. As we delve further into practice, the Party will develop more innovative theories.

In advancing the project to study and develop Marxist theory,

we should focus on in-depth research and interpretation, especially regarding the fundamental theoretical breakthroughs embodied in the Party's new visions and ideas, and the intrinsic connections between them. This will educate and guide all Party members and the wider public in studying and understanding the theoretical framework underpinning the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

Fourth, focusing on channeling the people's creativity to fuel theoretical innovation. Marxism is a body of theory that speaks for and represents the interests of the people. Created to transform the people's destiny, it has been enriched and developed in their quest for liberation. The creative practices of the people are the inexhaustible source of inspiration for Marxist innovative thinking. The people play a pivotal role in shaping history, as they have created both tangible wealth and intangible heritage. They are an immense sea of strength and wisdom. Is there anything greater than the collective strength and wisdom of more than 1.4 billion Chinese people? As long as we maintain close bonds with the people, engage with them, and rely on them, and as long as we genuinely regard them as our mentors, learning from them and seeking their advice, we can tap into a constant stream of theoretical wisdom and practical strength.

This is evident from our experience. The successful results of adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times stem from the collective wisdom and practical experience of the Party and the people. Mao Zedong Thought, the theoretical framework of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era all derive from the wisdom, exploration and creativity of the people. The people take the lead in practice, exhibiting the greatest acuity and the keenest awareness of evolving realities, and possessing the greatest wisdom. By engaging with them, we can find answers and solutions to many long-standing questions that have resisted our previous efforts.

We must keep close links with the people in all our endeavors, especially when in pursuit of theoretical innovation. We must refrain

from hollow rhetoric or ivory tower thinking, or shutting ourselves off from reality. When planning for this education campaign⁵, I proposed that leading officials at all levels should engage in hands-on field research. My intention was to inspire them to commit fully to the viewpoint of historical materialism, maintain a people-centered mindset, uphold the fundamental purpose of the Party, and aim to solve practical problems and achieve the set goals. They should step out of their offices and go to the grassroots, to listen extensively to the concerns of the public, solicit their advice, and understand their needs. They should apply the Party's new theories in analyzing and addressing prominent issues arising in the course of development and reform, in order to deliver on the expectations of the grassroots and the aspirations of the broader public. They should draw inspiration from the public's constructive feedback and opinions to deliver innovations in both theory and practice.

We must honor the people's pioneering spirit and derive fresh experience from their creativity in practice. We should distill this experience into rational knowledge and develop new theories from it. Furthermore, we should make every effort to popularize the Party's new theories among the public, ensuring that these ideas effectively address the practical issues faced by the people, as we pool their collective wisdom, fulfill their needs, and earn their support.

Notes

¹ This refers to integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture.

² This refers to putting the people first, maintaining self-confidence and standing on our own feet, upholding fundamental principles while breaking new ground, adopting a problem-oriented approach, applying systems thinking, and maintaining a global vision.

³ V. I. Lenin: "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues", *V. I. Lenin: Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, p. 286.

⁴ At the 19th CPC National Congress, held in October 2017, the core content

of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era was summarized into eight clarifications as follows:

- (1) The overarching task of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is to realize socialist modernization and national rejuvenation; on the basis of finishing building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, a two-step approach should be taken to build China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful by the middle of the century.
- (2) The principal challenge facing Chinese society in the new era is the gap between imbalanced and insufficient development and the people's growing expectation for a better life; the Party must therefore remain committed to a people-centered philosophy of development, and work to achieve well-rounded human development and common prosperity for all.
- (3) China's overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is to promote coordinated progress in the economic, political, cultural, social and eco-environmental fields; China's strategic plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is to make comprehensive moves to achieve moderate prosperity, to further reform, to advance the rule of law, and to strengthen internal Party governance; it is crucial to foster stronger confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics.
- (4) The overall goal of driving deeper all-round reform is to develop and improve the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and to modernize China's system and capacity for governance.
- (5) The overall goal of advancing the rule of law on all fronts is to establish a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and to build a socialist country under the rule of law.
- (6) The Party's goal of building a strong military in the new era is to develop the people's armed forces into world-class forces that obey the Party's command, can fight and win, and maintain exemplary conduct.
- (7) Major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics aims to facilitate efforts to foster a new model of international relations and build a community with a shared future for humanity.
- (8) The leadership of the Communist Party of China is the defining feature and the greatest strength of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the Party is the highest force for political leadership; the general requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era must be fully implemented, with emphasis on reinforcing the Party's political foundations.

⁵ This refers to the education campaign on studying and applying Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

Press Forward with Chinese Modernization*

December 26, 2023

The best way to commemorate Comrade Mao Zedong is to carry forward the cause he pioneered. Building China into a great country and realizing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization is the central task of the whole Party and the whole country on our new journey in the new era. This is the uncompleted quest of China's veteran revolutionaries including Mao Zedong; it has been and remains the solemn historic responsibility of contemporary Chinese Communists. On the new journey ahead, we should stay true to our original aspiration and founding mission, boost confidence in our history, and seize the opportunity to drive forward the cause of Chinese modernization.

– We should motivate all our people to create a better future. The people, and the people alone, are the driving force in making world history. Chinese modernization is the common cause of all Chinese people. Only by firmly relying on our people and gathering their infinite wisdom and strength will we be able to achieve new and historic successes. Upholding the historical materialist view that the people are the fundamental driving force behind history, we should recognize the principal status of the people and respect the aspirations they express, the experiences they have created, the rights and interests they enjoy, and the role they play. We should make safeguarding, realizing and developing the fundamental interests of all the people the ultimate goal of everything we do, and ensure that they all receive a fair share of the fruits of modernization.

* Part of the speech at a meeting to mark the 130th anniversary of the birth of Mao Zedong.

We should improve the framework of systems that underpins the people's position as masters of the country, and promote whole-process people's democracy. We must ensure that the people always remain the masters of the country, of society, and of their own destiny, and enjoy more extensive, authentic and accessible democratic rights and freedoms. We should improve the institutions and mechanisms that safeguard social fairness and justice, guarantee equal rights to participation and development, and ensure that every diligent, hardworking and innovative individual has the opportunity to realize their dream and live their best life.

We should guarantee and improve the people's wellbeing, promote relevant undertakings, focus on public expectations and concerns, and deliver on areas of their most immediate concern, such as employment, education, medical and health care, eldercare, childcare, and social security. Our goals are to ensure that the people have a greater and sustained sense of gain, fulfillment and security, and to facilitate substantive progress towards common prosperity.

We should understand the dynamics of public engagement in the new era, and apply our Party's mass line with solid work. In reaching out to the people, we should deepen our bond with them, understand what they think, provide them with targeted services, meet their diverse needs, and live up to their expectations. We must engage closely with the people, accept their criticism and scrutiny, always stand together with them in one mind, and share their weal and woe. They are the most reliable, profound and inexhaustible source of strength for realizing Chinese modernization.

– We should explore new dimensions of Marxism adapted to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. Marxism provides the fundamental guidance upon which our Party and our country are founded and thrive. We must resolutely uphold Marxism and keep it up to date, promote innovative thinking based on practice, and conscientiously guide new practice with Marxism adapted to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. This holds the key to our Party's success in seizing opportunities, keeping pace with the times, and

breaking new ground in our undertakings.

There is no end to innovation in theory and practice, nor to seeking truth. Chinese modernization has opened up broad prospects for innovation in our Party's theories, and at the same time set new and more formidable tasks. We should further integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture, explore the laws governing Chinese modernization, respond to new challenges emerging from practice, and steer innovations in practice with innovations in theory.

The whole Party must make a concerted effort to write a new chapter in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. All Party members, especially leaders at all levels, must approach Marxism with a scientific mindset and in the spirit of truth. With the courage to uphold and the motivation to explore truth, all Party members should think actively and creatively, provide insights, and contribute their wisdom and strength to driving innovation in the Party's theories.

The people's creative practice is the inexhaustible source of inspiration for new theories. We should learn from the people sincerely and review their practical experiences in a timely manner, so that our Party's theories are welcomed, recognized and adopted by the people.

We should develop a global perspective, identify the trends of human progress, and actively respond to the common concerns of all peoples, contributing China's solutions to addressing the challenges facing all of humanity. With a broad and open mind, we should learn and draw from the merits of all civilizations to expand the theoretical and cultural resources for our Party's innovations.

– We should promote deeper reform and wider opening up. Reform and opening up has been essential for China to catch up with the times, and key to the success of Chinese modernization. Chinese modernization requires us to advance all-round reform and opening up, and continue to unleash and develop productive forces and to spur and boost social vitality. We should follow the new trends of global development, meet the new requirements of our national develop-

ment, and fulfill the new expectations of our people. We must carry reform through to the end with firm resolve, taking solid measures to tackle tough problems, and making targeted, coordinated and continuous efforts to remove all institutional barriers that impede the progress of Chinese modernization.

We should advance economic reform, fully leveraging the decisive role of the market in resource allocation while giving better play to the role of the government. We should move faster in fostering a new development dynamic and a unified national market, improve macroeconomic governance, boost the vitality of diverse market players, and continue to build an institutional framework that facilitates high-quality development. We should advance scientific and technological structural reform, leverage the new system for mobilizing resources nationwide, and grow our strength in strategic science and technology. To achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology, we should maximize the leading role of enterprises in innovation, optimize the allocation of resources for innovation, and make breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields. We should coordinate cultural, social and eco-environmental structural reform, constantly injecting new impetus into Chinese modernization.

Modernization relies on opening up; opening up facilitates modernization. We should continue to expand high-standard opening up, and uphold a mutually beneficial strategy. Leveraging the strengths of our enormous market, we should attract global resources and factors of production with our vibrant domestic economy, and amplify the interplay between domestic and international markets and resources. We should steadily promote institutional opening up with regard to rules, regulations, management and standards, and raise the quality and level of trade and investment cooperation, creating broader prospects for Chinese modernization.

– We should further strengthen internal Party governance. The CPC is the core leading force of all our undertakings. Chinese modernization is, in essence, socialist modernization led by the CPC. We must remain clear-headed about the challenges that we as a large

political party might encounter, and stay resolute in overcoming them to make our Party stronger. This is the only way to ensure solid and steady progress in Chinese modernization.

We should implement the overall requirements for strengthening our Party in the new era, advance all our work in strengthening the Party under the overarching principle of reinforcing its political foundations, improve the systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance, and drive the Party's endeavors to cleanse, improve, renew and temper itself. These efforts will enable our Party to stay true to its original aspiration and founding mission, remain at the forefront of the times, and maintain its vigor and vitality.

To meet the new requirements raised by Chinese modernization, we should train high-caliber and professional officials who are loyal, honest and responsible. We should inspire all Party members, especially officials, to demonstrate a strong sense of political responsibility and urgency, keep up with new thinking and ideas, remedy their deficiencies, and improve their ability to perform duties. Our Party members should stay abreast of changing times, exhibit high competence, discard outdated ideas, thoughts, practices and approaches, and oppose irresponsibility, nonperformance, dereliction and stagnation.

Party organizations at all levels should take a clear stance in supporting officials who assume their responsibilities, fulfill their duties, and deliver real results, thus creating a favorable environment for advancing our undertakings. We should improve Party conduct and enforce Party discipline to the strictest standards, starting with leadership bodies and leading officials. We should value practical initiatives, solid work, and real results, combat form over substance and bureaucratism, and enable Party officials, particularly those at the grassroots, to focus on facilitating development and serving the people.

Corruption is a cancer to the vitality and ability of our Party, and our fight against corruption must not pause for a single moment. To ensure that officials do not have the audacity, the opportunity, or the desire to engage in corruption, we must adopt systematic measures to

address both the symptoms and the root causes, and maintain a tough stance on punishing corruption. We must take resolute actions to investigate corruption involving both political and economic interests, prohibit leading officials from acting for any interest group or power group, and punish corruption in sectors with a high concentration of power, funds and resources. The success of this tough and protracted anti-corruption campaign will ensure that our Party never betrays its nature and mission.

– We should adhere to and improve the policy of One Country, Two Systems, and promote national reunification. Chinese modernization requires the concerted and dedicated efforts of all Chinese nationals. We must fully, faithfully and resolutely implement the policy of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong and the people of Macao administer Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy. Under the principle of law-based governance in Hong Kong and Macao, we must uphold and improve the policy framework of One Country, Two Systems, ensure that the central government exercises overall jurisdiction over the special administrative regions (SARs), implement the principle of patriots administering Hong Kong and Macao, and safeguard both the central government's overall jurisdiction and a high degree of autonomy within the two SARs. We must support Hong Kong and Macao in growing their economies, improving people's wellbeing, and resolving deep-seated problems hampering economic and social development, and we must enable them to further integrate their own development into the overall development of the country.

Realizing China's complete reunification is an irresistible trend, a just cause, and the people's shared aspiration. China must be and will undoubtedly be reunified. We must implement our Party's overall policy for resolving the Taiwan question in the new era, uphold the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus, facilitate integrated development across the Taiwan Straits in all sectors, and promote peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. The Chinese people have the resolve, the confidence, and the ability to defeat any attempt

to separate Taiwan from China in any way.

– We should promote a community with a shared future for humanity. The need for a global vision has been an important lesson that our Party has drawn from its struggle over the past century. Chinese modernization follows the path of peaceful development, benefiting the Chinese people while facilitating global modernization.

We will stand firmly on the right side of history and the side of human progress, championing peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit, and promoting the common values of humanity. We will drive the implementation of the Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative, and the Global Civilization Initiative, with the goal of building an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world of lasting peace, universal security, and shared prosperity. We will uphold the basic norms for international relations, safeguard international fairness and justice, and always decide our position and policy on issues based on their own merits. We respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, and oppose all forms of hegemony and power politics.

We will keep to the course of economic globalization, pursue a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up, work with all countries to foster new growth drivers for global development, contribute to an open global economy, and oppose protectionism. We will promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, strengthen policy, infrastructure, trade, financial and people-to-people connectivity with partner countries, and create new platforms for global economic cooperation.

We will take an active part in reforming and developing the global governance system, and act on the principle of extensive consultation and joint contribution for shared benefit. We will practice true multilateralism, promote democracy in international relations, and work for more just and equitable global governance.

China's development represents the growth of peaceful forces. No matter what stage of development it reaches, China will never seek hegemony or engage in expansion.

More than one hundred years ago, Mao Zedong said, "We must

make efforts! We must move forward! Our golden age, a bright and brilliant world, lies right ahead!”¹ Today, our grand undertakings, initiated by Mao and other senior revolutionaries, are thriving and prospering. Their lofty ideals are becoming realities. The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation will herald the brightest prospects ever. Let us forge greater unity, lose no time, and work harder, progressing in determined strides along the path of socialism to build a great country and advance national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

Notes

¹ Mao Zedong: “The Great Unity of the People (III)”, *Mao Zedong’s Early Works*, Chin. ed., Hunan People’s Publishing House, Changsha, 2013, p. 359.

Build a Great Country and Advance National Rejuvenation Through Chinese Modernization*

August 22, 2024

The best way to commemorate Comrade Deng Xiaoping is to carry forward the cause of Chinese socialism he pioneered. We should build on past achievements, strive for new progress, and focus on the central task of building China into a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

As we drive deeper all-round reform, we must not only uphold fundamental principles, but also break new ground. We must act on the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress and the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee, and concentrate on the overarching goal of improving and developing the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernizing China's system and capacity for governance. We should target economic structural reform, coordinate reform in all sectors, remove outdated mindsets and institutional obstacles, and provide powerful impetus and institutional guarantees for advancing Chinese modernization. In upholding fundamental principles while breaking new ground, we should reform what needs to be changed and keep intact what does not. We should further integrate our reforms, prioritize key measures, stress efficacy, and persevere in implementation.

We should advance Chinese modernization on all fronts by focusing on our primary task of high-quality development. We must apply the new development philosophy in full, to the letter, and in all fields,

* Part of the speech at a meeting to mark the 120th anniversary of the birth of Deng Xiaoping.

and implement the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy in a coordinated way. We should build a unified national market and advance new industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernization. We should press ahead with rural revitalization across the board, achieve better balance in development between regions, and move faster to modernize our economy. We should reinforce our foundations in education, science and technology, and talent development, increase our strength and self-reliance in science and technology, and foster new quality productive forces suited to local conditions. We should develop an advanced socialist culture, follow a sound development path of increased economic output, higher living standards, and healthy ecosystems, balance material and cultural-ethical progress, and ensure harmony between humanity and nature.

We must put the people first and steadily work towards common prosperity. We must expand whole-process people's democracy, advance the rule of law, and deliver social fairness in the form of equal rights, equal opportunities, and fair rules for all. This will fully motivate our citizens to create a better future. We should ensure and improve the people's wellbeing through development. We will improve basic public services, narrow the gaps between urban and rural areas, different regions, and different income levels, and make significant and substantive progress towards common prosperity.

We should expand high-standard opening up, and safeguard China's sovereignty, security, and development interests. We should pursue a more proactive strategy of opening up, optimize the planning of regional opening up, and steadily expand institutional opening up. We should promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, and increase the breadth and depth of Chinese modernization through peaceful development and mutually beneficial cooperation. We should pursue a holistic approach to national security, coordinate opening up and security, and strengthen our ability to safeguard national security in the process of opening up to the outside world.

We must exercise full and rigorous internal Party governance in

order to build a stronger Marxist governing party. We must remember that the Party's full and rigorous internal governance and its self-reform have no end. As we advance the great new project of strengthening the Party in the new era, we must remain sober-minded and determined to deliver all that this entails. We must reinforce the Party's political foundations as the prerequisite for all other initiatives targeting Party development. We must improve the systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance and win the tough and protracted battle against corruption. The Party must continue to cleanse, improve, renew and temper itself; it must never betray its nature and mission, and it must remain the strong leadership core in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The people's military is a great wall of steel safeguarding the Party and the country. We must implement the Party's philosophy on strengthening the military for the new era, uphold its absolute leadership over the armed forces, and step up governance over the military in all respects. We must make an all-out effort to modernize our national defense and armed forces, achieve the centenary goal of the People's Liberation Army by 2027, and move faster to build the people's military into a world-class force. It should improve its strategic capability to defend China's sovereignty, security, and development interests, and fulfill its missions and tasks in the new era.

Complete reunification of our country is a dream long pursued by revolutionaries of the older generations, including Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping. It is the common aspiration of all Chinese people, and an irresistible trend. We will continue to fully, faithfully and resolutely implement the policy of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong and the people of Macao administer Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy. We will support and facilitate Hong Kong and Macao in pursuing greater development by further integrating themselves into the country's overall development. We must vigorously apply the Party's overall policy for resolving the Taiwan question in the new era, uphold the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus, and promote

peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. We resolutely oppose “Taiwan independence” and stand firm in safeguarding China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. Any separatist force or act, and any external interference that sabotages China’s reunification, will be met with an uncompromising response from the Chinese people.

China is a staunch force for upholding world peace. We must always uphold peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit, contribute to the building of a community with a shared future for humanity, and champion the common values of humanity. We will implement the Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative, and the Global Civilization Initiative, play an active role in reforming and developing the global governance system, and provide the world with new opportunities as we advance Chinese modernization.

All our endeavors since the 18th CPC National Congress have been designed to fulfill our Party’s original aspiration and founding mission, to carry forward the cause pioneered by Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and other veteran revolutionaries, and to uphold and develop Chinese socialism in the new era. As the times progress and our cause develops, we should never disengage from innovation in theory and in practice. Deng Xiaoping once said, “New things should emerge in China every year and every day.”¹ It is the solemn responsibility of today’s Chinese Communists to open up new prospects in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. On our new journey in the new era, we must break new ground while upholding fundamental principles. We should keep to the path blazed by our forerunners, and at the same time be bold in exploring new frontiers. We should consistently renew our theories and develop our undertakings, and honor our predecessors with new progress and achievements.

At this moment, I am reminded of two statements made by Deng Xiaoping. The first one is: “If we have basically realized modernization by the middle of the next century, we shall have further reason to say that socialism has succeeded.”² The second is: “By the middle of the next century, when we approach the level of the developed countries, then there will have been really great changes. At that time

the strength of China and its role in the world will be quite different. We shall be able to make greater contributions to mankind.”³

Now, we have just about 10 years remaining to achieve our goal of realizing basic modernization, and only around 20 years to reach our goal of building China into a great modern socialist country. Our goals demand that we forge ahead and waste no time. We must uphold socialism with Chinese characteristics, pool the collective strength of our 1.4 billion people, and stay true to our original aspiration and founding mission. Let us strive with determination and in unity to build a great country and advance national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization, and to make new and greater contributions to the noble cause of peace and development for humanity.

Notes

¹ From Deng Xiaoping’s talks given on January 24, 1992 during his visit to the Zhuhai Biochemical Pharmaceutical Factory, *Chronicle of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. V, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2020, pp. 634-635.

² Deng Xiaoping: “With Stable Policies of Reform and Opening to the Outside World, China Can Have Great Hopes for the Future”, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 310.

³ Deng Xiaoping: “Speech at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China”, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 146.

Deeper Comprehensive Reform

Reform Party and State Institutions to Modernize China's Governance*

February 28, 2023

Deeper reform of Party and state institutions is an important measure for applying the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress held in 2022. It is also a central plan for modernizing China's governance system and capacity. Under this reform, the Party's leadership over socialist modernization will become more rational in institutional structure, better optimized in division of functions, stronger in systems and mechanisms, and more efficient in operations and management. Reform of Party and state institutions is a complex and systematic project. It cannot be completed at the stroke of a pen, and it is not a one-off effort. To advance the undertakings of the Party and the country, we should continue to adjust and optimize the functions of Party and state institutions in line with our new missions, new strategies, and new requirements.

Building on the systematic and holistic functional restructuring of Party and state institutions since the Third Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee in 2018, this round of reform has been conceived against the backdrop of the major strategic plans defined by the 20th CPC National Congress for the Party and the country over the next five years and beyond. We must stay committed to the general principle of pursuing progress while ensuring stability, take a holistic approach to the Five-sphere Integrated Plan, ensure coordinated implementation of the

* Part of the speech at the second full assembly of the Second Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy, foster a new development dynamic, and pursue high-quality development. Taking a problem-oriented approach, we should coordinate institutional reform of the CPC Central Committee, the National People's Congress (NPC), the State Council, and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), and at central and local levels. We should fully leverage favorable conditions on all fronts, take account of all risks and challenges, and firmly advance adjustments to institutional responsibilities in key areas.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, a significant objective of deeper reform of Party and state institutions has been to uphold and strengthen the Party's overall leadership in all areas throughout the process of fulfilling institutional responsibilities. In this round of reform, we will set up new entities under the CPC Central Committee, including new decision-making, deliberative, and coordinating institutions, new functional departments and working bodies, and a new work committee in the financial sector. In doing so, we aim to leverage our strengths, address our weaknesses, and strengthen the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership over major initiatives. These new entities are to take the lead in upholding the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership, and implementing the Party's guidelines and policies. They must stay focused on their responsibilities and strengthen coordination to better fulfill their roles.

Rational designs and arrangements for institutional structures and division of functions have been made in key areas such as financial supervision, science and technology management, social management, data management, intellectual property rights management, Hong Kong and Macao affairs, work related to agriculture, rural areas and rural people, and eldercare. These adjustments are solutions put forward after an analysis of the deep-seated problems and challenges we face. Moving forward, the key is for these institutions to align with the responsibilities assigned by the CPC Central Committee, transform their functions, approaches, and work prac-

tices, and efficiently perform their duties.

All provincial authorities and central departments should think and act in the context of the overall situation, and ensure that the institutional reform plan is implemented fully and faithfully, without compromise, distortion or deviation. Particular attention should be paid to formulating and enforcing the departmental regulations that define their functions, internal bodies, and staffing. As Party rules and the basis for departmental duties, these regulations are under the authority of the CPC Central Committee. Once these are approved by the CPC Central Committee, all departments should perform their duties and conduct their work accordingly. Their ability to fulfill their functions and the quality of their performance will be essential criteria in evaluating the success of institutional reform.

Effective organization and implementation is of vital importance to institutional reform. We must continue to apply the valuable experience we have gained, such as upholding the Party's overall leadership over institutional reform, establishing new institutions before dissolving old ones, optimizing and coordinating the functions of institutions for greater efficiency, conducting institutional reform both at the central and local levels under an overall plan, ensuring unity between reform and the rule of law, and carrying out ideological and political work throughout the entire process of reform. We must focus on critical issues and ensure that our reform is conducted thoroughly and meticulously in an organized, systematic and disciplined manner.

First, strengthening coordination. Under the leadership of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, the Central Commission for Further Reform is to oversee institutional reform and establish a mechanism to strengthen coordination. The CPC Central Committee, the NPC, the State Council, and the CPPCC National Committee are responsible for implementing institutional reform within their respective remits, while local institutional reform will fall under the unified leadership of provincial-level Party committees. Leaders of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council in charge of specific sectors bear

the primary responsibility for institutional reform in their respective domains. They must take the lead in implementing the decisions and plans of the CPC Central Committee, work with the leadership teams of reform-related departments to refine action programs, and focus on aspects critical to success such as mobilization and arrangements, open communication, reassignment and reorganization, and functional adjustments. Party and state agencies such as the General Office of the CPC Central Committee, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, the State Commission Office of Public Sector Reform, and the General Office of the State Council must also coordinate their efforts in institutional reform based on their respective responsibilities.

Second, proceeding in a smooth and orderly manner. This round of reform involves many Party and state institutions and addresses deep-seated issues. It therefore requires careful planning before action. Leadership teams of newly established entities should be in place in good time. They must familiarize themselves promptly with their responsibilities and tasks. Following the sequence of reassignment and then establishment of the departmental regulations that define the functions, internal bodies, and staffing of the new entities, they should quickly set up the internal bodies, staff them properly, and arrange for centralized operations to ensure smooth transition, orderly reassignment, and seamless coordination. Concerning complex reform tasks with a wide-ranging impact, particular efforts will be required to study and draft specialized plans based on the CPC Central Committee's top-level design, refine relevant policy measures, obtain approval through the appropriate channels, and implement the plans and measures accordingly. Planning and implementation of institutional reform at central and local levels should be closely coordinated and progressed in an orderly manner. Reform in central institutions is expected to be complete by the end of 2023, and reform in local institutions by the end of 2024.

Third, handling personnel affairs properly. We must encourage Party members and officials to maintain their political commitment,

keep in mind the general picture, and observe rules. To ensure unity in thought, continuity in work, cohesive teams, and sustained motivation, we should guide them to take a positive approach to changes in personal interests and career paths, actively support institutional reform, and conscientiously follow arrangements made by Party organizations.

Fourth, enforcing strict discipline. Departments undergoing institutional changes or functional adjustments must subordinate themselves to overall interests of the country and ensure timely alignment of functions, internal bodies, and staffing as required. Laxity and procrastination are unacceptable, even more so implementation that is irregular or to departmental advantage. Interference by higher authorities in the configuration and staffing of subordinate institutions is strictly prohibited, as is last-minute promotion of officials before an institutional change. Financial discipline must be rigorously enforced, and the loss of state assets must be prevented. We should enforce strict discipline, supervision and accountability, stringently investigate and deal with violations of regulations or discipline in institutional reform, and hold those involved accountable.

Fifth, adopting a law-based approach. Institutional reform must be progressed under the rule of law. Where laws are to be enacted, revised or abolished, departments bearing the principal responsibility must cooperate with legislative bodies, while the latter must coordinate the enactment, revision, abolition and interpretation of such laws.

In addition to the Plan for Reform of Party and State Institutions deliberated at this plenary session, the Central Committee has also discussed and planned adjustments to optimize its own deliberative and coordinating institutions and those of the State Council. They must be implemented in a unified and coordinated manner.

Explanation of the Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Driving Deeper Comprehensive Reform to Advance Chinese Modernization*

July 15, 2024

Comrades,

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, I will now brief you on the drafting of the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Driving Deeper Comprehensive Reform to Advance Chinese Modernization.

I. Considerations on the Agenda of the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee

Making reform plans and arrangements with a focus on our central task has been a successful experience for our Party in leading reform and opening up. In light of both practical experience and actual needs, the Political Bureau decided that the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee would study the issue of driving deeper comprehensive reform to advance Chinese modernization, with the following considerations:

1. We need to rally support and pool strength to complete the Party's central task on the new journey in the new era.

The evidence conclusively proves that in the new period of reform, opening up, and socialist modernization, it was reform and opening up that enabled China to catch up where it had lagged

* Speech at the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

behind. Reform and opening up is also key to the historic achievements and advances in the cause of the Party and the country since the Party's 18th National Congress in 2012. Therefore, if we are to break new ground in advancing Chinese modernization, we must continue to rely on reform and opening up.

The Party's 20th National Congress in 2022 decided that the Party's central task is to realize the Second Centenary Goal of building China into a great modern socialist country in all respects and to advance the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts through Chinese modernization. At the congress, we elaborated on the distinctive characteristics, essential requirements, and major principles of Chinese modernization, and made strategic plans for advancing this task. At the fundamental level, to translate these strategic plans into action and turn the vision of Chinese modernization into reality, we must deepen comprehensive reform and keep improving systems and mechanisms across all sectors, in order to provide institutional support for advancing Chinese modernization.

2. We need to improve and develop the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernize China's system and capacity for governance.

Following the Party's 18th National Congress, we improved systems in various sectors through deeper comprehensive reform, with a focus on upgrading institutions. As a result, the socialist system with Chinese characteristics was better defined and made more mature, and China's system and capacity for governance were further modernized. This provided strong institutional support for building a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

At the same time, we must be keenly aware that improving the socialist system with Chinese characteristics is a dynamic process, which will inevitably evolve with advances in practice. During this process, we need to constantly improve existing institutions and work on promoting institutional innovation and filling institutional gaps in new areas and for new practices. In the face of new developments and tasks, we must further deepen comprehensive reform to continue

refining institutions and mechanisms in various sectors, in order to help consolidate foundations, leverage strengths, and shore up areas of weakness. This will enable us to better translate our country's institutional strengths into effective governance.

3. We need to promote high-quality development and better respond to the evolution of the principal challenge in Chinese society.

At present, imbalanced and insufficient development remains a pronounced problem in promoting China's high-quality development. For example:

- The market system still needs improvement.
- The market itself is not adequately developed.
- The relationship between the government and the market needs to be further straightened out.
- Our innovation capacity falls short of the requirements for high-quality development.
- Our industrial system, while large in size and extensive in scope, is not yet strong or sophisticated enough.
- The overreliance on core technologies in key fields controlled by others has not been fundamentally addressed.
- The foundations of agriculture need to be further strengthened.
- Wide gaps persist in development and income distribution between urban and rural areas and between regions.
- Weak links remain in improving the people's wellbeing and protecting the eco-environment.

In essence, all of these issues reflect the evolution of the principal challenge in Chinese society and are the result of ongoing development. It is essential that they are addressed through deeper comprehensive reform on an institutional basis.

4. We need to deal with major risks and challenges and secure steady and sustained progress in the cause of the Party and the country.

Advancing Chinese modernization is a whole new endeavor. On the journey ahead, we will inevitably be confronted with problems, risks and challenges. In particular, change on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating across the world, regional conflicts and disturbances

continue to emerge, global issues are becoming more acute, and external attempts to suppress and contain China are escalating. China has entered a period in which strategic opportunities, risks and challenges coexist, and uncertainties and unpredictability are rising. Various “black swan” and “gray rhino” events have the potential to occur at any time.

To effectively deal with these risks and challenges and seize the strategic initiative amid intensifying international competition, we need to further deepen comprehensive reform, so that we can create sound institutions to prevent and defuse risks and respond to challenges, strive to foster new opportunities amid crises, and break new ground amid the changing landscape.

II. The Drafting Process

In November 2023, the Political Bureau decided that a document drafting group would be established for the Third Plenary Session of the 20th Central Committee under the auspices of the Political Bureau’s Standing Committee. I am chief of this group, and my colleagues Wang Huning, Cai Qi, and Ding Xuexiang serve as its deputy chiefs. The drafting work started following our first meeting on December 8. Over the past seven months or so, we carried out thorough surveys and studies, solicited extensive opinions, conducted debates on major topics, held multiple discussions, and revised the draft many times.

In drafting the document, we focused on the following priorities:

First, we laid down the principles to adhere to and ensured the right political orientation on the basis of reviewing and applying the valuable experience we have gained since the launch of reform and opening up, particularly from our endeavor to drive deeper comprehensive reform in the new era.

Second, we stuck to a problem-oriented approach and worked out plans for driving deeper comprehensive reform with a focus on advancing Chinese modernization and on implementing the strategic plans set out at the Party’s 20th National Congress.

Third, we sorted out our priorities. We have prioritized institutional reform, reforms of strategic and overarching importance, and the leading role of economic structural reform, thus underscoring the guidance of reform measures.

Fourth, we adhered to the principle of putting the people first to ensure that reforms are designed and advanced with the overall, fundamental and long-term interests of the people in mind.

Fifth, we made overarching, integrated and systematic plans to ensure that reforms in different sectors work in concert and produce desirable results.

Throughout the drafting process, we have taken a democratic approach in order to draw on a vast pool of wisdom. On November 27, 2023, the Central Committee issued a notice soliciting opinions on the agenda of the Third Plenary Session of the 20th Central Committee from all localities, departments and sectors, as well as some officials and individuals. There is a broad consensus among all those consulted that the 20th CPC Central Committee's decision to focus its Third Plenary Session on driving deeper comprehensive reform to advance Chinese modernization is a reflection of the Party's firm determination and strong sense of responsibility to carry reform through to the end, and a restatement of the answers it has given to the questions of what banner to uphold and what path to take on the new journey in the new era. They believe that this decision holds far-reaching significance for building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization. The localities, departments and sectors consulted have also made many valuable suggestions on the theme and framework of the draft, as well as major reform measures to be included. These have provided us with an important reference for drafting the Resolution.

On May 7, 2024, the text of the Resolution was issued to select Party members, including retired senior Party officials, for consultation. Opinions were also sought from the central committees of other political parties, from leaders of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, from prominent individuals without party

affiliation, and from relevant enterprises, scholars and experts. The feedback shows that all those consulted believe that the strategic measures for driving deeper comprehensive reform presented in the draft Resolution closely focus on the theme of advancing Chinese modernization. The draft follows the right political orientation and sets forth reform plans for resolving the major institutional problems hindering Chinese modernization. With a distinct theme, clear priorities, and feasible measures, in their opinion the document will serve as an overall plan and call to action for advancing broader and deeper reform on the new journey in the new era. They also agree that the draft evinces a historic initiative with regard to upholding and improving the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernizing China's system and capacity for governance, and it will provide strong impetus and institutional support for Chinese modernization. Based on a careful study of the 1,911 opinions and suggestions received from all sides, the drafting group incorporated as many of these as possible into the draft, resulting in 221 revisions to the text.

During the drafting process, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau met three times and the Political Bureau convened on two occasions for the purpose of reviewing and revising the draft versions. The culmination of all this is the final draft that we have submitted to this session for deliberation.

III. The General Framework and Main Content of the Document

In addition to a preamble and a conclusion, the draft Resolution consists of 15 sections, which may be divided into three main parts. Section I constitutes the first part and is a general exposition on the great significance and general requirements of driving deeper comprehensive reform to advance Chinese modernization. Sections II through XIV make up the second part, which elaborates on reform plans in specific fields such as the economy, politics, culture, society, eco-civilization, national security, and national defense and the

military. Section XV is part three. This part focuses on strengthening the Party's leadership over reform, deepening reforms related to Party development, improving conduct, promoting integrity, and combating corruption. The content is laid out in a total of 60 subsections.

With a view to achieving the goal of realizing basic socialist modernization by 2035, the draft Resolution includes major reform measures for the coming five years. In terms of its layout and content, it features the following highlights.

1. Giving play to the leading role of economic structural reform

Economic structural reform will remain our priority in driving deeper comprehensive reform. The main tasks in this regard include improving the systems and mechanisms for enabling high-quality development, fostering new growth drivers and strengths, upholding and fulfilling the commitments to developing both the public and non-public sectors¹, building a unified national market, and refining the systems underpinning the market economy.

Focusing on the pivotal issue of balancing the relationship between the government and the market, the draft Resolution gives prominence to building a high-standard socialist market economy and makes arrangements for economic structural reform in major areas and key links. It mentions that we will strengthen strategic coordination between relevant administrative departments and work to refine the layout of the state-owned sector and adjust its structure, in order to increase the size and strength, improve the performance, and reinforce the core functions and core competitiveness of state capital and state-owned enterprises. Targeting the development of the non-public sector, it requires formulating a law to facilitate the growth of the private sector, strengthening law enforcement and justice administration to protect property rights, and preventing and rectifying administrative interference and abuse of criminal law in economic disputes. It also includes measures such as increasing the binding force of fair competition review, reviewing and abolishing regulations and practices that impede the development of a unified national market and fair competition, and improving institutions and rules for production

factor markets. All these steps will help unleash the internal driving forces and creativity of our society as a whole.

The draft Resolution lays out plans for improving the systems and mechanisms underpinning high-quality development and promoting the development of new quality productive forces. To develop productive forces characterized by high technology, high efficiency, and high quality, it observes that we will work to increase institutional supply in new areas and arenas, establish a mechanism for ensuring funding increases for future industries, elevate national standards to guide the upgrading of traditional industries, and channel various types of advanced production factors towards the development of new quality productive forces.

The draft Resolution sets forth plans for refining the macroeconomic governance system. As mentioned in the document, efforts will be made to improve the national strategic planning system and policy coordination mechanisms. With a view to coordinating deeper reform of the fiscal and taxation systems, the draft Resolution includes arrangements to expand the sources of tax revenue at the local level and place more fiscal resources at the disposal of local governments. It proposes measures to appropriately expand the scope of use for funds raised from the sale of local government special-purpose bonds, while properly granting the central government greater administrative authority and increasing its share of total government expenditure. Efforts will be made to refine the role and governance of financial institutions, improve the functions of the capital market with balanced investment and financing, and improve the financial regulatory system.

The draft Resolution puts forward plans for improving the institutions and mechanisms for integrated urban-rural development. This involves improving the institutions and mechanisms for advancing new urbanization; consolidating and improving the basic rural operation system; improving support systems to strengthen agriculture, benefit rural residents, and enrich rural areas; and extending reform of the land system.

The draft Resolution also outlines plans for refining the institutions and mechanisms for high-standard opening up, which involve steadily expanding institutional opening up, deepening foreign trade structural reform, further reforming the management systems for inward and outward investment, optimizing the planning of regional opening up, and improving the mechanisms for high-quality Belt and Road cooperation.

2. Developing support institutions and mechanisms for all-round innovation

With a view to ensuring coordinated efforts to promote integrated reform of institutions and mechanisms pertaining to education, science and technology, and talent, the draft Resolution places emphasis on deeper comprehensive reform in education, deeper structural reform in science and technology, and deeper institutional reforms for talent development, in order to boost the overall performance of our country's innovation system.

In terms of reform in the education system, the document includes arrangements such as advancing reforms of higher education institutions on a categorized basis and developing discipline adjustment mechanisms and talent training models to meet the needs of China's scientific and technological development and national strategies. This will require us to develop exceptional plans for disciplines and majors that are in urgent demand. The document also specifies the requirements of refining the mechanisms for facilitating scientific and technological innovation in universities and ensuring more efficient application of advances.

With regard to scientific and technological structural reform, the document calls for efforts to boost China's strength in strategic science and technology and to better define the roles and configuration of our national research institutions, advanced-level research universities, and leading high-tech enterprises. We need to improve the management of science and technology programs to ensure that they are forward-looking and play a guiding role in basic research, interdisciplinary frontier areas, and key fields. Moreover, the principal role

of enterprises in innovation will be reinforced, and mechanisms for fostering leading high-tech enterprises will be established; public institutions engaged in scientific research will be allowed to implement a more flexible management system as compared to general public institutions, so that they can explore approaches to instituting corporate management; and there will be further reforms to grant researchers corresponding rights over their output.

To advance institutional reforms for talent development, the document sets out requirements such as stepping up efforts to build a contingent of personnel with expertise of national strategic importance and working to improve the performance of talent of all types; improving the mechanisms for identifying, selecting and training young innovators, and ensuring better pay and benefits for our young scientists and engineers; strengthening the incentive mechanisms for talent and granting more say to employers to create a more accommodating environment for talent development; and improving the support mechanisms for recruiting talent from overseas.

3. Advancing reform in a comprehensive manner

Under the framework for implementing the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy in a coordinated way, the draft Resolution sets forth plans for further deepening reform across the board and makes overall arrangements for both economic structural reform and reforms in other areas.

To deepen reform concerning democracy and the rule of law, the document sets out plans for refining the system for whole-process people's democracy and for improving the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. With regard to the former, it details arrangements such as strengthening the institutions through which the people run the country, improving the mechanisms for consultative democracy, enhancing democracy at the primary level, and building a broad united front. With regard to the latter, it mentions arrangements such as strengthening legislation in key, emerging and foreign-related fields; refining the institutions and mechanisms for ensuring that supervisory bodies, public security bodies, procuratorates, courts,

and administrative departments for justice all fulfill their respective functions and that powers of supervision, investigation, procuratorate, adjudication, and enforcement complement and constrain each other; and improving the mechanisms for building a law-based society.

In terms of reform of the cultural sector, the document focuses on advancing modernization featuring coordinated material and cultural-ethical progress. It calls for activities to foster ideals and convictions on a regular and institutionalized basis, and better and innovative working mechanisms for raising awareness, applying principles in practice, and launching initiatives aimed at promoting cultural and ethical progress. It also details arrangements such as refining mechanisms for supplying cultural services and products and establishing mechanisms for channeling quality cultural resources directly to the community level; improving the system for comprehensive cyberspace governance; and moving ahead with restructuring China's international communication framework and establishing a more effective international communication system.

To refine the system for ensuring and improving the people's wellbeing, the document includes arrangements such as improving the income distribution system and keeping income distribution well-regulated; improving the policy environment to boost employment by encouraging business startups, and supporting and regulating the development of new forms of employment; building a sound social security system to serve people in flexible employment, rural migrant workers, and those in new forms of employment, and lifting all restrictions preventing people from accessing social security in the places where they work but do not hold permanent residency; and fostering a new development model for the real estate sector and giving municipal governments more powers to regulate the real estate market. Moreover, it calls for efforts to further reform the medical and healthcare systems and implement a health-first strategy; improve the systems for supporting population development and providing related services, refine the policy system and incentive mechanisms for boosting birth rates, define better policies and mechanisms for

developing eldercare programs and industries; and advance reform to gradually raise the statutory retirement age in a prudent and orderly manner and in line with the principle of promoting voluntary participation while allowing appropriate flexibility.

To further reform in the eco-environmental field, the document lays out plans for improving the basic systems for eco-civilization, improving eco-environmental governance, and improving mechanisms for green and low-carbon development. It also specifies the requirements to implement region-specific eco-environmental management systems featuring differentiated and targeted regulation, improve the trans-regional compensation mechanism for ecological conservation, adopt fiscal, financial, investment and pricing policies as well as standards to support green and low-carbon development, and accelerate the planning and development of a new energy system.

4. Balancing development and security imperatives

National security provides a pivotal foundation for ensuring steady and sustained progress in Chinese modernization. Giving higher priority to national security, the draft Resolution puts forth a set of requirements with a focus on modernizing China's system and capacity for national security. These requirements include creating a coordinated and highly effective system for protecting national security and better leveraging science and technology to safeguard national security; improving the response and support system for major public emergencies; instituting oversight systems to ensure the safety and security of artificial intelligence; exploring avenues for establishing a unified national population management system; and improving the integrated systems for maintaining law and order and combating illegal and criminal activities that cause grave public concern. Furthermore, the draft also proposes measures such as establishing sound coordination mechanisms for promoting security in neighboring regions; strengthening mechanisms for countering foreign sanctions, interference, and long-arm jurisdiction; improving mechanisms for preventing and controlling trade risks; improving the

system of foreign-related laws and regulations, and the systems for enforcing the rule of law; and deepening international cooperation in law enforcement and the administration of justice. To continue deepening reform of national defense and the armed forces, the document puts forward requirements such as improving the institutions and mechanisms for leading and managing the people's armed forces, deepening reform of joint operations systems, and deepening military-civilian reforms.

5. Strengthening the Party's leadership over reform

Leadership by the Party provides a fundamental guarantee for driving deeper comprehensive reform to advance Chinese modernization. The draft Resolution notes that we will refine the mechanisms through which major decisions and plans of the Central Committee are implemented; further reform the public servants and staff management system and firmly follow the right approach to selecting and appointing officials, seeing that officials who are politically committed, highly responsible, determined to pursue reform, outstanding in performance, and honest and clean are selected, and the problem of officials acting arbitrarily or lacking the will, courage or ability to fulfill their duties must be addressed; make sure that officials have a clear understanding of good performance, and the "three distinctions" are applied to encourage officials to forge ahead with a pioneering spirit and demonstrate enterprise in their work; strengthen the political and organizational functions of Party organizations; and refine the systems and mechanisms for preventing and tackling pointless formalities and bureaucratism, improve the mechanisms for investigating and addressing instances of both misconduct and corruption, and adopt more measures to effectively prevent and control new and disguised forms of corruption.

Comrades,

I hope you will gain a full understanding of the guiding principles laid down by the CPC Central Committee, hold discussions centering on the theme of this plenary session, and come up with constructive ideas and suggestions for revision, so that we can work together to

make this session a great success and make well-conceived revisions to the draft Resolution.

Notes

¹ This refers to the commitments to consolidating and developing the public sector and at the same time encouraging, supporting and guiding the development of the non-public sector.

Apply the Guiding Principles of the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee*

July 18, 2024

Understand the Guiding Principles of the Third Plenary Session

First, we must understand the theme of deeper comprehensive reform. Planning and advancing reform around the Party's central task is the key to our success. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, driven by the need for deeper all-round reform, we have won the battle against poverty through unprecedented determination and effort, achieved moderate prosperity in all respects throughout the country, secured an overwhelming victory in the fight against corruption, and consolidated our achievements, thereby winning wholehearted support from the people. But how do we gather greater strength and support on the new journey ahead? The answer is through Chinese modernization.

The 20th CPC National Congress in 2022 made strategic plans for advancing Chinese modernization on all fronts. Deeper all-round reform must always serve this purpose. We will aim for the overarching goal of developing and improving the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernizing China's system and capacity for governance. We will make our reforms more integrated, focused and effective. We will make targeted, concerted and sustained efforts to remove institutional obstacles, in order to unleash and develop

* Part of the speech at the second full assembly of the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

productive forces and stimulate and boost social vitality. We will effectively forestall major risks and resolve challenges on the journey ahead, and provide strong impetus and an institutional guarantee for Chinese modernization.

Second, we must understand the major principles for deeper comprehensive reform. The Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Driving Deeper Comprehensive Reform to Advance Chinese Modernization has outlined Six Principles as spelled out below. These represent a rational review of the valuable experience we have accumulated since the launch of reform and opening up – particularly in the new era – and encapsulate our Party’s deeper understanding of the reform process. They provide clear guidance towards a more sound, forward-looking, proactive and innovative approach to deeper comprehensive reform, and towards secure, steady and sustained progress.

– Upholding the Party’s overall leadership. This is our greatest political strength and the fundamental guarantee for the success of reform and opening up. We must ensure that Party leadership is exercised in every aspect of reform and throughout the entire process, so that reform always advances in the right political direction.

– Adhering to a people-centered approach. We must respect the principal position and creative inspiration of the people, and ensure that our reform measures remain highly responsive to the call of the people. We must pool their wisdom and support and deliver greater benefits to all in a fair manner.

– Upholding fundamental principles and breaking new ground. We should remain committed to our ideal and path, uphold the Four Cardinal Principles, and maintain our confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of Chinese socialism. At the same time, we should have the courage to pursue innovation and overcome difficulties as we make new breakthroughs in advancing reform.

– Strengthening institutions as our main task. This means reinforcing top-level design and overall planning, giving equal weight to abolishing the old and establishing the new, and ensuring that new

systems are already in place before old ones are retired. Achieving this requires us to consolidate fundamental systems, refine basic systems, and innovate important systems.

– Remaining committed to law-based governance across the board. This means employing law-based thinking and methodologies to address issues arising in the course of reform and consolidate the achievements we have secured. It is essential to guarantee coherence between reform and the rule of law. This will ensure that all significant reforms have a sound legal footing, and that the fruits of reform are promptly enshrined in law.

– Applying systems thinking. A coordinated and dialectical approach is required when formulating and implementing policies. We must properly handle the major relationships between economic and social development, between the government and the market, between efficiency and fairness, between vitality and order, and between development and security, thus pursuing reform in a more systematic, holistic and coordinated manner.

These principles must be firmly upheld, developed and enriched throughout the reform process.

Third, we must understand the key measures for deeper comprehensive reform. The Resolution prioritizes economic growth and the people's wellbeing, dedicating seven sections to these objectives: building a high-standard socialist market economy, promoting high-quality economic development, supporting all-round innovation, improving macroeconomic governance, promoting integrated urban-rural development, pursuing high-standard opening up, and ensuring and improving the people's wellbeing.

These seven sections present key reform measures addressing the following major issues:

- consolidating and developing the public sector and at the same time encouraging, supporting and guiding the development of the non-public sector;
- building a unified national market;
- refining the systems underpinning the market economy;

- improving the institutions and mechanisms for fostering new quality productive forces in line with local conditions;
- improving the systems for increasing the resilience and reinforcing the security of industrial and supply chains;
- integrating reform of institutions and mechanisms pertaining to education, science and technology, and talent;
- improving the national strategic planning system and policy coordination mechanisms;
- deepening reform of the fiscal, taxation and financial systems;
- improving mechanisms for implementing the coordinated regional development strategy;
- improving the institutions and mechanisms for advancing new urbanization;
- improving support systems to strengthen agriculture, benefit rural residents, and enrich rural areas;
- improving the income distribution system, the employment-first policy, and the social security system.

The Resolution also outlines other key reform measures, targeting salient problems within the institutional framework. These measures focus on strategic tasks, such as improving the systems of whole-process people's democracy and socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, expanding reform in the cultural sector and in eco-civilization, modernizing China's national security system and capacity, and deepening national defense and military reform. Covering every dimension of Chinese modernization, these initiatives constitute a blueprint for deeper all-round reform.

As goal-oriented and problem-oriented approaches, they are designed to fulfill the long-term needs of Chinese modernization by meeting public and societal expectations and removing the institutional obstacles that currently hinder its progress. All CPC members should understand the intention and focus of these measures from an overall strategic perspective, while resolutely promoting reform.

Fourth, we must understand the fundamental guarantee for deeper comprehensive reform. We must drive deeper reform under the

centralized, unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee, in order to guarantee that reform will always follow the right political direction. Forging ahead with reform will introduce many new challenges, as more sectors become involved and more vested interests are encountered. This places greater expectations on Party organizations at all levels to assess the situation, make sound plans, mobilize the public, and implement reform measures. Party members and officials are required to be more proactive, open-minded, competent and disciplined. To this end, we must always engage in self-reform on our own initiative before leading social transformation. We must exercise strict governance over the Party with an enterprising spirit and consistently improve our Party's leadership capabilities.

To boost the whole Party's drive, initiative and creativity in reform and development, the Resolution specifies plans for deepening institutional reform to improve internal Party governance. They encompass: firmly following the right approach to selecting and appointing officials, and prioritizing outstanding performers who are politically committed, highly responsible, determined to pursue reform, and honest and clean; guiding officials to develop a clear understanding of good performance, applying the "three distinctions", spurring them on to make progress with a pioneering spirit and demonstrate enterprise in their work, and addressing the problems of officials acting arbitrarily or lacking the will, courage or ability to fulfill their duties; investigating and addressing the challenges faced by grassroots Party organizations in Party development, and building up their overall political and organizational capabilities; and eradicating the breeding grounds of corruption by strengthening the mechanisms for applying checks over the allocation and exercise of power, as part of a comprehensive effort to ensure that officials dare not, cannot, and will not engage in corruption.

We must have a thorough understanding of these measures as they aim to further improve the political environment for upcoming reform and provide an important guarantee for success in all sectors.

Fully Implement Reform Measures in the Resolution

First, we must reinforce organization and leadership. We must make meticulous arrangements, conduct overall coordination, formulate the task lists, timetables, and priorities for reform in a well-designed manner, and clearly define the entities responsible for implementing specific reforms together with their duties. The CPC Central Committee will exercise leadership over the overall design, coordination and implementation of reform. Central Party and government departments and the people's armed forces should assume the main responsibilities, focus on major roadmaps, important tasks, and key endeavors, work hard and show initiative, and conduct in-depth research to implement effective reform within their respective departments, units and sectors. Local Party committees and governments should guarantee the enforcement of reform measures within their jurisdiction. Principal Party and government officials should assume leadership over reform, engage in major decisions, formulate important plans, provide coordination when addressing key challenges, and keep track of results.

Second, we must act in synergy to make overall advances. As reform measures are closely interlinked and require careful coordination between multiple departments, we should neither act alone nor attempt to tackle too many issues all at once. We must adopt the new before breaking the old, and never break the old until the new is in place. We should have a keen understanding of strategic priorities and launch reform measures in order of importance. The timing of these launches should be meticulously planned to ensure that we progress steadily and complete our tasks precisely as scheduled, neither prematurely nor belatedly. Urgent efforts are needed to address the most immediate concerns and the most pressing issues that call for the most decisive actions, while a gradual approach should be followed in addressing problems that necessitate sustained endeavors. We should strengthen coordination among different departments to keep the orientation of our reforms consistent. We must resolutely

guard against and overcome the silo mentality driven by departmental or local interests that could hinder the overall progress of reform. To ensure the continuity of our work, we should follow through existing reforms, execute them as scheduled, and work out a detailed and concrete action program for implementing newly decided reforms.

Third, we must encourage exploration and innovation. The plans outlined in the Resolution are strategic and forward-looking, setting the direction for the future. Their implementation requires an elaborate and feasible action program. Local authorities and central departments should consider the overall national interests and act accordingly. They should make every effort to faithfully apply the principles set by the Central Committee, and implement the measures and requirements. They should also take the initiative to identify the principal challenges and the key dimensions of these challenges in their own work, and formulate corresponding action plans suited to their own local conditions, rather than mechanically following the instructions of senior authorities. In the sectors where we must make breakthroughs but still lack hands-on experience, we should explore pilot reform and build up experience until we can roll it out where conditions permit. Concerning new problems encountered in our new endeavors or in new fields, we should fully respect the pioneering spirit of grassroots officials and the people, encouraging them to innovate in a spirit of enterprise, and create and accumulate new experience that can be replicated and scaled up.

Fourth, we must make sure to achieve solid results. We should establish a sound mechanism to advance reform that defines the responsibilities of all relevant parties, encompasses the entire reform process, and guarantees coordination among all departments. The reform action program should be well-designed and well-organized to facilitate execution and troubleshooting. We must guard against the tendency of putting a lot of work into drawing up documents but overlooking the effort of implementation. We should guide Party members and officials to heighten their sense of responsibility and mission and ensure that they fully understand that in the reform

process, there will be no hanging back from the fray and no spectators on the sidelines. As participants, they should be mobilized to break down and refine reform tasks with concrete actions. We should strengthen scrutiny over reform actions and keep track of results. This will help us detect existing problems and the causes behind them, so that we can address them in a timely manner. We should include the implementation of major reform tasks in oversight and discipline inspection, and evaluate individual reforms based on evidence of solid achievements and public satisfaction. Our goal is to ensure that our people will have a greater sense of gain, fulfillment and security.

Major Theoretical and Practical Issues in Deeper Comprehensive Reform*

October 29, 2024

The CPC Central Committee has organized this study session for principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level. The goals are to achieve greater unity in thinking and action, and to ensure more effective implementation of the decisions of the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee. Here, I would like to share with you my views on the major theoretical and practical issues we face in driving deeper comprehensive reform.

I. Historic Achievements in Deeper Comprehensive Reform in the New Era

The Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2013 marked the start of a new journey for China to drive deeper comprehensive reform in the new era with a systematic and holistic blueprint. It was of epoch-making significance as it delivered new prospects for our country's reform and opening up. Deeper all-round reform has generated substantive results in theory and practice, and in institutional structures and processes. These results have captured global attention and created a far-reaching impact.

Deeper comprehensive reform in the new era has achieved significant practical outcomes. Reform drives development, boosts vitality, and builds synergy. Our new development philosophy came from

* Main part of the speech at a study session on implementing the decisions of the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee, attended by principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level.

reform; the outdated mindsets and institutional barriers that once hindered high-quality development have been removed through reform; and effective upgrading and appropriate expansion of our economy have been achieved step by step during reform.

It is precisely through deeper all-round reform that our economic strength, scientific and technological strength, and composite national strength have reached new heights. China's GDP increased from RMB54 trillion in 2012 to RMB126 trillion in 2023 and China's share of the global economy increased from 11.3 percent to around 18 percent over the same period. We have solidified our position as the world's second largest economy, contributing an annual average of more than 30 percent to global economic growth. Our per capita GDP now stands at US\$12,680. The country's capacity for scientific and technological innovation has increased markedly, placing it among the ranks of global innovators.

In the fight against poverty, China has achieved a historic victory in eradicating absolute poverty. It has built the world's most extensive systems of education, social security, and health care, and made solid steps towards common prosperity for all, as manifested in an increasing quality of life and a growing sense of gain, fulfillment and security among its people. It is precisely through deeper all-round reform that we have made remarkable progress in advancing the rule of law, building an eco-civilization, safeguarding national security, and strengthening national defense and the armed forces.

Deeper comprehensive reform in the new era has notably improved our institutional framework. The overall objectives of reform are to improve and develop the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and to modernize China's system and capacity for governance. This requires us to consolidate our foundations, leverage our strengths, buttress our areas of weakness, and build up the institutional and competitive strengths of Chinese socialism.

We have continued to add new dimensions to our institutional framework, optimizing our institutional structures and processes. Our fundamental, basic and important systems are now more complete,

and in particular CPC leadership has been confirmed as the core element of our country's leadership system. These systems work under a well-conceived, procedure-based and effective framework, and are becoming more mature and better-defined. We have reinforced their application and turned institutional strengths into effective national governance. Our efforts are not directed only to short-term effects, but more importantly to the lasting peace and security of the nation.

Deeper comprehensive reform in the new era has delivered major theoretical breakthroughs. The decision to drive deeper all-round reform was made and implemented at a time when our reform was entering a critical stage and uncharted waters, characterized by daunting challenges across a wide range of fields, deep impact on vested interests, and a complex interplay of numerous factors. To advance theoretical innovation in the course of reform, we have developed a sound grasp of current developments and future trends in reform, and of the risks and opportunities they present. We have also reviewed every new experience in a timely manner. With an increasing understanding of reform dynamics, we have introduced new ideas, perspectives and visions on deeper all-round reform, including:

- upholding CPC leadership;
- upholding a people-centered approach;
- upholding fundamental principles and breaking new ground, neither regressing to rigidity and isolation nor abandoning our socialist system;
- improving and developing the Chinese socialist system, and modernizing China's governance system and capacity;
- taking a problem-oriented approach;
- letting economic structural reform play a driving role;
- advancing reform under the rule of law;
- integrating top-level design with pilot reform measures;
- balancing reform, development and stability.

The Six Principles outlined in the Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Driving Deeper Comprehensive Reform to Advance Chinese Modernization adopted at the plenary session have been

drawn from these breakthroughs. They provide important guidance for further reform.

In summary, deeper comprehensive reform in the new era is a brilliant chapter in China's reform and opening up. It has provided strong impetus and institutional support for achieving moderate prosperity in all respects and extending the remarkable success of maintaining rapid economic growth and long-term social stability. It also lays solid foundations and provides valuable experience for deeper all-round reform on our new journey ahead.

II. Commitment to Upholding Fundamental Principles and Breaking New Ground in Deeper Comprehensive Reform

Upholding fundamental principles and breaking new ground is a key guideline that we must always respect in driving deeper comprehensive reform. The two aspects form a dialectical unity – the former keeps the latter on the right track, while the latter reinforces the former.

Reform does not mean abandoning our socialist system. I have mentioned on many occasions that our reform has a clear direction and follows unequivocal principles, including upholding overall CPC leadership, Marxism, Chinese socialism, and the people's democratic dictatorship, and working for the fundamental goals of promoting social fairness and justice and improving the people's wellbeing. These principles play a decisive, directive and far-reaching role in advancing our reform; they demonstrate our Party's nature and purpose, they are aligned with China's realities, and they serve the people's fundamental interests. Therefore, we shall never deviate from them at any time or under any circumstances. Rather, we must focus on the overall objectives of improving and developing the Chinese socialist system and modernizing China's governance system and capacity. We must always drive reform towards these objectives, changing what should be changed and maintaining what should be maintained.

On our new journey in the new era, the central task of the Party

and the country is to build China into a great country and advance national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization. Our deeper all-round reform must also focus on this central task. With indomitable resolve and courage, we should keep pace with the new trends of our times, respond to new requirements for development, and fulfill the new expectations of our people. We should boost innovations in theory, practice, culture, institutional structures and processes, and all other respects, as this provides strong impetus and institutional support for Chinese modernization.

We should prioritize economic structural reform. We must remain committed to the goal of developing the socialist market economy, give full play to the decisive role of the market in resource allocation, and better leverage the role of the government. We should accelerate the development of a unified national market and a complete macro-economic governance system. We will consolidate and develop the public sector and at the same time encourage, support and guide the development of the non-public sector, and create a fair and just environment where all forms of ownership can develop under the rule of law. We must remove the institutional barriers that hinder high-quality development, adapt relations of production to new quality productive forces, and foster new drivers and strengths for development. We should remove the bottlenecks that choke all-round innovation, promote integrated institutional reform in education, sci-tech and talent development, and seize strategic opportunities for leveraging the new revolution in science, technology and industry.

We should coordinate reform on all fronts. Chinese modernization is a broad concept, and accordingly, deeper reform must also be all-dimensional. The Resolution emphasizes systems thinking – coordinating the planning and implementation of reform initiatives under the framework of the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy. Such a holistic approach not only gives weight to economic structural reform, but also encompasses institutional innovation in democracy, the rule of law, culture, society, eco-civilization, national security, defense, and the military, as well as

institutional reform for strengthening the Party. We must implement the reform initiatives in an all-round manner to create greater synergy, rather than emphasizing one at the expense of others, or attending to some aspects while losing sight of others.

III. Appropriate Approaches to Guiding and Advancing Reform

Reform is a systematic project that requires an appropriate approach to striking a balance among all factors. The Resolution has set specific requirements in this regard. I would like to highlight a few points.

First, the unity of reform and the rule of law. The two are interdependent and indispensable, like the two wings of a bird or the two wheels of a cart. We should strengthen the rule of law through reform, expand reform in law-based governance, and continue to improve the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. We should better leverage the role of the rule of law in removing obstacles to reform and consolidating the outcomes already achieved. We should employ law-based thinking and approaches to advance reform, safeguard the authority of the rule of law, and guarantee a solid legal basis for major reforms. We should ensure that all are equal before the law, and provide equal protection for the legitimate rights and interests of citizens, legal persons, and organizations. We must avoid selective law enforcement and leniency beyond the scope of law.

Second, the unity of abolishing the old and establishing the new. Reform is a dual process where the former serves as the means and the latter as the goal. In driving deeper comprehensive reform, we should focus on strengthening our institutions, give equal weight to abolishing the old and establishing the new, and ensure that new systems are already in place before old ones are retired. All our reform initiatives must be subject to thorough research, meticulous design, and discreet risk assessment, to ensure the right timing and intensity for the best results. We should be proactive in establishing new institutions where necessary, and ensure that they are well-grounded,

functional and effective. On this basis, we should decommission outdated institutions resolutely and thoroughly when the time is right. By balancing the two efforts, we can ensure that our reform proceeds steadily and efficiently. We must not discard old institutions without new ones in place, as any institutional gap could result in confusion or even chaos.

Third, the unity of reform and opening up. Deeper all-round reform and high-standard opening up are complementary and mutually reinforcing. Deeper reform requires higher-standard opening up, and higher-standard opening up gives stronger impetus to reform. We should steadily expand institutional opening up, promote active alignment with the most demanding international economic and trade rules, expand institutional reform in the management of foreign trade and inward and outward investment, and foster a world-class business environment that is market-oriented, law-based and internationalized. We should implement the strategy for upgrading pilot free trade zones, encourage pioneering and integrated experimentation, and create new pacesetters in reform and opening up that raise the standards of opening up and generate greater impact.

Fourth, the unity of planning and implementation. Success is 10 percent planning and 90 percent implementation. The plans outlined in the Resolution mostly focus on the broader picture, and many of the reform initiatives are strategic plans setting the direction for the future, which require us to draw up specific measures that are feasible and effective for implementation. In designing reform programs, we must follow the objective laws of development, promote democracy, and meet public expectations. We should coordinate the reform measures, ensure that they are oriented in the same direction, and prevent and overcome the silo mentality. To promote full and effective implementation of reform initiatives, we should put in place sound mechanisms that have clear delineation of responsibilities, encompass the entire process of implementation, and guarantee close coordination of all links, and we should also strengthen follow-up evaluations. We must guard against favoring planning over action, and prevent

reform from losing steam due to inconsistent implementation.

Leading officials, especially senior officials, should shoulder the weighty responsibility of advancing reform. You should have a stronger sense of political responsibility and mission, and an unflinching courage to meet challenges head-on. You should be bold in confronting tough issues, resolute in eradicating deep-seated problems, and determined in addressing risks and challenges, working hard to open new prospects for reform and opening up. You should employ appropriate approaches to advancing reform, ensure systematic planning, and act on well-conceived plans, to avoid being caught in a dilemma as a result of reckless actions.

IV. A Favorable Environment for Deeper Comprehensive Reform

Building broad consensus and mobilizing all positive factors are crucial for achieving success in further reform. To this end, we should inspire the public to support our reform initiatives by amplifying the theme of reform and promoting positive energy.

We should ensure that the decisions of the Resolution are correctly understood and interpreted. In the three months since the plenary session, all provincial authorities and central departments have organized in-depth study of the decisions adopted at the plenary session in various forms and through multiple channels, which has generated great enthusiasm. Next, we should continue our studies and focus on an accurate understanding of the decisions and a thorough grasp of their essence. We need to strengthen research into and interpretation of some major theories and viewpoints proposed in the decisions, and in particular, reinforce public communication to promptly clarify and remedy misinterpretations and distortions, and to help the people correctly understand the strategic considerations of the Central Committee and the practical significance and strategic objectives of all reform initiatives. Our goal is to build broad consensus and secure strong popular support for reform across the Party and throughout society.

We should guide reasonable expectations of reform. On the one hand, reform is a process of rebalancing diverse interests, which cannot simultaneously satisfy all demands. We should guide our officials and the people to think in terms of the general picture, understand the weighing of competing interests, and take a rational view of personal gains and losses. Reform is an incremental process, and all problems cannot be resolved overnight. We shall not seek instant successes, set unattainable goals, or encourage unrealistic expectations; rather, we will seek truth from facts, base all our actions on reality, pursue steady progress, and build on small victories to achieve great goals. On the other hand, reform is the responsibility of all the people and requires their collective participation to tackle challenges. In the reform process, we should always put the people first, evaluate reform based on practical results and public satisfaction, and ensure that it provides the people with a greater sense of gain, fulfillment and security.

We should maintain the right tone in public communication to promote reform. We should galvanize public opinion, increase positive news coverage, effectively communicate the landmark successes of reform, and demonstrate the value of reform to ordinary people by showing how it benefits their everyday lives. We should track and respond to public concerns, and provide timely answers to questions. We should resolutely refute erroneous assertions, distinguish truth from falsehood, and ensure a correct public understanding of reform.

High-Standard Opening Up

Work Together Towards a Bright, Open and Prosperous Future*

November 4, 2022

Your Excellencies Heads of State and Government,
Your Excellencies Heads of International Organizations,
Your Excellencies Heads of Delegations,
Distinguished guests,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

Good evening. On behalf of the Chinese government and people and also in my own name, I would like to extend a warm welcome and heartfelt greetings to all our guests attending the Fifth China International Import Expo (CIIE).

Five years ago, I announced the decision to hold the CIIE for the purpose of expanding China's opening up and turning our enormous market into an enormous opportunity for the world. Today, the CIIE has become a showcase of China's new development dynamic, a platform for high-standard opening up, and a public good for the whole world.

Openness is a key driving force behind the progress of human civilizations and a sure path towards global prosperity and development. Today's world is experiencing an accelerating rate of change on a scale unseen in a century, while also grappling with sluggish economic recovery. We should pursue openness to meet development challenges, foster synergy for cooperation, increase the momentum

* Speech via video link at the opening ceremony of the Fifth China International Import Expo.

of innovation, and deliver benefits to all. We should steadily advance economic globalization, increase dynamism in every country's growth prospects, and provide all nations with greater and fairer access to the fruits of development.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

As emphasized by the Communist Party of China at its 20th National Congress, China remains committed to the fundamental national policy of opening up to the outside world, pursues a mutually beneficial strategy, and adheres to the right course in economic globalization. We will amplify the interplay between domestic and international markets and resources, strive to create new opportunities for the world with our own development, and contribute our share to building an open world economy.

– China will work with all countries and all parties to share the opportunities available in its vast market. We will step up efforts to cultivate a robust domestic market, move our trade in goods upmarket, develop new mechanisms for trade in services, and import more quality products. To encourage innovation in trade and promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, we will establish pilot zones for Silk Road e-commerce cooperation, and build national demonstration zones for the innovation-driven development of trade in services.

– China will work with all countries and all parties to share the opportunities offered by its institutional opening up. We will steadily expand institutional opening up with regard to rules, regulations, management and standards, put into full effect the new Catalogue of Encouraged Industries for Foreign Investment, and further develop the national integrated demonstration zones for greater openness in the service sector. We will upgrade pilot free trade zones, accelerate development of the Hainan Free Trade Port, and tap into their role as comprehensive pilot platforms for reform and opening up.

– China will work with all countries and all parties to share opportunities for deeper international cooperation. To foster new drivers for global growth, we will engage fully in WTO reform negotiations,

promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, and reinforce international macroeconomic policy coordination. To expand the globally oriented network of high-standard free trade areas, we will endeavor to join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Digital Economy Partnership Agreement. We will firmly support other developing countries, help them to grow faster, and promote the building of a community with a shared future for humanity.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

“After endless mountains and rivers that appear to offer no egress, one suddenly encounters the shade of a willow, bright flowers, and a lovely village.”¹ As these lines of an ancient Chinese poem suggest, the path unfolds before us, and a brighter future beckons. China is ready to work with all countries to practice true multilateralism, build greater consensus around openness, overcome the difficulties and challenges confronting global economic growth, and ensure that our commitment to openness will bring broad prospects for global development.

Thank you.

Notes

¹ Lu You: “Visiting a Mountain Village” (You Shan Xi Cun). Lu You (1125-1210) was a poet of the Southern Song Dynasty.

Upgrade Pilot Free Trade Zones*

September 24, 2023

Building pilot free trade zones is an important CPC Central Committee strategy for advancing reform and opening up in the new era. Over the past decade, the decisions and plans of the Central Committee have been rigorously implemented in the pilot zones. While continuing to apply what has worked well in the past, those responsible have freed their minds, broken new ground, rolled out a range of pioneering and foundational initiatives, created a large number of innovative and impactful institutional changes, and succeeded in building the pilot zones into comprehensive pilot platforms for reform and opening up.

On the new journey, we should implement the strategy for upgrading pilot free trade zones on the basis of the experience accumulated in the past 10 years. We should be enterprising pioneers who forge ahead, overcome all obstacles, and explore new opportunities in more areas to raise the standards of the pilot zones. We should uphold the Party's overall leadership, aim for high-standard opening up, and focus on institutional innovation. We should coordinate development and security, align ourselves with the most demanding international economic and trade rules, expand institutional opening up, strengthen the overall planning and integration of reform measures, and promote innovation-driven development across entire industrial chains. This will allow the pilot zones to maximize their role as exemplars.

* Directive on advancing the development of pilot free trade zones.

Promote Deeper Reform and High-Quality Development Through High-Standard Opening Up*

September 27, 2023

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is a key pillar supporting multilateralism and an essential platform for global economic governance. The need for reform of the WTO is a consensus among the international community and an irreversible trend of our times. Giving full consideration to both domestic and international imperatives, and better balancing development and security, we should fully understand the urgent need for our country to take part in WTO reform, and the significance of our participation. With a keener sense of responsibility and a stronger drive for innovation, we should fully participate in reforming the WTO and adjusting international economic and trade rules, and promote deeper reform and high-quality development through high-standard opening up.

Accession to the WTO has been a milestone in our country's opening-up process. In only two decades since 2001, China has seen its total trade in goods increase by a factor of 11. It has become the world's largest trading nation in goods, and a major trading partner for more than 140 countries and regions. It contributes an annual average of almost 30 percent of global economic growth. Accordingly, China's engagement with the WTO has also undergone historic changes, from a passive follower of international economic and trade rules to an active implementer, and then to a major participant in shaping these rules. China's accession to the WTO has accelerated its

* Main points of the speech at the eighth group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

development and benefited the whole world. This major decision has proved momentous and correct.

In participating in the reform of the WTO, we will firmly safeguard the authority and effectiveness of the multilateral trading system with the WTO at its core, and actively seek to restore the normal operation of dispute settlement mechanisms under the WTO. We will stand firmly on the right side of history, follow the general trend of economic globalization, take a clear stance in favor of free trade and true multilateralism, resolutely oppose unilateralism and protectionism, reject politicization, weaponization and over-securitization of economic and trade issues, and promote an open world economy. Upholding the vision of a community with a shared future for humanity, we will upgrade and refine our plans for full involvement in the extensive reform of the WTO. We will firmly safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of developing countries, including our own.

Promoting reform and development through opening up is the key to China's continued success in pursuing modernization. This year marks the 45th anniversary of China's reform and opening up. We will expand our efforts to promote domestic reform at a steady pace while opening wider to the outside world. We will be more proactive in implementing the most demanding international economic and trade rules, and steadily expand institutional opening up in rules, regulations, management and standards. We will move faster to explore new heights of opening up, build new mechanisms for a higher-standard open economy, and work harder on the new development dynamic. We will foster a world-class business environment that is market-oriented, law-based and internationalized. As China has applied to join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Digital Economy Partnership Agreement, we will further tap our potential for imports, ease market access, boost deeper multilateral and bilateral cooperation, and make greater efforts to attract foreign investment. We will build China into a strong trading nation, move our trade in goods upmarket, create innovative approaches to our trade in services, and promote digital

trade. Through digital and green trade, we will further improve our position in the international division of labor and move up to the medium-high end of the global value chain. At the same time, we must ensure our economic security.

We need to build up our capacity for high-standard opening up. Through extensive surveys and research, and based on our successful experience in opening up, we will strengthen strategic, systematic and forward-looking planning. We must have an accurate and thorough understanding of the latest developments and challenges in the global economic and trade landscape so that we are always well-prepared and can apply appropriate policies and take effective actions. We will better leverage international rules to safeguard our rights and interests in development, and train more people who excel in political reliability, professional competence, and personal integrity to serve high-standard opening up. We must coordinate our efforts in opening up and security, safeguard national security and interests by tackling emerging challenges, and pursue cooperation for win-win results.

China's Development: New Momentum and Opportunities for the World*

November 16, 2023

This year, China's economy has made a steady recovery and taken a turn for the better. Our growth rate is among the highest of the major economies, and solid gains have been made in our pursuit of high-quality development. China remains the most powerful driver of economic growth and will generate one-third of global growth this year. As some leaders of the business community have said, China has become the most favorable investment destination, and the "next China" is still China. We invite friends from business communities across the world to invest and deepen your footprint in China.

China enjoys numerous distinct strengths, including a socialist market economic system, a supersized market in terms of demand, a full-fledged industrial system in terms of supply, an extensive workforce of skilled workers and competent specialists, and an abundance of entrepreneurs of high caliber. China's economic development is self-generative and resilient and has great potential. In the past, China surmounted numerous difficulties and obstacles and made historic progress by defusing risks and meeting challenges. Today, blessed by its strong resilience, enormous potential, and ample room for maneuver, the overall Chinese economy remains promising, and it will remain so in the long run. We have the confidence and ability to achieve long-term and stable growth, and through our development, we will continue to offer the world new growth momentum and opportunities.

* Part of the written speech at the APEC CEO Summit held in San Francisco, the United States.

China is committed to the new vision of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, and we are pursuing high-quality development, or high value-added and green economic growth. Recent years have seen rapid growth in China's export of the "new trio" of new energy vehicles, lithium-ion batteries, and photovoltaic products. A national market for voluntary greenhouse gas reduction trading will soon be established, which will create huge green market opportunities. We will expedite our efforts to modernize the industrial system, foster new drivers of growth, create more room for development, and provide better institutional safeguards that enable business entities of all types to share in the gains of development.

China will open its door wider to promote development. We will continue to advance high-standard opening up and further expand market access. We have announced the removal of all restrictive measures on foreign investment in manufacturing. The Sixth China International Import Expo was held recently, and the Second Global Digital Trade Expo will be held later this month. All these steps will help expand China's opening up and bring more development opportunities and benefits for other countries. China is applying high standards to its implementation of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement. To advance the process of acceding to the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Digital Economy Partnership Agreement, and to expand a globally oriented network of high-standard free trade areas, China is working to align itself with the most demanding economic and trade rules of these two agreements. Ten years ago, I proposed the Belt and Road Initiative. Last month, China hosted the Third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, which resulted in 458 deliverables. Chinese financial institutions established a financing envelope of RMB780 billion for Belt and Road projects, and Chinese and foreign companies reached business deals worth US\$97.2 billion. All this will contribute to high-quality Belt and Road cooperation and provide strong momentum for connectivity, development and prosperity around the world.

However the global situation may evolve, China's resolve to foster a market-oriented, law-based and internationalized business environment will not change, and nor will our policy of providing equal and quality services to foreign investors. We will further improve the mechanisms for protecting the rights and interests of foreign investors, further reduce the scope of the negative list applying to foreign investment, fully ensure national treatment for foreign investors, and continue to strengthen intellectual property rights protection. We will strive to tear down the barriers to the flow of innovation factors, expand reform of the digital economy, and promote a free and orderly flow of data in compliance with the law. We will also take more "heart-warming" measures, such as improving the policies on entry and settlement of foreign nationals in China, and removing financial, medical, e-payment and other obstacles that inconvenience them. All this is designed to make it easier for foreign companies to invest and operate in China.

I wish to emphasize that overcoming economic challenges, making steady progress, and achieving high-quality development are essential to advancing Chinese modernization. Our immutable goal is to deliver a better life to the whole population of more than 1.4 billion Chinese people. For the world, this means a broader market and unprecedented cooperation opportunities. It will also inject powerful impetus into the global modernization endeavor.

Build New Mechanisms for a Higher-Standard Open Economy*

November 15, 2024

China will build new mechanisms for a higher-standard open economy and continue to share China's development opportunities with the world. Opening up is a defining characteristic of Chinese modernization. Since the start of this year, China has lifted all restrictions on foreign investment in manufacturing, and established for the first time a nationwide negative-list system for cross-border trade in services. We have taken systematic steps to further open telecoms, the internet, education, culture, medical services, and other sectors. We have also committed to applying the most demanding international economic and trade rules, including those in the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Digital Economy Partnership Agreement, as part of our plans to steadily increase institutional opening up. We have expanded the coverage of the 144-hour visa-free transit policy to facilitate inbound visits to China, and "China Travel" is growing in popularity around the world. Moving forward, China will introduce more policies for voluntary and unilateral opening up, expand its globally oriented network of high-standard free trade areas, and open its doors even wider to the world.

* Part of the written speech at the APEC CEO Summit held in Lima, Peru.



Delivering a speech after visiting the exhibition "A Great Journey: The 13 Years of the CPC Central Committee in Yan'an" at the Yan'an Revolutionary Memorial Hall in Shaanxi Province, alongside Li Qiang (3rd right), Zhao Leji (3rd left), Wang Huning (2nd right), Cai Qi (2nd left), Ding Xuexiang (1st right), and Li Xi (1st left), October 27, 2022. Led by Xi, the Standing Committee members of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee paid their respects at revolutionary heritage sites in Yan'an City.



Pledging allegiance to the Constitution after being unanimously elected president of the PRC and chairman of the Central Military Commission of the PRC at the First Session of the 14th National People's Congress, March 10, 2023.



Greeting passengers on a ferry at Xuwen Port in Xuwen County, Zhanjiang City, on the first day of his visit to Guangdong Province, April 10-13, 2023.



Visiting the new exhibition hall of the Sanxingdui Museum in Guanghan City on the second day of his visit to Sichuan Province, July 25-27, 2023.



Chatting with Shi Ruijuan and her family at their home in Beiji Village, Mobe City, on the first day of his visit to Heilongjiang Province, September 6-8, 2023.



Greeting vendors at Yiwu International Trade Market on the first day of his visit to Zhejiang Province, September 20-21, 2023.



Speaking to staff at Sinopec Jiujiang Company on the first day of his visit to Jiangxi Province, October 10-13, 2023.



Chatting with shoppers on Ancient Culture Street on the first day of his visit to local communities in Tianjin, February 1-2, 2024.



Chatting with farmers and agricultural technicians at Gangzhongping Village, Changde City, on the second day of his visit to Hunan Province, March 18-21, 2024.



With Young Pioneers while participating in a voluntary tree-planting activity in Lucheng Town, Tongzhou District, Beijing, April 3, 2024.



Meeting with Ma Ying-jeou in Beijing, April 10, 2024.



With loaders, truck and train drivers, and management personnel at the Central Railway Container Terminal in Chongqing International Logistics Hub Park on the first day of his visit to Chongqing, April 22-24, 2024.



At Rizhao Port on the first day of his visit to Shandong Province, May 22-24, 2024.



Delivering a speech on the first day of a meeting of the Central Military Commission on political work held in Yan'an City, Shaanxi Province, June 17-19, 2024.

自尊 自信 自立 自强



Communicating with students during a moral and political lesson on "My Hometown in the New Era" for Class 1 of Grade 10 at Golog-Xining Ethnic Middle School on the first day of his visit to Qinghai Province, June 18-19, 2024.



With Professor Li Deren (right) of Wuban University, a member of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS) and the Chinese Academy of Engineering (CAE), and Professor Xue Qikun (left) of Tsinghua University, a member of the CAS. On June 24, 2024, Xi presented the two scientists with the Highest National Award for Science and Technology at a joint session of the National Science and Technology Conference, the National Science and Technology Award Conference, the 21st General Assembly of the Members of the CAS, and the 17th General Assembly of the Members of the CAE.



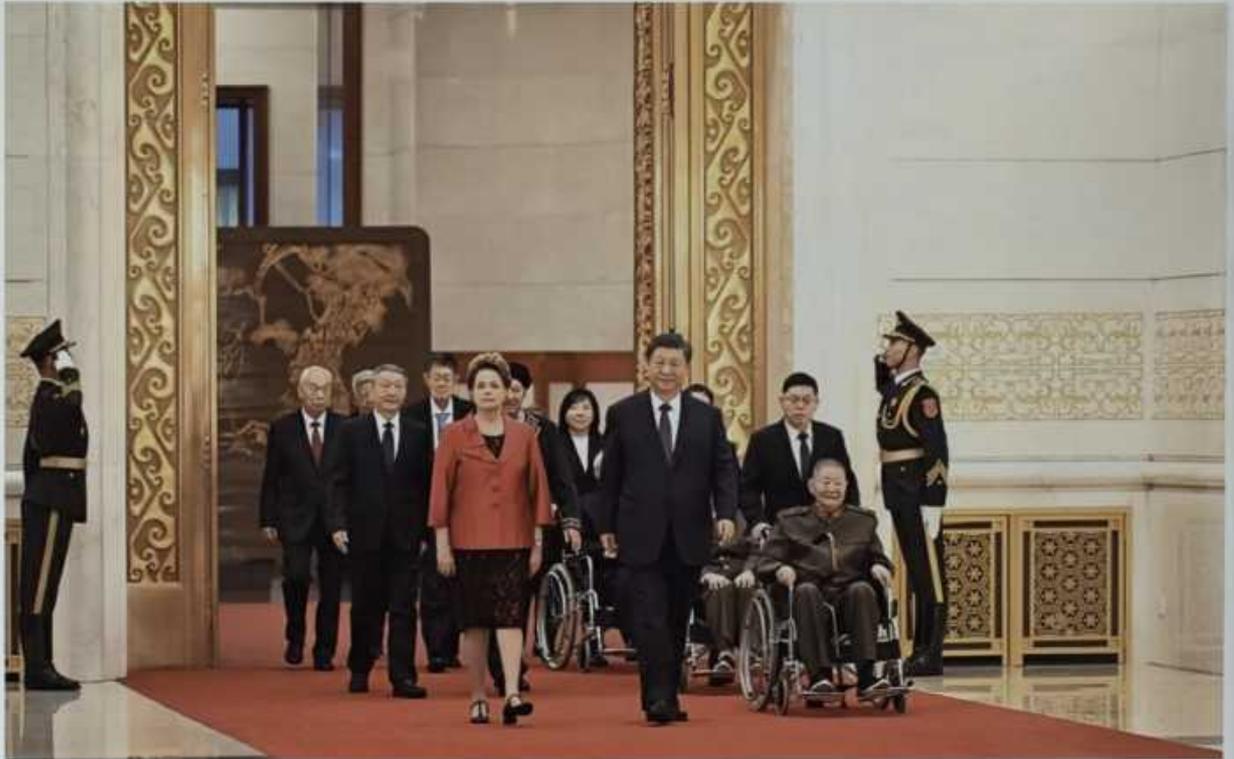
At the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee, alongside Li Qiang (3rd right), Zhao Leji (3rd left), Wang Huning (2nd right), Cai Qi (2nd left), Ding Xuexiang (1st right), and Li Xi (1st left). The session was held in Beijing on July 15-18, 2024.



Greeting representatives to an event to celebrate the 40th Teachers' Day and commend model groups and individuals in education, right before the opening of the National Education Conference held in Beijing, September 9-10, 2024.



By the Yellow River near Zhongshan Bridge in Lanzhou City on the second day of his visit to Gansu Province, September 10-13, 2024.



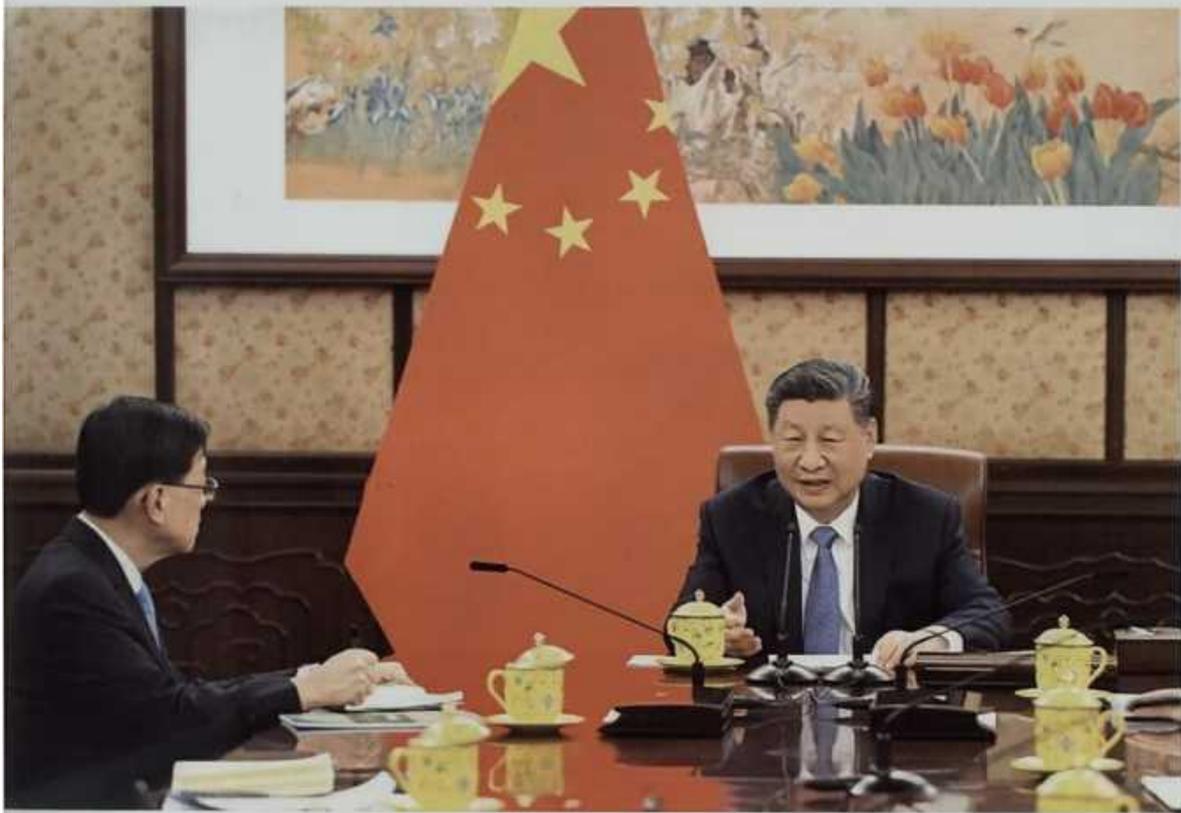
Accompanying awardees to the presentation ceremony for national medals and honorary titles of the PRC at the Great Hall of the People, Beijing, September 29, 2024.



With officers and soldiers of a PLA Rocket Force brigade during an inspection of their equipment drills, October 17, 2024.



Speaking to researchers and corporate executives at Hefei Binhu Science City on the first day of his visit to Anhui Province, October 17-18, 2024.



Meeting with John Lee Ka-chiu, chief executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, to hear his work report at Zhongnanhai, Beijing, December 13, 2024.



Administering the oath of office to Sam Hou Fai as the sixth-term chief executive of the Macao Special Administrative Region (MSAR) at the meeting to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Macao's return to the motherland and to inaugurate the sixth-term government of the MSAR before delivering a speech at the Macao East Asian Games Dome, December 20, 2024.

New Quality Productive Forces for High-Quality Development

Major Issues in Current Economic Work*

December 15, 2022

Next year's economic work will involve a plethora of issues, but we must bear in mind the overall strategic picture and focus on the key problems. We should start with improving public expectations and boosting confidence in development, and pay close attention to major and key links, as this will lay the ground for overall success in our work.

I. Expanding Domestic Demand

The prominent issue we face in economic development at present is insufficient aggregate demand. Therefore, we should vigorously implement our strategy for expanding domestic demand and adopt more effective measures to ensure a virtuous cycle of social reproduction. In the past, China expanded domestic demand in order to effectively respond to the Asian financial crisis in 1998, the global financial crisis in 2008, and the impact of Covid-19 since 2020, and has thus accumulated successful experience in this regard. Now we should optimize our policy measures to give full play to the fundamental role of consumption and the key role of investment.

First, we should prioritize the recovery and expansion of consumption. With China making steady strides in new industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernization, consumption increasingly plays a fundamental role in driving economic growth. To fully unleash the potential of consumption, we

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

should boost consumer purchasing power, improve the environment for consumption, and create new consumption scenarios. As there is a direct correlation between consumption and income, we must raise the incomes of both urban and rural residents through various channels. It is especially important to increase the spending power of the low- and middle-income groups, which have a high propensity to consume but were severely affected by Covid-19. Steps should be taken to prudently increase consumer credit to support spending on housing improvements, new energy vehicles, eldercare, and services related to education, health care, culture, and sports.

Second, we should drive investment society-wide with government investment and policy incentives. Currently, private investment expectations are low. We must fully harness the guiding role of government investment, which is a powerful tool for responding to cyclical fluctuations in the economy. Government investment should be ramped up to lay strong foundations, generate long-term benefits, strengthen areas of weakness, and adjust the economic structure. We should expedite the implementation of major projects under the 14th Five-year Plan, strengthen infrastructure development in transport, energy, water conservancy, agriculture, and information, and advance infrastructure connectivity between regions. We should support city clusters and metropolitan areas in building modern infrastructure systems and implement initiatives for urban renewal and rural development. We should increase investment in technology and industry and adopt a forward-looking approach to the development of major scientific and technological infrastructure and R&D capabilities for core technologies in key fields. We should see that policy-based finance plays its role in countercyclical regulation, and give more support to financing major projects in line with national development planning and industrial policy priority, while ensuring a balance between social and economic returns. We should widen market access for private investment to encourage and attract more private capital into major national projects and projects aimed at strengthening areas of weakness. We should do more to identify prospective projects, strengthen prepara-

tions, and provide stronger support in terms of production factors.

The supporting role of exports for economic growth should be further leveraged. We should keep exports to developed countries stable and expand exports to emerging economies. We should upgrade the processing trade, increase the value added of exports, expand trade in services, and develop digital trade. We should consolidate and expand export strengths in new industries, such as new energy vehicles, and increase imports of advanced technologies, important equipment, and energy and resources. We should give full play to the role of the China-Europe Railway Express and work faster to build China into a strong trading nation.

II. Building a Modern Industrial System

We need to bolster domestic foundations in order to remain on a solid footing. China has the world's most complete industrial system and a domestic market with the greatest potential for growth. We must take effective steps to boost the resilience and security of our industrial and supply chains and move rapidly to strengthen areas of weakness and build on existing strengths.

First, we should ensure smooth economic flows. China's economy must safeguard national security, meet basic living needs, and ensure the normal functioning of infrastructure and basic industries. We need to improve our capacity for food, energy and resource security. In particular, we must maintain firm control of our own food supply. We should launch a new drive to increase China's grain production capacity by 50 million tonnes, further expand production capacity by improving farmland quality and applying science and technology, and increase yields by better utilizing our country's land resources. Greater efforts should be made to explore and develop important domestic energy and mineral resources and to discover more untapped reserves and boost production. We should ensure power generation, transmission, loading and storage are well-coordinated and ramp up our efforts to develop a new energy system. We should support enterprises in

teaming up to do business overseas and diversify our imports. We should build up our capacity to guarantee strategic reserves.

Second, we should accelerate the upgrading of China's industrial system. We should make forward plans for key areas and fully modernize the industrial system. We must consolidate the leading position of traditionally competitive industries while also carving out new advantages. We should seize the opportunities arising from changes to the structure and configuration of global industry to open up new fields and succeed in new areas. Traditional manufacturing is the foundation of a modern industrial system. We must accelerate the digitalization of traditional manufacturing, and promote advanced and applicable technologies to make this sector higher-end, smarter, and more eco-friendly. Strategic emerging industries are the pillars and areas on which future development depends. We should promote research, development and application of frontier technologies for new energy, artificial intelligence, biological manufacturing, green and low-carbon industries, and quantum computing, and support the development of specialized enterprises that use advanced technologies to produce unique and innovative products. We should devote significant efforts to developing the digital economy, strengthening regular oversight, and supporting platform enterprises to fully harness their potential to drive development, create employment, and increase international competitiveness.

III. Developing Both the Public and Non-Public Sectors

For some time, there has been some inaccurate and even plainly false speculation in society about whether we remain committed to the socialist market economy and to consolidating and developing the public sector and at the same time encouraging, supporting and guiding the development of the non-public sector. Our attitude must be clear and unequivocal: We will continue to pursue reforms to develop the socialist market economy and work hard to develop both the public and non-public sectors.

First, we should deepen the reform of state-owned capital and state-owned enterprises (SOEs), and increase the core competitiveness of SOEs. The three-year action plan for SOE reform has been implemented with gratifying results. We should now prepare for the formulation of a new action plan to deepen SOE reform, with a focus on strengthening core competitiveness and core functions in line with the evolving landscape. The scale of China's for-profit state-owned assets is large. However, some SOEs deliver a low return on assets and lack innovative capabilities, which is not compatible with the requirements of making state-owned capital and enterprises stronger, better and bigger and ensuring the state-owned sector provides strategic support for the economy. Continuing with a category-based reform approach, we should help SOEs balance their economic and social responsibilities and improve the system for managing state-owned assets with a priority on capital management. We should give full play to the role of companies responsible for the investment and operation of state-owned capital, press ahead with market-based merging and restructuring of SOEs, and develop a number of innovative SOEs. We should improve modern corporate governance of SOEs with distinctive Chinese characteristics and see that they truly operate on market mechanisms and develop themselves into world-class enterprises at a faster pace.

Second, we should further improve the environment for developing private businesses and promote the growth of the private sector. The private sector plays an important role in economic and social development, employment, fiscal revenue, and scientific and technological innovation. We should ensure equal treatment for SOEs and private businesses in laws and institutions, and encourage and support the growth of the private sector and private businesses with favorable policies and media coverage. We should protect the property rights of private enterprises and the rights and interests of entrepreneurs in accordance with the law. We will thoroughly review and revise laws, regulations and policies concerning businesses and steadfastly remove barriers to equal market access. We should

refine the institutions for ensuring fair competition and oppose local protectionism and administrative monopolies to open up more space for private enterprises. We should strengthen management and services for micro, small and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs) and support the development of MSMEs and individual businesses. Officials at all levels should take practical steps to help private businesses resolve difficulties and cultivate a cordial and clean relationship between government and business. SOEs, private businesses, and foreign-funded companies should all operate in compliance with laws and regulations.

IV. Redoubling Efforts to Attract and Utilize Foreign Investment

China's utilization of foreign capital continued to grow at a fairly rapid pace in 2022. Across the globe, both developed countries and emerging economies have made attracting and utilizing foreign investment a major state policy, generating more intense international competition for investment. To promote high-standard opening up, we need to leverage the strengths of China's enormous market and attract global resources and production factors with our strong domestic economy. We must not only retain existing high-quality foreign investment but also attract more. These efforts will help improve the level and quality of trade and investment cooperation.

First, we should expand market access. We should shorten the negative list for foreign investment as appropriate, and open the modern services sector wider. We should give full play to the role of pilot free trade zones, Hainan Free Trade Port, development zones and bonded areas, and other platforms that serve as forerunners and testing grounds for opening up. Policies on foreign investment access that have already been announced must be implemented without delay.

Second, we should improve all aspects of the business environment. To promote fair competition, we should implement national treatment for foreign-funded companies and ensure that they can

participate in government procurement, bidding, and standard-setting on an equal footing and in accordance with the law. Greater protection should be provided for intellectual property rights and the legitimate rights and interests of foreign investors. We should take active steps to join the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), the Digital Economy Partnership Agreement (DEPA), and other high-standard economic and trade agreements. Deeper reform should be carried out in related areas to actively promote alignment with corresponding rules, regulations, management practices, and standards.

Third, we should take targeted steps to improve services for foreign-funded companies. We should strengthen communication and exchanges with foreign investors, provide as much convenience as possible for foreign businesspeople coming to China for trade and investment negotiations, and see that Chinese economic and trade professionals regularly travel overseas to attract foreign investment.

V. Forestalling and Defusing Serious Economic and Financial Risks

We must address both symptoms and root causes, and balance short-term and long-term objectives to forestall systemic risks.

First, we should guard against systemic risks triggered by the real estate sector. The real estate sector has a significant impact on economic growth, employment, fiscal revenue, residents' wealth, and financial stability. We must strike a balance between preventing systemic risks and guarding against moral hazard, and we must make every effort to handle risks to ensure steady development of the real estate market. All regions and relevant departments should shoulder their respective responsibilities. We should adopt city-specific policies to improve market expectations, expand effective demand, support people in buying their first homes or improving their housing, facilitate the implementation of childbirth and talent policies, and address the housing difficulties faced by our people, especially new urban

residents and young people. We should encourage local governments and financial institutions to expand the supply of government-subsidized rental housing and to study ways to develop the long-term rental housing market. Based on the premise that housing is for living in, not for speculation, we should conduct an in-depth analysis of major trends and structural changes in both the supply-demand relationship in the real estate market and the pattern of urbanization. We should move faster on fundamental policies for the medium and long term, to eliminate the long-standing problems arising from a development model based on high debt, high leverage, and high turnover, and facilitate a smooth transition to a new model of development for the real estate sector.

Second, we should forestall and defuse financial risks. The financial sector is integral to China's overall development. We must coordinate efforts to guard against major financial risks and moral hazard and verify that all stakeholders fulfill their responsibilities. To ensure that no regional or systemic financial risks arise, we must be ready to respond to issues promptly. We should strengthen the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee over financial work and expand the reform of the financial system.

Third, we should forestall and defuse local government debt risks. We must ensure that provincial governments shoulder the primary responsibility for preventing and resolving hidden debts. We need to step up efforts to deal with existing hidden debts, improve the mix of debt maturities, and reduce the burden of interest payments. We should steadily bring hidden and legally mandated local-government debt under unified supervision, reduce existing debt, and resolutely curb the creation of new debt. We should prohibit any forms of disguised borrowing and prevent local SOEs and public institutions from becoming platforms for local financing. We should strengthen holistic governance over local government financing platform companies and facilitate their transformation on a category-by-category basis. We should extend reform of the fiscal and taxation systems, improve the system of transfer payments, and put in place a sound

fiscal system at and below the provincial level. We must work steadily to improve the local tax system and make sure that local governments have a steady source of financial revenue to pursue self-development.

There are many other important tasks to be completed in 2023. We must promote rural revitalization, ensure stable grain output, resolutely prevent any large-scale relapse into poverty, facilitate the flow of production factors between urban and rural areas, and build a beautiful and harmonious countryside that is desirable to live and work in. A new round of initiatives should be launched to drive deeper reform across the board, with a particular focus on building a high-standard socialist market economy and promoting high-standard opening up. We must make good preparations to ensure the success of the Third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation and promote the high-quality development of Belt and Road cooperation. It is important that we continue to pursue major strategies for regional development and for coordinated development between regions, and promote complementary development between all regions, with each region fully leveraging its strengths. As we transition towards green economic and social development, we must coordinate our efforts to cut carbon emissions, reduce pollution, expand green development, and pursue economic growth. We should create conditions for expediting the transition from dual control over the volume and intensity of energy use to dual control over the volume and intensity of carbon emissions. We should continue working to keep our skies blue, waters clear, and lands clean and build a beautiful China.

Build China into an Agricultural Powerhouse*

December 23, 2022

While drawing up a grand blueprint for building a great modern socialist country, the 20th CPC National Congress unveiled a general plan for agricultural and rural work. To put it briefly, in our work related to agriculture, rural areas, and rural people, we need to advance rural revitalization in the next five years, realize basic agricultural modernization by 2035, and build China into an agricultural powerhouse by the middle of the century. This is a plan of strategic importance drawn up by the central Party leadership for building a great modern socialist country in all respects. To build a strong country, we must first strengthen agriculture; a country can only be strong if its agriculture is strong. Without a strong agriculture, there can never be a strong modern country; without agricultural and rural modernization, there can never be a complete socialist modernization. We must clearly understand this strategic plan of the Party Central Committee and prioritize accelerating the development of strong agriculture as a cornerstone in building a great modern socialist country.

Strong agriculture lays the groundwork for building a great modern socialist country. Agriculture is one of our foundations, and if the foundations of a building are not solid, the building will not be stable. No matter how modern our society becomes, guaranteeing a stable supply of food and other important agricultural products for 1.4 billion people always remains our top priority. The people's aspiration for a better life cannot be fulfilled without agricultural development. The ultimate purpose of building a modern socialist country is

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

to bring a better life to the people. As we advance modernization and achieve greater material prosperity, the people will grow increasingly fond of the green hills and clear waters of the countryside. In addition to ensuring the supply of food and other important agricultural products, agriculture can play a greater positive role in eco-environmental conservation, leisure and sightseeing tourism, and cultural preservation. Agriculture is an industry that employs nearly 200 million people, and the countryside is the permanent home of almost 500 million rural residents. Only when agriculture is developed and rural work is done well, can our rural people live and work in peace and comfort, having a full sense of gain, fulfillment and security.

Without a booming agricultural sector, there would be no high-quality development. We cannot maintain economic stability unless our agricultural sector is robust, our supply of agricultural products is secured, our prices are stable, and our people have peace of mind. In expanding modernization, agriculture and rural areas provide a broad stage on which much work can be done. Modernization for hundreds of millions of rural residents as a whole will unleash enormous creative momentum and consumption potential, giving great impetus to economic and social development. Facilitating smooth flows between industry and agriculture and between urban and rural areas is an important part of our efforts to ensure unimpeded flows in the domestic economy and to strengthen the economy's resilience and strategic depth. Strengthening agriculture is key to major breakthroughs that will boost domestic demand, stabilize economic growth, and promote development.

Agriculture is also the foundation of our national security. It provides security for life and survival and thus is vital for national security. In today's world, change on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating, the Covid-19 pandemic has persisted and resurged, external suppression and containment are escalating, and various uncertain and unpredictable factors have multiplied. If something were to go wrong with our agriculture, our food supply would fall into others' hands, and we would have to rely on others to feed

ourselves. Then what use would there be in talking about modernization? Only when we build up our agriculture and make sure our food supply is completely guaranteed can we have the confidence and latitude to maintain stability, respond to changes, and open up new prospects.

At present, agriculture and rural areas remain an area of weakness in our country's modernization drive. Since the advent of the new era in 2012, the CPC central leadership has followed the tradition of attaching great importance to agriculture, rural areas, and rural people. Building on the work done since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 and particularly since the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, the CPC central leadership has fought a critical battle against poverty and implemented a rural revitalization strategy, working with limited resources to steadily solve the food problems for over 1.4 billion people. As a result, all rural residents have shaken off extreme poverty and joined our society of moderate prosperity in all respects. China's great achievements in matters related to agriculture, rural areas, and rural people have won worldwide recognition.

At the same time, due to inadequate per capita resources, weak foundations, numerous long-standing problems, and other factors, agriculture, rural areas, and rural people still need further support. Compared with new industrialization, informatization, and urbanization, agricultural modernization lags far behind. This mainly manifests in the following areas:

- Our agricultural production efficiency is relatively low, with labor productivity being only 25.3 percent of that in non-agricultural sectors.
- The comparative performance of our agriculture is poor.
- Our agricultural products are notably uncompetitive on the international market, with domestic prices of food and other agricultural products generally higher than those on the international market.
- Rural areas lag behind cities in terms of infrastructure and public services.

- The income ratios and consumption spending ratios of urban and rural residents are 2.5:1 and 1.9:1 respectively.

These are important reasons why the CPC central leadership has given greater weight to advancing rural revitalization and moving faster to boost China's strength in agriculture.

The basic requisite for building an agricultural powerhouse is to modernize the agricultural sector. The powerhouse we aim to build and the modernization we aim to achieve share the common characteristics of other countries that have already realized agricultural modernization. More importantly, they also possess Chinese characteristics based on our own national conditions. The common characteristics mean that we should follow the general laws of agricultural modernization and build a strong and competitive agriculture that guarantees sound supply with advanced scientific and technological equipment, a robust operating system, and high industrial resilience. The Chinese characteristics mean that we must ground ourselves in our national context, act in line with our resource endowment as a populous country with limited arable land, stay rooted in our long history as a farming civilization, and respond to the call of the times for harmony between humanity and nature. And we must follow our own path of agricultural modernization, rather than imitating other countries' models.

In my opinion, the Chinese characteristics should include the following aspects:

First, we must rely on our own strength to secure our food supply. With a population of 1.4 billion people, China must, at all times, ensure that its food supply is firmly in its own hands. We need to pay attention to both output and production capacity, both quantity and quality, and both agricultural production and eco-environmental conservation, and we need to make our industrial and supply chains for agriculture more resilient and stable.

Second, we must rely on our two-tiered operational system to develop agriculture. Given the basic reality that our agricultural sector is made up of a vast number of smallholder farmers, we

should support both joint and individual farming operations, with household operations as the primary unit. We should provide extensive commercial agricultural services for smallholder farmers, foster new types of agribusiness, and develop appropriately scaled agricultural operations with Chinese characteristics.

Third, we must develop eco-friendly, low-carbon agriculture. Green is the fundamental color of agriculture, and ecology is the base of agriculture. We must abandon the old approach of “draining ponds to catch fish”, “burning down forests to hunt game”, “overwatering and overfertilizing crops”, and “large-scale demolition and construction”. We should work to achieve a positive interplay between agricultural production, rural development, countryside living, and ecosystem conservation; make eco-agriculture and a low-carbon countryside a reality; save resources and be environmentally friendly; and keep our waters clear and mountains green.

Fourth, we must carry forward China’s farming civilization. Our country boasts a splendid, time-honored agricultural civilization, and we must ensure that its roots continue to spread. We should make sure our rural social structure and organization are complete and functioning, keep alive and carry forward our cultural heritage and virtues, encourage rural-urban cultural exchanges, promote coordinated material and cultural-ethical progress, and see that our farmers are confident, self-reliant, enterprising, and filled with inner strength.

Fifth, we must make steady progress in pursuing common prosperity. We should work to achieve integrated urban-rural development, make basic public services equally available to both urban and rural residents, and ensure modern standards of living in rural areas, in order to facilitate the well-rounded development of our rural residents and enable them to lead happier and more prosperous lives. In addition, our efforts to build a strong agriculture will also contribute to global endeavors to promote sustainable development and eliminate poverty.

Accelerating the building of China into an agricultural powerhouse is a key strategic goal of our Party concerning agriculture, rural areas,

and rural people on our new journey in the new era. We must maintain strategic resolve and make sustained efforts to see things through. At present, it is imperative that we concentrate on the goal of building up China's strength in agriculture, and make sound plans to advance the work related to agriculture, rural areas, and rural people.

First, we should strengthen top-level design. In devising plans for moving faster to build up China's strength in agriculture, we should formulate roadmaps and programs to meet the objectives for the next five years, for 2035, and for the middle of the century, and we should make sure these plans carry real regulatory force. We should align new plans with existing ones, maintain continuity in our efforts, and avoid constantly changing our policies and measures. Once made, these plans must be taken seriously and implemented strictly.

Second, we should move forward steadily step by step. The development of an agricultural powerhouse is a long and arduous task, and we must adopt an incremental approach, proceed surely and steadily, and persevere until we accomplish the mission. At present, we should focus on promoting rural revitalization across the board and do what is necessary to build the foundations for long-term benefits.

Third, we should tailor measures to local conditions and seek real outcomes. In accordance with their available resources and stages of development, all localities should leverage their strengths, serve the overall national interests, and make their due contributions. Starting with practical issues that are the most pressing for local agricultural and rural development and that are of the greatest concern to rural residents, they should give full play to the drive, initiative and creativity of farmers, take on tasks one at a time with the determination to see them through, and refrain from launching projects that are grandiose, unrealistic, or driven by vanity.

Foster a New Development Dynamic to Seize Future Opportunities*

January 31, 2023

To rapidly create a new development dynamic is a strategic task proposed at our Party's 20th National Congress in 2022. Today, the Political Bureau is holding its second group study session, with a specific focus on this topic. The primary goal is to build a deeper understanding of the significance of fostering the new development dynamic, in the context of our study and application of the guiding principles outlined at the 20th CPC National Congress and the Central Conference on Economic Work. We are going to examine the problems existing in our work, and devise effective measures to resolve the primary challenges hindering the creation of the dynamic.

In April 2020, at the meeting of the Central Commission for Financial and Economic Affairs, I proposed creating a new development dynamic with the domestic economy as the mainstay and the domestic economy and international engagement providing mutual reinforcement. Since then, experience has given us a deeper understanding of the strategic importance of this dynamic, and we have formulated more effective approaches. From now on the central task of our Party is to unite the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and lead them in a concerted effort to realize the Second Centenary Goal of building China into a great modern socialist country, and to advance the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation through a Chinese path to modernization. China's population of more than 1.4 billion

* Main part of the speech at the second group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

exceeds the combined total of all developed countries in the world today, and modernizing a country of this size is a task of unparalleled difficulty and complexity. Therefore, in order to steer development, we must not lose hold of the initiative. China's super-sized economy necessitates and enables the maintenance of a smooth domestic economic flow.

Accelerating the creation of a new development dynamic is a strategic decision that can effectively balance development and security in our efforts to achieve the Second Centenary Goal. It serves as a strategic plan to ensure our future development remains under our control. Only by expediting the establishment of the new dynamic can we secure a solid foundation for economic growth, increase the security and stability of our development, improve our resilience and our capacity to withstand competition, and sustain development in the face of any challenges or difficulties, whether anticipated or otherwise. This way, we can ensure our pursuit of national rejuvenation is neither delayed nor interrupted, and we can finally achieve our goal of building a great modern socialist country in all respects.

Over the past two years, we have made solid progress and delivered tangible results. We have reached a firm consensus, laid sound foundations for our continued endeavors, and improved our policy framework. Some regions have made significant progress in contributing to and integrating into the new development dynamic. Nevertheless, our field studies have still identified some prominent issues that require close attention, earnest analysis, and effective resolution.

From a broad perspective, there remain onerous tasks and a considerable journey ahead if we aspire to establish the new development dynamic. To quickly create the new dynamic, we should approach our research and planning from two dimensions. First, we must adopt targeted measures to strengthen the weaknesses in our industrial and supply chains to ensure unimpeded flows within the national economy. Second, we must boost the intrinsic dynamism and reliability of our domestic economy, sharpen our international competitive edge, and amplify our appeal and influence within the

global economic landscape. To achieve these, we must embrace a problem-oriented approach and systems thinking. Our focus should be on resolving the primary challenges and problems hindering the creation of the new development dynamic. We must drive deeper all-round reform and break new ground in institutions and approaches, while leveraging our strengths and mitigating our shortcomings.

First, we should boost domestic demand and advance supply-side structural reform, thereby improving the dynamism and reliability of the domestic economy. The key to creating the new dynamic is to ensure an unimpeded economic flow – the realization of which largely hinges on generating strong impetus, a dynamic and balanced equilibrium, and synergistic interactions in both supply and demand. This requires aligning the strategies of expanding domestic demand with supply-side structural reform, and making simultaneous and coordinated efforts to boost both supply and demand, with the goal of achieving an optimal dynamic equilibrium and a virtuous cycle within the national economy, where demand propels supply and supply in turn generates demand.

We must implement the strategic blueprint for expanding domestic demand, and promptly create a complete framework that prioritizes boosting consumer demand through income support, fostering investment demand with reasonable returns, and increasing financial demand with constraints on capital and debt. It is important that we establish a sustainable mechanism that stimulates consumer spending. This is done through granting citizens a stable source of income, reducing their financial concerns, and creating a consumer-friendly environment. It is also essential that we improve the mechanism to boost investment. This will be achieved by expanding the scope for effective investment, developing appropriate new infrastructure with future utilization in mind, increasing investments in high-tech and strategic emerging industries, and consistently encouraging private investors.

We must further intensify supply-side structural reform, drive scientific, technological and institutional innovation, address bottle-

necks and vulnerabilities that impede supply, boost the competitiveness and security of our industrial and supply chains, meet existing demands with self-reliant, controllable and high-quality supply, and foster and guide new demand.

The serious imbalance, mismatch, and constrained flow between supply and demand are among the root causes of major risks in the economic and financial sectors. Therefore, coordinating our efforts in expanding domestic demand and furthering supply-side structural reform will also help to prevent and resolve risks in these sectors.

Second, it is imperative to increase our strength and self-reliance in science and technology. In today's world, science and technology are the primary productive forces and the foremost drivers of competitive edge. We should therefore improve the system in which the Party Central Committee exercises unified leadership over science and technology, in order to ensure that China's strength in strategic science and technology increases, the allocation of innovation resources is optimized, and resources are mobilized nationwide to make key technological breakthroughs. Our goal is to position our country at the forefront of key scientific and technological fields, and to establish our country as a trailblazer in frontier and interdisciplinary domains, as we strive to become a global hub for science and innovation as rapidly as possible.

We should encourage effective interaction between the strategy for invigorating China through science and education, the strategy for building a talent-strong country, and the strategy for innovation-driven development, thereby forming a positive dynamic that facilitates synchronized progress in education, innovation, and talent training. We should also coordinate the planning of original innovation, integrated innovation, and open innovation to ensure they are effectively aligned, and integrate innovative, industrial and talent chains through holistic plans.

Third, we should accelerate the building of a modern industrial system, to consolidate the industrial foundations for the new development dynamic. The dynamic is built upon a modern industrial system,

and an unimpeded economic flow requires orderly and efficient interconnection among all sectors. Currently, the global industrial system and industrial and supply chains are undergoing a significant transformation, characterized by diversified distribution, regional cooperation, environmental sustainability, and accelerating digitalization. This reflects the underlying laws of economic development and the prevailing trends of our times, something that is independent of human will. In pursuing economic growth, we should continue to focus on the real economy, advance new industrialization, boost our strength in manufacturing, cyberspace, and digital development, improve the quality of products and services, and cultivate digital industry clusters that are competitive on a global scale.

To align with the overall trend in industrial development, we should coordinate industrial upgrading and transfer across timelines and regions. We should help weaker industries to remedy deficiencies, stronger industries to extend their reach, traditional industries to upgrade production chains, and emerging industries to build up new industrial chains. These efforts will make our industrial development more sustainable and competitive. It is also imperative that we further reform the mechanisms for coordinating regional development strategies and boosting market integration, optimize the distribution of productive forces, promote the orderly transfer of key sectors within and beyond China's borders, encourage enterprises to engage in the global industrial division of labor and cooperation, and advance the integration of industries in and outside China. Through these efforts, China will build a modern industrial system that is independent, controllable, safe, reliable, and highly competitive.

Fourth, we should foster coordinated development between urban and rural areas and across regions to expand the domestic economic flow. The domestic economy will realize its full potential and improve in quality only when urban and rural areas and different regions develop in a coordinated manner. Rural areas offer a vast consumer market and a massive factor market, playing an important role in the domestic economic flow. We should fully leverage the vital roles of rural areas

in these two markets, and comprehensively promote rural revitalization, as we advance urbanization centered on county seats, boost integrated development between urban and rural areas, strengthen their economic connections, and facilitate seamless economic flows.

Additionally, we must prevent the fragmentation of local markets and remove regional barriers to build a truly unified national market. It is also important that we facilitate the greater integration of diverse strategies – such as the strategy for coordinated development between regions, major strategies for regional development, and the functional zoning strategy – while optimizing the distribution of major productive forces, promoting the rational movement and efficient concentration of various production factors, and ultimately fostering unimpeded domestic economic flows.

Fifth, we should drive reform and opening up to a deeper level, injecting greater impetus and vitality into the new development dynamic characterized by the interplay between the domestic and international economic flows. We will advance reforms aimed at market-based allocation of production factors, put in place a high-standard market system, and speed up our efforts to build a unified national market. We should refine the systems that underpin the market economy, such as those related to property rights protection, market access, fair competition, and social credit. We will enact stricter measures against monopolies and unfair competition while providing regulation and guidance to promote the healthy development of capital. Additionally, we should cultivate a favorable environment for diverse market entities to invest and launch businesses, thereby improving their vitality. It is imperative to advance reform of the fiscal and financial systems. We should modernize the frameworks of fiscal policy, taxation, and finance by upgrading the budget system, optimizing tax structures, and improving transfer payment systems. We should also put in place a modern central banking system, strengthen and refine the financial regulatory system, and reinforce the systems that safeguard financial stability, while improving the functions of the capital market and fully leveraging its positive role.

We should promote high-standard opening up. Conforming to the most demanding international trade and investment rules, we are committed to expanding institutional opening up in terms of rules, regulations, management and standards, so that China can play a more significant role in the dynamics of the global economy. To foster new drivers for our global engagement, we will optimize our planning of regional opening up, accelerate the construction of the New International Land-Sea Trade Corridor in the western region, work faster to develop the Hainan Free Trade Port, and further upgrade pilot free trade zones. We will internationalize the Renminbi in an orderly manner, protect the lawful rights and interests of foreign investors, and build new strengths for our participation in international economic cooperation and competition. We will promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, remain actively involved in negotiations on international economic and trade rules, contribute to the establishment of an open, diverse and stable world economic order, and create conditions for amplifying the interplay between domestic and international markets and resources.

Develop a High-Quality Private Sector*

March 6, 2023

The year 2023 marks the first year for fully applying the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress. It is essential that we ensure sound economic and social development throughout this year, and promote overall economic recovery, as these are the foundations on which we will build China into a modern socialist country in all respects.

I hope that the China National Democratic Construction Association (CNDCA) will fully participate in the deliberation and administration of state affairs, in democratic oversight, and in political consultation under the leadership of the CPC. I encourage you to leverage your extensive connections within the economic circles and utilize your unique strengths to generate new ideas and initiatives. Based on in-depth research and studies, you should actively contribute advice and suggestions on critical topics such as promoting high-quality development, fostering a new development dynamic, building a modern economic system, increasing total factor productivity, strengthening the resilience and security of industrial and supply chains, and advancing urban-rural integration and coordinated regional development. To improve its overall capabilities, the CNDCA should further refine its capacity for grasping the political landscape, taking part in the deliberation and administration of state affairs, exercising leadership, collaborating with other entities, and addressing internal challenges.

* Part of the speech at a joint panel discussion of CPPCC National Committee members from the CNDCA and the ACFIC during the First Session of the 14th CPPCC National Committee.

As a bridge that connects the Party and the government with entrepreneurs in the private sector, the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce (ACFIC) assists the government in its administration of and service to the private sector. I hereby urge the ACFIC to prioritize efforts in the following three areas:

First, bolstering the confidence of private enterprises. The private sector has an important role to play in the CPC's long-term governance and its endeavors to unite the people and lead them towards the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, we have remained committed to consolidating and developing the public sector and to encouraging, supporting and guiding the development of the non-public sector. The status and role of the non-public sector in China's economic and social development have not changed, nor have our guidelines and policies on creating a favorable environment and providing more opportunities to boost the growth of the sector. We have always regarded private enterprises and entrepreneurs as integral to our economy, and provided support during challenging times and guidance when needed.

We should optimize the business environment for private enterprises, remove institutional barriers that impede their fair participation in market competition, and better protect their property rights and the legitimate rights and interests of entrepreneurs. We should enshrine into institutional and legal frameworks the principle of equal treatment of state-owned and private enterprises, encourage and support the development and expansion of the private sector, and boost market expectations and confidence. We should also ensure that private enterprises continue to play a crucial role in stabilizing employment and increasing incomes. This will involve adopting more effective measures to support the development of micro, small and medium-sized enterprises and individual businesses, while also supporting platform enterprises in creating more jobs, expanding consumption, and engaging in international competition.

We should take solid measures to cultivate a cordial and clean

relationship between government and business, and address the challenges faced by private enterprises and entrepreneurs, so that they can focus on business growth without undue concerns. The ACFIC should strengthen theoretical and political guidance, assisting private enterprises and entrepreneurs in understanding the CPC Central Committee's commitments to developing both the public and non-public sectors and facilitating the healthy development of the non-public sector and those working in it. This will help alleviate concerns and inspire further development.

Second, promoting the high-quality development of the private sector. The private sector is a vital force powering the new development dynamic and driving high-quality economic development. The latter necessitates higher requirements for the sector. Therefore, we should encourage private enterprises to apply the new development philosophy, help them fully understand the deficiencies and challenges faced by their sector, and support them in transforming their growth models, adjusting industrial structures, and transitioning to new drivers of growth. They should prioritize their core businesses, focus on the real economy, and commit to a path of high-quality development.

We should encourage and guide qualified private enterprises to strengthen their capacity for independent innovation, contribute more to the nation's strength and self-reliance in science and technology, and play a greater role in accelerating the application of scientific and technological advances. We should stimulate the vitality of private capital investment so that more private capital will be drawn into major national projects and key industrial and supply chains, and contribute a greater share to the new development dynamic and high-quality development. In addition, we should regulate and guide the healthy development of all types of capital in accordance with the law, effectively forestall and defuse systemic financial risks, and create an environment where enterprises under all forms of ownership can compete and grow on a level playing field.

Third, guiding private enterprises to fulfill their social responsibilities. Chinese modernization is centered on the goal of common prosperity for all. Both state-owned and private enterprises are crucial contributors to this goal, and both must play their part in achieving it. Entrepreneurs in the private sector should foster a profound commitment to the country, conscientiously apply the people-centered philosophy of development, and increase their sense of mission and responsibility in helping others prosper and promoting common prosperity. Private enterprises are encouraged to maintain harmonious labor relations and share benefits with all employees in a fair way.

Private enterprises and entrepreneurs must conduct their business activities in strict compliance with the law, exemplify entrepreneurship, and set a good example of patriotism, dedication, enterprise, innovation, law observance, and social responsibility. They are encouraged to carry forward traditional Chinese ethics, actively engage in public-interest programs and charitable initiatives, and utilize their wealth to fulfill their social responsibilities for the greater good.

Boost Financial Services in Five Fields*

October 30, 2023

To improve the quality of its services, the financial sector should put additional emphasis on sci-tech finance, green finance, inclusive finance, pension finance, and digital finance.

In the field of science and technology, finance should rise to challenges and focus on key issues. We will guide financial institutions to refine both incentives and restraints, to leverage equity, creditors' rights and insurance in a coordinated manner, to provide full-chain and full-lifecycle financial services for sci-tech companies, and to support the upgrading of manufacturing.

On green finance, financial institutions should build on the current momentum and establish the new before decommissioning the old. We will refine the policies, standards and products of green finance, expand the coverage of the China Carbon Emission Trade Exchange, and support clean energy investment, research, development and application. We will continue to promote clean and efficient utilization of coal. In order to reinforce China's energy security and boost our efforts to achieve peak carbon emissions by 2030 and carbon neutrality by 2060, we must also forestall and defuse risks that may arise during the creation of a new energy system and the transformation of energy enterprises.

Inclusive finance is required to address the critical needs of businesses and serve programs to improve lives. We will continue to improve policies on financial support for micro, small and medium-sized enterprises, and for private businesses, to make financing easier

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

and more affordable for them. We will increase financial input for rural revitalization, in order to ensure China's firm control over its food supply, boost the growth of rural industries, and increase rural incomes. Financial institutions must optimize their service delivery models to make products offering security, liquidity, and reasonable returns accessible to ordinary families.

We should improve pension finance to better serve seniors. We will intensify support for the health industry, eldercare industry, and silver economy¹ through fiscal, taxation, and financial policies, expand the targeted supply of financial products for eldercare, and encourage the development of third-pillar pension plans, to better meet the diversifying needs for pension finance.

Digital finance should be responsive to opportunities while paying close attention to security. Financial institutions must accelerate digital transformation to make their services more convenient and competitive, but at the same time retain cash and other necessary traditional services. Financial technology should be widely employed in regulating the sector to improve our capacity for digital oversight and customer protection. In addition, we will be both active and prudent in promoting the digital Renminbi.

Notes

¹ This refers to economic activities directed towards the elderly and addressing the trend of population aging. In addition to public services that meet the needs of senior citizens in nutritious meals, medical care, home care, and entertainment, it also covers commercial activities designed to fulfill the diverse product and service requirements of older people and those approaching old age. These requirements include daily supplies, smart eldercare solutions, assistive rehabilitation devices, health and personal care products, financial products, travel services, and senior-friendly adaptations for homes and public facilities.

Build China into a Financial Powerhouse*

January 16, 2024

I

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, we have actively explored the laws of financial development in the new era. With a deeper understanding of the essence of China's socialist finance and constant practical, theoretical and institutional innovations in the financial sector, we have accumulated valuable experience and pioneered a path of financial development with Chinese characteristics.

First, we must uphold the CPC Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership over the financial sector. The Party's leadership is essential to financial development with Chinese characteristics. It represents the greatest political and institutional strengths of China's financial governance. Our major achievements in the financial sector have all been made under the Party's leadership. The root cause of many problems in our financial system lies in ineffective implementation of the CPC Central Committee's decisions and plans by some financial institutions. They have slackened their efforts in upholding the Party's leadership, reinforcing the Party's political foundations, improving Party conduct, and maintaining integrity. To keep our financial work on the right track, therefore, we must uphold the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee over the financial sector and leverage the Party's core role in exercising overall leadership and coordinating all efforts in every related field.

* Excerpts from the speech at a study session on high-quality development of the financial sector, attended by principal officials at the provincial and ministerial level.

Second, we must adhere to the people-centered philosophy. Our Party-led financial endeavors are designed to benefit the people, which is essentially different from the situation in countries where finance serves capital and a minority of rich people. On our new journey in the new era, financial work must focus on serving the people, providing them with more diverse, inclusive and accessible services, and better protecting the rights and interests of financial consumers.

Third, we should pursue the fundamental goal of the financial sector, which is to serve the real economy. The real economy is the foundation of finance; finance is the lifeblood of the real economy. Serving the real economy is the duty and mission of finance. If we blindly pursue internal circulation and isolated expansion of the financial sector, it will lose its purpose and ultimately lead to crises. China's financial sector must perform its primary duty of serving the real economy and facilitating high-quality development. It must never sideline the real economy in favor of the virtual economy.

Fourth, we should always prioritize risk prevention and control in financial work. Finance has the functions of managing and dispersing risks, while itself being a carrier of risks. As China's financial sector grows more massive and complex, the risks it carries have also become much more systemic and interlinked. Accordingly, we must increase our awareness of potential problems, better prevent and control risks, and make our financial system more resilient.

Fifth, we should promote innovation-driven financial development following a market-oriented and law-based approach. Financial security relies on institutional safeguards, financial vitality lies in the market, and financial order is sustained by the rule of law. Financial transactions involve diverse and complex relations between rights and obligations. Characterized by information asymmetry, they require high creditability and so must be placed under a full-fledged regulatory system. To ensure the sound operation of the financial market, it is essential to establish robust systems of financial laws and market regulations. We must be resolute in strictly enforcing these laws and

regulations, making certain that any violations are met with uncompromising punishment.

Sixth, we should extend supply-side structural reform in the financial sector. An important feature and strength of China's financial system is that state-owned financial institutions play a dominant role. However, there are problems such as a relatively high proportion of indirect financing and debt financing, and insufficient inclusiveness in financial services. In addition, there are also issues like over-financialization, unregulated financial ventures, and a proliferation of illicit financial activities. Targeting these problems, we should drive supply-side structural reform to a deeper level, and clarify the relationships between indirect and direct financing and between equity and debt financing. We should also optimize the structure of the financial system, improve financial infrastructure, and raise the quality and efficiency of financial services.

Seventh, we should strike a balance between opening up and security in the financial sector. National financial and economic security is the precondition for financial opening up. We should guard against the risks entailed in opening up as well as those contrived by competitors. We should also control the pace and intensity of financial opening up and improve the relevant regulatory capacity, to guarantee greater financial openness through better risk prevention and control.

Eighth, we should follow the general principle of pursuing progress while ensuring stability. We should advance financial initiatives in a steady manner, ensure stability through progress, and establish the new before dissolving the old. A steady approach guides all our efforts in macro control and in financial development, reform, regulation, and risk response. We should be cautious in tightening and easing financial policies, in order to prevent abrupt fluctuations. At the same time, we should proactively establish necessary mechanisms, resolve problems when they occur, and continue to make progress, while keeping the overall situation under control. We should maintain a prudent monetary policy and flexibly leverage diverse policy tools, to promote steady and sound macroeconomic development.

The above eight guidelines specify how we should view and carry out financial work on our new journey in the new era. They form an indivisible whole that embodies the basic standpoints, perspectives and approaches concerning financial development with Chinese characteristics. China's path of financial development follows the objective laws of modern finance. More importantly, it is in line with our country's actual conditions and is fundamentally different from the Western financial model. We should have firm confidence that this path will become broader through continual exploration and improvement.

II

At the Central Conference on Financial Work last year, I proposed the goal of building China into a financial powerhouse. What does this mean? A financial powerhouse must have solid economic foundations, a leading global position in economic strength, scientific and technological strength, composite national strength, and a range of core financial factors in key areas.

First, it must have a strong currency, which is widely used in international trade and investment and the foreign exchange market, and serves as an international reserve currency. Second, it must have a strong central bank, which is capable of executing monetary policy regulation, undertaking macroprudential management, and preventing and defusing systemic risks quickly and efficiently. Third, it must have well-functioning financial institutions that are highly efficient and risk resistant, cover a full range of businesses, and have a global business layout and an international competitive edge. Fourth, it must have influential international financial centers to attract global investors and have a voice in international pricing. Fifth, it must have a strong financial regulatory capacity, a robust system for the law-based governance of finance, and a powerful voice and significant influence in shaping international financial rules. Sixth, it must have a competent pool of financial talent.

Today, China is already a financial power in terms of scale, with

the world's largest banking industry and foreign exchange reserves, the second largest bond and stock markets, and an insurance industry that is among the largest. On the whole, however, our financial sector is large rather than strong. Building our country into a financial powerhouse requires long-term and sustained effort.

To realize this goal, we must move faster in developing a modern financial system with Chinese characteristics that consists of the following:

First, a sound and stable financial regulatory system. We should build a modern central banking system, optimize the modern monetary policy framework with Chinese characteristics, improve the mechanisms for monetary base control and money supply regulation, and better leverage the functions of monetary and credit policy tools in total volume control and structural adjustment. All these efforts aim to ensure the stable currency value of the Renminbi, and economic and financial stability.

Second, a well-structured financial market system. We should move faster to build a safe, standardized, transparent, open, vigorous and resilient capital market. We should develop a multilayered equity market, improve the quality of listed companies, and reinforce the mechanism for regular delisting. We should encourage startup investing and private equity investing to empower scientific and technological innovation, and strengthen the functions of the bond, currency, and foreign exchange markets.

Third, a system of financial institutions characterized by clearly delineated responsibilities and effective collaboration. China has a full range of financial institutions, and the key lies in allowing them to pursue distinct yet complementary development and to serve the real economy by fulfilling their respective functions and utilizing their different expertise. Financial institutions of all types should pursue their fundamental goals and improve their competitive edge and service capacity, to meet the multilayered and diverse financial demands of the real economy and the people.

Fourth, a complete and effective financial regulatory system. We

should strengthen comprehensive, penetrating and constant financial regulation, and enforce supervision of institutions, conduct and functions. Concrete actions should be taken to make our financial regulation more proactive, targeted, synergized and effective. This regulation is essential to establishing a security network for the financial sector.

Fifth, a system of diverse and specialized financial products and services. We should provide premium financial services to support major strategies and key areas, and to bolster weak links. We should improve our performance in five areas: sci-tech finance, green finance, inclusive finance, pension finance, and digital finance. We should accelerate digital and smart transformation of the financial sector.

Sixth, a financial infrastructure system that is self-supporting, controllable, safe and efficient. We should strengthen overall planning, better define market access, regulatory standards, and operational qualifications, increase self-reliance in key financial infrastructure, and improve the safety and reliability of both hardware and software.

III

To promote high-quality development in the financial sector and build China into a financial powerhouse, we should adhere to both the rule of law and the rule of virtue, carry forward the best of traditional Chinese culture, and foster a financial culture with Chinese characteristics.

First, the financial sector must be a bastion of credibility and integrity, and never cross any red lines. Traditional Chinese culture places immense value on honoring commitments. The financial sector is underpinned by credibility. Its word must be its bond, and it must follow market rules and observe professional ethics. The sector must maintain rigorous accuracy, authenticity and compliance, and allow no tolerance of fraud. An honored debt adds to credibility; an unpaid debt diminishes it. The sector should strengthen professional discipline and impose lifetime bans on serious defaulters.

Second, the financial sector should pursue profit through ethi-

cal means, rather than place profit above all else. Traditional Chinese culture holds that “honor belongs to those who prioritize ethics over profit, while disgrace befalls those who place profit above ethics”¹. Forsaking good for the sake of gold has always been held in disdain by people of virtue. While finance plays both roles as a functional tool and a means to generate profit, the latter must always be subordinate to the former. The financial sector must fulfill its social responsibilities, to form a symbiotic relationship with the economy, society, and the eco-environment.

Third, the financial sector should take a steady and prudent approach, rather than seek quick gains. Traditional Chinese culture holds that “haste makes waste and obsession with minor gains jeopardizes greater success”². Some of the world’s most successful financial institutions have thrived to this day because they operate with prudence. The financial sector should develop a solid outlook on operation, performance and risk. Prudent operation attends to both near-term gains and, more importantly, long-term benefits. It should resist the lure of short-term windfalls, avoid reckless expansion, and refrain from taking excessive risks beyond its capacity.

Fourth, the financial sector should uphold fundamental principles while breaking new ground, and avoid sidelining the real economy in favor of the virtual one. The sector faces two key questions – who does it serve, and what is the purpose of innovation? Innovation should aim to better serve the real economy and bring greater convenience to people’s lives. Any initiatives that work against this purpose in the name of innovation must be prohibited.

Fifth, the financial sector must comply with laws and regulations, and refrain from unlawful practices. The sound operation of the financial sector relies heavily on legal and regulatory compliance. Financial institutions and professionals must abide by the law and regulations, respect regulatory standards, and operate within the scope of regulatory approval. They should not seek profit by exploiting legal or institutional loopholes and circumventing regulation, and must not cross any red lines or break the law.

Notes

¹ *Xun Zi*. This is a book written by Xun Kuang. Xun Kuang (c. 313-238 BCE), also known as Xun Zi, was a philosopher, thinker and educator in the Warring States Period.

² *The Analects of Confucius (Lun Yu)*. This is one of the Confucian classics compiled by the disciples of Confucius. It records the words and deeds of Confucius, and also comprises dialogues between Confucius and his disciples. Confucius (551-479 BCE), also known as Kong Qiu or Zhongni, was a philosopher, educator and statesman in the Spring and Autumn Period and the founder of Confucianism.

New Quality Productive Forces: A Primary Driver of High-Quality Development*

January 31, 2024

Today we gather here for the 11th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee. Steadily advancing high-quality development is our topic, and our goals are to implement the decisions and plans made at our Party's 20th National Congress and the Central Conference on Economic Work, to review the achievements of high-quality development in the new era, to analyze prominent problems and discuss remedies, and to facilitate new progress and breakthroughs.

Since our Party's 18th National Congress in 2012, we have fully applied the new development philosophy, gained a deeper understanding of the present development stage and the laws governing economic development, and put more emphasis on the quality of development. The report to the 19th CPC National Congress states that our economy is now transitioning from rapid growth to high-quality development, and the report to the 20th CPC National Congress emphasizes that to build a modern socialist country, we must first and foremost pursue high-quality development. Since we entered the new era, the Party Central Committee has issued a series of major decisions and plans which facilitate a consensus in the whole Party and society on high-quality development and subsequent actions. High-quality development has since become a key theme. In recent years, China has achieved fruitful results in scientific and technological innovation,

* Speech at the 11th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

bearing witness to our growing capacity in innovation-driven development. Development between urban and rural areas and between regions is much more coordinated and better balanced. Deeper reform and wider opening up has boosted growth momentum and vitality. The green, low-carbon transformation has made commendable headway, and the growth model is changing at a faster pace. All this indicates our marked progress in high-quality development.

Yet there remain a large number of factors restricting high-quality development. Externally, change on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating on all fronts. Internally, we remain dependent on others in core technologies in certain key fields, and considerable gaps still exist in development and income levels between urban and rural areas and between regions, hindering high-quality economic and social development. Judging from their performance, it is clear that some officials do not yet have a thorough understanding of high-quality development. Whenever problems arise, they habitually revert to the old model of extensive growth and inefficient development. Some find it hard to cast aside outdated thinking; they claim to be seeking high-quality development, but in effect are clinging to the old path. Some are lacking in ability, and have no idea how to advance high-quality development amid new domestic and international changes and challenges. These problems call for our attention and action. We must fully, accurately and faithfully apply the new development philosophy. To lay firm foundations for high-quality development, we should complete the strategic tasks of building a modern economic system, achieving greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology, fostering the new development dynamic, coordinating deeper reform and high-standard opening up, and coordinating high-quality development and a high level of security. At the same time, we will improve the evaluation and appraisal system for high-quality development.

Developing new quality productive forces is essential to high-quality development, and also a primary driver. Here, I would like to share some of my thoughts on this issue.

Beginning last July, I visited several locations in Sichuan, Heilong-

Jiang, Zhejiang, and Guangxi. During these trips, I spoke of integrating resources for scientific and technological innovation, developing strategic emerging industries and future industries, and moving faster to develop new quality productive forces. At the Central Conference on Economic Work in mid-December, I suggested that in order to develop new quality productive forces, we should promote industrial innovation through scientific and technological innovation, and in particular, that we should create new industries, business models, and growth drivers by applying disruptive and cutting-edge technologies. I proposed the concept of developing new quality productive forces and made this a major priority, because productive forces are the fundamental force driving human society forward, and the ultimate source of all social change and political reform. High-quality development needs guidance from new theories on productive forces. Born of practice, new quality productive forces have shown great strength in advancing and supporting high-quality development. This in turn calls for theoretical research to sum up our experience, so that it may guide future development.

What are new quality productive forces and how can they be developed? I have given much thought to this topic and some associated academic research findings. In brief, new quality productive forces are advanced productive forces led by innovation. Breaking free from the traditional economic growth model and development path, they are characterized by high technology, high efficiency, and high quality, and they align very well with the new development philosophy. They are a result of revolutionary breakthroughs in technology, innovative allocation of production factors, and substantive transformation and upgrading of industry. At their core are marked improvements in labor, means of labor, and subjects of labor, and the optimal combination of these. Prominent increases in total factor productivity are their hallmark, with innovation, quality, and advanced productive forces as the keywords.

Innovation defines new quality productive forces. It occurs in technology, creates new business forms and models, and inspires

management and system building. We must continue to spur innovation to achieve faster development of new quality productive forces.

First, advancing innovation in science and technology. Revolutionary breakthroughs in technology are the primary driver for the formation of new quality productive forces. Technological innovation acts as a core factor in developing new quality productive forces, as it gives rise to new industries, business models, and growth drivers. This means we must strengthen technological innovation, with the focus on original and disruptive technologies, and increase strength and self-reliance in science and technology as quickly as possible. We must fully implement our strategies for invigorating China through science and education, building a talent-strong country, and pursuing innovation-driven development. We should target global sci-tech frontiers, serve the economy, meet major national needs, and strive to improve people's lives and health. We should boost our strength in strategic science and technology, and advance well-planned original and basic research in the service of national strategies. We should focus on the needs of national strategies and economic and social development, and target key generic technologies, cutting-edge frontier technologies, modern engineering technologies, and disruptive technologies. Relying on our new system for mobilizing resources nationwide, we will pursue breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields, bring forth results from innovation in an array of original and disruptive technologies, and foster new momentum in developing new quality productive forces.

Second, advancing industrial innovation through scientific and technological innovation. When research results translate into productive forces, they facilitate the creation of new industries and boost in-depth industrial transformation and upgrading. This is why we should ensure the timely application of the fruits of innovation in industry and industrial chains, in order to upgrade traditional industries, foster and grow emerging industries, plan for future industries, and improve the modern industrial system. We should focus on the development of new quality productive forces in planning industrial

chains, to help weaker industries to remedy deficiencies, stronger industries to extend their reach, traditional industries to upgrade production chains, and emerging industries to build up new industrial chains. Industrial and supply chains should be more resilient and more secure, to ensure that our industrial system remains in our own hands, independent, safe, and reliable. Innovation in science, technology and industry should focus on advancing new industrialization and boosting China's strength in manufacturing, product quality, cyberspace, digital development, and other strategic tasks. We will redouble our efforts in developing the digital economy, further integrate it with the real economy, and build internationally competitive digital industry clusters. To build up China's strength in agriculture, we will strengthen scientific innovation and application in the seed industry and agricultural machinery, to advance modern agriculture with new technologies and safeguard national food security.

Third, advancing innovation in the development model. Green growth should be a defining feature of high-quality development, and new quality productive forces are intrinsically green. We must speed up the green transformation of the development model, to achieve peak carbon emissions by 2030 and carbon neutrality by 2060. We must uphold and act on the principle that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets, never wavering from the path of green development that gives priority to eco-environmental conservation. To build a green, low-carbon and circular economy, we will accelerate scientific innovation, promote and apply advanced green technology, grow green manufacturing industries, develop green services, expand green energy, and cultivate green, low-carbon industrial and supply chains. We will continue to improve the economic policy toolbox in support of green and low-carbon development, leverage the leading role of green finance, and build highly efficient eco-friendly and green industry clusters. We will also increase efforts to promote green and healthy lifestyles across society.

Fourth, advancing innovation in institutions and mechanisms. The relations of production must be compatible with the need to develop

productive forces. To develop new quality productive forces, we must advance reform on all fronts and form compatible new-type relations of production. New quality productive forces need forward-looking planning and guidance from the government, support from sound policies, regulation by market mechanisms, and innovation on the part of businesses and other micro entities. They are jointly fostered and stimulated by the “visible hand” of the government and the “invisible hand” of the market. Therefore, we must drive deeper reform in our economic, scientific, and technological systems, to remove obstacles hindering the development of new quality productive forces. We should build a robust market system, develop new ways of allocating production factors, and channel all types of advanced high-quality production factors into developing new quality productive forces. We should also expand high-standard opening up to create a favorable international environment for developing new quality productive forces.

Fifth, advancing innovation in the institutions and mechanisms for developing talent. To meet the needs of new quality productive forces, we should promote a positive interplay between education, talent development, and science and technology, and improve mechanisms for the cultivation, introduction, utilization, and sound flow of talent. We should follow new trends in science and technology to optimize the structure of disciplines and the talent cultivation models at institutions of higher learning, and foster the talent most urgently required for developing new quality productive forces and facilitating high-quality development. We will step up efforts to cultivate science strategists, first-class scientists and innovation teams, outstanding engineers, and master technicians, while strengthening skills training for workers, to improve the quality of the talent pool. We will improve the mechanism for production factors to partake in income distribution, and invigorate factors such as labor, knowledge, technology, management, capital and data. We will work to increase the market value of knowledge, technology and talent, and to create a sound environment that is tolerant of failure and encourages innovation.

Leverage Local Conditions to Develop New Quality Productive Forces*

March-December 2024

I

We should focus on the primary goal of high-quality development and leverage local conditions to develop new quality productive forces. Confronted by a new revolution in science, technology and industry, we must seize opportunities, redouble our innovation efforts, cultivate and expand emerging industries, plan future industries in advance, and accelerate the development of a modern industrial system. Of course, cultivating new quality productive forces does not mean neglecting or abandoning traditional industries. There must be no headlong rush into emerging industries, which may cause industry bubbles. Nor should we allow the homogenization of development models. You local governments should base your work on reality and establish the new before decommissioning the old. You need to selectively promote new industries, new business models, and new growth drivers and provide differentiated guidance, based on local resources, industrial foundations, and research capabilities. You should also leverage new technologies to transform and upgrade traditional industries, and push for their high-end, intelligent and green development.

*(from the speech at a deliberation session of the Jiangsu delegation to
the Second Session of the 14th National People's Congress,
March 5, 2024)*

* Excerpts from speeches made between March and December 2024.

II

It is crucial to transform and upgrade major manufacturing technologies, push for large-scale renewal of equipment, accelerate the transformation and upgrading of traditional industries, and cultivate strategic emerging industries that are advanced and competitive in the international arena. Greater efforts should be made to achieve major breakthroughs in science and technology, and to strengthen deeper integration of technological and industrial innovation. Based on this, you should further cultivate new business forms and models, and new growth drivers, and develop new quality productive forces appropriate to local conditions.

(from the speech during a visit to Chongqing, April 22-24, 2024)

III

You should focus on national strategic needs. This requires coordinated efforts to transform and upgrade traditional industries, cultivate and expand emerging industries, and plan future industries in advance. In addition, you need to fully exploit the integration of the real economy and the digital economy, and leverage local conditions to develop new quality productive forces.

*(from the speech during a visit to Shandong Province,
May 22-24, 2024)*

IV

There can be more in-depth discussions about the meaning of new quality productive forces. Can we equate new quality productive forces with emerging industries? In fact, the transformation and upgrading of traditional industries also helps to boost new quality productive forces. Therefore, you must not restrict your efforts solely to the “new trio” of new energy vehicles, lithium-ion batteries, and

photovoltaic products, not should you rush into one particular industry and create a frenzy of interest that dissipates just as quickly. You must tailor your approaches to local conditions and develop industries with local characteristics.

(from the speech at a meeting attended by representatives of businesses and academia, held in Jinan, Shandong Province,

May 23, 2024)

V

You need to strengthen the integration of technological and industrial innovation, and expedite the application of scientific and technological achievements. You should facilitate the transformation and upgrading of traditional industries, cultivate strategic emerging industries, and foster new quality productive forces suited to local conditions.

(from the speech during a visit to Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region,

June 19-20, 2024)

VI

You should leverage the national strength in strategic science and technology in your local development, strengthen international sci-tech cooperation, and introduce more open mechanisms to attract high-caliber talent. In addition, a multilateral system for sci-tech innovation should be put in place in order to push for breakthroughs in core technologies and promote application of scientific and technological advances. All these efforts should contribute to developing new quality productive forces best suited to local conditions.

(from the speech in response to the work report of the CPC Hainan

Provincial Committee and Hainan Provincial Government,

December 17, 2024)

Implement Existing Policies While Introducing New Ones*

September 26, 2024

Since the beginning of this year, the CPC Central Committee has united the people and led them in calmly tackling difficulties and challenges. We have intensified macroeconomic regulation with a focus on driving deeper reform and opening up, expanding domestic demand, and optimizing the economic structure. As a result, the economy has generally remained stable and made good progress. New quality productive forces have steadily advanced, and the people's wellbeing has been secured. We have also made headway in preventing and defusing risks in key areas, promoting high-quality development, and maintaining overall social stability.

The fundamentals of China's economy and its strengths, including its vast market, strong resilience, and significant potential, remain unchanged. At the same time, some new developments and challenges have emerged that impact our current economic performance. We should adopt a comprehensive, rational, and objective perspective on the economic situation, face up to difficulties, and stay confident. It is imperative to focus our efforts on key areas and take a proactive approach. We should ensure the effective implementation of existing policies while also introducing new ones, to make our work more targeted and productive. With a concerted effort, we will strive to accomplish the objectives and tasks for this year's economic and social development.

* Main points of the speech at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

We should give more weight to fiscal and monetary policies in making countercyclical adjustments, guarantee the required fiscal expenditure, and ensure governments at the primary level have the resources they need to meet the people's basic living needs, pay salaries, and maintain normal functions. It is necessary to issue and make effective use of ultra-long special treasury bonds and special local government bonds, in order to better leverage the stimulative role of government investment. We will lower the required reserve ratio and significantly cut interest rates. We will reverse the downturn in the real estate market and stabilize its development. For commodity housing, we should strictly control the increase of new projects, optimize the existing inventory, and improve quality. We should approve more loans to whitelist projects. In response to public concerns, we should adjust housing purchase restrictions, lower interest rates for existing mortgages, and promptly improve land, fiscal, taxation and financial policies, to establish a new model for real estate development. Efforts should be made to boost the capital market by vigorously guiding medium- and long-term investment capital into the market and eliminating the barriers to the entry of funds from social security, insurance, wealth management, and other channels. We will support mergers, acquisitions and restructuring of listed companies, steadily advance the reform of publicly offered funds, and study and introduce policies to protect small and medium-sized investors.

We should assist enterprises in overcoming difficulties and further regulate related law enforcement. We will formulate a private sector promotion law and foster a favorable environment for the development of the non-public sector. It is crucial that we integrate efforts to boost consumption and improve people's wellbeing, to enable low- and middle-income groups to earn more and optimize the structure of consumption. We should foster new forms of consumption. We will support and regulate the involvement of non-governmental entities in the development of the eldercare and childcare industries, and waste no time in refining our policies to boost birth rates. We will intensify efforts to attract and stabilize foreign investment, introduce

and implement reform measures allowing foreign investment to access the manufacturing sector, among others, and foster a world-class business environment that is market-oriented, law-based and internationalized.

Basic living needs must be met. Priority will be given to ensuring employment for fresh college graduates, migrant workers, people recently lifted out of poverty, and zero-employment families. We should also strengthen assistance to groups with employment difficulties, such as middle-aged people, people with disabilities, or people who have been unemployed for an extended period. We must increase assistance for low-income groups. Efforts should be made to ensure the provision of essential supplies, including food, water, power, gas and heating, at stable prices. We should prioritize grain and agricultural production, ensure increased incomes for farmers, and effectively manage agricultural production in autumn and winter to safeguard national food security.

We should work hard, unite as one, and inspire public enthusiasm, initiative and creativity in the pursuit of high-quality development. Party members and officials should assume their responsibilities, pursue innovation, hone their capabilities, and deliver results in the process of overcoming difficulties and challenges. We will apply the “three distinctions”, and readily support those who step up to their responsibilities and those who are engaged in worthwhile efforts. We will encourage economically advanced provinces to play a pivotal role in driving and supporting the country’s economic development.

Coordinate Major Relationships in Economic Work*

December 11, 2024

The year 2024 is critical for achieving the objectives and tasks laid out in the 14th Five-year Plan. In the face of mounting external pressure and increasing internal difficulties, the CPC Central Committee has rallied the entire Party and led the people of all ethnic groups in a constructive response supported by comprehensive policy measures. As a result, our economy has maintained a stable and upward trajectory on the whole. Solid progress has been made in high-quality development, and we remain on schedule to achieve our major social and economic goals. We have made firm strides in advancing Chinese modernization on the foundations of our growing economic strength, scientific and technological capabilities, and composite national strength.

This year has been anything but ordinary, making our achievements all the more encouraging. First, the economy experienced strong growth momentum at the start of the year, followed by a slowdown in the middle, and a rebound towards the end. The first quarter began well, while the second and third faced increasing downward pressure. A package of targeted new policies decisively rolled out by the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee on September 26 effectively boosted the real estate and stock markets, general market expectations, and public confidence, which resulted in a noticeable upturn of the economy, contributed to achieving the year-end target, and laid solid foundations for further growth in 2025.

Second, steady progress has been made in developing new quality

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

productive forces, with significant advances in sci-tech innovation in such fields as integrated circuits, artificial intelligence, and quantum technology. Sustained progress has been made in smart and digital transformation of traditional industries, and transition towards a green and low-carbon economy has accelerated.

Third, reform and opening up has continued to expand. Plans to drive deeper comprehensive reform and advance Chinese modernization were made at the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee. We have witnessed solid progress in high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, positive results in high-standard opening up, and a growing contribution of exports to economic growth.

Fourth, risks in key sectors have been defused in an orderly and effective manner. Positive changes are emerging in the real estate market, and risks involving local government debt and small and medium-sized financial institutions are being effectively mitigated and controlled.

Fifth, the people's wellbeing has been guaranteed. We have kept employment and prices stable, and consolidated and expanded our achievements in poverty alleviation. Grain output exceeded 700 million tonnes for the first time on record, our eco-environment has continued to improve, and social stability has been maintained. These achievements have made us all the more determined and confident in forging ahead despite challenges and difficulties to advance Chinese modernization on the new journey in the new era.

In reviewing the situation, it is important to address both sides: celebrating our successes while thoroughly addressing outstanding problems. Currently, the negative impact of the deteriorating external environment poses numerous challenges to our economy. These include insufficient domestic demand, a squeeze on business operations for some enterprises, pressure on employment and income growth, and unresolved risks and hidden troubles in some sectors. On the other hand, we must recognize that the conditions for and underlying trends of long-term growth have not changed, as our economy benefits from solid foundations, multiple advantages,

strong resilience, and great potential. I am convinced that there will always be more solutions than difficulties so long as we remain steadfast and confident. We must face difficulties squarely, reinforce confidence, and work hard to turn all positive factors into tangible results in development.

Experience has expanded our understanding of the laws that govern economic work. The broadest consensus reached within the Party is that the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee guarantees the success of our economic efforts. At critical and historic junctures, the CPC Central Committee has formulated decisions based on timely research and assessment of evolving conditions to ensure that the ship of the Chinese economy maintains a steady course through rough seas to reach its destination. With a multitude of complex tasks at hand, we must coordinate the following major relationships.

First, we must coordinate the role of a well-functioning market and that of a capable government to form an economic order that allows a robust market and subjects it to proper regulation. To this end, the government should play its due role without overstepping its bounds. It must continue to strengthen credibility and the rule of law in economic development, improve the rules of the market and set an example in following them, and combat corruption and maintain public security to improve the market environment. It should strive to remedy market failures, ensure orderly competition, and make the unified national market a level playing field for all market entities. To refrain from overstepping its boundaries, the government should respect the market's decisive role in resource allocation and let it play this role, avoid improper intervention in the activities of micro entities, and prevent regional protectionism and the fragmentation of local markets. The better the regulation of government involvement, the more efficient the market will become.

Second, we must balance overall supply and demand to ensure smooth economic flows nationwide. We should continue to coordinate supply and demand to achieve a dynamic balance. To better

match and balance supply and demand, we should extend supply-side structural reform – supporting and promoting industries that are strategic and critical, and restricting and phasing out industries that are outdated or surplus to need. Expanding domestic demand is not a stopgap but a strategic measure that bears on both economic stability and security. We must boost domestic demand – in particular consumption – making it a key driver of economic growth and a stabilizer of the economy.

Third, we must foster new growth drivers while upgrading old ones, and develop new quality productive forces suited to local conditions. Driven by scientific and technological innovation, we will develop and expand emerging and future industries to gain an edge in international competition, create new growth drivers, and build new strengths. Concurrently, in order to achieve a smooth and sustainable transition from old to new growth drivers, we will further transform, upgrade, and revitalize traditional industries, which have served as the primary sources of economic growth, jobs, and incomes.

Fourth, we must revitalize available resources while optimizing new ones to maximize allocation efficiency. We should strengthen the management of both assets and liabilities, coordinate the use of existing and new resources, and unlock new growth potential by tapping into underutilized resources. We will continue to encourage the upgrading of industrial parks, and take advantage of the policies for replacing existing hidden debts with refinancing bonds and developing idle and inefficiently used land. This will allow us to maximize the value of existing resources and better leverage new ones in a coordinated way, keep assets in good management, adjust liabilities, and open up new prospects for development.

Fifth, we must improve the quality of development while growing the economy to reinforce the material foundations of Chinese modernization. Our exceptional economic size, market scale, and industrial support capacity are all conducive to improving the quality and strength of the economy. However, our per capita income has yet to reach the global average, and we still face the prominent issue of

imbalanced and insufficient development. We should focus on quality while maximizing our economies of scale, leverage the advantage of our vast market and diverse application scenarios to nurture more world-class enterprises and leading technologies, and raise product and service quality and economic scale through the whole process of high-quality development.

Education, Sci-Tech and Talent Development

Boost Basic Research and Achieve Greater Strength and Self-Reliance in Science and Technology*

February 21, 2023

Today we gather here for the third group study session of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. The theme is on how to strengthen our country's basic research. During this session, we will assess the current situation and identify the challenges we face. We will also explore successful practices in other countries and discuss measures to facilitate our own basic research.

Strengthening basic research is urgently required to achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology. It is the only path to building China into a world leader in this domain. The Party and the state have always attached great importance to basic research. After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, the Party Central Committee called on the country to "march towards science". Since then, our scientists and engineers, through uncompromising efforts and self-reliance, have delivered a number of significant achievements in basic research. These include the development of our first atomic bomb, missile, and man-made satellite; the synthesis of bovine insulin; breakthroughs in the theory of functions of several complex variables; and progress towards proving Goldbach's conjecture. Reform and opening up ushered in a "spring for science" in China, with the subsequent implementation of the 863 Program, the Climbing Program, and the 973 Program, each significantly

* Speech at the third group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

improving our country's overall capability and raising our academic performance. Since the Party's 18th National Congress in 2012, the Central Committee has further prioritized capacity building in original innovation. A number of major projects have been launched, and key sci-tech infrastructure facilities have been constructed, leading to a steady stream of original and innovative outcomes in basic and leading-edge research.

During the current round of sci-tech revolution and industrial transformation, interdisciplinary integration is expanding steadily, the paradigms of scientific research are experiencing profound change, and sci-tech advances are being more rapidly translated into economic and social development. The lead time required to commercialize basic research findings has decreased significantly, and international competition in science and technology is focusing more on basic and leading-edge areas. In the face of international competition, it is crucial that we strengthen basic research and address key technological issues at the source and the underlying level in order to achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology, foster a new development dynamic, and realize high-quality development. For this reason, the report to the 20th CPC National Congress emphasizes the need to strengthen basic research, prioritize original innovation, and encourage researchers to engage in free exploration. We must ensure the full implementation of the strategic plans it has set out.

First, we should emphasize forward-looking, strategic and systematic planning. Basic research is the initial stage of a scientific research chain that eventually ends with application. Only by establishing strong foundations can we build the tower of science and technology to greater heights. We must prioritize future and strategic needs in research, and optimize the allocation and structure of resources, to provide fundamental theories and technological sources for innovation-driven development.

Our goals must be to target global sci-tech frontiers, serve the economy, meet major national needs, and strive to improve people's lives and health. We should balance the pursuit of specific objectives

against the freedom to explore new directions. Research targeting global sci-tech frontiers should be integrated with China's strategic needs and socio-economic development goals. To identify key scientific issues for basic research, we should consider both cutting-edge questions based on the laws intrinsic to scientific development and the theoretical questions generalized from major applied research projects. To stay abreast of the development trends of science and technology and our country's strategic needs, we should improve the feasibility study, evaluation, and selection of major basic research projects. These processes require careful consideration of the advice given by scientists, good understanding of major trends, and a proactive approach. To strengthen China's strategic science and technology, we must systematically promote three types of basic research: structured research on strategic orientation, explorative research targeting scientific frontiers, and applied research driven by the market. It is essential to capitalize on the pivotal role of national laboratories, orchestrate efforts through national scientific research institutions, utilize high-level research universities as the main force, and ensure that leading high-tech enterprises propose research topics, provide solutions, and evaluate outcomes. To ensure the well-rounded and balanced development of high-level disciplines, we must refine the framework of fundamental disciplines, support the development of pivotal, emerging, marginal and underdeveloped disciplines, and promote interdisciplinary integration and cross-disciplinary exploration.

Second, we must reform institutions and mechanisms. The world has entered the era of Big Science, where basic research is becoming more systematically organized and where institutional support and policy guidance exert an ever-greater influence on the results. Our country has established preliminary systems and mechanisms to support basic research and original innovation, but these still need to mature. We must devise optimized and detailed reforms to leverage the role of relevant systems and policies in driving value and strategy.

It is essential to steadily increase fiscal support. This can be achieved by stimulating corporate investment through tax breaks and

other means, by encouraging non-governmental entities to diversify investments – including the establishment of funds and the practice of philanthropy in science, and by boosting the effectiveness of the National Natural Science Fund and its joint funds. Through such means, we will create and improve a funding mechanism that combines competition-based support with stable funding. It is important to refine the support system for basic research within national sci-tech programs. We should refine the processes for organizing, submitting, assessing and approving projects, which require differentiated management by category and both international and domestic peer reviews. Additionally, we should organize collaborative research on significant scientific issues, and encourage free exploration and non-consensus research. We should effectively handle the relationship between the market and our new system for mobilizing resources nationwide, and improve our systems to accommodate the extended timelines typical of basic research projects, which involve evaluating and incentivizing sci-tech achievements, the application and commercialization of research findings, and the remuneration of sci-tech professionals. We should provide long-term and steady support to innovation bases, elite teams, and key areas of basic research, in order to foster wellsprings of original innovation and forerunners in basic research. While increasing funding for basic research is a general trend, it is also important that investment aligns with our national financial means. We must strengthen performance appraisal during the implementation process to ensure funds are used where they are most needed.

Third, we should build a high-level support platform. One long-standing issue in China's basic research is a lack of self-dependence. We rely on international journals and platforms to select research topics, depend on equipment procured from abroad, and then pay overseas journals to publish our findings. In recent years, our country has invested great time and effort in developing our own world-class sci-tech journals and pioneering equipment, and this has already significantly improved our basic research capacity. But there is still a

considerable distance to cover before this problem is fully resolved.

Efforts should be coordinated to establish a framework of national laboratories best suited to conditions in China. We must build research centers for basic disciplines, set up special zones, and create future-oriented and information-based platforms, thus forming a robust network. We should carefully plan major infrastructure facilities to support pioneering sci-tech development, national strategies, and the application of research findings. We will strengthen both ongoing and post-completion oversight of the construction of these facilities, improve full life-cycle management, increase their level of openness and sharing, and raise operational efficiency. We must dedicate efforts to developing our own sci-tech instruments and equipment, operating systems, and fundamental software. We should encourage collaboration among scientific research institutions, universities, and enterprises to advance the development and application of domestically developed alternatives, striving as quickly as we can to use our own research platforms, instruments, and equipment to solve major issues in basic research. It is essential to foster world-class sci-tech journals, build globally recognized platforms for sci-tech literature and data, initiate top-tier international academic conferences, encourage the initial publication of significant research findings in Chinese journals and on Chinese platforms, and ensure the early application of such findings in China.

Fourth, we must cultivate professionals. Ultimately, advancing basic research hinges on high-caliber talent. In recent years, we have continued to implement a strategy for building China into a talent powerhouse, and advanced reforms in both institutional frameworks and mechanisms pertaining to talent. Despite noteworthy progress, there still exist clear deficiencies. We must therefore intensify efforts to create a well-organized and optimal platform for nurturing talent, to ensure a steady emergence of specialists.

Talent-training programs should increase their backing for those in basic research. We must cultivate science strategists and effectively leverage their expertise, and encourage young sci-tech professionals to

take on pivotal roles and challenges. Additionally, we should expand our pool of leading scientists and engineers and build first-class innovation teams. We must clarify our approach to appraisals in the wake of discarding the Four Overemphases¹. We should improve differentiated performance assessment and long-term support mechanisms for professionals in basic research. We must grant leading scientists and engineers greater authority and freedom to oversee research teams, allocate funds and resources, and determine technology roadmaps. Furthermore, we should establish an appraisal system that aligns with the tenets of basic research and the progression of talent development. We should improve academic integrity and conduct in scientific research. Through education on ethics and proper supervision, we will bolster academic conduct and guide researchers away from hyperbole and haste, while encouraging their dedication to work. We must cultivate our own talent in basic research, channeling efforts towards the Middle-school Talented Students Program, the Strengthening Fundamentals Initiative, and the Program for Cultivating Outstanding Students in Basic Disciplines. We will refine the education framework for basic disciplines and leverage the primary role of universities, especially first-rate institutions with first-class disciplines, in training fundamental researchers. Priority will be given to fostering high-caliber talent for our country's urgent needs. Through these measures, we can establish a vast and sustainable talent pool for research.

Fifth, we should engage in extensive international cooperation. International sci-tech collaboration is currently experiencing disruptions and obstacles due to unilateralism and protectionism practiced by a handful of countries. International cooperation, openness, and sharing are now more essential than ever for tackling challenges that impact all of humanity. No country can become a hub of innovation in isolation, nor should any country seek to reap its benefits alone. It is therefore important that we adopt a more open-minded approach to international exchange and cooperation in research to create an open, globally competitive innovation ecosystem.

We will establish international cooperation platforms for basic

research, spearhead international Big Science plans and projects, set up globally oriented scientific research funds, and increase international involvement in our national sci-tech programs. We should broaden and intensify collaborative scientific research with other countries, to address global issues like climate change, energy security, biosafety, and the utilization of outer space. We should proactively plan for and fully engage in global sci-tech governance. We will participate in existing international sci-tech organizations and establish new ones. We will support our universities, research institutions, and sci-tech entities in aligning with international standards, while improving our own laws and regulations, ethical review processes, and supervisory framework. We must have the courage and capacity to confront difficulties as we strive for greater openness, mutual trust, and cooperation within the global sci-tech community. We will continue to make breakthroughs in original innovation and core technologies that contribute to the progress of human civilization, while at the same time effectively safeguarding the sci-tech security and interests of our country.

Sixth, we must create an innovation ecosystem conducive to basic research. Both material support and intellectual inspiration are indispensable for conducting basic research. Each generation of Chinese scientists and engineers has formed its own pioneering spirit, such as the spirit demonstrated in the development of China's first atomic bomb, missile, and man-made satellite, in the westward relocation, in the manned space program, in the lunar exploration program, and in the development of the BeiDou navigation satellite system in the new era; and on top of that, the spirit of dedication to science behind all these achievements. Through consistent endeavors, they have forged a unique Chinese innovation ecosystem, providing inexhaustible energy for driving our country's basic research forward.

It is important to promote a spirit of science throughout society that values the pursuit of truth and the advance of knowledge. We should highlight the stories of role models in the development of science and technology, guide our sci-tech professionals to carry forward the illustrious traditions of past generations who dedicated

themselves to our country and people, and encourage them to root their research in the land of China and apply their findings to drive socialist modernization. We should improve our national capacity for popularizing science, and continue to implement the scientific literacy initiative. By disseminating scientific knowledge and China's scientific achievements through various online and offline channels, we can cultivate a social ethos that values and champions science. Science should be more deeply integrated into education. While we work to relieve students of excessive burdens from homework and off-campus tutoring during the compulsory education stage, it is imperative to boost science in education in order to spark interest in science among our youth. By igniting their curiosity, imagination, and quest for truth, we will nourish a generation of young people with the potential and enthusiasm to pursue a future in scientific research.

Party committees and governments at all levels must prioritize basic research in their work concerning science and technology. They should bolster coordination and policy support to facilitate the high-quality development of basic research. Leaders and officials at every level should actively expand their knowledge of science and technology and advance the spirit of science. They should proactively address difficulties faced by sci-tech professionals, minimize constraints, ease their workload, and offer them support and encouragement. They must rigorously implement the Party Central Committee's strategic plans regarding sci-tech innovation.

Notes

¹ This refers to overemphasis on research papers, academic titles, educational backgrounds, and awards.

Unleash the Innovative Potential of Our Talent*

March 2023-March 2024

I

Deeper institutional reform of science and technology is essential. We must vigorously cultivate a culture of innovation, and improve evaluation systems and incentive mechanisms in science and technology to create a favorable environment for innovative talent to stand out and shine.

(from the speech at a deliberation session of the Jiangsu delegation to the First Session of the 14th National People's Congress, March 5, 2023)

II

Prioritizing the reform of the remuneration system for university teachers and researchers is a crucial measure to promote the coordinated development of education, science and technology, and talent. This involves gradually establishing a well-managed and effective remuneration system that stimulates innovation, values knowledge, and balances incentives and guarantees, to further invigorate innovation and creativity in universities and research institutes.

(from the speech at the second meeting of the Central Commission for Further Reform, July 11, 2023)

* Excerpts from speeches made between March 2023 and March 2024.

III

We must fully implement the strategies for invigorating China through science and education, for building a talent-strong country, and for pursuing innovation-driven development. We will expand reform to build up the ranks of industrial workers, move faster to build a contingent of educated, skilled and innovative industrial workers, and nurture more master technicians and highly skilled workers.

(from the speech during a meeting with the new leadership of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, October 23, 2023)

IV

To propel Chinese modernization forward, we must strengthen our sci-tech, education and talent strategies. Shanghai must spearhead this effort by expediting its transformation into a hub for sci-tech innovation with global influence. We should focus on cultivating a cohort of mission-driven top talent, and create favorable conditions to give full rein to their talents.

(from the speech during a visit to Shanghai, November 28-December 2, 2023)

V

Engineers play a crucial role in creating the future by promoting engineering science and technology for the benefit of humanity. They are also a vital component of a talent pool with expertise of strategic importance. The individuals and groups being recognized here are outstanding representatives and role models of China's engineers.

Looking ahead, we must reinforce the independent training of engineering and technical talent, elevate the social status of engineers, and create conditions for their growth and success. We should foster

an atmosphere of striving for excellence, working diligently, daring to tackle challenges, and pursuing innovation, thereby accelerating the building of a large-scale and exceptional engineering workforce. I hope that engineers and technicians nationwide will firmly embrace the ideals of serving the country through science and technology and benefiting the people, be determined to make breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields, build exemplar projects, and promote new quality productive forces. I hope that they will speed up efforts to achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology, serve high-quality development, and contribute more to building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

(from the directive on the presentation of the inaugural National Engineer Award, January 17, 2024)

VI

We must expand institutional reform in science and technology, education, and talent development, and focus on removing obstacles that restrict the development of new quality productive forces.

(from the speech at a deliberation session of the Jiangsu delegation to the Second Session of the 14th National People's Congress, March 5, 2024)

VII

The CPPCC representatives from the sector of science and technology and all others working in this field should aspire to invigorate and strengthen China through science and education and take on responsibility for sci-tech innovation. You should strengthen basic and applied basic research, make breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields, and foster and develop new drivers for new quality productive forces. You should provide practical suggestions to

facilitate deeper institutional reform in science and technology and in talent development, improve related evaluation systems and incentive mechanisms, and further unleash the innovative potential of talented people from all fields.

(from the speech at a joint panel discussion of CPPCC National Committee members from the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, the science and technology sector, and the environment and resource sector during the Second Session of the 14th CPPCC National Committee, March 6, 2024)

Advance National Strength and Prosperity Through Education*

May 29, 2023

The report to the 20th CPC National Congress lists education, science and technology, and talent in a separate section, planning their development and sounding the call for faster progress in building our country into an education powerhouse. The powerhouse we envision must be Chinese and socialist in nature and subject to the Party's overall leadership. The fundamental task of our education is to foster students with high virtue in a bid to cultivate talent for the Party and the country and fulfill the mission of serving national rejuvenation. The way to realize this is through the modernization of education philosophies, systems, institutions, methods and management, and of the content of textbooks. This will allow our education to play a leading role in supporting Chinese modernization and, ultimately, to meet the people's expectations. We must fully implement the Party's education policies, pursue people-centered development of education, make plans in advance, effectively respond to changes, and vigorously explore new territories. We must accelerate the modernization of education, lay a solid foundation for improving the wellbeing of our people, advance national strength and prosperity through education, and provide strong support for rejuvenating the Chinese nation.

First, we will foster new generations capable of shouldering the mission of national rejuvenation. What talent should we cultivate,

* Part of the speech at the fifth group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

what approach should we take, and for whose benefit? These are the fundamental issues we must address and the core questions we must answer as we build our country into an education powerhouse. Our goal is to nurture successive generations of capable young people with sound moral grounding, intellectual ability, physical vigor, aesthetic sensibility, and work skills who will fully develop socialism and carry forward the socialist cause. We must ensure that younger generations will become our qualified successors to advance the cause of the Party and build China into a great modern socialist country. Just as plants should be watered at the roots, education should focus on character building. We should tirelessly educate and inspire students with the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, strengthen their core socialist values, and inspire them to develop firm ideals and convictions, to always follow the Party's leadership, and to devote themselves to the country and the people. Through further reform and innovation, we should endeavor to integrate moral and political education across all levels – from elementary and high schools to universities – and make courses of moral and political education more targeted and appealing. As the internet becomes an even more important part of the life and work of young people, we should let it play a greater role in fostering talent of high caliber and strengthening the moral, political and ideological work in our schools.

Second, we will move faster to build a high-quality education system. China's education is transitioning from rapid growth to high-quality development. High-quality development is the lifeline for all types of education at all levels. We should accelerate the building of a high-quality education system, in a bid to empower sustainable socio-economic development. Basic education is the foundation for building an education powerhouse. The firmer this foundation, the steadier our progress, and the greater the momentum towards becoming a leading country in education. We should extend safe and quality development of pre-school education to benefit all children, promote the quality and balanced development of compulsory education, and narrow the gap between urban and rural areas. Basic education should not only

help solidify the foundations of students' knowledge, but also rouse their interest in science and exploring the unknown, and inspire their exploratory spirit and innovative thinking. We should foster a sound outlook on talent, success and education throughout society, move faster to reverse the utilitarian trend in education, and create a healthy education environment. Higher education takes the lead in building an education powerhouse. Globally, all countries with strengths in education excel in higher education. One of our major tasks is to accelerate the development of world-class universities and strong disciplines with Chinese characteristics. We should make every effort to strengthen basic disciplines, emerging disciplines, and interdisciplinary courses, promote innovation in scientific research by targeting global sci-tech frontiers and meeting our country's major strategic needs, and constantly strengthen our capacity for original innovation and the quality of talent cultivation. We should promote lifelong learning to build a learning society and nation. By encouraging everyone to learn wherever and whenever they want, we will raise the education level of our people, strengthen human resources in all respects, and foster well-rounded development for all.

Third, we should increase the capacity of education to serve high-quality development. Serving high-quality development is an important task in the drive to build China into an education powerhouse. In today's world, talent is the primary resource, science and technology the primary productive force, and innovation the primary driver of growth. Strategies for building China into a powerhouse of education, science and technology, and talent are consistent and complimentary. We must advance them in an integrated and coordinated manner to promote a multiplier effect in high-quality development. To provide intellectual support for achieving breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields where we have encountered obstacles due to external restrictions, we should further strengthen education in science and engineering, and rely on ourselves to cultivate the most talented innovators. We should systematically analyze our country's talent development trends and shortages in all areas. Based on the current state

of sci-tech development and our country's major strategic needs, we should dynamically adjust and optimize the structure of disciplines in institutions of higher learning, and focus on developing the talent required for our national strategies, particularly those with the most essential and sought-after skills. Our education should increase its support for and make greater contribution to our country's high-quality development. We should coordinate vocational, higher and continuing education, and promote the integration of vocational and general education, industry and education, and science and education, in order to continuously cultivate skilled workers, master technicians, and outstanding craftspeople.

Fourth, we should boost vitality in education through deeper reform and innovation. A transition from quantitative to qualitative growth in education necessitates systemic leveling up and fundamental change, which must be driven by reform and innovation. To advance the modernization of our education governance system and capacity in all respects, we should apply holistic thinking in coordinating reform of education and school running models, management systems, and support mechanisms, and resolutely break away from any concepts, systems and mechanisms that restrict the high-quality development of education. Equity in education is an important foundation for social fairness and an intrinsic requirement for building an education powerhouse. We must promote equity in all aspects of our comprehensive reform in education, narrowing the gaps in education between urban and rural areas, and between different regions, schools and groups. We must strive to ensure that every child enjoys fair access to quality education, so that we better meet the people's needs for good education. Evaluation bears on the direction of education and the success in building China into an education powerhouse. Focusing on this goal, we should reform evaluation in the new era, and build a world-class system that features participation by diverse stakeholders and suits our country's reality. We should further improve and strengthen oversight on the quality of textbooks, and make sure they follow the correct political orientation

and embrace our socialist values. We should do our best to prepare quality textbooks that impart knowledge, inspire wisdom, and nourish the roots of students' growth. Digitalization in education is where our country can achieve breakthroughs in opening up new areas and gaining new development strengths. There are more than one billion internet users in China. We should further encourage digital education to effectively support personalized and lifelong learning, expand the coverage of quality educational resources, and provide strong support for education modernization.

Fifth, our education should exert a stronger global influence. Based on international developments, we should improve our strategies and policies for educational opening up, better coordinate "bringing in" and "going global", and effectively leverage world-class educational resources and innovation factors, to develop China into an important and influential world education hub. We should take an active part in global education governance, boost the Study in China program, better present China to the world, share our experience, make our voice heard, increase our influence, and have a greater say in education worldwide. We must remain firm in expanding opening up. In keeping with our holistic approach to national security, we must firmly adhere to the correct orientation and ensure security in educational opening up.

Sixth, we should cultivate competent teachers. To strengthen education, we must first have competent teachers. Strengthening the ranks of teachers is the most important requirement for building China into an education powerhouse. We need to refine our teacher training system to cultivate a highly qualified and well-structured generation of teachers who are morally upright, specialized, and full of vitality, and coordinate and redeploy these teachers and other staff members across different regions in accordance with the country's actual needs. We should foster public respect for teachers and public support for education, make teaching one of the most respected occupations by raising teachers' political, social and professional status, and encourage and attract talented people to become teachers

who will devote themselves to the job for the long term, even a lifetime. We should raise teachers' professional ethics and standard of conduct, and inspire them to foster firm ideals and convictions, maintain moral integrity, develop a strong knowledge base, show empathy and care for their students, embrace the aspiration of "contributing to the building of a great modern socialist country through diligent teaching", and devote themselves to imparting knowledge and cultivating students.

Building China into an education powerhouse is a responsibility shared by the whole Party and all of society. We must uphold and strengthen the Party's overall leadership over education and continue to improve the leadership system for education, in which Party committees assume unified leadership, Party and government bodies cooperate and share responsibilities, and related departments perform their respective duties. The Central Leading Group for Education should focus on building China into an education powerhouse, further strengthen top-level design, make overall plans, push for and coordinate the efforts of all, and ensure that assigned tasks are duly accomplished. Party committees and governments at all levels should be fully aware of education's paramount importance to the nation, prioritize its development, and make greater efforts in terms of organization and leadership, development plans, resources support, and financial input. Schools, families and society should work closely and strive towards building China into an education powerhouse. The whole Party and the entire nation should maintain firm confidence and persevere in our efforts to achieve this goal as quickly as possible.

Build China into a Sci-Tech Powerhouse*

June 24, 2024

In developing science and technology in the new era, we have continued to expand our understanding of the contributing factors and accumulated a wealth of important experience. This experience has taught us the need to:

- uphold overall CPC leadership, strengthen the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership over work related to science and technology, observe general trends, assess the overall situation, and address fundamental issues, to ensure that our undertakings in science and technology always move in the right direction;
- follow an independent innovation path with Chinese characteristics by being self-reliant and hardworking, leveraging the strength of China's socialist system in concentrating resources on major projects, increasing our country's strength and self-reliance in science and technology, and keeping us well-positioned in vital areas of science, technology and development;
- drive development through innovation by heightening the awareness that innovation is development and innovation is the future, and relying on sci-tech innovation to lead high-quality development and ensure a high level of security;
- follow the strategic guidelines of targeting global sci-tech frontiers, serving the economy, meeting major national needs, and

* Part of the speech at a joint session of the National Science and Technology Conference, the National Science and Technology Award Conference, the 21st General Assembly of the Members of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and the 17th General Assembly of the Members of the Chinese Academy of Engineering.

improving people's lives and health, to strengthen planning for sci-tech innovation at all stages and in all fields, and increase our overall sci-tech strength and innovation capacity;

- drive deeper reform to stimulate vitality in innovation by resolutely casting aside outdated mindsets and institutional obstacles that hinder sci-tech innovation, and utilizing our institutional strengths to develop cutting-edge science and technology;
- form a positive interplay between education, talent development, and science and technology by implementing and coordinating the strategies for invigorating China through science and education, for building a talent powerhouse, and for pursuing innovation-driven development, and by promoting simultaneous progress in education, talent training, and sci-tech innovation;
- nurture a culture of innovation by carrying on the legacy of innovation from the best of traditional Chinese culture, by creating a favorable environment that is tolerant of failure and encourages exploration, and by fostering a social climate of respecting science and pursuing innovation;
- extend the benefits of science and technology to all humanity by engaging in international cooperation, pursuing a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up, and contributing Chinese insights and strengths to addressing global challenges and promoting human development and progress.

All this is valuable experience and must be supported, enriched and developed in the long term.

At present, a new revolution in science, technology and industry is well under way. Scientific research is extending its frontiers to the most macroscopic and the most microscopic worlds, challenging extreme conditions, and making forays into the depth of interdisciplinary fields. As a result, it is steadily pushing the boundaries of human understanding. The world has entered an unprecedented period of intensive and active technological innovation. Cutting-edge technologies are emerging, including artificial intelligence, quantum technology, and biotechnology, resulting in a

stream of transformations. Change on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating. Scientific and technological revolution is interwoven with contention between major countries, and high technologies have become the front line and main battlefield of international competition, profoundly reshaping the global order and development dynamic. Although our country has made considerable progress in science and technology, it is still relatively weak in its capacity for original innovation. It depends on other countries for some core technologies in key fields, and is short of world-leading scientists and technological professionals. Therefore, we must foster a stronger sense of urgency, further intensify our efforts in sci-tech innovation, and gain an edge in competition and future development.

The 20th CPC National Congress established the central task of building China into a great modern socialist country and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization. Chinese modernization will not be achieved without modernizing science and technology. To foster new drivers of high-quality development, we must rely on innovation. We must fully understand the role of science and technology as a strategic prerequisite and fundamental support. We must focus on our strategic goal of building China into a sci-tech powerhouse by 2035, strengthen top-level design and holistic planning, and speed up efforts to achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology.

The sci-tech powerhouse that China strives to become requires world-leading scientific and technological strength and innovation capacity in order to drive significant overall progress in economic strength, defense capability, and overall national strength, improve human wellbeing, and promote global development. To achieve this goal, China must have great capacity for basic research and original innovation to produce major original and disruptive research results on a continuing basis. It must possess the power to achieve breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields, in order to provide strong support for high-quality development and a high level of security. It must demonstrate great international influence, take a

leading role, and become a global center for research and innovation. It must be strong in gathering and training capable talent to build up the ranks of world-leading scientists and technological professionals as well as its strengths in strategic science and technology. Finally, it must have a potent governance system and capacity for science and technology, and form a world-class innovation ecosystem and research environment.

There remains only 11 years to achieve the goal we have set – building our country into a sci-tech powerhouse by 2035. We must work hard, seize the day, demonstrate perseverance, resolve, and tenacity, and take solid steps to realize this strategic goal.

First, we should fully leverage the strengths of the new system for mobilizing resources nationwide and step up efforts to increase our country's strength and self-reliance in science and technology. To create a powerful synergy for advancing innovation, we must improve the system through which the CPC Central Committee exercises centralized, unified leadership over the work related to science and technology. We must strengthen coordination in strategic planning, policies and measures, major tasks, research personnel, resources and platforms, regional innovation and other areas, and build collaborative and efficient decision-making and command systems, and organizing and executing systems. To collectively facilitate breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields, we must enable the market to play the decisive role in allocating resources, ensure that the government better fulfills its functions, and mobilize the initiative of industries, universities, and research institutes. To increase the collaborative capability of our national innovation system, we must make greater efforts to develop our country's strengths in strategic science and technology, optimize the roles of different innovators, make maximal use of our resources, and improve the system of national laboratories. To develop a competitive edge and seize the strategic initiative, we must maintain resolve, make informed choices as to what areas we should prioritize, give particular attention to our strategic needs, devise plans in a number of key fields, and identify and implement a series

of major projects. To lay a solid foundation for sci-tech innovation, we must strengthen the organization of basic research, improve the investment mechanism which combines competition-based support with stable funding, and intensify collaborative research on major scientific issues. Concurrently, we should encourage free experimentation and work hard to come up with original foundational theories and master underlying technological principles.

Second, we should make solid efforts to promote the deep integration of sci-tech innovation and industrial innovation, and boost new quality productive forces. This integration is based on the increase of high-quality services in science and technology. To buttress independent, secure industrial and supply chains that we can fully control in critical sectors, we must focus on key fields and weak links in industrial modernization, and intensify research on technology bottlenecks such as integrated circuits, industrial machine tools, basic software, advanced materials, scientific instruments, and core seed resources. We must target critical areas of future scientific, technological and industrial development, accelerate innovation in fields like information technology, artificial intelligence, quantum science and technology, biotechnology, new energy, and new materials, and nurture and develop emerging industries and future industries. We must actively apply new technologies in order to transform and upgrade traditional industries and promote high-end, intelligent and green development.

The key to integration lies in boosting the status of enterprises as the main players in innovation. We must give full play to leading sci-tech enterprises, encourage small and medium-sized enterprises and private enterprises to innovate, and help enterprises lead or participate in major national projects. In order to promote integrated innovation led by enterprises between industries, universities, and research institutes, we must encourage enterprises to engage in close cooperation with universities and research institutes. To meet industry needs, they should identify research topics together, conduct joint research in key bottlenecks, and collaborate to train high-tech talent.

The pathway to integration is better application of advances in science and technology. To effectuate the transformation of more research results from prototypes to products and to industrial applications, we must fully leverage China's strengths in its solid industrial base and in its huge domestic market, make greater efforts to build our national technology transfer system, provide better policy support and market services, and facilitate the promotion, application, iteration and upgrading of independently developed products. We must ramp up financial support for technology companies, and direct financial capital to startups, small and medium-sized enterprises, long-term programs, and core technologies in key fields.

Third, we should drive deeper all-round reform of systems and mechanisms underpinning sci-tech development in order to spur innovation and creativity. This reform must be goal-driven and problem-oriented. To address the challenges hindering our country's sci-tech innovation, such as insufficient organization and collaboration and the scattered or duplicated allocation of resources, we must drive deeper reform in our management systems. This includes coordinating the development of various types of innovation platforms, and improving resource coordination and organization of innovative forces. We must optimize the distribution of regional sci-tech innovation centers, strengthen coordination and interplay between central and local governments, and build innovation centers with global influence. To raise the effectiveness of investment in sci-tech innovation, we must improve the management of related programs, expand reform of the mechanisms for the allocation, management and use of research funds, and give more decision-making power to research institutes and personnel.

Despite recent progress in reducing the burdens on researchers, many still express concerns over their substantial non-academic workload. We should discard the Four Overemphases, establish new standards, and improve the category-specific appraisal system and evaluation mechanism to bring them into line with research norms. To ensure proper rewards for researchers, and to release innovation

vitality, we must improve our systems of incentives, including awards, income distribution, and the right to share in the benefits of their research results. We must put an end to the practice of conferring excessive honorary titles and institutional labels, so that researchers can focus on research, rather than be distracted and overwhelmed by the pressure of bidding for projects, publishing papers, applying for awards, and vying for resources.

Fourth, we should promote educational development, sci-tech innovation, and talent training in unison, and create a competitive edge in talent. Innovation relies on talent, and the training of talent relies on education. Therefore, these three undertakings are inherently consistent and reinforce each other. We need to apply systems thinking, adopt a holistic approach to the reform of the systems and mechanisms of educational development, sci-tech innovation, and talent training, and enable research institutes and higher education institutions to work together in talent training. Our goal is to accelerate the formation of a large, well-structured corps of high-quality innovators.

Currently, China faces a significant structural imbalance, where talent cultivation fails to meet the requirements of sci-tech innovation. To effectively increase our capacity and strengthen our performance in nurturing talent, we must optimize the program structures of institutions of higher learning, and apply new approaches to talent training. Top priority should be given to speeding up efforts to build a corps of talent with expertise of strategic importance. We must focus on training science strategists, first-class scientists and innovation teams, outstanding engineers, master technicians, and highly skilled workers. To give more young scientists the opportunity to demonstrate their outstanding capabilities, we must give priority to their training. We should fully trust them, make the best use of their talents, carefully guide them, and look after their needs.

We must introduce talent policies that are more robust, open and effective. We should move faster to develop an internationally competitive institutional framework, and build China into a global innovation center that pools intellectual resources from across the world.

Talented people need the nourishment of a culture of innovation to allow them to grow and develop. We should steadily foster a social climate of respecting work, knowledge, talent and creativity, promote the ethos of scientists, and encourage researchers to aim high, be dedicated to the country, and remain committed to innovation. We must improve academic integrity and conduct, and foster a clean and honest research ecosystem.

Fifth, we should act on the vision of a community with a shared future for humanity and promote international cooperation in science and technology. Scientific and technological progress is a central theme of the world today. The right path forward is to maintain opening up and continue to engage in international cooperation. The more complex the international environment, the more we should be open-minded and engage with the world. We should determine the right balance between opening up and security, and achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology through international cooperation.

We should follow through on the International Science and Technology Cooperation Initiative, expand intergovernmental and non-governmental channels of exchange and cooperation, and bring into play the role of platforms including the Belt and Road Initiative. We should take a leading role in carrying out international Big Science plans and projects, and support research conducted jointly by scientists from different countries. We should take active measures to become an integral part of the global innovation network and a full participant in global science and technology governance. We should work with other countries to create an open, fair, equitable and nondiscriminatory environment for scientific and technological progress, and to jointly address global challenges including climate change, food security, and energy security, so that science and technology can bring greater benefits to humanity.

In our effort to build China into a sci-tech powerhouse, our science and technology community shoulders a heavy responsibility and a great mission. I hope that members of the Chinese Academy

of Sciences and the Chinese Academy of Engineering, as outstanding representatives of the science and technology community, will lead the charge and take on your responsibilities. I hope you will serve as pioneers in science and technology, become leaders in major programs, act as guides for young researchers and role models of the ethos of scientists, and make a greater contribution to China's progress in this domain. I hope that you scientists and engineers can integrate your academic aspirations into the great cause of building China into a sci-tech powerhouse. I hope that you will forge ahead with determination, strive for excellence, and achieve new triumphs that answer the call of our times and meet the expectations of our people.

Building China into a sci-tech powerhouse is the shared responsibility of the entire Party and the whole country. Party committees and governments at all levels must earnestly implement the decisions and plans of the Central Committee, strengthen their organizational, management and leadership role in science and technology work, and do their best to provide services and support. Leading officials at all levels must attach importance to the acquisition of new knowledge, and increase their capabilities in leading and advancing science and technology work.

Building China into a sci-tech powerhouse has been one of our consistent goals since the mid-19th century, and generation after generation of Chinese have striven to achieve it. Now, our generation has taken on this historic task. We should set soaring aspirations, be determined and united, redouble our efforts, strive for progress, and forge ahead towards our great goal of building China into a sci-tech powerhouse.

Build China into an Education Powerhouse*

September 9, 2024

Currently, global transformation on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating, and the new revolution in science, technology and industry is advancing. Education has become increasingly vital in boosting a country's core competitiveness that will help it seize the strategic initiative.

The goals of advancing high-quality development, building a modern industrial system, and responding to new demographic trends all require a larger talent pool and a better structure of disciplines. Our people have high expectations for equity and quality in education. All of this means that we still have a long way to go in our effort to build China into an education powerhouse.

The powerhouse we envision is Chinese and socialist in nature. It must therefore excel in providing moral and political guidance, making our talent more competitive, giving strong support to science and technology, improving the people's wellbeing, increasing social synergy, and expanding international influence. These will offer strong support for building a great modern socialist country and rejuvenating the nation through Chinese modernization. To deliver them, we must develop a comprehensive moral and political education system that nourishes the roots and forges the soul of our nation, a fair basic education system based on high standards, a higher education system of superior quality, a vocational education system that integrates education with industry, a ubiquitous and accessible lifelong education system, an innovation-led science and technology support system, a

* Part of the speech at the National Education Conference.

system for developing competent teachers, and an open international cooperation system conducive to mutual learning. With all these systems in place and working in unison, we will be able to upgrade our education sector through improved quality and governance, and systematically move China forward from a country with a well-established education system to a genuine education powerhouse.

Building China into an education powerhouse is a complex and systemic project with the mission of cultivating a moral compass and nurturing the mind. It is designed to shape a generation of capable young people with sound moral grounding, intellectual ability, physical vigor, aesthetic sensibility, and work skills who will fully develop socialism and carry forward the socialist cause. We must make sure that our education serves the socialist cause, with full knowledge of its political nature, its people-centered core, and its strategic significance. To this end, we must properly address the following key issues by applying systems thinking.

First, we should support national strategies while meeting the people's expectations for quality education. To achieve greater strength and self-reliance in science and technology, we should nurture leading innovators, and prioritize the cultivation of talent that is urgently needed to execute major national strategies. At the same time, we should address imbalances and insufficiencies to satisfy the people's needs for higher-quality and more diversified education.

Second, we should make sure that our students pursue well-rounded development while increasing their knowledge. We should improve the overall quality of teaching and learning, with emphasis on cultivating students' key competencies and consolidating their knowledge base. At the same time, to ensure the wellbeing of the students and help them pursue well-rounded development, we should refine moral, intellectual, physical, aesthetic and practical education, and reverse the obsession with scores.

Third, we should cultivate talent and meet social needs. Training capable people is a basic function of education, and its ability to meet the demands of socio-economic development is an important

criterion to evaluate its effectiveness. We should improve our ability to adapt talent development to the needs of socio-economic development, adjust the structure of disciplines and programs in keeping with the changing times, optimize the allocation of educational resources, and improve the internship process for students to ensure that all students find the right post and reach their full potential.

Fourth, we should regulate management and stimulate vitality. On the one hand, we should improve school administration, reinforce law-based governance and management of education, effectively prevent or resolve school-related safety issues, and strengthen ideological safeguards at universities. On the other hand, we should advance comprehensive educational reform to inject momentum and vitality into education, inspiring teachers' enthusiasm and enterprising spirit, and igniting students' passion and motivating them to pursue their dreams.

Fifth, we should ensure that our education is firmly rooted in China's soil while drawing on international experience. Our history, culture, and national conditions have determined that we should develop education in accordance with our Chinese roots, and this is the direction our Party has chosen. We should have firm confidence in our culture, commit ourselves to developing a socialist Chinese education, and make sure that our younger generations remain dedicated to the Party, the country, the people, and socialism. At the same time, drawing upon advanced international experience is an excellent way to strengthen our education. We should grasp the commonalities and well-established practices shared by countries with strengths in education, draw on these strengths, and leverage world-class resources and innovation factors to better develop our education.

To build China into an education powerhouse as scheduled is an arduous task, and we cannot afford to lose any time. With the strategic vision that it takes decades, not years, to cultivate talent, we will surge forward with determination and in unity to achieve our goal, like boats racing towards a finish line.

First, we must commit ourselves to the fundamental task of fostering integrity through education. We will continuously improve

and strengthen moral and political education in the new era, educate and inspire students to firmly believe in Marxism and Chinese socialism, boost their confidence in national rejuvenation, and encourage them to aspire to serve the country and make it strong.

We will consistently arm our students with the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, and implement the project of cultivating integrity through education. We will synchronize moral and political education with the application of the Party's new theories, design courses and textbooks built around the Thought, and advance systematic and integrated moral and political education from elementary and high schools to universities.

We will step up efforts to study and expound the Party's innovative theories from a systematic and academic perspective, and to better understand the truth, philosophies and principles underpinning them. Guided by these theories, we will drive innovation in knowledge, theory and methodology in philosophy and social sciences, build China's knowledge system in philosophy and social sciences with defining concepts and original theories across disciplines as the mainstay, and incorporate this knowledge system in teaching.

We will pool educational resources both in and out of the classroom, on and off campus, and online and offline. To expand the reach of offline and online education, we will highlight successful cases of great transformations in the new era, fully leverage our revolutionary heritage for education, and develop specialized online courses for moral and political education. We will further popularize standard spoken and written Chinese to heighten the sense of national identity.

Second, we will reinforce the role of education in supporting sci-tech and talent development. We should promote the positive interplay between education, talent development, and science and technology, and implement three strategies in a coordinated manner – invigorating China through science and education, building a talent-strong country, and pursuing innovation-driven development. We will adopt a holistic approach to educational development, sci-tech innovation, and talent cultivation. To meet the needs of development in

science and technology and serve national strategies, we will focus on strengthening our innovation capacity. We will improve mechanisms for designing and adjusting disciplines and talent training models, make exceptional plans for disciplines and majors that are in great demand, and strengthen the development of basic disciplines, emerging disciplines, interdisciplinary programs, and elite professionals.

We will highlight the role of first-class research universities as the main force for national basic research and as the source for major breakthroughs in science and technology. We will improve the organization of basic research and initiate projects that aim to make breakthroughs in both basic subjects and interdisciplinary fields. We will establish an effective mechanism to ensure that innovation and talent development complement each other, and drive the development of disciplines up to high standards. We should identify major research topics based on national strategic needs, and produce original and disruptive results on a regular basis. We will promote the application and commercialization of research findings generated by universities, and strengthen R&D cooperation between universities and enterprises. By improving coordination, establishing new platforms, and removing obstacles, we can translate more research results into productive forces as quickly as possible.

We will optimize the planning of our higher education, and develop world-class universities and strong disciplines with Chinese characteristics. We will build up our domestic capacity for cultivating talent and attracting high-caliber professionals, thus building and expanding the pool of talent with expertise of national strategic importance. We will explore new approaches to cultivating leading innovators, and redouble our efforts to identify future engineers early and hone their skills through master's and doctoral degree programs. We will facilitate the healthy growth of young scientists through sustained support and longer-term performance evaluation. To meet the diverse needs for talent, we will carry out reform of higher education and help different categories of universities find their place in talent cultivation, encouraging them to leverage their respective strengths and characteristics

in different fields and produce results. We will work faster to build a vocational system that integrates vocational education with general education and with industrial sectors, and improve the policy environment to train master technicians, outstanding craftspeople, and highly skilled workers.

Third, we will improve the quality and standards of education as a public service. Upholding a people-centered approach, we will make education more inclusive, accessible and convenient, and ensure that successes in education reform and development benefit all our people in a fair way. We will establish mechanisms for aligning the provision of basic public education services with demographic changes to optimize the allocation of educational resources across regions. To gradually narrow the gaps in education between urban and rural areas, and between different regions, schools, and social groups, we will promote the high-quality, balanced development of compulsory education, and intensify efforts to apply uniform standards to schools delivering compulsory education. We will give special attention and care to children with disabilities, and those who remain in rural areas while their parents are away to work in cities. By these means, we will improve education services and the management of boarding schools, essential small village schools, and special education schools. We will promote universal coverage and affordability of preschool education, support diversified development of senior high school education, and tap the potential to gradually expand free education. We will continue to relieve students of excessive burdens from homework and off-campus tutoring during the compulsory education stage, and improve the overall quality of classroom teaching and after-class services. We will channel more resources to develop infrastructure for preschool education and corrective education.

We will further implement the national digital strategy for education by developing and utilizing the Smart Education of China platform. We will also leverage artificial intelligence in education reform and explore effective digital means to facilitate individualized learning on a large scale and create more innovative forms of teaching that

allow a greater number of people to benefit from high-quality education. Additionally, we will improve the public services and the system for lifelong learning to build a society in which everyone can learn wherever and whenever they wish.

Fourth, we will train highly competent teachers for the new era. We will launch an initiative to advocate the ethos of educators and help improve our teachers' professional ethics and conduct. We will ensure that this ethos thrives at every stage of the education process, including classroom teaching, scientific research, and social practice. We will raise the overall standards of normal education by improving the quality of faculty training and encouraging top universities to engage in the training of future teachers. We will improve the management of teaching staff and optimize the allocation of teaching resources in a coordinated manner, and adjust the teacher-to-student ratio and the structure of teaching positions to address teacher shortages in certain specific positions, at different educational stages, and in various regions.

Respecting teachers and valuing education are fine traditions of the Chinese nation. We will ensure that teachers enjoy high political, social and professional status, and guarantee their remuneration and benefits. Specifically, we will improve subsidy policies for rural teachers, and reform the remuneration system in higher education institutions. We will maintain the dignity of the teaching profession and safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of teachers, relieve them of non-pedagogical burdens, and guarantee their retirement benefits. We will step up our efforts in recognizing and commending outstanding teachers and sharing their stories, and ensure that teaching enjoys high social status and remains one of the most respected professions.

Fifth, we will develop important education centers of global influence. We will further open up the education sector, coordinate efforts for "bringing in" and "going global", increase our competitiveness in international education, and strengthen our voice, so that we will be in a better position to contribute to the building of a community with

a shared future for humanity. We will further build up our capacity for running higher education institutions overseas, and improve the international cooperation mechanism for integrating vocational education with industry and coordination between vocational colleges and enterprises. We will encourage top foreign universities in science and engineering to develop partner schools and programs in China. We will increase international academic exchanges and cooperation in education and research, and expand youth exchanges between China and other countries. We will strengthen cooperation with international organizations and multilateral mechanisms, actively participate in global education governance, and contribute more to the development of global education.

It is the shared responsibility of the Party and the country to build China into an education powerhouse on the new journey in the new era. We must uphold and strengthen the Party's overall leadership over education, and continue to improve the leadership mechanism for education, in which Party committees exercise unified leadership, Party and government bodies jointly shoulder responsibilities, and the departments concerned properly perform their duties. The Central Leading Group for Education should step up coordination, pursue overall progress, and ensure policy implementation. Party committees and governments at all levels should prioritize education as a strategic duty, and earnestly implement the Outline of the Development Plan for Education (2024-2035). Schools, families and society should synergize efforts to pursue this shared goal of building China into an education powerhouse.

Whole-Process People's Democracy

Bring Together All Chinese to Work for National Rejuvenation*

July 29, 2022

This year marks the centenary of our Party's united front policy. At this point, we should do all we can to steer the patriotic united front in the right direction, and fully comprehend its relevance and its scope for development in the new era. Its primary tasks include:

- adhering to the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era;
- upholding CPC leadership;
- following the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics;
- bolstering socialism and patriotism;
- balancing commonality and diversity;
- focusing on the country's central task and serving the overall national interests;
- advancing with the times, maintaining the right orientation, and breaking new ground;
- strengthening political guidance, gathering extensive support, and pooling strength;
- promoting harmony in relations among political parties, ethnic groups, religions, social groups, and our compatriots at home and overseas;
- bringing together all Chinese at home and abroad to form a mighty force for building China into a great modern socialist country and achieving national rejuvenation.

The united front is an important component of the Party's overall

* Main points of the speech at the Central Conference on the United Front.

political strategy and has played a significant role throughout the years of revolution, construction and reform. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, in pursuit of national rejuvenation against a backdrop of global change on a scale unseen in a century, the Party has made overall plans for united front work from the strategic perspective of national governance. This has achieved historic successes, and a positive and active atmosphere of unity and enterprise has formed in the united front.

We have built on our experience to form the guidelines on the Party's united front work in the new era, and put forward a series of new visions, ideas and strategies for strengthening and improving this work. These mainly include:

- maximizing the contribution of the united front;
- rallying the people's support and pooling their strength;
- seeking commonality in diversity;
- upholding and improving China's unique political party system;
- focusing on heightening the sense of the Chinese nation as one community in the Party's work on ethnic affairs;
- ensuring that religions in China conform to China's realities;
- uniting non-CPC intellectuals and New Social Groups;
- promoting the healthy development of the non-public sector and those working in this sector;
- enlisting support from people in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan and overseas Chinese;
- winning more support from prominent non-CPC individuals;
- grasping the essentials for improving united front work;
- strengthening the Party's overall leadership over united front work.

These are the fruits of the Party's united front work over the past century, and constitute the fundamental guidelines for this work in the new era. All Party members must implement them fully, accurately and faithfully.

The united front is an important means for the Party to overcome adversity, to govern the country and lead it to prosperity, and

to bring together all Chinese people at home and abroad to advance national rejuvenation. We must support it in the long term. Gathering support and strength from the wider public holds the key to success for the cause of the Party and the people, and is therefore our top political priority. The united front is designed to create great unity and solidarity, garner public support, and build up our strength. It is essential to seek common ground while shelving differences, carry forward the fine tradition of “unity – criticism – unity”, pursue commonality while respecting diversity, and achieve convergence of interests. It is the CPC that leads the united front. We must guarantee the Party’s effective leadership over united front work. The whole Party must attach importance to this Party-wide effort and conduct it in unity, to create a mechanism in which Party committees exercise unified leadership, the Party’s united front departments play a leading and coordinating role, and competent departments shoulder their respective responsibilities.

In changing times, the united front is experiencing significant changes in some of its missions and functions. It is playing a greater role in safeguarding our country’s sovereignty, security, and development interests, as unprecedented changes continue to proliferate throughout the world. It is playing a greater role in completing the country’s central task and serving the overall national interests, as we move towards socialist modernization and national rejuvenation. It is also playing a greater role in consolidating the Party’s class foundations and garnering stronger public support, as the social structure of our country experiences profound change. Therefore, we should better grasp the importance of developing and expanding the patriotic united front in the new era, and forge ahead with a keen sense of mission and responsibility.

The united front was created for building solidarity, and has thrived on solidarity. It is the patriotic united front’s responsibility in the new era to promote the great unity of the Chinese people. To achieve this goal, we should properly handle the relationship between upholding CPC leadership and expanding common ground,

to achieve broader consensus and bring together all Chinese people from different political parties, ethnic groups, social groups, religions, and social systems. We should properly handle the relationship between intangible and tangible achievements and have a clear understanding of good official performance, to realize solid and sustainable development of the united front. We should properly handle the relationship between rigor and flexibility, so that we can combine rigor in applying the Party's guidelines and policies with flexibility in providing solutions and measures: On the one hand, we should maintain our political stance and our political principles; on the other, we should adjust our approaches and methods to solve particular issues. We should also properly handle the relationship between unity and struggle, with greater ability to meet adversity head-on in a spirit of true unity.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the Party Central Committee has set great store by united front work from an overall and strategic perspective. We have promulgated major regulations, issued important documents, convened a number of important meetings concerning Xizang, Xinjiang, ethnic affairs, religions, and other matters, and set guidelines and made comprehensive plans for ethnic and religious affairs in the new era. We must ensure their implementation.

We must uphold and improve the system of CPC-led multiparty cooperation and political consultation, bolster CPC leadership, strengthen political guidance, and improve relevant systems and mechanisms, to make multiparty cooperation more procedure-based and vigorous in the new era.

We must strengthen unity with non-CPC intellectuals and representatives of New Social Groups to build consensus and promote patriotism. We should encourage them to work for the country, and support them in building their careers, contributing their talents, fulfilling their ambitions, and joining the front line of reform and innovation.

We must facilitate the sound development of the non-public sector and people working in this sector; carry out education initia-

tives on ideals, convictions, and the core socialist values; and encourage them to apply the new development philosophy and become actively involved in entrepreneurship and in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

We should do more for patriots overseas, expand our circle of friends who understand and have a positive view of China, and promote exchanges and mutual learning between Chinese and other cultures. We should improve united front work in cyberspace and better connect with the people through the internet.

Upholding Party leadership is of cardinal importance for strengthening united front work in the new era, with coordinated efforts across the Party and all relevant sectors. Party committees and Party leadership groups at all levels must take primary responsibility and put united front work high on their agenda. All departments and organizations should have a keen awareness and achieve synergy in their joint efforts. The united front departments should strengthen their capacity as advisors, organizers, coordinators and supervisors. Officials engaged in united front work should increase their political acumen, understanding, and capacity to deliver, improve their methods and approaches in work, and present a positive image of united front departments and staff.

Uphold and Strengthen the People's Congress System*

September 14, 2024

Since its 18th National Congress in 2012, the Party has oriented itself towards the new development stage. It has fully embraced new changes in the principal challenge facing our society, actively responded to the people's new demands and expectations for democracy and the rule of law, and strengthened its overall leadership over the work of people's congresses. It has vigorously developed whole-process people's democracy, facilitated the modernization of China's governance system and capacity, improved the systems that ensure the people are the masters of the country, and amended the Constitution to keep pace with the times. It convened the first Central Conference on the Work of People's Congresses in its history, and helped deliver historic progress by improving the structures and processes of the people's congress system.

We have adapted the basic tenets of Marxism to China's realities and the best of its traditional culture, developed a profound understanding of the laws governing the development of socialist democracy, conducted a systematic review of the Party's experience in strengthening socialist democracy, and consistently broken new ground in developing the theory and practice of the system of people's congresses. We have developed the key concept of whole-process people's democracy and emphasized that the people's congress system is an important institutional vehicle for realizing whole-process

* Part of the speech at a meeting to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the National People's Congress.

people's democracy in China. We must uphold CPC leadership, provide institutional safeguards to guarantee that the people remain the masters of the country, ensure that every dimension of governance is law-based, and commit to democratic centralism. We must keep to the path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics, modernize our system and capacity for governance, maximize the contribution of the deputies to people's congresses, and strengthen the four-fold role¹ of people's congresses at all levels. These new visions, new ideas, and new requirements underpin the Party's guidelines on upholding and improving the people's congress system, and establish the fundamental principles for high-quality development of people's congresses in the new era.

The 20th CPC National Congress made overall plans for advancing whole-process people's democracy and ensuring that the people remain the masters of the country. The Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee specified the details for improving the institutional framework for whole-process people's democracy. We must uphold, improve and run the system of people's congresses to good effect in accordance with these requirements, to provide a solid institutional foundation for achieving the goals of the Party and the people on our new journey in the new era.

First, we must maximize the important role of people's congresses in ensuring the comprehensive and effective implementation of the Constitution and the law. All organizations and individuals in our country must respect the authority of the Constitution and the law, confine their activities to the boundaries prescribed by the Constitution and the law, and exercise powers, enjoy rights, perform duties, and fulfill obligations in accordance with the Constitution and the law. No organization or individual shall be permitted to enjoy special privileges that place them above the Constitution and the law. It is an important duty of people's congresses at all levels and their standing committees to ensure that the Constitution and the law are strictly applied. On the new journey in the new era, all people's congresses and their standing committees should fully perform their duties and

functions, maintain consistency in laws and regulations, and uphold the dignity and authority of the law. They should ensure the effective enforcement of the Constitution and the law, and guarantee that all government departments perform their duties and functions within the scope stipulated by the Constitution and the law.

Second, we must capitalize on the leading role of people's congresses in legislative work. To carry out lawmaking in a well-conceived and democratic way and in accordance with the law, we must uphold and improve the legislative framework under which Party committees play the leading role, people's congresses are in charge of specific work, governments offer support, and all parties concerned are involved. On the journey ahead, to improve China's socialist legal system, the National People's Congress (NPC) and its Standing Committee, together with local people's congresses with legislative powers and their standing committees, should fully perform their legislative duties, devise sound plans for legislation, and improve the mechanism for leading the drafting of important laws and regulations. They should take coordinated steps to enact, revise, abolish, interpret and codify laws, strengthen legislation in key, emerging and foreign-related fields, and raise the quality of legislation. We should accelerate the delivery of a legal system that ensures equal rights, equal opportunities, and fair rules for all, and guarantee the effective exercise of all citizens' rights. We should advance reform under the rule of law and secure unity between reform and the rule of law, ensuring that all major reforms have a solid legal basis and that relevant reform achievements are converted into laws in a timely manner.

Third, we must maximize the important role of people's congresses in the supervision framework of the Party and the state. People's congresses at all levels and their standing committees should assume their responsibilities for oversight assigned by the Constitution and the law. They should improve their scrutiny of the work of the people's governments, supervision commissions, people's courts, and people's procuratorates at the same level, and strengthen their oversight of the application of the Constitution and the law. They should

strengthen the review of budgets and final accounts and increase supervision over the management of state-owned assets and government debts. They should help promote the implementation of the Central Committee's decisions and plans, ensure the exercise of power by all government departments in accordance with the law, and guarantee the protection and realization of people's legitimate rights and interests. Administrative, supervisory, adjudicatory and procuratorial offices at all levels should readily place themselves under the oversight of people's congresses while performing their own supervisory duties, ensuring that power is exercised with institutional constraints.

Fourth, we must capitalize on the leading role of people's congresses in strengthening the connection with the people. All government departments and their staff members must foster a strong sense of service to the people, put the people above all else, listen to the people's opinions and suggestions, and maintain close ties with the people. Shouldering the honorable duties entrusted by the people, deputies to people's congresses should take a firm political stance, faithfully represent the will and interests of the people, participate in the exercise of state power in accordance with the law, and serve as a bridge through which the Party and the government maintain contacts with the people. Government departments should provide support and safeguards for deputies to people's congresses to fulfill their duties in accordance with the law. Relevant systems and mechanisms should be improved for communication with deputies and to ensure that deputies reach out to the public on a greater variety of issues and in more diverse ways.

Party committees at all levels should strengthen their overall leadership over the work of people's congresses, hear work reports from Party leadership groups of people's congress standing committees on a regular basis, and study and resolve major issues in the work of people's congresses. They should support people's congresses and their standing committees in performing their duties and exercising their powers in accordance with the law, and strengthen the leadership teams of people's congress standing committees and the staff

members of people's congresses. Party committees at all levels and relevant departments should coordinate and cooperate with their counterparts in the people's congresses to create a strong synergy in the work of people's congresses.

The Party leadership groups of the NPC Standing Committee and the standing committees of local people's congresses at all levels must always uphold the centralized, unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee, implement the systems ensuring CPC leadership, keep to the correct political orientation, and fulfill their primary responsibilities for exercising full and rigorous internal Party governance. Following the requirements on the four-fold role of people's congresses, they should strengthen the political foundations, ideological work, organizations, conduct, and discipline of people's congresses. To improve their work on the new journey in the new era, people's congresses should improve the composition of their standing committees and special committees, and build work teams that are politically committed, serve the people, respect the rule of law, promote democracy, and work with diligence and a strong sense of responsibility.

People's democracy is a glorious banner that the CPC has always held high. We must stay firmly on the path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics and uphold and improve our country's fundamental, basic and important political systems. We must improve the institutions that ensure the people are the masters of the country and diversify the forms of democracy at different levels. We must expand the people's orderly political participation, give full expression to their will, protect their rights and interests, and spark their creativity.

Democracy is a shared value of humanity. The Chinese people have achieved great strides in developing people's democracy under the leadership of the CPC, enriching the theory and practice of democracy around the world and contributing China's ideas and solutions. We should draw on the achievements of political civilization of humanity, but never copy the models of Western political systems. We stand ready to continue to work with all the countries and peoples

that subscribe to peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom, to explore the path to extensive, genuine and effective democracy, and to make new contributions to the political progress of humanity.

In his opening speech at the First Session of the First National People's Congress 70 years ago, Mao Zedong called on the people to strive to build a great socialist country. Today, China has embarked on a new journey towards building a modern socialist country in all respects, and the process of national rejuvenation has become irreversible. The whole Party and the entire nation must unite more closely around the Party Central Committee, stay true to our original aspiration and founding mission, actively develop whole-process people's democracy, and make further socialist political progress. We should better leverage the distinctive strengths of the people's congress system and work together to build a great modern socialist country and achieve national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

Notes

¹ This refers to the four-fold role of people's congresses at all levels and their standing committees: They should function as political institutions that conscientiously uphold Party leadership, as institutions of state power that ensure the people's position as masters of the country, as working institutions that fully perform the duties and functions conferred by the Constitution and the law, and as representative institutions that always maintain close ties with the people.

Rally All Forces for Chinese Modernization*

September 20, 2024

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, to adapt to a new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics and respond to the challenges it poses, we have continued to integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture, and develop innovative theories on the basis of the practice of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). Our experience has taught us the following:

- The CPPCC should uphold the CPC's overall leadership.
- It should always be clear about its nature and role.
- It should make the most of its role as a specialized consultative body.
- It should support and improve China's political party system.
- It should follow the principles of unity and solidarity.
- It should focus on strengthening theoretical and political guidance and building broad consensus.
- It should prioritize the central task of the Party and the state while performing its duties.
- It should uphold the principle of serving the people.
- It should reinforce the sense of responsibility among its members.
- It should improve its members' ability to perform their duties in the spirit of reform and innovation.

These are our Party's guidelines on strengthening and improving the work of the CPPCC. They epitomize the experience we have gained over the past 75 years, especially since entering the new era,

* Part of the speech at a meeting to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

and establish the fundamental principles for the CPPCC on the new journey in the new era. We must implement them fully, accurately and faithfully, and develop them in practice.

Consultative democracy is an integral part of whole-process people's democracy. It is a unique feature and distinctive strength of China's socialist democracy and an important manifestation of the Party's mass line in the political field. On the new journey in the new era, we will work towards the extensive, multilevel and institutionalized development of consultative democracy in accordance with the guidelines set at the 20th CPC National Congress and the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

First, we will always keep to the correct political orientation. Consultative democracy ensures that the CPC leads the people in effectively governing the country and that the people are the masters of the country. To fully develop consultative democracy, we must uphold the Party's overall leadership, keep to China's path of socialist political progress, and implement and develop whole-process people's democracy. We should respect the people's creativity and rely on them to develop consultative democracy. We will base centralism on democracy and guide democracy with centralism to ensure that consultation is conducted in accordance with the law and in an orderly manner.

Second, we will improve the system of consultative democracy. China's consultative democracy covers consultation carried out by political parties, people's congresses, government departments, CPPCC committees, people's organizations, communities, and social organizations, which form an indivisible whole. To fully develop consultative democracy, we should base our efforts on the characteristics and conditions of different consultation channels, highlighting their respective priorities, following their respective rules, and leveraging their unique roles. At the same time, we should strengthen coordination and collaboration across these channels. This way, we can align goals, pool strengths, and continuously strengthen overall effectiveness.

Third, we will improve the mechanisms for consultative democracy.

Improving systems, standards and procedures is essential for the development of consultative democracy. To fully develop consultative democracy, we must ensure consultation before decisions are made and throughout the implementation process. For different consultation channels, category-based procedures and working rules will be established to clarify which issues to consult on, who to consult with, how to conduct consultations, and how to apply the results. We will make plans, define content, determine participants, carry out consultation, and improve the mechanisms for adopting, implementing and providing feedback on the results, all in line with the requirement that the process should be well-designed, standardized, orderly, simple, and based on democratic centralism.

Fourth, we will introduce more channels and platforms for consultation. This is important for improving the quality of consultative democracy. To fully develop consultative democracy, we will improve various elements including proposals, research, inspections, meetings, debates, hearings, public notices, evaluations, inquiries, online platforms, public opinion surveys, and democratic oversight. In addition, we will establish dialogue and communication platforms tailored to practical needs. We will broaden channels for reporting on social conditions and public opinion, improve methods for public participation in policy evaluation, and leverage the active role of experts, academics, and think tanks, so that our efforts to incorporate public opinion and pool public wisdom become an established and regular process.

Fifth, we will create a healthy environment and enabling conditions. To fully develop consultative democracy, the whole Party and all the people should work together and test out new ideas. We will communicate the nature and essence of our socialist democracy to the public and uphold worthy Chinese traditions, such as inclusiveness and seeking common ground while reserving differences. We will widely advocate for consultation in handling matters, addressing issues, and making decisions, to foster a culture of consultative democracy. We should encourage people to speak the truth, offer frank criticism, and

make constructive suggestions. Our goal is to encourage consultation on an equal footing where no one imposes their opinions on others, promote rule-based discussions where people listen to each other, and facilitate sincere dialogue that is free of prejudiced or extreme views. This will create an environment where everyone can speak their mind freely in a rational and respectful way that complies with the laws and regulations.

At present, our world, our times, and the course of history are going through a period of unprecedented change that continues to grow in scale and depth. The challenges we face in advancing reform and development and maintaining stability are daunting, and more demanding than ever before. There is a pressing need to unite further and strengthen the great unity of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and the great unity of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation at home and abroad. I hope the CPPCC will carry forward its great traditions, bear in mind its political responsibilities, and uphold the CPC's leadership, the united front, and consultative democracy as an integral whole. It must fully leverage its role as a specialized consultative body to rally extensive support, build consensus, and pool wisdom and strength for Chinese modernization.

First, the CPPCC must consolidate the common ideological and political foundations for unity and progress. The central focus of the CPPCC is to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics, and the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era is the core philosophy that underlies all of its work. The CPPCC must raise its political awareness, understand the political nature of its system and organizations, and strengthen its political acumen, understanding, and capacity to deliver. It should fulfill its responsibility of implementing the CPC Central Committee's decisions and plans and meet the requirements that the Central Committee has set, while pooling the wisdom and strength of the Chinese people at home and abroad.

The CPPCC should strengthen its theoretical foundations, balance commonality and diversity, seek common ground while shelving and

reducing differences, and strive to achieve further political unity and cooperation, common progress in thinking, and coordinated action among all political parties, organizations, and representatives of all ethnic groups and sectors of society. Furthermore, it should organize regular reading, theoretical study, and political training sessions for its members, and encourage them to turn what they have learned into practical skills in political consultation, democratic supervision, and participation in the deliberation and administration of state affairs, so that they will perform their duties better and more efficiently.

Second, the CPPCC must discuss state affairs and make suggestions with a focus on Chinese modernization. It has a great pool of talent with intellect and wisdom, and it should leverage this strength and engage in consultation and discussion on major issues, problems, and hot topics concerning Chinese modernization, deeper all-round reform, high-quality development, and social harmony and stability. It should improve the mechanism for developing key consultation plans. After conducting thorough research to understand real economic and social conditions and identify the pressing difficulties and problems that concern the people most, it should report on them and propose forward-looking, practical and targeted solutions. It should also leverage the strengths of consultative supervision to make democratic oversight more effective and ensure the successful implementation of the major plans and decisions of the Party and the state.

Third, the CPPCC must seek the greatest common ground for building a great country and rejuvenating the nation. It should improve its working mechanism, leverage the political role of the united front in uniting people and gathering strength, and make a greater effort to increase public confidence, rally popular support, gain people's trust, and build consensus. It should uphold, develop and improve China's political party system, and help non-CPC political parties and prominent individuals without party affiliation to better perform their duties. It should foster a stronger sense of the Chinese nation as one community, and work towards unity, shared prosperity, and development among all ethnic groups.

It should remain committed to the principle that religions in China should conform to China's realities and provide guidance to religions so that they can adapt to our socialist society. In order to increase consensus and unite more people, it should strengthen political guidance for non-CPC intellectuals, and for prominent figures in the non-public sector of the economy and in New Social Groups.

It should maintain close contact with political and social organizations and representatives from all sectors of society that love Hong Kong, Macao, and the country, to help the two special administrative regions better integrate into China's overall development and play a bigger role in opening up. It should implement the CPC's overall policy for resolving the Taiwan question in the new era, facilitate further integrated development across the Taiwan Straits in all sectors, forge closer bonds between people on both sides, and resolutely oppose any activities seeking "Taiwan independence" in any form.

It should maintain extensive contacts with overseas Chinese nationals and guide them to explain China's viewpoints and make our voice heard. It should serve China's efforts in foreign affairs by telling accurate and engaging stories of China and people's democracy to the world.

Fourth, the CPPCC must improve its institutional framework. To help improve the system of consultative democracy, the CPPCC should implement the CPC Central Committee's decisions and plans on developing whole-process people's democracy, and strengthen coordination and cooperation with other forms of consultation.

It should refine the mechanisms that enable in-depth consultation and interaction, full expression of opinions, and broad consensus, and strengthen regulations on consultation. This approach will enable full expression of different ideas and in-depth exchange of viewpoints, and ensure consultation leads to solutions, consensus, unity, and mutual understanding. Special committees should augment their foundational role.

The CPPCC should strengthen the mechanisms through which it

reports on social conditions and public opinion, stays in contact with the people, and provides them with services. It should work harder to understand their actual conditions, ease their concerns, make them feel cared for, inform them of CPC policies, protect their interests, and promote social harmony.

Fifth, the CPPCC must strengthen the ranks of its members. To ensure that the CPPCC fulfills its responsibilities with high standards, it is essential to have members who fully understand the role of the organization, observe discipline, abide by the rules, act with moral integrity, and are adept at conducting consultation and discussing state affairs.

You CPPCC members should value your political identity, strengthen your political character, improve your political ability, and take an unequivocal and unwavering stance on the fundamental issues of our socialist path, system and direction. You should study diligently and intensively, develop a good grasp of the principles and policies of the CPC and the state, be clear on how to perform your duties, and continue to increase your knowledge of theory and capacity to deliver. You should increase your sense of mission and responsibility, and actively engage in daily work that will pool strengths, provide decision-making advice, facilitate democratic consultation, and contribute to national governance.

CPPCC members' democratic rights must be respected and protected, and good services will be provided to create conditions conducive to fulfilling their duties. The CPPCC will be built into a home for committee members, a home of democracy, and a home of unity.

On the new journey towards Chinese modernization, Party committees at all levels must proceed from the overall interests of the Party and the country, and plan and advance CPPCC work in this context. This includes improving the system of Party leadership over the CPPCC, listening regularly to reports from Party leadership groups of CPPCC committees, studying and reviewing CPPCC activities, supporting CPPCC committees in fulfilling their duties, taking a

more proactive approach to consultation, and listening to and actively adopting their opinions and suggestions. We need to strengthen the leadership teams of CPPCC committees and the ranks of their staff members and optimize the staffing structure. Party committees and government departments at all levels must work together with CPPCC committees to form synergy.

Party leadership groups of CPPCC committees should play their role in setting the direction, managing the overall situation, and guaranteeing implementation, while improving and implementing the organizational structure and institutional mechanisms of Party leadership over the CPPCC. We should govern our Party by applying strict criteria in a spirit of reform. We should reinforce our Party's political foundations as the overarching measure for increasing Party competence in all respects within the CPPCC, and create a wholesome political environment for new endeavors.

As Mao Zedong said proudly 75 years ago to the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference, "The Chinese people will see that, once China's destiny is in the hands of the people, China, like the sun rising in the east, will illuminate every corner of the land with a brilliant flame, swiftly clean up the mire left by the reactionary government, heal the wounds of war and build a new, powerful and prosperous people's republic worthy of the name."

Over the past 75 years, the CPC has rallied all the Chinese people and led them in unremitting efforts to achieve results that have attracted global attention. China's modernization drive is rolling out on all fronts, and the Chinese nation is moving towards rejuvenation with unstoppable momentum. We are confident that under the strong leadership of the CPC, the CPPCC will make a new and significant contribution to building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization.

Unite the Chinese Nation as One Community*

September 27, 2024

The CPC always gives high priority to ethnic work. Over the past century and more, by integrating Marxist ethnic theories with China's realities and the best of traditional Chinese culture, our Party has found a distinctive path to properly addressing ethnic issues in the country. Along this path, our Party has united the people of all ethnic groups in winning national independence and liberation, and opened up new prospects for ethnic relations founded on equality, unity, mutual assistance, and harmony. Unprecedented progress has been achieved in economic and social development in areas with large ethnic minority populations and in improving the lives of the people of ethnic minority groups. China's ethnic minorities, ethnic minority areas, and ethnic relations have undergone dramatic and historic changes, together with the whole Chinese nation.

Since its 18th National Congress in 2012, our Party has continued to break new ground while upholding fundamental principles, and adapted Marxist ethnic theories to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. It has made it clear that the focus of our Party's work on ethnic affairs – and indeed for all our endeavors in ethnic minority areas – is to reinforce the sense of the Chinese nation as one community. Based on this, we have developed the guidelines on strengthening and improving the Party's work on ethnic affairs, which have enabled ethnic minority areas to eliminate absolute poverty, achieve moderate prosperity in all respects, and move towards socialist modernization alongside the rest of the country. These historic

* Main part of the speech at a national meeting to commend model individuals and units for contributing to ethnic unity and progress.

successes have raised our Party's work on ethnic affairs to a new level.

Time and experience have shown that our unique approach to ethnic issues is the optimal solution for China. This approach attends to the fundamental and overall interests of the Chinese nation and has created the strongest cohesion among all ethnic groups, bringing about ethnic solidarity, joint endeavors, and common prosperity. It upholds equality among all ethnic groups and combats oppression and discrimination, ensuring that all individuals, regardless of ethnic background, truly enjoy equal political rights and an equal position as masters of the country. It maintains a proper balance between national unity and regional ethnic autonomy, aligns autonomy with unity and ethnic attributes with regional realities, and fosters a stronger sense of Chinese national identity and a more cohesive community.

Our great nation has created a civilization spanning more than five millennia. All of our ethnic groups have together charted a vast territory, built a unified multiethnic country, created a glorious history, shaped a brilliant culture, and cultivated a strong national ethos. The formation and development of the Chinese nation as one single community follows the will of the people and the irresistible tide of history.

– The blood ties among all ethnic groups are the historical foundation for the formation and development of the Chinese nation as one community. The various ethnic groups who have sustained and thrived on the land of China share blood ties and live in mixed environments, forming an inseparable community of shared future marked by unity in diversity. History has taught us that the Chinese nation was formed as a result of long-term interactions, exchanges and integration among all ethnic groups, and that only through greater unity and further integration into this big family can each of us enjoy a brighter future.

– The shared convictions among all ethnic groups create the intrinsic drive towards a unified multiethnic country. Since ancient times, the Chinese nation has embraced the ideas of “shared customs

and practices and unified governance across the country”¹ and “great harmony under Heaven”, considering national unification “a universal tenet between Heaven and Earth, and a constant creed throughout the past and present”². After the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BCE) unified China, every ethnic group that ruled the Central Plains remained committed to territorial integrity, national stability, ethnic unity, and continuity of the Chinese civilization. History has taught us that our unified multiethnic country has been jointly shaped by all of its ethnic groups, and must be defended, strengthened and developed by all of us together.

– The cultural connections between all ethnic groups are the cultural roots that have sustained the Chinese civilization through unity in diversity. Through mutual learning and integration, China’s diverse ethnic cultures have transcended regional boundaries, blood ties, and religious beliefs, forming a national culture characterized by strong cohesion and lasting appeal, and a Chinese civilization marked by unity in diversity. History has taught us that to raise our socialist culture to a higher level, all groups must identify more closely with China’s overall culture, which has been jointly shaped by each and every one of us, and strengthen mutual learning and integration among respective ethnic cultures.

– The economic interdependence of all ethnic groups is the powerful force driving the Chinese nation to build a unified economy. On China’s vast territory, different regions have unique resources, leading to high complementarity and interdependence among regional economies. All ethnic groups have maintained economic connections that meet each other’s needs and bring mutual benefits, boosting overall national strength and facilitating the formation and development of the Chinese nation as one community. History has taught us that only by aligning their own development with the overall development of the country, and increasing economic exchanges and cooperation, can all regions and ethnic groups grow their respective economies against a backdrop of nationwide economic prosperity.

– The emotional bonds between all ethnic groups serve as a

strong tie that unites the Chinese nation as one family. Harmonious coexistence, kinship bonds, and mutual assistance have always dominated China's ethnic relations, with countless historical stories about ethnic amity being passed down through generations. This is especially true in times of resisting foreign aggression, defeating separatism, and defending national unity, when the people of all ethnic groups have demonstrated unprecedented solidarity against the common enemy, and performed monumental feats through arduous struggle. History has taught us that ethnic amity has been a reliable bond for the formation and development of the Chinese nation. To further consolidate wholehearted support for the development of the Chinese nation as one single community, all ethnic groups should cherish, strengthen and promote socialist ethnic relations based on equality, unity, mutual assistance, and harmony.

Shaped by 5,000 years of time-honored Chinese civilization, our great country and nation have always inspired the most profound and enduring emotional attachment from all the Chinese people. On this vast, beautiful and bountiful land, people of all ethnic groups share the same homeland – China; the same national identity – the Chinese nation; the same race – Chinese; and the same dream – national rejuvenation.

On the new journey in the new era, the central task facing the Party and the country is to build a great country and advance national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization, which requires that the people of all ethnic groups unite as one and work tirelessly together. We must thoroughly apply the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, and in particular the guidelines on strengthening and improving the Party's work on ethnic affairs. We must focus on strengthening the sense of national identity, and continue to promote ethnic unity and progress to ensure high-quality work in this regard.

First, we must uphold the Party's leadership, and cement the ideological and political foundations for ethnic unity and joint endeavors. The CPC is the leadership core for the cause of socialism with

Chinese characteristics, and the pillar on which the Chinese people of all ethnic groups can rely. We should inspire the people of all ethnic groups to identify more closely with our motherland, the Chinese nation, the Chinese culture, the Communist Party of China, and socialism with Chinese characteristics. With firm conviction in the Chinese nation as one community, all of us can stand together through thick and thin, and strive with one mind towards the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Second, we must build a spiritual home shared by all the Chinese people, as a powerful cultural buttress for strengthening the Chinese nation as one community. To achieve this, we must foster a stronger sense of identity with the Chinese culture. Guided by the core socialist values, we should strengthen education on patriotism, collectivism and socialism, and ensure that our people of all ethnic groups develop a sound understanding of country, history, ethnicity, culture and religion. We should strengthen education on Chinese history and culture among children and young people, popularize standard spoken and written Chinese, and promote the nationwide use of standard textbooks, to help our people forge a sense of national identity from an early age.

Third, we must accelerate high-quality development in ethnic minority areas and take solid steps towards achieving common prosperity for all ethnic groups. In promoting Chinese modernization and achieving common prosperity, none of our 56 ethnic groups will be left behind. We should support the integration of ethnic minority areas into the overall development of the country, and promote closer economic integration and connections among all regions. Ethnic minority areas should thoroughly and precisely apply the new development philosophy by promoting further reform and opening up, boosting competitive industries with local features, and developing new quality productive forces based on local strengths. To meet the people's growing expectation for a better life, ethnic minority areas should further secure and improve living standards through development, make basic public services more balanced and accessi-

ble, and do solid work that aligns with the people's will, benefits their lives, and wins their hearts.

Fourth, we must promote comprehensive connections between all ethnic groups, and facilitate interactions, exchanges and integration. These serve as important means to build the Chinese nation as one community. In employing these means, we should coordinate the planning of socio-economic development and the allocation of public resources across the country, strengthen infrastructure construction – particularly transport – in border regions and ethnic minority areas, promote people-centered new urbanization, and facilitate orderly population flows and mixed residence among all ethnic groups. We should build an ethnically integrated society and such neighborhoods, and explore more means to expand comprehensive connections between all ethnic groups, so that they remain as closely united as the seeds of a pomegranate.

Fifth, we must manage ethnic affairs in accordance with the law, and improve our governance capacity. We must uphold and improve the system of regional ethnic autonomy, improve relevant laws, regulations, and differentiated regional support policies, and safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of citizens of all ethnic groups. We should strengthen education on the rule of law, in order to foster a keener sense of national identity, citizenship, and law-based governance among all ethnic groups.

Addressing ethnic issues is an internal matter for China, brooking no interference by any external force. The CPC and the Chinese people have adopted a unique approach to managing ethnic affairs, and will tolerate no lectures from any foreign force. We must resolutely oppose any targeting of China through infiltration, sabotage, slander, smear, containment or suppression that uses ethnic or religious issues as a pretext. We will boost theoretical research, interpretation, and communication concerning Chinese history and the Chinese nation as one community, actively engage in people-to-people exchanges with other countries, and strengthen our storytelling about the Chinese nation as one community.

Heightening the sense of national identity is a shared mission of the entire Party, the whole country, and the people of all ethnic groups. Party committees and governments at all levels, along with relevant departments, must put ethnic affairs high on their agenda. They must promptly research and quickly address major problems concerning ethnic affairs, support agencies in charge to better fulfill their responsibilities, improve the caliber of officials and professionals in ethnic minority areas, and attach importance to the training and appointment of officials from minority ethnic groups. We should improve the systems and mechanisms for reinforcing the sense of national identity, leverage the leading role of exemplary individuals and organizations, and create an environment conducive to ethnic work.

We have secured remarkable and historic successes by relying on the concerted efforts of the people of all ethnic groups. By maintaining this approach, we will go on to achieve further triumphs. Let us unite closer around the Party Central Committee and forge ahead with one mind to build the Chinese nation as one community. Let us work tirelessly towards building China into a great socialist country and realizing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

Notes

¹ Ban Gu: *Book of Han (Han Shu)*. Ban Gu (32-92) was a historian of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

² *Ibid.*

Rule of Law

Apply China's Constitution in the New Era*

December 19, 2022

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the promulgation and implementation of China's current Constitution. Over the past four decades, the Constitution has significantly promoted and strengthened socialist rule of law in China, effectively boosting and safeguarding the undertakings of the Party and the country. Taking its 40th anniversary as an ideal opportunity, we should follow the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress to raise public awareness of the Constitution, uphold its letter and spirit, and promote its application. By doing so, we can better leverage the essential role of the Constitution in state governance and provide a solid guarantee for building China into a modern socialist country in all respects, and for advancing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts.

Formulating and implementing a constitution is a hallmark of human progress and underpins the modernization of human society. From the mid-19th century, the Chinese people began to search painstakingly for a pathway that could change the destiny of the nation. Attempts by various political groups to reform China's feudal autocratic system by adopting Western political models all ended in failure. From the outset, the Communist Party of China engaged in an arduous quest for knowledge and experience. It successfully formulated and implemented a constitution with distinct socialist characteristics – one that is truly of the people. This was a groundbreaking constitutional development in both China and the world. It contributed

* Article to mark the 40th anniversary of the promulgation and implementation of the current Constitution.

Chinese wisdom and a Chinese approach to advancing the rule of law in human civilization.

Formulated by the people under the leadership of our Party, the Constitution pooled the collective wisdom and embodied the common will of all Chinese people, achieving a high degree of consistency between the Party's philosophy and the people's will. It overcame the shortcomings of previous constitutional provisions that represented the will of only a handful of people and served their interests alone. As a result, it possessed notable strengths, solid foundations, and enormous vitality, and was widely supported and respected by the people.

Since the promulgation and implementation of the current Constitution in 1982, the National People's Congress (NPC), under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, has made five necessary and important amendments to particular provisions and sections. These amendments have played a pivotal role in refining and developing China's Constitution, advancing socialist rule of law, and increasing our Party's ability to exercise law-based governance.

Since its 18th National Congress in 2012, the Party has placed great emphasis on advancing the rule of law in all respects. Positioning, planning and enforcing the rule of law from the strategic perspective of ensuring the long-term stability of the Party and the country, we have incorporated the rule of law into the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy, and achieved historic progress in developing the constitutional system and applying the Constitution.

We have made major decisions on advancing the rule of law in all respects and amending parts of the Constitution, established the Central Commission for Law-based Governance, and improved the institutions for ensuring that the CPC directs legislation, guarantees law enforcement, supports judicial justice, and plays an exemplary role in abiding by the law. This has made the Party's leadership over law-based governance and the application of the Constitution more effective.

We have institutionalized Party leadership and codified rules for

the exercise of leadership by the Party. In a constitutional amendment, we have established the guiding role of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era in national political and social life, along with the Party's leadership as the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics. These measures have further strengthened the constitutional guarantee for the Party's leadership.

We have worked hard to improve the Chinese socialist legal system centered on the Constitution and refined the legal institutions and mechanisms pertaining to the Constitution, making the application of the Constitution more effective. Steady progress has been made in optimizing the system of constitutional oversight. We have improved the system and capacity for reviewing constitutionality and for recording and reviewing normative documents. We have established the National Constitution Day and the institution of pledging allegiance to the Constitution, and carried out extensive public education on the Constitution. As a result, public awareness of the Constitution and the rule of law has increased substantially.

The central government has effectively exercised its overall jurisdiction over the special administrative regions as prescribed by China's Constitution and the basic laws of the special administrative regions. The Law on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region has been formulated and put into effect, providing stronger legal guarantees for applying the policy of One Country, Two Systems.

The past decade in the new era has seen major progress in developing the constitutional system and overseeing the application of the Constitution. There is much greater awareness of the Constitution among the whole Party and throughout society, and there has been remarkable progress in socialist rule of law.

In the process of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, our Party has reviewed and leveraged its historical experience, applied the Constitution in full, and promoted innovation in constitutional theory and practice. This process has given the Party extensive new experience and a better

understanding of the principles governing the development of China's constitutional system.

First, we must uphold CPC leadership. China's Constitution affirms the leadership position of the CPC. This is the most prominent feature of China's Constitution and the fundamental guarantee for its full application. Only the CPC can remain committed to serving the public good, exercising power in the interests of the people, and promoting democracy. Only the CPC can lead the people in formulating and applying a constitution that reflects their will. Only the CPC can ensure that China's Constitution will remain true to the right political direction in its development.

Second, we must uphold the people's position as masters of the country. The ultimate purpose of the Party in leading the people to formulate and apply the Constitution is to safeguard their interests, reflect their will, protect their rights, and improve their wellbeing. To ensure that everyone is equal before the law, we must uphold the unity of Party leadership, the people's position as masters of the country, and law-based governance. We must promote whole-process people's democracy, and follow the people-centered philosophy of development throughout the process of legislation, law enforcement, judicature, and law observance. We must accelerate improvements to our legal systems concerning equal rights, equal opportunities, and fair rules for all, prevent citizens' personal rights, property rights, right to dignity, and basic political rights from being violated, and secure their economic, cultural, social and other rights in full.

Third, we must uphold Constitution-based governance and exercise of state power. The Constitution is the fundamental legal basis for our Party's long-term governance. We can ensure that the Party leads the people to govern the country effectively and in accordance with the law, only if we govern the country and exercise state power on the basis of the Constitution. We must integrate the Party's role in exercising overall leadership and coordinating efforts on all fronts with the performance of functions and duties of people's congresses, governments, committees of the Chinese People's Political

Consultative Conference, and supervisory, adjudicatory and procuratorial offices in accordance with the law and their respective charters. Additionally, we must integrate the Party's leadership in formulating and applying the Constitution and laws with the Party's commitment to acting within the scope of the Constitution and the law.

Fourth, we must uphold the position of the Constitution as China's fundamental law. The Constitution embodies the common will and aspiration of the CPC and the people, and is the highest expression of state will. It is foundational and consistent, and is of overall and long-term importance. It outlines the country's major systems and interests, and plays an overarching and guiding role in state and social affairs. As the foundation and source of all laws and regulations of the state, the Constitution enjoys supreme legal status, legal authority, and legal effect. Only by upholding the position of the Constitution as China's fundamental law and safeguarding and applying its spirit, principles and provisions, can we ensure national unity, maintain consistency in laws and regulations, and guarantee the consistency of government policies.

Fifth, we must guarantee the application and oversight of the Constitution with laws, regulations and institutions. The life and the authority of the Constitution lie in its enforcement. We must ensure the application of the Constitution via sound, effective, systematic and complete institutional and legal frameworks. We must establish a complete system of laws and regulations, an efficient enforcement system, a stringent supervisory system, an effective support system, and a robust system of Party regulations. Simultaneously, we must strengthen constitutional oversight to guarantee the rule of law in modernizing China's system and capacity for governance and in building China into a modern socialist country.

Sixth, we must uphold the authority and dignity of the Constitution. Upholding the authority of the Constitution means upholding the authority of the common will of the Party and the people. Safeguarding the dignity of the Constitution means safeguarding the dignity of the common will of the Party and the people. Securing

the application of the Constitution means securing the fundamental interests of the people. All the people of China and all government departments, armed forces, political parties, social organizations, enterprises, and public institutions must regard the Constitution as their fundamental code of conduct, and it is their duty to uphold its dignity and ensure its application. No organization or individual shall have any privilege that places them above the Constitution and the law, and all acts in violation of the Constitution or the law must be punished.

Seventh, we must improve and develop the Constitution in line with the changing times. As part of the superstructure, the Constitution must adapt to changes in the economic base, reflect progress in the cause of the Party and the people, and evolve along with the Party's experience in leading the people to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. To preserve the vitality of the Constitution, we must keep pace with the demands of the times and the will of the people, and follow the requirements of the rule of law. We must ensure that the Constitution always adjusts to new circumstances, draws on new experiences, affirms new achievements, and establishes new norms, while maintaining its continuity, consistency and authority.

At its 20th National Congress, the Party made comprehensive plans for advancing the cause of the Party and the country on the new journey in the new era. It emphasized the need for greater efforts to leverage the vital role of the Constitution in national governance, and the essential role of the rule of law in consolidating foundations, stabilizing expectations, and delivering long-term benefits, and it highlighted the importance of building a modern socialist country under the rule of law. We must apply the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress, follow the path of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, increase our commitment to the Constitution, strengthen its enforcement, fulfill the duties it prescribes, and write a new chapter in the application of the Constitution in the new era.

First, we should uphold and strengthen the Party's overall leadership over all work related to the Constitution, and better leverage the significant strengths and important role of China's constitutional

system. China's Constitution is the logical outcome of history, theory and practice, based on the Party's long-term leadership. Without the Party's leadership, there can be no guarantee for the full and effective application of the Constitution.

By upholding and strengthening the Party's overall leadership over all work related to the Constitution, we can ensure that the Constitution will continue to develop along the right political direction, and that it will be fully and effectively applied. This will allow the Constitution to better serve its vital role in upholding the Party's leadership, ensuring the people's position as masters of the country, promoting reform, opening up, and socialist modernization, building a socialist country under the rule of law, facilitating comprehensive progress in human rights, and maintaining national unity, ethnic solidarity, and social harmony and stability. We must strengthen confidence in our political system, keep to the path of socialist political progress with Chinese characteristics, and uphold and improve the Chinese socialist system. We must resolutely uphold the CPC's status as the governing party, the people's democratic dictatorship as the form of state, and the system of people's congresses as the form of government, which are enshrined in our Constitution. Under no circumstances should we ever abandon these in favor of the models and practices of other countries.

Second, we should apply the Constitution throughout all aspects and at every stage of state governance, and continuously improve the Party's capacity to govern the country and exercise state power within the framework of the Constitution. The Constitution stands as the general program for managing state affairs, the fundamental legal basis for our Party's governance, and the supreme legal norm in national political and social life. To improve the Party's capacity for Constitution-based governance and exercise of state power, we must advance the rule of law in all areas by applying the Constitution in every aspect of the effort to implement the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy in a coordinated manner, and ensuring its enforcement on all fronts, including reform, development, social stability, national defense, domestic and foreign

affairs, and governance of the Party, the country, and the military.

The Party has led the people in formulating the Constitution and laws, and must take the lead in honoring and applying the Constitution. We must turn the Party's views into the will of the state through legal procedures, ensure that candidates recommended by Party organizations become leaders of agencies of state power through legal procedures, and exercise Party leadership over the country and society through agencies of state power. We must provide support to the agencies of state power and to the administrative, supervisory, adjudicatory and procuratorial offices so that they can carry out their work in accordance with the Constitution and the law and perform their duties in an independent and coordinated manner. Party committees at all levels should ensure the application of the Constitution and laws throughout the process of making decisions and implementing policies. In this process, they should ensure that their decisions and policies never run counter to the Constitution and the law and that they withstand the tests of time and the people.

Third, we should accelerate efforts to improve the Chinese socialist legal system centered on the Constitution, and continue to make the system of laws and regulations more comprehensive, structured and coordinated. Constitution-based legislation is fundamental to upholding law-based legislation. Legislation and the resulting laws and regulations must thoroughly reflect the spirit, principles and provisions of the Constitution. No law, administrative regulation, or local regulation may conflict with the Constitution, and all laws, rules and regulations that violate the spirit, principles and provisions of the Constitution must be corrected.

We must improve our legislative systems and mechanisms, and carry out lawmaking in a well-conceived and democratic way and in accordance with the law. We must ensure coordinated steps in enacting, revising, abolishing, interpreting and codifying laws, and make legislative work more systematic, holistic, coordinated and responsive. We must maximize the central role of the Constitution in legislation and apply it to every aspect of the legislative process, to ensure that

every piece of legislation complies with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, manifests its authority, and guarantees its application. We must ensure that the NPC and its Standing Committee fulfill the responsibilities prescribed by the Constitution and play a leading role in legislative work, while expanding channels for orderly public participation in lawmaking. We must strengthen legislation in key, emerging and foreign-related fields, improve legal systems that are urgently needed for improving national governance and safeguarding national security and that are essential for meeting the people's growing expectation for a better life, and accelerate the development of a system of laws for extraterritorial application. We must apply systems thinking and work towards the all-round improvement of state laws, administrative regulations, military regulations, supervisory regulations, and local regulations. We must make further progress in developing a legal system that is well-designed, complete, consistent and authoritative in order to uphold the unity of law.

Fourth, we should improve the systems for ensuring full application of the Constitution and continuously strengthen enforcement of the Constitution and constitutional oversight. To improve the systems for ensuring full application of the Constitution, we must thoroughly enforce the spirit, principles and provisions of the Constitution, systematically reinforce the interpretation and application of the Constitution and constitutional oversight, and take coordinated steps to develop the legislative, enforcement, supervisory and support systems for the rule of law, as well as a robust system of Party regulations. We must refine mechanisms for the direct application of constitutional provisions and leverage the crucial role of the Constitution in responding to major threats and challenges, implementing the policy of One Country, Two Systems, advancing national reunification, and maintaining national security and social stability. We must improve the system of constitutional oversight by advancing standards and procedures, and by improving the capacity and quality of constitutionality review and the recording and review of normative documents. We must implement procedures and mechanisms for interpreting the

Constitution, and actively attend to public concerns about constitutional issues.

Fifth, we should strengthen theoretical research and public education on the Constitution and make China's constitutional theory and practice more persuasive and impactful. The foundations of the Constitution lie in the people's heartfelt support, and the power of the Constitution comes from the people's sincere faith. We must pursue coordinated progress in publicity, education and research on the Constitution and make comprehensive efforts to disseminate knowledge, interpret theory, and cultivate public awareness of the Constitution. This will bring the Constitution closer to the people and encourage them to embrace it and consciously engage in applying it.

We must advance a broader agenda of education on the Constitution, reinforce the sustained impact of institutionalized practices such as pledges of allegiance and Constitution-related celebrations, promote national symbols, and prioritize the development of educational materials on the Constitution. We must carry out constant and thorough education on the Constitution with the focus on leading officials, or the "key few", on important groups such as young people and netizens, and on key sectors such as schools, communities, and the media.

We should strengthen research on constitutional theory in the context of China's contemporary system and practices, develop defining concepts and original viewpoints, and build a system of academic disciplines, research and discourse on the Constitution to reinforce the guiding position of China's constitutional theory in national education on the rule of law.

We must better present the story of China's Constitution. We should be assertive and ambitious in publicizing the significant strengths and enormous vitality of China's constitutional system and theory, and we should stand firm and resolute against any misrepresentations or actions that distort, smear or attack China's Constitution.

When presiding over the formulation of the first Constitution of the People's Republic of China in 1954, Mao Zedong said, "We must

now unite the people of the whole country and unite all the forces that can and should be united in the struggle to build a great socialist country. And the Constitution has been drawn up specifically for this purpose.”¹ We must apply the Constitution in full, promote law-based governance on all fronts, and advance the rule of law in China. We should strive in unity to achieve the Second Centenary Goal of building a great modern socialist country in all respects, and promote national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization.

Notes

¹ Mao Zedong: “On the Draft Constitution of the People’s Republic of China”, *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. VI, Chin. ed., People’s Publishing House, Beijing, 1999, pp. 329-330.

Strengthen Law-Based Governance of Foreign-Related Affairs*

November 27, 2023

Strengthening law-based governance of foreign-related affairs is a long-term requirement for building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization. It is also an urgent task in promoting high-standard opening up and addressing external risks and challenges. To better balance domestic and international imperatives and synergize development and security, we should thoroughly understand the importance and urgency of law-based governance of foreign-related affairs, and build a system and capacity commensurate with the requirements for high-quality development and high-standard opening up. This will serve to create a favorable legal and external environment for the steady progress of Chinese modernization.

The law is the bedrock of societal order and state governance. A legal system for handling foreign-related affairs is an important component of the national legal framework, and serves as the foundation for law-based governance in this field. It plays an important role in consolidating foundations, stabilizing expectations, and delivering long-term benefits. On the new journey towards building a great country and realizing national rejuvenation, we must maintain the right political orientation, a stronger sense of responsibility, and a creative spirit, to accelerate our pace in strengthening our system and increasing our capacity for law-based governance of foreign-related affairs.

* Main points of the speech at the 10th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

As a key element of the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, law-based governance of foreign-related affairs is crucial to law-based governance in all respects and to our opening up and diplomatic work. The fundamental goal of this effort is to safeguard the interests of the country and the people by law, push for progress in international law-based governance, and promote the building of a community with a shared future for humanity. We must keep to the Chinese path of socialist rule of law in our work on foreign-related affairs.

Law-based governance of foreign-related affairs is a systematic project characterized by consistency across a wide range of fields. We must consider both domestic and international dynamics, and both development and security needs. We must think about the future in making overall and strategic plans. We must push forward the project as a whole and strengthen top-level design, to advance legislation, enforcement, judicature, law observance, and legal services on foreign-related affairs in a coordinated manner. In building a comprehensive system of relevant laws and regulations, we should give precedence to legislation while synchronizing the enactment, revision, abolition and interpretation of laws. We should put in place a coordinated and efficient system for implementing law-based governance of foreign-related affairs, increase law enforcement and judicial efficiency, promote reform of the adjudicatory system and relevant mechanisms, and strengthen judicial credibility.

We should actively develop legal services for foreign-related affairs and foster world-class arbitral institutions and law firms. We should advance international cooperation in law enforcement and the administration of justice, strengthen consular protection and assistance, and build a robust network of legal measures to protect our overseas interests. We should heighten the sense of compliance among our enterprises and citizens working abroad, and encourage them to abide by local laws, regulations, customs and practices, and to protect their own legitimate rights and interests with laws and rules.

We must resolutely safeguard the international order underpinned

by international law, actively participate in the formulation of international rules, and advance international relations based on laws and rules. To contribute to building a community with a shared future for humanity, we should actively engage in developing and reforming the global governance system, push for fairer and more equitable global governance, and work towards better global governance through sound international law.

Law-based governance of foreign-related affairs should operate in parallel with opening up. To consolidate the legal foundations for high-standard opening up, we should promote high-standard opening up under the rule of law, and advance law-based governance of foreign-related affairs in the process of further opening up. The rule of law creates the optimal business environment. We should develop an open and transparent legal system for foreign-related affairs, strengthen the protection of intellectual property rights, safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of foreign enterprises, and apply both domestic and international rules to create a world-class business environment that is market-oriented, law-based and internationalized.

To build new mechanisms for a higher-standard open economy, we should adapt to and assimilate the most demanding international economic and trade rules, steadily expand institutional opening up, and further promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation. Benchmarking against advanced international practices, we should formalize in law effective measures and mature experience in high-standard opening up, such as the development of pilot free trade zones, in order to raise our opening up to a higher level, provide a better business environment, and exert a wider influence. We should comprehensively improve our capacity for ensuring security in opening up, and work to improve laws, regulations and services to facilitate life for foreign nationals living in China.

It is imperative to redouble efforts to train and build up teams of legal professionals. To quickly train a corps of specialists equipped with a firm political stance, a high level of professional competence, and a good knowledge of international rules, laws and practices, we

should raise the quality of legal education by cultivating values and moral integrity, and strengthening the development of academic disciplines as well as practice-oriented training. To build a strong reserve of high-caliber professionals in this field, we should improve the mechanisms for recruiting, selecting, training, utilizing, and managing legal talent. We should also strengthen capacity building in law-based governance of our legal personnel. Leading officials at all levels should set an example in respecting, studying, observing and applying the law in order to improve their thinking and ability in law-based governance of foreign-related affairs.

We should reinforce confidence in the rule of law, elucidate China's ideas, principles and practices in law-based governance of foreign-related affairs, and provide stories and examples of successful experiences in the new era. To highlight China as a great civilization and a major country under the rule of law, we should strengthen theoretical and practical research on the latest developments in this field, and build a Chinese system of theory and discourse for law-based governance of foreign-related affairs. The Chinese legal system boasts a long history. The profound legal thinking and political wisdom embodied in our traditional legal system is a treasure of Chinese culture. We should actively promote the creative transformation and innovative development of traditional Chinese legal culture, and renew its vitality by enriching its content in the new era.

Modernize the Approach to Law, Order and Security*

January 11, 2024

Since the 20th CPC National Congress in 2022, all of you working in the fields of law, order and security have been studying the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and applying it in your work. You have focused on the Party's central task on the new journey in the new era, executed the decisions and plans of the Party Central Committee, and made new progress in all your work through unremitting efforts and concrete measures.

This year marks the 75th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. It is also a crucial year for achieving the objectives and tasks laid down in the 14th Five-year Plan (2021-2025). Working in the fields of law, order and security, you must fully apply the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress and the Second Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee, uphold the Party's absolute leadership, perform your duties faithfully, and be proactive in taking on your responsibilities. You should modernize your approach to law, order and security to serve Chinese modernization and provide a strong guarantee for building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts.

You must resolutely safeguard national security, sharpen your political acumen and discernment, and prevent and resolve major security risks. You must maintain social stability and continue to develop and apply the Fengqiao model in the new era to properly handle internal disputes among the people and protect their legitimate rights and

* Directive on law, order and security work.

interests. In addition, you must safeguard and promote social fairness and justice, maintain the unity of law, and ensure sound lawmaking, strict law enforcement, impartial administration of justice, and universal observance of the law. You should drive deeper comprehensive reform of the judicial system, and fully and faithfully implement the judicial accountability system. To achieve high-quality development, a high level of security is necessary. You must maintain the order of the socialist market economy in accordance with the law and foster a law-based business environment. Additionally, efforts should be made to reinforce the Party's political foundations within departments involved in law, order and security, forging a loyal, clean, responsible and competent corps of professionals for the new era.



China's Socialist Culture

Expand Research into the History of Chinese Civilization and Build a Stronger Sense of History and Cultural Confidence*

May 27, 2022

Today, we gather here for the 39th group study session of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee. The theme is the Chinese Civilization Origins Project. The goals of the session are as follows: first, to gain an in-depth knowledge of the history of Chinese civilization, which spans more than 5,000 years; second, to promote deeper research into the history of Chinese civilization; and third, to motivate the whole Party and all of society to develop a stronger sense of history and cultural confidence, keep to the path of Chinese socialism, and strive in unity to build China into a modern socialist country in all respects and realize the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

“History can reveal the way of governance.”¹ Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, I have spoken about this multiple times – that we should respect history, research it, form a history-based approach to thinking, and carry forward the best of traditional Chinese culture. The Political Bureau has previously arranged group study sessions on Chinese history and culture. For example, a session on China’s latest archeological findings and their significance was arranged in September 2020. Today’s session is about furthering the Chinese Civilization Origins Project.

China’s long, extensive and profound civilization is one of the

* Speech at the 39th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 19th CPC Central Committee.

distinctive qualities of the Chinese nation. It underpins contemporary Chinese culture and creates a spiritual bond among all people of Chinese descent across the globe. It provides valuable resources and inspiration for China's cultural innovation. Karl Marx once said, "What the nations have done as nations, they have done for human society."² In its long history, the Chinese nation has maintained a strong spirit of enterprise and perseverance in overcoming numerous hardships, and undergone a development process that differs from other civilizations.

"From facts of the past rise laws eternal. Only through in-depth study of history can one comprehend the laws that govern its course."³ Our Party has always applied the stance, viewpoint and methodology of historical materialism in studying the history of the Chinese nation and promoting the best of traditional Chinese culture. As early as 1938, Mao Zedong said, "Our national history goes back several thousand years and has its own characteristics and innumerable treasures. But in these matters we are mere schoolboys. Contemporary China has grown out of the China of the past; we are Marxist in our historical approach and must not lop off our history. We should sum up our history from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen and take over this valuable legacy. This is important for guiding the great movement of today."⁴

The origins of Chinese civilization are not only a major focus of Chinese scholars, but also a research topic that draws extensive interest from the international academic community. The research findings of the Chinese Civilization Origins Project and other major projects, which result from the sustained efforts of several generations of scholars, constitute solid evidence of China's million years of human habitation, 10,000 years of culture, and 5,000 years and more of civilization.

The Project has resulted in remarkable achievements, but there is still a long and arduous journey ahead. Therefore, we must continue to advance. To this end, solid efforts should be made in the following areas:

First, multidisciplinary joint research should be strengthened to secure more findings from the Chinese Civilization Origins Project. Through the Project, we have developed a relatively clear understanding of the origins, formation and evolution of Chinese civilization, the formation and evolution of its unity in diversity, and its characteristics and their sources. Despite the preliminary findings, many mysteries remain unsolved. Further research should be done to reach consensus on many major questions. In particular, much work is needed to reveal the complete history of the Xia Dynasty (c. 2070-1600 BCE).

We are now applying the latest technologies in frontier disciplines such as biology, molecular biology, chemistry, geoscience, and physics to analyze ancient remains in China. This provides solid scientific and technological foundations for exploring the origins of Chinese civilization, and expands our knowledge of its five millennia of history. Research on the origins and formation of a civilization is a long-term, complex and systematic project. It requires us to combine archeological exploration, study of documentation, and the technical methods of natural sciences, to take into full consideration material conditions, psychological and spiritual factors, and social relationships, and to gradually reveal the development process of civilizations from tiny streams to great rivers. We should boost coordinated planning and a rational distribution of resources, adhere to a multidisciplinary, multiperspective, multitiered and comprehensive approach, and strengthen joint research between archeology and history and between humanities and natural sciences. Our aim is to expand the space-time scope of the research and fields covered, and find better answers to major questions, including the general profile and intrinsic mechanisms of the origins, formation and evolution of Chinese civilization, as well as the evolutionary course of regional civilizations in China.

Over a long period, the West has established a set of theories of civilization that we can learn from, but should avoid applying mechanically. The Chinese Civilization Origins Project has advanced its own definition of civilization and devised Chinese criteria for evaluating

whether a human community has become a civilized society. These are original contributions to global research on the origins of civilizations. To increase the profile and influence of Chinese culture, we should also work hard on the promotion and application of China's theory on ancient civilizations and the findings of the Project, and make greater efforts to research, interpret, display and promote unearthed cultural relics and ruins.

Second, in-depth research into the characteristics and forms of Chinese civilization should be carried out to provide theoretical support for developing a new model for human progress. In the course of our long history, the Chinese people have created a brilliant civilization and made an enormous contribution to human progress. Many in the West tend to view China as a modern nation-state within the framework of Western modernization theories. They fail to view it from the perspective of its full 5,000 years of history. It is therefore difficult for them to truly understand China's past, present and future. We should explore the origins of Chinese civilization in parallel with research on other major topics, including its characteristics and forms. We should conduct profound research, and develop in-depth interpretations of the evolution of the Chinese nation as one community, and the shared identity of its diverse ethnic groups, both of which derive from the origins of Chinese civilization. We should research and expound on the ethos of Chinese civilization manifested in benevolence, a people-centered philosophy, good faith, justice, harmony, and universal peace, and on its evolving forms. We should thereby elucidate the cultural depths of the Chinese path. Concerning traditional Chinese culture, we should under no circumstances repudiate it in its entirety. Rather, we should make the past serve the present, develop the new from the old, and carry forward the best of its offerings. Mao Zedong once said, "Confucius became a sage because he was a revolutionist and participated in rebellions everywhere. While Mencius claimed that Confucius' compilation of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* deterred rebellions, the truth is that during his travels around the vassal states, Confucius chose to visit those in the midst of

rebellion or where a revolution was brewing. Therefore, we should not deny that he had some merits, nor should we simply negate all Confucian teachings.”⁵ We should establish systems of academic disciplines, research and discourse with Chinese characteristics, style and ethos, to provide solid theoretical support for developing a new model for human progress.

Third, we should promote the creative transformation and innovative development of the best of traditional Chinese culture to provide support for national rejuvenation. “Scholars can verify the rights and wrongs in the world by studying the principles in Confucian classics, and can understand successes or failures by citing facts from historical documentation.”⁶ I have emphasized on many occasions that China’s great traditional culture is the crystallization and essence of the wisdom of Chinese civilization, the root and soul of the Chinese nation, and the foundation on which we may stand firm in the mingling and clashing of global cultures. We are committed to integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China’s realities and the best of its traditional culture, and to continuously adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. This is what has enabled us to promote the creative transformation and innovative development of the best of China’s traditional culture. To better foster China’s spirit, values and strengths, we should break new ground while preserving our traditions, adapt traditional Chinese culture to socialist society, and demonstrate the distinctive qualities of the Chinese nation.

In promoting the creative transformation and innovative development of traditional Chinese culture, we should uphold the fundamental guiding thoughts of Marxism, carry forward our revolutionary culture, foster an advanced socialist culture, and seek endless inspiration from the best of traditional culture. We should make full use of the findings of the Chinese Civilization Origins Project and other projects to provide a more complete and accurate history of ancient China and make better use of history as a tool of education.

Fourth, we should encourage exchanges and mutual learning

among civilizations, and promote the building of a community with a shared future for humanity. Since ancient times, Chinese civilization has been known for its openness and inclusiveness. In exchanges and mutual learning with other civilizations, it has continuously gained new vitality. Species and technologies, or resources and communities, or even thoughts and cultures, develop and advance in an ongoing process of spreading, exchanges and interaction. This is clearly evidenced by the history of Chinese civilization over the course of the past 5,000 years. We must invalidate the theory of the “clash of civilizations” through exchanges and interactions among civilizations.

As I said at the opening ceremony of the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations, “Civilizations vary from each other only as human beings differ in terms of skin color and the language used. No civilization is superior to others.” We should champion equality, mutual learning, dialogue, and inclusiveness between civilizations, foster broad-minded understanding of the values of other civilizations, and respect the choice of every nation on its pathway to development. We should let cultural exchanges prevail over estrangement, mutual learning over clash, and inclusiveness over superiority, and we should promote the common values of humanity embodied in Chinese civilization.

We should remain grounded in China’s realities to tell the stories of Chinese civilization, and present China as a country worthy of friendship, trust and respect. We should elucidate the nature of China as a country, clarify the nature of its civilization, and explain clearly how the Chinese people view the universe, the world, society, and morality. We should display the long history and rich culture of Chinese civilization, and help the world better understand the Chinese nation, the Chinese people, and the CPC.

Fifth, we should bring back to life cultural relics and heritage, and foster a strong social environment that encourages the active continuation of the Chinese civilization. Cultural relics and heritage are carriers of the roots and traditions of the Chinese nation. They are nonrenewable and irreplaceable treasures of China’s splendid civiliza-

tion. We should actively protect and utilize cultural relics, and better preserve and carry forward our cultural heritage. We should exploit the multifaceted values of cultural relics and heritage, and promote more iconic products that embody China's culture and spirit.

We Chinese Communists are not historical or cultural nihilists. We must not underestimate ourselves; we should cherish the best of our traditions and culture. Leading officials at all levels should have a profound respect for our history and traditional culture. We should attach great importance to the protection and utilization of cultural relics and the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage, and provide more policy support for historians and archeologists to conduct research, pursue further knowledge, and participate in training and exchanges. We should create a social environment that encourages society-wide commitment to carrying on China's civilization, by popularizing the research results of endeavors such as the Chinese Civilization Origins Project and by providing education and guidance, especially for the young, to help people better understand and identify with Chinese civilization and have greater pride, confidence and assurance in their identity as Chinese.

Notes

¹ Zeng Gong: "Preface to the *Book of Southern Qi*" (Nan Qi Shu Mu Lu Xu). Zeng Gong (1019-1083) was a statesman, historian, and prose writer of the Northern Song Dynasty.

² Karl Marx: "Draft of an Article on Friedrich List's Book *Das Nationale System der Politischen Oekonomie*", *Karl Marx & Frederick Engels: Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Eng. ed., Lawrence & Wishart, London, 2010, p. 281.

³ Gong Zizhen: "Respecting History" (Zun Shi). Gong Zizhen (1792-1841) was a thinker and man of letters of the Qing Dynasty.

⁴ Mao Zedong: "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. II, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1965, p. 209.

⁵ Mao Zedong: "Comments on the Revolution of 1911", *Collected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. VI, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 1999, p. 345.

⁶ Yongrong *et al.*: *Catalog of the Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature* (*Si Ku Quan Shu Zong Mu*). Yongrong (1744-1790) was a prince, calligrapher and painter of the Qing Dynasty, and the general editor of the book series “Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature” (*Si Ku Quan Shu*).

Understand the Defining Characteristics of Chinese Civilization*

June 2, 2023

China's traditional culture encompasses a multitude of significant concepts, including social ideals of pursuing the common good for all and achieving universal peace; governance principles of regarding the people as the foundations of the state and governing by virtue; traditions of striving for great unity in the country by promoting unified governance over all regions and ensuring unity amid diversity; values of dedication to self-cultivation, family management, state governance, and peace for all, and shouldering one's duties to secure the future of the nation; aspirations of embracing the world with virtue and cultivating integrity; economic principles of enriching the people and improving their lives and pursuing the greater good and shared interests; eco-environmental ideas of promoting harmony between humanity and nature and the coexistence of all living things; philosophical ideas of seeking truth from facts and combining knowledge with action; the mindset of understanding multiple perspectives and achieving harmony through the middle way; and communication approaches of acting in good faith and being friendly to others. These concepts collectively shape the defining characteristics of Chinese civilization.

Chinese civilization is distinguished by its continuity. It is the only uninterrupted great civilization that continues to this day in a state form. This unequivocally affirms the cultural identity and robust

* Part of the speech at a meeting on cultural inheritance and development.

vitality of Chinese civilization as it has responded to challenges and broken new ground through self-development. The Chinese people's deep love for the motherland and profound sense of history buttress popular support for upholding great unity and provide spiritual support for guiding the Chinese nation through countless hardships on the path to national rejuvenation. This continuity inherently dictates that the Chinese nation will follow its own path. If not through the prism of its extensive history of continuity, one would not be able to understand ancient China or contemporary China, far less the China of the future.

Chinese civilization is distinguished by its creativity. It places emphasis on discarding the outdated in favor of the new and making progress on a daily basis. It embodies both profound depth and dynamic forward surges. Continuity does not mean being stagnant or inflexible; on the contrary, it represents a history marked by creativity-driven progress. The Chinese nation embraces the ethos of self-renewal – as an ancient saying goes, “Improve yourself each day, do so from day to day, and there will be daily improvement.”¹ This spirit propels the Chinese nation's sustained material, cultural-ethical and political progress, allowing it to stand tall and firm as one of the most prosperous and powerful civilizations throughout a long historical period. The creativity of Chinese civilization determines that it upholds tradition without clinging to the past and respects ancient wisdom without reverting to archaic thinking. It also determines that the Chinese nation is fearless in facing new challenges and embracing new things.

Chinese civilization is distinguished by its unity. China's long-standing tradition of great unity underpins its commitment to upholding unity amid diversity and maintaining solidarity through centrality. The internal cohesion of maintaining unity is both a prerequisite for and a result of Chinese civilization's continuity. Through bitter experience, Chinese people have learned that unity and solidarity bring prosperity, whereas national fragmentation and turmoil breed adversity. The unity of Chinese civilization has seen its various ethnic cultures

coming together to create a cohesive whole and remaining tight-knit even in the face of serious setbacks. It shapes a common belief that China's territorial integrity must always be preserved, the country must never be allowed to descend into turmoil, the nation must always remain united, and the civilization must never be interrupted. It firmly underscores the idea that national unity always remains at the core of national interests and that a robust, unified nation is essential to the future of all the Chinese people.

Chinese civilization is distinguished by its inclusiveness. Rather than replacing diverse cultures with a single monoculture, Chinese civilization endeavors to integrate various cultures into a shared tapestry, resolving conflicts and forging consensus. By transcending regional disparities, kinship ties, and religious beliefs, Chinese cultural identity has successfully transformed our vast nation into one that cherishes unity amid diversity. The more inclusive a civilization becomes, the more favor and support it garners, and the longer it endures. The inclusiveness of Chinese civilization determines the Chinese nation's direction towards interactions, exchanges and integration, as well as the harmonious coexistence of diverse religious beliefs in the country. It also defines the open-mindedness of Chinese culture to embrace and draw on other cultures.

Chinese civilization is distinguished by its peacefulness. Over five millennia, Chinese civilization has always upheld peace, amity and harmony. It advocates applying moral principles to create a world where the common good and individual interests harmoniously coexist, as well as prioritizing others in self-other relationships. It stands against isolation and in favor of interaction, advocates coexistence and shared progress, opposes coercion, advocates peace through harmony, and rejects the law of the jungle. The intrinsic peaceful nature of Chinese civilization determines that China will always work to safeguard world peace, contribute to global development, and uphold international order. China remains committed to promoting exchanges and mutual learning among diverse civilizations without ever seeking cultural hegemony. China will not impose its values and

political system upon others. It is committed to cooperation rather than confrontation, and it will never form exclusive blocs against others.

Notes

¹ *Book of Rites (Li Ji)*.

Grasp the Significance of the Two Integrations*

June 2, 2023

Given the profound foundations of our 5,000-year-old civilization, the only path for pioneering and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is to integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture (Two Integrations). This conclusion derives from our extensive exploration of Chinese socialism. We have always emphasized integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and have now formalized the integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture. As I once stated, without the 5,000-year-old Chinese civilization, where would Chinese characteristics come from? If not for these characteristics, how could we have charted the triumphant path of Chinese socialism? Only within the context of more than 5,000 years of Chinese civilization can we genuinely comprehend the historical necessity, cultural significance, and unique strengths of the Chinese path.

Positive and negative historical experience demonstrates that the Two Integrations are the strongest guarantees for our success.

First, mutual compatibility is the prerequisite for integration. The Two Integrations are not far-fetched propositions. Despite their distinct origins, Marxism and the best of traditional Chinese culture exhibit remarkable congruence. For instance, the social principles of pursuing the common good and acting in good faith resonate harmoniously with the ideals and convictions of communism and socialism;

* Part of the speech at a meeting on cultural inheritance and development.

the concepts of regarding the people as the foundations of the state and governing by virtue align with the political principle of putting the people first; and the practices of discarding the outdated in favor of the new and ceaselessly pursuing self-improvement correspond faithfully to the revolutionary spirit of Communists. Marxism sees the essence of humanity from the perspective of social relations, while in Chinese culture, people are defined by their relationships with their family, their country, and the world. Both reject the notion of viewing humans as isolated entities. Compatibility is the basis for genuine integration. That is why we say that the Communist Party of China is a steadfast proponent and practitioner of Marxism, while it also works to keep the best of traditional Chinese culture alive and strong.

Second, integration represents a mutually beneficial process. Integration is not mere juxtaposition or a “physical reaction”; rather, it is a “chemical reaction” that creates a new, unified cultural entity. On one hand, the advanced theories of Marxism, with its strength of truth, provide new vitality to Chinese civilization. It ushered China into the modern era, revitalizing and modernizing Chinese culture. Traditional concepts such as regarding the people as the foundations of the state, unified governance over all regions of the country, all things living side by side, and enriching the people have transformed to modern ideas of pursuing democracy, forging a sense of the Chinese nation as one community, maintaining harmony between humanity and nature, and striving for common prosperity. This groundbreaking transformation has given rise to a modern form of Chinese civilization. On the other hand, the best of traditional Chinese culture continues to enrich Marxism and facilitate its breakthroughs in adapting to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, endowing it with an increasingly distinctive Chinese style and ethos, and making it an essential part of Chinese culture and the spirit of this era. The integration with the best of China’s traditional culture has enabled Marxism to take root in China, modernized traditional Chinese culture, and led to the emergence of a new culture that facilitates Chinese modernization.

Third, integration has reinforced the foundations of our path.

What makes our socialism unique? What enables it to thrive with such vitality? The answers lie in its distinct Chinese characteristics, and the essence of these characteristics is encapsulated within the Two Integrations. The path of Chinese socialism is fundamentally socialist, grounded in Marxism. The essential socialist elements in Chinese culture provide an intellectual foundation for the embrace of Marxism in China. The path of Chinese socialism is continually broadening, and our determination to remain on this path is unwavering. In the new era, one significant reason for the historic achievements and transformative progress made by our Party and country is our adherence to the Two Integrations. The path of Chinese socialism has been charted under the guidance of Marxism and built upon China's 5,000 years of civilization. The integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture has endowed the path of Chinese socialism with greater historical depth and broadened its cultural underpinnings. Chinese modernization represents a wide avenue leading to a great country and national rejuvenation. Just as Chinese modernization infuses Chinese civilization with modern vitality, the rich heritage of Chinese civilization bolsters Chinese modernization. Chinese modernization seeks to build upon, rather than erase, China's ancient civilization; it has developed within China, not imported from any other country; and it has stemmed from the renewal, not the disruption, of Chinese civilization. Chinese modernization is a new mission for the Chinese nation, and it will allow Chinese civilization to shine with renewed radiance.

Fourth, integration has opened up new space for innovation. Integration itself embodies a form of innovation, and it also paves the way for significant theoretical and practical breakthroughs. The integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture has enabled us to retain the theoretical and cultural initiative, and exerted a strong influence on the path, theory and system of Chinese socialism. From this perspective, we can see that the systems of people's congresses and political consultation established by our Party reflect the Chinese concept of the people being

the foundations of the state, the idea of universal participation in governance, the tradition of collaborative and consultative governance, and the political wisdom of being all-inclusive and seeking common ground while setting aside differences. China's choice of a system of regional ethnic autonomy within a unitary state, rather than a federal or confederate system, aligns with the development trend of the Chinese nation towards internal cohesion and unity amid diversity. Carrying on the Chinese tradition of striving for great unity in the country, it ensures that all regions apply unified governance and share common customs and practices amid rich diversity and that all people come together as one family. The integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture is yet another manifestation of our commitment to freeing the mind. It allows us to fully harness the precious resources of traditional Chinese culture to explore future-oriented theoretical and institutional innovations within a broader cultural framework.

Fifth, integration has reinforced our cultural identity. Cultural identity is essential for the continued preservation and empowerment of a nation's culture, and for it to unite and inspire the people and to shape values and expand influence. The CPC has consistently emphasized cultural development. In the new era, we have emphasized confidence in our culture alongside confidence in our path, theory and system. Our cultural confidence is rooted in our cultural identity, established by the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC in the land of China. It is established on the basis of creative transformation and innovative development of traditional culture, as well as the inheritance of revolutionary culture and the development of advanced socialist culture. While establishing this identity, we have drawn inspiration from the outstanding achievements of human civilization and integrated Marxism's basic tenets with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture. The creation of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era is the most powerful embodiment for our cultural identity. This identity has given us a firm cultural sense of self and provided fundamental support for our cultural confidence.

With this cultural identity, the CPC gains significant cultural strength to steer the trends of our times; the Chinese nation and people have a solid cultural foundation for a collective sense of national identity; and Chinese civilization is endowed with distinctive features that facilitate exchanges and mutual learning with the rest of the world.

The integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture summarizes our Party's experience in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, and embodies our Party's profound grasp of the laws guiding the development of Chinese civilization. It marks a new level in our Party's comprehension of the Chinese path, theory and system, our Party's unprecedented confidence in China's history and culture, and a fresh pinnacle in our Party's dedication to fostering cultural innovation, while preserving the essence of China's cultural heritage.

Promote High-Quality and Sustainable Tourism*

May 15, 2024

Since the launch of reform and opening up in 1978, and particularly following the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, China's tourism sector has experienced burgeoning growth. Host to the world's largest number of domestic travelers, China has also become both the leading source and a principal destination for international tourism. Tourism has grown from a small and underdeveloped sector into a vast and flourishing market, and become a strategic pillar of the national economy that promotes the people's wellbeing and their sense of happiness in the new era. China has succeeded in developing a tourism industry with its own unique characteristics.

On the new journey in the new era, our tourism industry faces new opportunities and challenges. Under the guidance of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, we must apply the new development philosophy in full, to the letter, and in all fields. We should pursue innovation while leveraging the traditional role of tourism, improve the quality and efficiency of the industry, and integrate its development with that of other sectors. We must coordinate the roles of government and market, supply and demand, conservation and exploitation, domestic and international markets, and development and security. Efforts should be made to improve and modernize the industry and strengthen the sector so that it can raise the quality of life, boost our economy, develop our spiritual home, better present the national image, and facilitate mutual learn-

* Directive on the work of tourism.

ing among civilizations. Provincial authorities and central departments must strengthen their commitment and dedication to fostering high-quality and sustainable tourism through intensive collaboration for real results.

Build China into a Cultural Powerhouse*

October 28, 2024

Today, at the 17th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee, we will discuss the topic of building China into a cultural powerhouse. We will explore how to step up efforts to achieve this goal through a review of our achievements to date and an analysis of new developments and the tasks we face.

Our Party has always prioritized cultural development. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, we have given it greater weight in state governance through a series of major plans. We have developed the thought on the culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era. By clearing up confusion and misunderstandings and breaking new ground while preserving our traditions, we have made historic progress that has led to increased cultural confidence throughout the entire Party and the whole nation, a lively atmosphere for cultural creation, flourishing cultural programs and industries, and richer cultural activities enjoyed by the people. Our efforts have gained strong traction in developing a thriving socialist culture. Nevertheless, global transformation on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating, the principal challenge facing Chinese society is evolving, and the new revolution in science, technology and industry is gaining momentum. We must therefore pay greater attention to our areas of weakness and shortcomings and seek effective solutions.

The 20th CPC National Congress and the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee outlined plans for building China into a cultural powerhouse, and I gave further instructions at the

* Speech at the 17th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

meeting on cultural inheritance and development held last year. This endeavor bears on the Chinese drive for modernization, national rejuvenation, and our international competitiveness. Focusing on the strategic goal of building China into a cultural powerhouse by 2035, we will uphold the fundamental guiding ideology of Marxism, draw inspiration from China's profound cultural traditions, and follow the evolving trends of information technology. We should continue to develop our socialist culture with Chinese characteristics in the new era, as it boasts tremendous power to better guide, unite and inspire the people while enjoying broad international influence. We will bolster the people's inner strength and consolidate the cultural foundations for building a great country and rejuvenating the nation. To achieve this, we must do the following:

First, remain committed to developing a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics. As a Marxist political party with strong cultural consciousness that has long stood at the forefront of the times, the CPC spearheads China's cultural development and has led the people in pioneering a Chinese path of socialist cultural development. The essential feature of this path is the Party's leadership. As I have said on many occasions, if we fail to adapt to the information age, we will struggle to exercise long-term governance. This is why we must guarantee Party leadership over public communication, ideological work, the media, and cyberspace administration. We must improve our governance capacity in the cultural sector in the information age, consolidate the Party's governance foundations in terms of thinking, ideology and culture, and ensure broad popular support.

In developing a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics, we should keep to our path with confidence and determination, and embrace the evolving times by proactively identifying, responding to, and seeking change. We must uphold the guiding position of Marxism in the ideological field, fully apply the thought on the culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, and develop a sound and people-oriented socialist culture that embraces modernization, the world, and the future. We will focus on developing a socialist

ideology that has the power to unite and inspire the people by following the guidance of the core socialist values, making sustained efforts to foster China's spirit, values and strengths, and developing and strengthening mainstream values, public opinion, and culture.

Second, boost the cultural creativity of the whole nation. The vitality of culture lies in innovation. In implementing the plans made at the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Committee, we will continue to take a people-centered approach to cultural creation, putting social benefits first while also pursuing economic returns. We will focus on spurring innovation and creativity in the institutional reform of the cultural sector, and move faster to improve the management system and production and operation mechanisms for cultural undertakings. To inspire cultural creativity, we will refine the mechanisms for serving, guiding and organizing literary and artistic creation and production. This will help to nurture celebrated works that appeal to the people, reflect the spirit of our times, and bring Chinese culture to new heights. We will pay equal attention to cultivating talent and literary and artistic production, thereby ensuring the creation of outstanding works in an enabling environment as we actively build a sound cultural ecosystem. We will promote democracy in academic research and artistic pursuits, encourage writers, artists and scholars to ground themselves in reality in their research and creation, and fuel sustained innovation and creativity in culture.

Culture promotes science and technology and vice versa. We should explore effective integration mechanisms, use the internet and information technology to improve cultural creation and production, and drive the comprehensive upgrading of both "hardware" and "software" for the cultural industry. We will promote cultural development through digital empowerment and informatization, turning cultural resource strengths into cultural development momentum. As new technologies such as generative artificial intelligence emerge, we will coordinate their development and security.

Third, remain committed to serving the people. The influence of a thriving culture will ultimately be reflected in the level of the people's

moral, mental and cultural cultivation. We will adopt a people-centered approach, and increase our capacity for supplying cultural services and products to meet the people's diverse, multilevel and multifaceted needs, so that they will develop a stronger sense of gain and fulfillment. We should leverage the role of culture in self-cultivation, and foster an enterprising national spirit.

Talent is the key element that drives cultural creation. We will therefore give priority to the development of a broad talent base as an urgent task of strategic importance. To this end, we will coordinate the training of talented individuals of all types, and build a massive and well-structured team of high-caliber talent passionate about innovation. We should respect best practices in cultivating talent, put in place a sound, authoritative, open and transparent system for evaluating literary, art and academic works, improve the mechanisms specific to the cultural sector for selecting, training, employing and incentivizing talent, and foster an enabling policy environment for identifying, respecting and nurturing talent.

Fourth, promote cultural sustainability through creative transformation and innovative development of the best of traditional Chinese culture. China's fine traditional culture carries the genes of the nation and is the secret to its sustained development. Reinforcing our cultural identity and preserving, promoting and developing the cultural treasures passed on to us over centuries of vicissitude is a historic responsibility and a sacred mission of Chinese Communists today. We should make the past serve the present, develop the new from the old, and encourage the creative transformation and innovative development of cultural heritage. We will delve into the roots of our traditional culture and encapsulate its essence, energizing its best elements and imbuing them with new life by applying Marxism, and developing a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

Cultural heritage is a compelling witness to the splendid Chinese civilization and also a precious treasure bequeathed to us by our ancestors. We should have a profound respect for history and love for our culture. We will undertake the systematic protection of cultural

heritage under unified supervision and prioritize protection, sound utilization, and minimal interference. We will take a holistic approach to the preservation of cities, urban districts, towns, and villages renowned for their rich history and cultural heritage, and ensure that they continue to develop as living monuments to history. We will improve the systems and mechanisms for protecting and preserving cultural heritage, move faster to refine the related legal regulatory framework, strengthen staffing and integration of managerial resources, and increase the authority, synergy, and binding effect of our efforts.

Fifth, improve our cultural soft power and the influence of Chinese culture. These are an integral part of the overall national strength. Currently, global transformation on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating, and competition for cultural influence among countries is becoming ever fiercer. As a major country that shoulders its responsibilities, China must communicate its ideas, introduce its culture, and present its image more proactively. We will continue to restructure our international communication framework, promote online communication in creative ways, and develop a multichannel and multidimensional landscape of international communication.

Openness and inclusiveness drive a civilization forward. In recent years, some of our literary works, online games, and web-based films and series have achieved international success, and traveling to China has become popular among foreigners. This showcases the appeal of Chinese culture and the strength of opening up. We will continue to highlight the role of culture in communication, carry out extensive and varied international cultural exchanges and cooperation, and encourage the globalization of more works that have rich elements of Chinese culture and history, mirror the life in contemporary China, and appeal to a diverse international audience. We will proactively learn and draw on the strengths of all civilizations and create cultural works that carry the essence of both past and present, and connect China with the rest of the world.

Building China into a cultural powerhouse is a responsibility

shared by the whole Party and all of society. We should strengthen the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership over public communication and cultural work, and improve the institutions and mechanisms for leading and managing the cultural sector. Specifically, we should formulate proper plans, coordinate our efforts, assign responsibilities, and follow up on the implementation of corresponding measures. Party committees and governments at all levels should prioritize cultural development by strengthening organization and leadership, assigning competent officials, cultivating talent, and allocating resources. Through these efforts, we will ignite the initiative, enthusiasm and creativity of all sectors to create a powerful synergy for building China into a cultural powerhouse.

Intensify Our Efforts to Research and Interpret the Party's Innovative Theories*

November 27, 2024

The project to study and develop Marxist theory is a strategic and foundational initiative for developing our Party's ideology and theory. Over the past two decades, the project has served the overall national interest by focusing on the nation's central task. It has generated a large number of high-quality research findings, and played a significant role in studying, researching and disseminating the Party's innovative theories, as well as in reinforcing the guiding position of Marxism in the ideological sphere.

On the new journey in the new era, we must continue to uphold fundamental principles and break new ground. We should focus on studying and applying the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, and reinforce our efforts to research and interpret the Thought from a systematic and academic perspective. We should disseminate the outcomes in more targeted and results-oriented ways, and foster broader and deeper public endorsement of the Party's innovative theories. We must adhere to the Two Integrations, base our theories on China's realities, sustain China's cultural heritage, and lay solid academic foundations. We should examine the critical requirements for building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization, accelerate the development of China's knowledge system in philosophy and social sciences, and nurture high-caliber theorists,

* Directive on the project to study and develop Marxist theory in the new era.

thereby making a greater contribution to adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times.

People-Centered Development

Prioritize the People's Wellbeing in Chinese Modernization*

October 2022-October 2024

I

The whole Party should further apply the people-centered philosophy of development and give higher priority to common prosperity as specified at the 20th CPC National Congress. We should make sustained and steady efforts, do all we can within our capacity, and make more notable and substantive progress towards this goal through high-quality development.

*(from the speech at the First Plenary Session of the 20th CPC
Central Committee, October 23, 2022)*

II

I lived and worked in rural northern Shaanxi for seven years. In those days, as I witnessed the hardships of local villagers, I always thought about how to help them achieve a better life. During this visit to Yan'an, I have seen bumper harvests, better transport, and many other momentous changes. In the past, the villagers worked their terraces and grew their crops; they bent to the loess with their backs to the sky; they plied their hoes; they sowed much yet reaped little. It was a hard life. Today, marginal farmland has been turned into forests, with apple trees planted on the slopes. The adults have

* Excerpts from speeches made between October 2022 and October 2024.

jobs and stable incomes, the children receive a proper education, and the elderly enjoy medical insurance – all lead much better lives. These changes in northern Shaanxi reflect what is happening throughout the country.

Now, as we have realized the First Centenary Goal of all-round moderate prosperity, eliminated absolute poverty, and led the rural residents to a better life, we should work harder to allow all our people to enjoy a more fulfilling life.

The Communist Party of China is a political party that comes from the people and serves the people. As the governing party in China, the CPC acts for the benefit of the people and in their best interests. Empty talk harms the country while solid work makes it flourish. We should study and apply the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress, advance rural revitalization across the board, ensure the effective implementation of policies to bring prosperity, accelerate agricultural and rural modernization, and lead rural residents to a more prosperous life.

*(from the speech during a visit to Yan'an, Shaanxi Province,
October 26, 2022)*

III

Over the past 70 years, under the Party's leadership, our public health campaigns have focused on safeguarding the people's health and preventing epidemics. They have played an indispensable role in improving environmental health in urban and rural areas, responding to major epidemics, and strengthening public health governance. I hope that our public health professionals will continue to honor their responsibilities, carry forward their fine traditions, expand their expertise, update their working practices, and make a greater contribution to the Healthy China initiative.

(from the directive on public health campaigns, December 25, 2022)

IV

Respecting and caring for the elderly is a traditional virtue of the Chinese nation. The happiness of a society is, to a large extent, reflected by the happiness of the elderly. As China is increasingly becoming an aging society, it is essential to guarantee that the elderly can enjoy their twilight years to the full. To achieve this, we must bolster eldercare programs and industries and boost public eldercare institutions and inclusive eldercare services. In particular, we must ensure the basic living standards of those elderly who subsist on government support in part or in full, who are of advanced age, and who suffer from functional impairments.

(from the speech via video link to grassroots officials and communities before the Spring Festival, January 18, 2023)

V

Meeting the people's aspirations for a better life is our ultimate goal. The essence of reform and development is to ensure that the people enjoy better lives. Reforms should be planned and implemented from the perspective of the people's overall, fundamental, and long-term interests. Following the Party's mass line in the new era, we should pay close attention to the issues of greatest concern to the people, such as employment, income growth, education, medical care, housing, government services, childcare, eldercare, and personal and property safety. Identifying key reform areas and breakthrough points that address these pressing issues, we should introduce more initiatives that meet urgent public needs and reflect the people's expectations. We should also carry out projects that benefit the people, win their appreciation, and align with their wishes, so that reform brings the public a greater sense of gain, fulfillment and security.

(from the speech at a meeting attended by representatives of businesses and academia, held in Jinan, Shandong Province, May 23, 2024)

VI

On the new journey in the new era to build a great country and realize national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization, our comprehensive efforts will undoubtedly provide better conditions for China's sports sector and inject robust momentum into its growth. We will continue to boost people-centered sports programs, integrate national fitness and health initiatives, and build China into a healthy nation and sporting powerhouse.

(from the speech at a meeting with the Chinese sports delegation to the 33rd Summer Olympic Games, August 20, 2024)

VII

Improving the people's wellbeing is the top priority of Chinese modernization. On our new journey in the new era, Party committees and governments at all levels must maintain their commitment to the people-centered approach to civil affairs, and strengthen their leadership over this work. We should reinforce people-oriented projects that provide inclusive public services, meet people's essential needs, and guarantee basic living standards for those in need. We should address the people's most pressing and immediate concerns, and raise the quality of our civil affairs undertakings. To achieve this goal, civil affairs departments at all levels must uphold the Party's leadership, strengthen their Party organizations, promote deeper reform, and pursue innovation. They should improve the policy and institutional framework, and the systems of service, supervision and regulation, and encourage society-wide participation. They should implement a proactive national strategy in response to population aging, and improve their ability to manage social assistance, social welfare, social affairs, and social governance. They should address tough issues, benefit the people, and make their due contribution

to building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

(from the directive on civil affairs work, October 23, 2024)

Support Chinese Modernization with High-Quality Population Development*

May 5, 2023

High-quality population development is a concept I have proposed, and a requirement I have stipulated.

1. New Demographic Dynamics in China's Modernization

China has long been the world's most populous country, and population trends hold enormous significance for our national rejuvenation. As we embark on a new journey towards a modern socialist country in all respects, we also enter a new phase of demographic change. Due to socio-economic development and changes in age structure, there has been a general shift from population growth to decline, marked by fewer births, an aging population, and a wider demographic divergence across regions. These changes are part of the new circumstances we face in advancing Chinese modernization.

We must form a comprehensive and rational understanding of these new dynamics.

First, we should fully affirm the necessity and effectiveness of the family planning policy. Our huge population is a fundamental national condition. Decades ago, we adopted a policy to promote family planning in accordance with our realities at that particular historical stage. This major decision effectively curbed steep population growth and alleviated the pressure it had caused, providing strong support for reform, opening up, and socialist modernization.

* Part of the speech at the first meeting of the Commission for Financial and Economic Affairs under the 20th CPC Central Committee.

Since then, our population growth and demographic structure have evolved. In response to the new changes, the Central Committee has made timely adjustments to the family planning policy based on thorough research since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012. The overall results have been positive, which we must emphatically recognize.

Second, we should adopt a dialectical perspective on the impact of negative population growth. In just a few decades, China has reached a level of industrialization that took developed countries more than a century. The current rapid demographic shifts and an early population decline align with the broader trend of modernization observed worldwide. Population decline has had some negative impacts on development, such as a shrinking workforce and weaker consumption and investment. On the other hand, it has also led to some positive results, such as less pressure on resources and the environment, and a shift in economic development from quantitative expansion to high-quality growth. Population decline, therefore, influences socio-economic development in both beneficial and detrimental ways. We should not focus exclusively on either. Some issues require long-term study, and we should refrain from drawing hasty conclusions. Demographic changes are neither decisive nor insignificant in our development. We should therefore direct our efforts towards harnessing the benefits and mitigating the potential harms of these changes.

Third, we should build a correct understanding of the demographic dividend. The factors affecting the demographic dividend include the size, structure and quality of a population, as well as economic policies, and supporting measures. Despite a modest decline, the Chinese population – including the workforce – remains substantial. As the people's educational level continues to rise, our country still enjoys a comprehensive demographic dividend. However, we should be aware that China has reached a point of declining birth rate and population aging before realizing modernization, which presents new difficulties and challenges that call for an active response.

2. Basic Approach and Key Principles for Population-Related Work in the New Era

We must follow the guidance of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, fully apply the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress, and implement the new development philosophy in full, to the letter, and in all fields. We will improve our population development strategy in line with our strategies to build up national strength and realize national rejuvenation. We should understand, adapt to, and steer the new normal of population dynamics, with emphasis on the overall development of our population. While maintaining an appropriate birth rate and population size, we will accelerate efforts to cultivate a substantial, high-quality modernized workforce that is well-structured and rationally distributed. This is essential to our modernization drive. We must follow these guidelines:

First, we must promote high-quality population development to advance high-quality socio-economic development. At the current critical stage of high-quality development, we must shift our focus from regulating the size of the population to upgrading the quality, stabilizing the size, improving the demographic structure, and maintaining smooth flows. This shift will enable us to cultivate highly competent human resources and accelerate the creation of a new development dynamic, thereby advancing high-quality development.

Second, we should apply systems thinking and adopt a holistic approach to population development. We must have a broader view of this issue, based on thoroughly studying and assessing the complex impact of demographic changes on socio-economic development in the context of Chinese modernization. When formulating socio-economic policies, we should factor in demographic changes and align relevant policies with all others – fiscal, monetary, employment, industrial, investment, consumption, eco-environmental, and regional development – to achieve system integration. Demographic security is the bedrock of high-quality population development. The quality of a major country's population can have ramifications on its rise and

fall. Demographic security must, therefore, be planned as part of our national security.

Third, we must promote high-quality population development through reform and innovation. Historically, the government has largely managed population-related work through regulation. As this work expands in breadth and depth, we should move towards more guidance and incentives, transitioning from exclusive management by the government to joint efforts by the government and non-governmental players. By furthering reform in key areas, we will foster a mindset, implement laws and regulations, and establish institutions that are conducive to high-quality population development. We will establish a well-conceived public policy framework regarding population and related areas to provide the people with a stronger sense of gain as they participate in and support this endeavor. At the same time, we must remain cautious and avoid rushing through measures that may provoke controversy.

Fourth, we will continue to promote well-rounded development of the individual and prosperity for all. We must cater to the people's expectations for a better life and ensure their principal position in our country. The quality of our population development should match with a high quality of life, and our investment in people should match with other kinds of investment. We should do everything within our capacity to establish sound population services that cover the entire life cycle and all demographic groups, and coordinate aspects such as marriage, birth, childcare, education, employment, medical care, housing, and eldercare. These efforts will enable us to advance well-rounded development of the individual and prosperity for all our people.

3. Key Tasks in Promoting High-Quality Population Development in Support of Chinese Modernization

First, we must expand reform and innovation in education and health care, and advance the comprehensive development of our

population. We will improve the scientific and cultural literacy of our citizens. We will strengthen education as a strategic project. To improve the quality of education, we should stay attuned to the trends of the sci-tech revolution and industrial transformation across the world, and plan for education in conjunction with sci-tech and talent development. We will make education universally available, and extend the average length of schooling for the workforce. We will optimize the structure of higher education and the configuration of key elements, including study levels, positioning of institutions, disciplines and majors, and talent cultivation models, and accelerate the development of modern vocational education with Chinese characteristics. We will promote lifelong learning for all by taking advantage of digital technologies. We will improve the health of the entire population. We must ensure healthy births and healthy child growth, better management of major chronic diseases to extend healthy life expectancy, the implementation of nationwide fitness initiatives, and the physical and mental health of our youth and teenagers. We will also strengthen the ethical and moral character of our people. We will foster the core socialist values in our people and advocate honesty, hard work and a spirit of enterprise, in order to encourage stronger ethics and civil conduct.

Second, to promote balanced population development in the long term, we will refine our policy system to boost birth rates. We will make childcare services accessible to all, reinforcing support policies and standards, coordinating resources for the care of children aged 0-6, and increasing avenues of financial support and state spending on relevant public services. We will significantly reduce the financial burden of childbirth, childcare and education on families. We will refine the maternity insurance system and expand its coverage. We will ensure that maternity leave provisions are fully implemented, and put in place feasible mechanisms under which childcare costs are shared by the government, employers and families. We will also refine support policies for housing, education and employment. We will build a birth-friendly society. The role of families, family values, and family traditions should be emphasized in order to foster a new

culture of marriage and childcare, and wedding customs should be reformed to do away with outdated conventions and practices such as excessive betrothal gifts.

Third, we will increase effective labor supply by better exploring and utilizing human resources. We will ensure a gradual and orderly rise in the statutory retirement age, maintain a stable labor force participation rate, make efficient use of human resources, and promote high-quality and full employment. In particular, we will assist young people in finding jobs or starting businesses. We will do more to protect the rights and interests of people in flexible employment and new forms of employment, and to safeguard women's birth rights and increase their employment opportunities. We will continue to facilitate urbanization of the rural migrant population, and raise the urbanization rates of permanent and registered urban residents.

Fourth, in response to population aging, we will implement a national strategy to ensure a financially secure, meaningful, and happy life for the elderly. We will continue to develop basic eldercare services by improving the basic service list and establishing a system that combines medical and health care through coordination between families and communities. We will boost the silver economy. We will support the eldercare industry to scale up, standardize its operations, establish clusters, and build brands, with the objective of developing high-end products and high-quality service models. We will consolidate the sustainability of our social security system. We will accelerate the creation of a multitiered and multi-pillar pension system, strengthening the second- and third-pillar pension plans, and improving the mechanisms for financing and adjusting the benefits of basic medical insurance.

Fifth, to ensure demographic security, we will better coordinate the relationships between the population and the economy, society, resources, and the environment. We will modernize our industrial system in accordance with demographic changes. Industrial transformation and upgrading should align with consumption upgrading, and infrastructure planning should factor in population peak and

shifting distribution. We will improve our regional economic planning and territorial layout. We will align staffing needs, land supply, fiscal transfer payments, and public services with demographic changes to facilitate the orderly flow of people and labor. We will seize the opportunities presented by population decline to step up eco-environmental protection and restoration, and to boost natural regeneration. We will also improve our demographic structure and distribution in the interest of national security.

To ensure the success of population management in the new era, we must uphold overall leadership by the Party. We must also establish mechanisms to lead and coordinate efforts to advance high-quality population development. At the local level, Party and government leaders must be personally engaged in and take overall responsibility for this work, and the results of implementing population policies should be incorporated in their performance assessment. We should strengthen statistical analysis, dynamic monitoring, and early warning of demographic changes, improve the legal framework for ensuring demographic security and sustainable birth rates, and create China's own demographic theories. We should also raise public awareness, guide public opinion, and foster an enabling social environment for this work.

Deliver a Better Life for Each and Every Chinese*

November 15, 2023

We are committed to prosperity for all to deliver a better life for each and every Chinese. To eliminate poverty is the millennia-old dream of the Chinese nation, and the people's great desire is prosperity for all. Before I turned 16, I found myself in a village in northern Shaanxi Province, where I lived and farmed with villagers and learned about their worries and needs. Now half a century on, I always feel strong and grounded when among the people. Serving the people selflessly and living up to their expectations is my lifelong commitment. When I became general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and president of the People's Republic of China, 100 million people were still living below the poverty line set by the United Nations. Thanks to eight years of tenacious effort, all were lifted out of poverty. We realized the poverty reduction goal of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development 10 years ahead of schedule. In the process, over 1,800 CPC members lost their lives in the line of duty.

Our goal is not to have just a few wealthy people, but to realize common prosperity for all. Employment, education, medical services, childcare, eldercare, housing, and the environment are real issues important to the people's daily life and close to their heart. These are being steadily integrated into our top-level plans for national development, increasing the sense of gain, fulfillment and security of our people. We will continue to promote high-quality

* Part of the speech at a reception held in San Francisco, the United States.

development and deliver the benefits of modernization to all. This was the CPC's founding mission and it is the pledge we have made to the people. It is sure to be realized with the support of the people.

Promote High-Quality and Full Employment*

May 27, 2024

Today, we gather here for the 14th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee. The subject of this session is promoting high-quality and full employment. In the context of studying and applying the guiding principles outlined at the 20th CPC National Congress, we will, at this session, review our achievements and experience in employment work in the new era, analyze the current employment situation and prominent problems, and seek appropriate ideas and solutions for promoting high-quality and full employment.

Employment is fundamental to the people's wellbeing. It affects individuals' immediate interests, impacts healthy economic and social development, and bears on the long-term stability of our country. Therefore, our Party has always treated it as a matter of great importance. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Central Committee has consistently placed employment issues in a prominent position in national governance. It has strengthened the employment-first policy and improved the employment promotion mechanism. It has effectively responded to external pressures, internal difficulties, and especially the severe challenges brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic. On average, 13 million new urban jobs have been created every year, and the surveyed urban unemployment rate has remained at a relatively low level. In a large developing country with a population of over 1.4 billion, full employment has been largely achieved, providing important support for people's wellbeing and economic

* Main part of the speech at the 14th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

development. In this process, we have expanded our understanding of the factors influencing employment issues in the new era and accumulated a great deal of experience, including: adhering to the Party's overall leadership over employment work; regarding employment as the foundation of people's wellbeing; continuing to implement the employment-first strategy; relying on development to promote employment; expanding employment capacity together with improving the quality of employment; focusing on the employment of key groups; promoting employment through entrepreneurship; creating a fair employment environment; and building harmonious labor relations. This is valuable experience that we must follow in the long run and enrich on a lasting basis.

At the same time, it should be noted that we still face many prominent problems. China's development has entered a period in which strategic opportunities coexist with risks and challenges, and uncertainties and unpredictable factors are on the rise. The pressure on stability of growth and employment persists. Trends such as the declining birth rate, population aging, the divergence in regional population growth and decline, and the digital transformation of the economy are having an increasing impact on employment, and structural unemployment is becoming more acute. The people's expectations for the overall quality of life are growing, and improving the quality of employment has already become an urgent aspiration.

With this in mind, at the 20th CPC National Congress, the Central Committee has made major plans to promote high-quality and full employment, with a view to promoting high-quality development and common prosperity for all the people. At the macro level, this mainly entails sufficient employment opportunities, a fair employment environment, a sound employment structure, a good match between individuals and job positions, and harmonious labor relations. At the micro level, the requirement is that people are not only employed but also enjoy stable jobs, reasonable incomes, robust protections, occupational safety, and so forth. This, of course, is an ambitious goal, and its realization will be a gradual process, but we must

do all we can within our capacity to attain it. We must fully arouse the people's enthusiasm, enterprising spirit, and creativity, and guide them to create a better life through hard work rather than sit idle and enjoy the fruits of others' efforts.

Promoting high-quality and full employment is a new mission on our new journey in the new era. We should adhere to a people-centered philosophy of development and fully implement the guidelines on self-employment and market-oriented employment, and on the government's role in boosting employment and encouraging business startups. With high-quality development as the base, we should prioritize an employment-first strategy, strengthen related policies, and drive deeper reform of employment-related systems and mechanisms, ensuring sustained qualitative improvement and viable quantitative increases in employment. This will heighten working people's sense of gain, fulfillment and security, and provide strong support for building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization. In this regard, I would like to emphasize five points.

First, we must always prioritize employment. We must implement the new development philosophy and be more conscious of high-quality and full employment as the priority goal of economic and social development, so that the process of high-quality development becomes the process of improving the quality and expanding the scale of employment, thus boosting development-driven employment. We should foster new quality productive forces tailored to local conditions. We should upgrade traditional industries, cultivate and grow emerging industries, plan for future industries, improve the modern industrial system, and create more high-quality jobs. We should support the development of industries and enterprises with a large hiring capacity to maintain and expand employment capacity. In line with new trends in economic and social development and the people's new expectation for a high-quality life, we should continue to refine the social division of labor, make greater efforts to develop new business forms and models, and actively identify and nurture

new occupations, in order to foster new sources of job creation. We should evaluate the impact on employment of major policies, major projects, and the distribution of major productive forces, and promote coordination and synergy between fiscal, monetary, investment, consumption, industrial and regional development policies and the employment policy, in order to form an employment-friendly development model.

Second, we must work hard to tackle structural problems in employment. Imbalanced supply and demand of human resources is currently the main problem faced by China. The key to resolving this problem lies in accelerating the cultivation of modern human resources that are of high quality, sufficient in quantity, optimized in structure, and reasonably distributed. We must adapt to the ongoing revolution in science, technology and industry, and accurately identify changing trends in labor development dynamics. We should therefore strengthen our overall planning and do a better job in education, training and employment, and dynamically adjust the programs of higher education and the structure and distribution of related resources. It is important to vigorously develop vocational education, improve the system of lifelong vocational skills training, and promote integration between vocational education and general education, between industry and education, and between science and education. Our goal is to make our workforce development initiatives more future-oriented, targeted and effective.

We should also improve the supply and demand matching mechanism, and strive to ensure that people are matched with suitable positions, and that they can maximize their talents and capitalize on their capabilities. All this will help strengthen the quality and stability of employment. We should increase public awareness and education, and guide the public towards a sound understanding of employment. We advocate that all occupations are equally valuable, and all work deserves respect, that one may distinguish oneself in any trade, and that excellence can be achieved at the grassroots level. Promoting these beliefs will help us shape favorable public opinion and an

inclusive social environment, ultimately boosting employment and encouraging business startups. With this in mind, we will open up new horizons. We should conduct in-depth analyses of the causes of the relatively large labor shortages in some industries, find effective ways to fill these gaps, and start with addressing the issue of “jobs available but no one to do them” in order to solve the problem of “people available but no jobs for them”.

Third, we must improve our employment policies to support key groups. We must prioritize the employment of young groups such as college graduates. We should create more job positions that will allow them to leverage what they have learned and what they are good at; encourage young people to find work or start businesses in key fields and industries, in urban and rural grassroots communities, and in micro, small and medium-sized enterprises; and broaden market-oriented and society-wide employment channels to ensure that the overall employment level of young people remains generally stable. As we advance new urbanization and rural revitalization, we must attach equal importance to helping people find jobs locally or elsewhere. We should adopt various measures to boost migrant workers’ employment, and make special efforts to encourage higher-end talent to return to their hometowns, and urban people to start businesses in the countryside. We must ensure that employment opportunities are plentiful for those who have been lifted out of poverty, and that they provide good incomes, and we must prevent large-scale relapse into poverty due to unemployment. We should strengthen assistance to groups with employment difficulties due to age, disability or prolonged unemployment. We should implement employment assistance measures and make good use of public welfare posts to ensure that the number of families with no one in work is steadily reduced to zero. We should also focus on securing employment for specific groups such as veterans and women.

Fourth, we must further the reform of employment systems and mechanisms. We must enable the market to play the decisive role in the allocation of human resources, and the government to better

fulfill its functions. We should focus on resolving bottleneck problems and blocking points that hinder the improvement of employment quality, the expansion of employment capacity, and the optimization of the employment structure. We should refine the public service system for employment, building it into a comprehensive, convenient and efficient system that covers the entire population, the whole employment process, and every region of the country. We should make public services for employment more accessible, equal and professional. We should improve the support system for promoting employment through entrepreneurship, optimize entrepreneurial services, and boost the quality of business startups. We should build a unified and standardized labor market system, foster a fair employment environment, and resolutely remove institutional barriers that hinder the flow of labor and talent, thus enabling everyone to have the opportunity to realize their career development through hard work.

Fifth, we must better protect workers' rights and interests. We will improve labor laws and regulations, establish labor standards for new forms of employment, and improve our social security system. We will protect workers' lawful rights and interests involving such matters as labor remuneration, working hours and holidays, workplace safety, skills training, social insurance and welfare. We should do more to protect the rights and interests of those in flexible employment and new forms of employment, expand trials of occupational injury insurance, promptly review our experience, and establish relevant institutions. We should reinforce market oversight, strengthen labor protection supervision and law enforcement, and eliminate irregularities such as discrimination in employment, withholding wages or salaries, default on social security contributions, and illegal layoffs.

Employment is a matter that impacts both families and the nation. Party committees and governments at all levels should make employment the top priority in improving the people's wellbeing. We should strengthen organization and leadership, improve systems and mechanisms, and increase our synergy in work. We must accelerate our pace

in developing China's employment theory, tell accurate and engaging stories about employment in China, and amplify China's international voice and influence in relevant fields.

The Beautiful China Initiative

Balance Major Relationships Concerning Eco-Civilization*

July 17, 2023

The progress made in building an eco-civilization in the new era has given us a deeper understanding of the underlying principles governing this endeavor. To summarize a decade of practical experience, analyze the current situation and challenges, and continue to make progress, we must handle some key relationships in a proper manner under the guidance of the thought on eco-civilization of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era.

First, the relationship between high-quality development and high-standard environmental protection. The effective management of this relationship remains an ongoing global challenge and a crucial requirement for the continued progress of human society. A green and low-carbon economy and society is essential to high-quality development, as highlighted at the 20th CPC National Congress in 2022. High-standard environmental protection facilitates high-quality development, and it is indispensable for achieving high-quality green and low-carbon development that prioritizes eco-conservation. The dialectical unity and mutual reinforcement between development and protection must be maintained throughout the process of China's modernization.

The harmonious coexistence between humanity and nature requires strategic planning of development based on the carrying capacity of resources and the environment. If we are to achieve quality upgrading while maintaining a reasonable rate of growth through

* Part of the speech at the National Conference on Eco-environmental Protection.

green transformation, it is essential that we consciously regulate economic activities and human behaviors within the sustainable limits determined by natural resources and the eco-environment. By implementing sound protective measures, we will cultivate new growth drivers and competitive edges, establish a green, low-carbon and circular economy, and move faster to develop a high-tech industrial structure with lower resource consumption and less environmental pollution. This will make our economy more eco-friendly, effectively reduce the resource and environmental costs associated with development, and strengthen our capacity for sustainable growth.

Second, the relationship between targeted initiatives and coordinated governance. The governance of the eco-environment is a systemic endeavor. We must consider the intricacy of environmental factors, the integrity of ecosystems, the continuity of physical geographical units, and the sustainability of economic and social development. This requires us to keep in mind the broader picture, apply systems thinking, and make meticulous plans before taking any actions. We should focus on addressing major issues and the key dimensions of each issue, taking effective measures to tackle outstanding problems and promoting overall progress through key breakthroughs. Simultaneously, stronger coordination is needed to achieve common objectives, establish multi-pollutant control, and foster interdepartmental, interregional, and policy-level collaboration. This will ensure a more systematic, comprehensive and synergistic approach in all our endeavors. We should adopt a holistic perspective, balancing individual components with the entirety, addressing both symptoms and underlying causes, and integrating current imperatives with long-term interests.

At this stage, we must maintain our strategic resolve, perseverance and diligence in the relentless battle against pollution, until a resounding victory is achieved. The focus of our efforts should be key regions, critical sectors, and pivotal issues. Based on the most stringent criteria, we must confront challenges head-on and persevere until they are overcome. We must engage in comprehensive

planning and coordination, encompassing industrial restructuring, pollution control, environmental protection, and our response to climate change. Together, we will strive to reduce carbon emissions and pollution while expanding green development and fostering economic growth. This will enable us to achieve integrated progress in eco-environmental protection across all regions and throughout the development process.

Third, the relationship between natural restoration and artificial restoration. A natural ecosystem functions like a living organism. It adheres to its own inherent laws of evolution, and possesses the capacity for self-regulation, self-purification and self-restoration. To reverse the damage inflicted upon nature by humanity, we must demonstrate a profound reverence for nature and follow its ways. This means ensuring adequate time and space for nature to recuperate, and relying on nature's inherent power to reinstate an ecological balance. This is why we have repeatedly emphasized the principle of prioritizing natural restoration. However, natural restoration has its limitations and constraints, and this imposes higher demands on artificial restoration and creates a wide scope for proactive intervention. The integration of natural restoration and artificial restoration is therefore critical. To identify the most effective strategy for environmental protection and restoration, we must select the optimal region-based and category-based restoration measures adapted to the specific conditions of the location and timescale.

We must ensure the integrated protection and systematic management of mountains, waters, forests, farmlands, grasslands and deserts in order to establish a comprehensive framework for environmental protection and management extending from the mountaintops to the oceans. We will employ both natural and artificial restoration methods to achieve consistent eco-conservation. With regard to severely depleted ecosystems involving grasslands, forests, rivers, lakes, wetlands and farmlands, we will enforce prohibitions or restrictions on grazing, logging and fishing activities, and promote crop rotation and fallowing. To effectively address degradation issues such as soil

erosion, desertification, and stony desertification, we should allow nature to restore itself, complemented by artificial interventions where necessary. As appropriate to local conditions, we will expand forestry and grasslands in suitable areas, and leave natural deserts and wastelands untouched. In areas where the ecosystem has suffered severe damage and natural recovery will be difficult, it is imperative to implement proactive and appropriate artificial restoration measures to expedite rehabilitation. Cities, particularly megacities and city clusters, should explore new ways to closely integrate natural restoration with artificial restoration, in order to make urban areas more beautiful and livable.

Fourth, the relationship between external restraints and internal dynamics. A good eco-environment benefits everyone in an equitable manner and is the most accessible source of public wellbeing. We should make the most of this public good, so that all our people can enjoy the charm of nature, the beauty of life, and the delight of a beautiful homeland. We must therefore curb excessive demands and reckless destruction by setting well-defined boundaries and implementing stringent systems that ensure sustainable consumption and measured actions. To achieve this, strong external restraints are essential. The eco-environment has no substitutes. We tend to be neglectful of this when we exploit it, yet it is irretrievable once lost. Our eco-environment is crucial for the quality of economic development, and exerts a profound impact on the wellbeing of all individuals. The preservation of China's blue skies, lush mountains, and lucid waters can only be ensured through collective action, the fulfillment of individual responsibilities, and a society-wide dedication to environmental stewardship.

We must protect the eco-environment with the strictest laws and institutions to maintain ongoing pressure. Environmental laws and regulations need to be further improved and strictly enforced. Best practices in robust supervision, rigorous law enforcement, and stringent accountability should be effectively applied, strengthened and expanded. It is essential to hold Party committees and governments

at all levels accountable for eco-environmental protection, implement eco-environmental inspections by central authorities, and reinforce law enforcement and oversight, making sure that those concerned are fully aware of their responsibilities and work diligently to fulfill them. We need a sound performance evaluation system that is dedicated to promoting green development, a refined compensation system for eco-conservation, and a powerful mechanism for realizing the market value of ecosystem goods and services. This will ensure tangible benefits for those who engage in and contribute to environmental protection. We will improve market-based allocation of resources and environmental factors, leverage green fiscal, taxation and financial policies, and ensure that business entities can achieve reasonable returns while safeguarding the eco-environment. We will raise public awareness of eco-civilization, foster a culture that promotes eco-conservation, and turn a green and low-carbon lifestyle into a prevailing social trend.

Fifth, the relationship between our commitment to achieving peak carbon emissions by 2030 and carbon neutrality by 2060, and our independent choice of actions to reach these goals. Our Party's central leadership gave careful consideration before deciding to pursue the goals of peak carbon and carbon neutrality as a key national strategy. It is our solemn commitment to the international community and is essential for promoting the transformation and upgrading of the economic structure, cultivating a competitive edge in green and low-carbon industries, and achieving high-quality development. We act not under compulsion but of our own volition. Our commitment is unwavering, but the path, approach, pace and intensity for achieving these goals shall and must be determined by ourselves, free of any external pressure.

Our carbon goals allow for neither procrastination nor rash actions, and they cannot be achieved in a single stroke. It is essential to make gradual and steady progress, avoiding impulsive or arbitrary campaigns, and there must be no gaming the system by fast-tracking energy-intensive and high-emission projects ahead of the

carbon peak. In line with our national conditions and the principle of establishing the new before discarding the old, we will expedite the planning and development of new energy sources to ensure energy security. We will optimize the industrial structure, foster green and low-carbon industries, and pursue development based on efficient use of resources, strict protection of the eco-environment, and effective control of greenhouse gas emissions. Traditional industries should not be simplistically labeled as “low-end” and abandoned or closed. Instead, we should focus on upgrading their processes, technologies and equipment to achieve a green and low-carbon transformation. We should actively engage in global climate governance, fostering a positive momentum conducive to sustainable development.

Chinese Modernization: Harmony Between Humanity and Nature*

July 17, 2023

The next five years will be crucial in building a beautiful China. We should thoroughly implement the thought on eco-civilization of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, adhere to a people-centered approach, and uphold and act on the idea that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets. In our efforts to build a great country and advance national rejuvenation, we will prioritize the Beautiful China initiative and work for substantial improvements in urban and rural living environments. This will enable us to support high-quality development with a high-quality environment.

First, we must intensify the battle against pollution. We will continue to control pollution in a targeted, well-conceived and law-based way, and maintain the intensity of our efforts while expanding the breadth and depth of pollution control and prevention, to improve the quality of the environment.

The blue skies initiative is a top priority in the battle against pollution. Focusing on key areas, including the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region and its surrounding areas, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Fenhe-Weihe River Plain, we will optimize the industrial structure, the energy mix, and the composition of the transport sector, take coordinated steps to reduce the emissions of multiple pollutants such as volatile organic compounds and nitrogen oxides, and continue to lower the concentration of fine particulate matter. We will strengthen efforts to address pollution at its source, use clean energy and

* Part of the speech at the National Conference on Eco-environmental Protection.

centralized heating as alternatives depending on local conditions, and further control pollution from coal for non-industrial sectors, coal-fired furnaces, and industrial furnaces and kilns. We will promote the advanced transformation of the steel, cement and coking industries to achieve ultra-low emissions, and continue to cut the discharge of pollutants in key industries. We will strive to bring about a shift in freight transport from highways to railways and waterways in order to reduce energy consumption and pollution from transport. We will make greater efforts to respond to the people's concerns by effectively solving their daily problems and difficulties, including excessive noise, cooking fumes, and foul odors. We will strengthen coordinated pollution prevention and control across regions and take comprehensive measures to speed up the elimination of serious air pollution and protect our beautiful blue skies.

The clear waters initiative is aimed at promoting harmony between humans and water. We will make concerted efforts to improve aquatic environments, water resources, and aquatic ecosystems, and advance the conservation of major rivers such as the Yangtze River and the Yellow River, as well as major lakes. Solid efforts will be made to regulate the development of water sources and build water reserves to ensure the safety of drinking water in urban and rural areas. We will work faster to improve our facilities for urban sewage collection and treatment, carry out endogenous pollution control and environmental restoration based on local conditions, and largely eliminate black and fetid water bodies in urban and rural areas while creating a long-term mechanism in this regard. We will establish a mechanism for assessing water ecosystems, strengthen the protection and restoration of water source conservation areas and environmental buffer zones, and ensure ecological flows in rivers and lakes, in order to keep water ecosystems healthy. We will continue to enforce the 10-year fishing ban on the Yangtze River while strengthening follow-up evaluations. We will continue with comprehensive conservation in key coastal waters by launching concerted source-to-sea initiatives. Taking the bay as the basic unit and adopting specific measures for individual bays, we will

coordinate efforts to prevent and control pollution and protect and restore ecosystems in offshore areas, and improve the environment of shores and beaches, while also constantly improving the quality and stability of key marine ecosystems such as mangrove forests. Our rivers, lakes and bays will be kept clean and beautiful.

The clean lands initiative is focused on better controlling pollution risks. In order to prevent and control soil pollution at its source, we should not only prevent new pollution, but also gradually mitigate serious soil and groundwater pollution that has accumulated over time. It is necessary to strengthen the comprehensive treatment of solid waste, accelerate the construction of zero-waste cities, control plastic pollution at all points in the process, and continue to coordinate treatment of new pollutants and control environmental risks. We will build on the results of our ban on the import of solid waste, and strictly guard against smuggling and disguised imports of solid waste in various forms. We will integrate the revitalization of rural ecosystems and the improvement of the rural living environment, and vigorously prevent and control agricultural pollution from non-point sources, in order to build a beautiful countryside.

Second, we must accelerate the transition to a green and low-carbon development model. Upholding green and low-carbon development as a fundamental approach to resolving environmental problems, we will move faster to promote eco-friendly ways of work and life, and lay solid foundations for high-quality development.

We must optimize territorial space planning. We will make sure that no one ever crosses the red lines set for territorial space utilization and protection. We will coordinate efforts to strengthen spatial planning for agriculture, ecosystems, and urban areas, and improve the functional zoning system. To safeguard the functions of ecosystems and prevent changes in their designated use, we will strictly enforce red lines for ecological conservation, thereby strengthening law enforcement and oversight, as well as protection and restoration. We must ensure that the total area of China's farmland does not fall below the red line of 120 million hectares. We must strictly enforce

the boundaries for urban development and promote intensive, green development within existing urban spaces to maximize their potential. We will strengthen regulation of territorial space utilization in the sea and along the coastlines, and establish an exit mechanism for inefficient users of marine resources. With the exception of major national projects, all coastal land reclamation activities will be prohibited. We will also improve the system for region-specific environmental management across the country, clearly delineating the boundaries and regulations for development.

We must accelerate the green transformation and upgrading of industries. We will further integrate efforts to digitalize our industries and make them smarter and more eco-friendly. We will speed up the modernization of the industrial system, supported by the real economy, and make greater efforts to develop strategic emerging industries, high-tech industries, eco-friendly industries, and modern services. Stricter control measures will be adopted to curb the development of energy-intensive projects with high emissions and backward production capacity. We will implement a comprehensive conservation strategy to conserve energy, water, land, raw materials, and minerals. We will move faster to put in place a system for recycling waste and used materials, and make rational use of resources to raise their output rates.

We must foster pacesetters for green development. All regions, especially the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei Region, the Yangtze River Economic Belt, the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, the Yangtze River Delta, and the Yellow River Basin, should strengthen coordination for green development in accordance with their unique features and the requirements for high-quality development. While implementing major regional development strategies, they must better plan and implement environmental protection initiatives and build themselves into Beautiful China pilot zones. Guided by the principle that cities should be built by the people and for the people, the new era should witness the development of beautiful cities that are green, low-carbon, habitable, safe, healthy, smart and efficient.

We will promote eco-friendly practices. We will encourage simple, moderate, green, low-carbon, sound and healthy living and consumption, and make eco-friendly transport, garbage sorting, and water, electricity and food conservation part of the people's daily routine. Party and government agencies at all levels, state-owned enterprises, and public institutions must be at the forefront of these campaigns. We will continue to launch a series of activities under the theme of "I'm a contributor to a beautiful China" and encourage industrial parks, enterprises, communities, schools, families and individuals to actively participate, with a view to building a society in which everyone pursues eco-environmental progress at all times, everywhere, and in everything they do.

Third, we must reinforce the diversity, stability and sustainability of our ecosystems. Keeping in mind the significance of safeguarding national eco-environmental security, ensuring the sustainable development of our nation, and fulfilling our responsibility to the whole of human civilization, we will strengthen ecosystem protection and restoration in order to leave future generations a beautiful environment of green mountains and clear waters.

We must intensify efforts to protect the ecosystems. We will move faster to develop a protected areas system with national parks as the mainstay, supported by nature reserves, and supplemented by natural parks. Doing so will help protect typical natural ecosystems and the habitats of rare species. We will carry out major projects to preserve and restore key ecosystems and implement large-scale greening programs in a well-planned way. We will continue to develop shelterbelt networks in northwest, north and northeast China, and control the sources of dust storms that affect Beijing and Tianjin. We will concentrate our efforts on implementing a series of desertification prevention and control projects in key regions, devoting great energy to winning the three landmark battles against desertification¹. We will take action to consolidate and boost the carbon sink capacity of ecosystems. We will carry out large-scale biodiversity protection projects, improve biodiversity protection networks, and gradually build

up a system of national botanical gardens, in order to create beautiful landscapes.

We must take solid steps to bolster supervision over ecosystem protection and restoration. Over the years, activities that damage the environment have not been eliminated completely, highlighting the need for strong external supervision over ecosystem protection and restoration. We must step up unified supervision, build strong institutions, strengthen ecosystem monitoring and evaluation, and assess the progress of our work. We will also intensify inspection and law enforcement related to protected areas and ecological conservation red lines. Pointless formalities must be stamped out in ecosystem restoration, and actions that harm the environment under the guise of protecting it must never be allowed.

We must find new ways to convert natural wealth into material wealth. A healthy environment holds great economic potential. We need to promote the industrialization of our environmental strengths and the green development of our industries. In doing so, we will create a large number of ecosystem goods and services and bring them to the market, thereby transforming our environmental strengths into development strengths. We will provide compensation to bodies engaged in conservation efforts involving major rivers, lakes and reservoirs, key eco-environmental functional zones, conservation red lines, and key ecosystems. We will improve the funding mechanisms for ecosystem protection and restoration, and strictly enforce penalties for eco-environmental damage. Those who contribute to protection and restoration will be appropriately rewarded, while those who damage the environment will pay the price.

Fourth, we must actively and prudently work towards the goals of peak carbon and carbon neutrality. To effectively implement the “1+N” policy framework for reaching peak carbon and carbon neutrality², we should adhere to the principles of pooling strengths nationwide, prioritizing conservation, leveraging the roles of the government and the market, coordinating our domestic and international efforts, and guarding against risks.

We must advance initiatives to reach peak carbon emissions in a well-planned and phased way. We will thoroughly implement the action plan for reaching peak carbon emissions by 2030 to ensure safe carbon reduction. We will gradually shift from controlling only the intensity of carbon emissions to controlling both the volume and intensity of carbon emissions. To further develop the carbon market, we will improve relevant laws, regulations and policies, take steady steps to cover a wider range of industries, and enrich trading items and methods. We will lower the cost of carbon reduction, make enterprises more aware of the importance of pursuing green and low-carbon development, and launch a trading market for voluntary greenhouse gas emissions reduction. This will result in a carbon market that is more effective, dynamic, and internationally influential. To forge greater synergy in reducing pollution and carbon emissions, we will carry out pilot projects for collaborative innovation across various fields and levels, and coordinate the control of multiple pollutants and greenhouse gases.

We must build a clean, low-carbon, safe and efficient energy system. We will focus on the clean and efficient use of coal to ensure its role in meeting basic needs and supporting and complementing the development of new energy. We will vigorously develop wind and solar power, coordinate hydropower development and environmental conservation, actively develop nuclear power in a safe and orderly manner, and step up efforts to build a new type of power system. We will also focus on controlling the consumption of fossil fuels, strengthen energy production, supply, storage and marketing systems, and ensure the country's oil and gas security.

Fifth, we must provide security guarantees for the Beautiful China initiative. We must adopt a holistic approach to national security, and respond actively and effectively to various risks and challenges, so that the natural environment and conditions, upon which our survival and development depend, are not threatened or damaged.

We must safeguard eco-environmental security. We will further improve the coordination mechanisms for national eco-environmental

security, refine relevant legislation, strategy and policy frameworks and response management systems, and raise our capacity for research, assessment, monitoring, early warning, and emergency response. To prevent and control environmental risks, we will strengthen efforts to identify covert hazards and manage high-risk areas such as hazardous waste, mine tailings, and heavy metals. We will also improve the accountability system for responding to environmental emergencies in which governments at different levels assume their responsibilities, local governments play the main role, and different departments coordinate with each other, in a bid to handle environmental emergencies in a timely, appropriate and rational manner. We will strengthen biosafety and biosecurity management, and make efforts to prevent and address problems caused by invasive exotic species. We will also boost our capacity to adapt to climate change.

We must ensure nuclear and radiation safety. We will adopt a rational, coordinated and balanced approach to nuclear safety, and develop a rigorous accountability system. We must reinforce oversight and management, comprehensively strengthening our capacity for nuclear safety supervision and building a modern supervision system commensurate with China's nuclear development to promote the high-quality development of nuclear safety. We will also actively participate in international cooperation on nuclear safety.

Sixth, we must improve the system for guaranteeing the Beautiful China initiative. We will coordinate resources in various fields and combine the strengths of various sectors to create synergy between the legal framework, the market, science, technology, and policies, thereby providing foundational support and a strong guarantee for the Beautiful China initiative.

We must strengthen legal guarantees. We will make coordinated efforts to formulate and revise laws related to the environment, resources, and energy, so that good laws are made to ensure good governance. We will improve public interest litigation and strengthen environment-related judicial protection. We will implement the strictest possible system for environmental governance above and below

ground, on land and at sea, and among regions, and enforce a pollutant discharge permit system across the board. We will improve the systems for managing natural resource assets and for regulating the use of territorial space.

We must improve economic policies for green and low-carbon development. In strengthening fiscal support, we will optimize the allocation of fiscal resources for eco-conservation to ensure that the scale of investment meets the demand of conservation tasks. In strengthening tax policy support, we will strictly implement the environmental protection tax law, improve the tax collection system, and step up efforts to levy tax on volatile organic compounds. In strengthening financial support, we will develop green finance, promote the creation of eco-friendly development, investment and financing models, and explore models of financial support for regional environmental protection projects, in order to attract investment from various types of financial institutions and non-governmental capital. In strengthening pricing policy support, we will fully consider the energy consumption levels and environmental protection performance of individual enterprises, and improve the system of tiered electricity pricing for energy-intensive industries.

We must promote both an efficient market and an effective government. Rights to carbon emissions, energy use, water use, and pollution discharge, as well as other resources and environmental factors, will be incorporated into the overall reform for market-based allocation of production factors, and relevant market transactions will be supported, such as selling or transferring these rights, or using them as collateral or to obtain an equity stake. We will establish an environmental credibility supervision system, further standardize the environmental governance market, and promote the healthy development of the environmental protection industry and the environmental service industry.

We must strengthen the supporting role of science and technology. We will work to achieve greater strength and self-reliance in green and low-carbon science and technology, make climate change

response and new pollutant treatment key areas of national basic research and technological innovation, and strive for breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields. In launching a major initiative for innovation in environmental science and technology, we will build Big Science facilities, foster high-caliber personnel, and support the industrial application of scientific and technological advances. We will accelerate the establishment of a modern environmental monitoring system, and develop an integrated monitoring network covering the sky, space, land and sea. We will also promote the application of artificial intelligence and other digital technologies, establish a digital governance system for the Beautiful China initiative, and build a green and smart digital eco-civilization.

Notes

¹ This refers to the three critical battles against desertification in northwest, north and northeast China – in the Grand Bend of the Yellow River, in the Horqin and Onqin Daga sandy lands in Inner Mongolia, and on the fringes of the Hexi Corridor-Taklimakan Desert.

² The framework serves as the institutional guarantee for China to achieve its goals of peak carbon and carbon neutrality. Within this framework, the “1” stands for overarching guidance provided by two pivotal policy documents: the Decision of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council on the Full, Accurate and Faithful Implementation of the New Development Philosophy to Achieve Peak Carbon Emissions and Carbon Neutrality, and the State Council’s Action Plan for Realizing Peak Carbon Emissions by 2030; the “N” encompasses action plans for key sectors and industries, along with corresponding support programs.

Promote and Apply the Concept that Lucid Waters and Lush Mountains Are Invaluable Assets*

August 14, 2023

Building an eco-civilization is a fundamental policy that bears on the sustainable development of the Chinese nation. It is a major political issue that relates to the Party's mission and purpose, and a key social issue that impacts the people's wellbeing. On the new journey towards our country's socialist modernization, we should resolve to promote eco-environmental progress, and synergize high-quality development with high-standard environmental protection. Pursuing the goals of peak carbon and carbon neutrality, we should shift from dual control over the volume and intensity of energy use to dual control over the volume and intensity of carbon emissions. To this end, we should promote a green and low-carbon transition in our work and life, accelerate modernization underpinned by harmony between humanity and nature, and advance the Beautiful China initiative across the board. I hope our whole society acts now to promote and apply the concept that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets. Through solid and sustained efforts, we will make a greater contribution to building a clean and beautiful world.

* Directive on the first National Ecology Day.

Expand Greening, Realize the Benefits, and Protect the Results*

April 3, 2024

The Qingming Festival is an optimal time to plant trees, when our country's lands are brimming with vitality. Today, we plant trees in the hopes of inspiring our fellow citizens to actively participate in afforestation. We encourage each of you to become a role model in this endeavor and contribute to building a beautiful China. Together, let us write a new chapter in Chinese modernization that highlights harmony between humanity and nature.

This is the 17th consecutive year that I have participated in the voluntary tree-planting activity in Beijing since I became a member of the central leadership. This year also marks the 45th anniversary of China's Tree-planting Day. Thanks to nationwide efforts, we have achieved truly remarkable results in afforestation. Our formerly barren mountains have donned green cloaks, and our deserts have been transformed into oases. Nevertheless, we should note that the problem of insufficient vegetation coverage that faces our country is still prominent, and the immense potential of forests as a treasure trove has yet to be fully realized. To expand greening is to grow our strength, and to plant trees is to cultivate our future. We should plant trees year after year and generation after generation, to constantly build up our green wealth.

In our national afforestation effort, we should attach equal importance to expanding greening, realizing the benefits, and protecting the results. Expanding greening requires advancing our

* Main points of the speech at a voluntary tree-planting activity in Beijing.

large-scale greening programs in a well-conceived manner. This calls for planting suitable tree species using the best methods and at the optimal time, tailored to local environmental conditions. We must ensure that every tree we plant survives and every forest we create thrives. To realize the benefits of afforestation, we must focus on both quality and impact, while exploring new ways to transform lucid waters and lush mountains into invaluable assets. This involves optimizing the multifunctional roles of forests in water conservation, economic development, food production, and carbon sequestration, thereby realizing their eco-environmental, economic, and social benefits. Protecting the results of afforestation means taking greater care of our forests and grasslands and ensuring effective fire prevention and control. This requires comprehensive initiatives to identify and address potential risks, so that we can preserve the hard-won achievements of our greening efforts. The northwest, north and northeast China are the main battlefields of our greening campaign. We should concentrate more resources on the shelterbelt program in these regions, to build it into an impenetrable green Great Wall.

Every citizen has a role to play in our national afforestation effort. We should facilitate public participation, create new avenues to become involved, and maximize the contribution of the forest chiefs system. This will engage all sectors of society and ensure solid progress in our nationwide tree-planting initiative.



Security, Stability and Development

Ensure the Stable and Secure Supply of Food and Critical Agricultural Products*

December 23, 2022

To be a nation with a strong agriculture, we must first of all be able to guarantee the supply of food and critical agricultural products. For years, we in China have secured our own food supply, providing food in sufficient volumes and quality to more than 1.4 billion people. Now, as inelastic demand for food is increasing, our efforts to maintain the food supply are under great pressure. We must take holistic measures to consolidate our food security. We should strengthen our material foundations by improving farmland management and promoting the development and application of technology. We should also provide institutional safeguards to increase production capacity, optimize structures, strengthen resilience, guarantee economic returns, and ensure that all parties assume their responsibilities.

Increasing production capacity remains our primary task. Grain production in China has remained above 650 million tonnes for eight consecutive years, but the higher it rises, the more difficult it becomes to achieve further growth. We need to launch a new round of initiatives to increase production capacity by 50 million tonnes, formulating work plans and assigning relevant tasks. In increasing production capacity, farmland and seeds are two vital factors. We must ensure China's total area of farmland stays above the red line of 120 million hectares, firmly block any attempt to use cropland for any purpose other than agriculture, and adopt effective measures to prevent planting of non-grain crops on farmland designated for

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

grain. In line with the general principle of reserving productive farmland for growing grain, fertile farmland should prioritize grain crops, while fruit trees and saplings should be grown on hillsides to the greatest extent possible. In producing vegetables and garden plants, we should rely more on protected agriculture and plant factories. Preventing non-grain production on grain cropland demands policy support and requires us to balance grain production against the need to supply other critical agricultural products and increase farmers' incomes. This means that we should allow for transition periods and strengthen policy guidance. In addition, we should progressively upgrade all permanent basic cropland into high-standard cropland by working out practical measures as soon as possible, providing necessary funds, taking action to secure cropland quality, and putting in place management and maintenance mechanisms. We must maintain firm control over major seed varieties by identifying areas for breakthroughs and making sustained and concerted efforts to ensure that the seed industry revitalization initiative delivers solid outcomes. Bio-breeding is a major trend, and we should accelerate the industrialization of this field.

To safeguard food security, we must remain vigilant in normal circumstances, while strengthening our emergency supply capacity by systematically identifying potential risks in grain production, processing, circulation, storage, and trade.

Grain production can only be guaranteed if it is profitable for farmers. We must set up sound mechanisms to protect grain farmers' profits, improve the integrated policy system for prices, subsidies, and insurance, and refine the mechanisms for ensuring the provision of agricultural production materials at stable prices. This will stabilize farmers' expectations and reduce production risks. We must develop new ways of running grain production operations and extend the industrial chain to reduce costs and increase returns. We must introduce effective measures to improve compensation mechanisms for major grain-producing areas and open up multiple channels for grain-purchasing areas to compensate producing areas. We must safeguard

grain farmers' profits and ensure that major grain-producing counties are properly compensated.

To maintain food security, we must both increase production and reduce loss. At present, there are unnecessary losses in food collection, storage, transport, processing, sales, and consumption, and the problems are severe. According to assessments by relevant institutions, about 460 million tonnes of food is lost and wasted in China every year, accounting for 22.7 percent of the total food production. If we could reduce our loss by half, that would be enough to feed 190 million people per year. There is much to do regarding food consumption. In addition to preventing waste and carrying on with the Clear Your Plate campaign, we should promote a healthy diet. Per capita consumption of edible oils in China is double the amount recommended in dietary guidelines, and red meat is triple. Saving food and reducing loss can mitigate supply pressure and cut down resource consumption, which is of great benefit. We should foster a mindset in which saving food and reducing loss equals increasing output, and encourage this throughout the entire process from production to consumption. To this end, we need to establish regular and long-term working mechanisms, introduce targeted measures in each area, and focus efforts where loss and waste are most severe. We should continue to work even harder, carry out initiatives to save food, impose mandatory restrictions, and attend to the smallest details to deliver the most successful outcomes as quickly as possible.

To ensure the food supply, we should look beyond our limited farmland and adopt an all-encompassing approach to food. In addition to grain, our diet includes things like meat, eggs, milk, fruit, vegetables, fish, mushrooms, and bamboo shoots. All of these can be turned into delicacies. Beyond our farmland, we have more than 266 million hectares of woodland, nearly 266 million hectares of grassland, and numerous water resources in our rivers, lakes, and seas. This enables us to diversify our food supply. While ensuring eco-environmental conservation, our sources of food should be expanded beyond farmland to the entirety of our territory to make

use not only of traditional crops, livestock, and poultry but also all of our rich biological resources. We should explore multiple channels to acquire food from forests, grasslands, rivers, lakes, and seas, and harness energy and protein from plants, animals, and microorganisms. Protected agriculture is very promising. To expand space for agricultural production, we should promote solar greenhouses, plant factories, and intensive animal farming, as well as land-based, deep-sea, and open-sea aquaculture.

While ensuring food security, we must also maintain a stable and secure supply of other critical agricultural products, with particular attention paid to soybeans and other oilseeds as well as hogs and vegetables. All this work has already been planned; the key is to ensure that it is fully and faithfully implemented.

Party committees and governments at all levels must shoulder their responsibility to ensure food security, an issue of vital importance to the country. Whether local officials are competent and qualified will not be assessed solely by GDP growth or their performance in managing projects. More importantly, they must act in line with the requirements of the Party Central Committee, fully, accurately and faithfully apply the new development philosophy, subordinate the interests of their localities to those of the whole, and successfully accomplish the major tasks assigned by the Central Committee, such as ensuring food security. We are clear in holding both Party committees and governments responsible for food security. The key now is to carry out strict evaluations and oversight to ensure that every locality genuinely shoulders its responsibilities.

Improve Grassroots Governance to Secure Social Harmony and Stability*

March 2023-October 2024

I

Grassroots governance and the protection of people's wellbeing affect the immediate interests of the people and are fundamental to achieving common prosperity and a higher quality of life. Party committees and governments at all levels must always bear this in mind, actively pursue these goals, and deliver tangible results. We should improve the mechanisms for community-level self-governance led by grassroots Party organizations. To achieve this, we must strengthen grassroots organizations, establish grassroots governance platforms that provide grid-based management, meticulous service, and IT support, and improve community governance systems in both urban and rural areas. In doing so, we must ensure that all our people have access to high-quality services and precise management right on their doorstep. We should further develop the Fengqiao model of grassroots governance in the new era, with a focus on refining the mechanisms for handling disputes effectively among the people under novel circumstances and ensuring that disputes are resolved promptly at the community level as soon as they arise.

*(from the speech at a deliberation session of the Jiangsu delegation to
the First Session of the 14th National People's Congress,
March 5, 2023)*

* Excerpts from speeches made between March 2023 and October 2024.

II

Improving the wellbeing of the people should be the fundamental goal of all urban development and governance. To achieve this, we should integrate whole-process people's democracy with the modernization of urban governance, and build a governance community in which everyone participates, fulfills responsibilities, makes a contribution, and shares in the benefits. In particular, we should give full attention to the "last kilometer" in reaching out to the people and resolving the issues that affect their immediate interests. To consolidate the foundations of social harmony and stability, we should promote the Fengqiao model in the new era and improve the grassroots governance system.

(from the speech during a visit to Shanghai, November 28-December 2, 2023)

III

The community serves as the fundamental unit of grassroots governance, at the base of the state governance structure. One distinct strength of China's grassroots governance is that we can leverage the power of communities to respond to the people's needs and address issues related to public wellbeing, such as eldercare and childcare services. We should make this strength count. Building ethnically integrated neighborhoods is an effective way to facilitate interactions, exchanges, and integration among people from different ethnic groups.

(from the speech during a visit to Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, December 14-15, 2023)

IV

We must further increase grassroots emergency management capac-

ity. We should send more personnel and channel more resources to departments at the community level, and foresee and address any potential problems before they emerge. This will help to guard against and diffuse major risks, manage disasters and accidents in a timely and efficient manner, and guarantee the foundations of safety.

(from the speech at the fourth meeting of the Central Commission for Further Reform, February 19, 2024)

V

Much urban governance work requires the active support of grassroots Party organizations and communities. It is therefore necessary to clearly delineate the responsibilities of urban communities, continue to direct resources to grassroots departments, improve service facilities, and strengthen grid-based management and IT support. Efforts should be made to provide targeted services to improve the precision of community governance.

(from the speech during a visit to Chongqing, April 22-24, 2024)

VI

Modernizing China's governance system and capacity is an essential part of Chinese modernization. To modernize urban governance with digital technology, we should develop a comprehensive big data platform and network system under a well-conceived plan, strengthen joint command and coordination across all sectors, and improve our capacity to deliver. Urban governance is an all-encompassing undertaking whose top priority is to meet responsibilities. To ensure that the city remains orderly and can function safely, we should make plans in advance, and put in place precise management, quick response, and effective solutions to emergencies.

(from the speech during a visit to Chongqing, April 22-24, 2024)

VII

We should uphold and develop the Fengqiao model in the new era and strengthen grassroots Party organizations to improve their skills in grassroots governance. We should improve public services in rural areas, maintain rural harmony and stability, and ensure the wellbeing of rural people.

*(from the speech during a visit to Shandong Province,
May 22-24, 2024)*

VIII

We should step up the protection of our historical and cultural heritage, and commit ourselves to its creative transformation and innovative development. We should coordinate our efforts to develop advanced socialist culture, promote revolutionary culture, and carry forward the best of traditional Chinese culture, laying solid foundations for social governance.

We must ensure that disputes that arise among the people are resolved through mediation. The Liuchi Alley¹ exemplifies the wisdom of our ancestors in addressing disputes. We should use this site to promote the best of traditional Chinese culture, particularly our long-cherished virtues of humility, courtesy, and amity, and foster a harmonious environment where people can lead happy lives.

*(from the speech during a visit to Anhui Province,
October 17-18, 2024)*

Notes

¹ During the reign of Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty, a distinguished statesman named Zhang Ying (1637-1708) learned while in Beijing that his family in Anhui was involved in a property dispute with their neighbors. In response to his family's letter for help, he instructed them to move their wall back by three *chi* (about

one meter). Touched by this gesture of humility, the neighboring family also retreated three *chi*. As a result, the alleyway between the two properties, known as Liuchi (Six *Chi*) Alley, has since become a symbol of neighborly respect and harmony.

Safeguard the New Development Dynamic with a New Security Architecture*

May 30, 2023

We must fully apply the guiding principles established by our Party at its 20th National Congress in 2022. We should build a thorough understanding of the complex security threats and challenges we face, identify major issues, and expedite the modernization of the national security system and capacity. Our goals are to safeguard the new development dynamic with a new security architecture, and to achieve substantial progress in our endeavors to reinforce national security.

The Central Commission for National Security is assertive in its attitude to its work. It has adopted a holistic approach to national security which it continues to refine. It has steadily improved the leadership, legal, strategy, and policy systems for national security. As a result, the coordination mechanisms for national security are working well, and a basic national security system is in place across the country, with security units operating within local Party committees. National security has been improved, as the country's sovereignty, security, and development interests have been safeguarded effectively.

The challenges we face in our national security work have become increasingly complex and daunting. We must build a strong sense of strategic confidence in national security, a firm belief in our ability to succeed, and a clear understanding of our strengths and advantages. To do this, we must have a plan in place for worst-case scenarios or extreme situations, and be ready to withstand high winds, rough

* Main points of the speech at the first meeting of the Commission for National Security under the 20th CPC Central Committee.

waters, and dangerous storms. We should accelerate the modernization of our national security system and capacity, with a focus on practical measures and combat effectiveness. Greater attention must be paid to improving coordination, increasing efficiency, applying the rule of law, empowering development through science and technology, and strengthening the fundamentals, as we foster closer connectivity and integration across all dimensions of our national security work.

We must guarantee the new development dynamic with a new security architecture, and create an external security environment that is conducive to China's development. We will continue the policy of opening up while ensuring security, and facilitate the deeper integration of development and security. Guided by innovative theories, we should refine our methodologies and strategies for safeguarding and shaping national security. We must optimize the configuration of national security resources and facilitate the application of science and technology. We should adopt a multifaceted approach to our comprehensive response to national security risks, with real-time monitoring and timely early warnings.

To ensure national security, we must implement the decisions and plans of the Central Committee adopted at the Party's 20th National Congress. We must safeguard political security, strengthen cyberspace, data, and artificial intelligence security governance, accelerate the establishment of a risk monitoring and early warning system, advance the rule of law in national security, and intensify our efforts to raise public awareness of national security.

Implement High-Quality Management of Societal Affairs in the New Era*

November 3, 2024

Work related to societal affairs is a vital component of the undertakings of our Party and the country. It bears on the Party's long-term governance, the country's lasting peace and security, social harmony and stability, and the people's happiness and wellbeing. Since the start of the new era, the CPC Central Committee has made a series of important decisions and plans on societal affairs, which have led to significant achievements in this field. At present, we are experiencing rapid growth in emerging fields, a surge in new types of economic entities and social organizations, and a steady expansion of groups in new forms of employment. These changes give rise to new circumstances and new challenges for our work in societal affairs, and we must therefore take on new responsibilities and launch innovative initiatives. Guided by the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, we must apply the guiding principles established at the 20th CPC National Congress in 2022 and at the second and third plenary sessions of the 20th CPC Central Committee in 2023 and 2024. We must always put the people first, practice the Party's mass line for the new era, and adhere to the path of social governance under Chinese socialism. We should improve our institutions and mechanisms for societal affairs, strengthen Party organizations in new types of economic entities and social organizations and among groups in new forms of employment, and boost the Party's capacity to inspire, unite, and influence in emerging fields. We

* Directive on management of societal affairs.

should employ initiatives to strengthen Party organizations to guide grassroots governance and governments, and to increase engagement with and improve service to the people. This will ensure high-quality management of societal affairs in the new era.

Effective management of societal affairs is a responsibility of the whole Party. Party committees and Party leadership groups at all levels must shoulder their responsibilities. They must deliver leadership and overall coordination, and ensure that the Central Committee's decisions and plans on societal affairs are fully carried out on the ground. Local authorities and relevant departments should take proactive and coordinated actions. They should give equal weight to administering relevant sectors and to strengthening the Party within those sectors, and create powerful synergy for advancing work related to societal affairs. Departments responsible for the management of societal affairs should build up their own capacity, reinforce political commitment, experiment boldly, and faithfully perform their duties. In doing so, they will increase their contribution to building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

National Defense and the Military

Build a Stronger Military Through Stronger Governance*

July 24, 2023

Strengthening governance over the military in all respects represents a profound change to the Party's philosophy and approach in running the military. It is a strategic requirement for accelerating the modernization of national defense and the military, and an important contributor to modernizing China's system and capacity for governance. We should fully apply the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress, and the Party's philosophy on strengthening the military and our military strategy for the new era. We must uphold the Party's absolute leadership over the armed forces, take combat capability as the sole criterion for developing the military, and maintain and improve China's socialist military systems. We should also modernize our military governance framework and capacity, and advance high-quality development of the armed forces through excellent governance, in order to achieve the centenary goal of the People's Liberation Army.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission have consistently maintained the Party's absolute leadership over the armed forces, actively tested and adopted various methods to strengthen military governance, and in particular, put in place a set of new institutions, mechanisms, laws, regulations and policies in the process of furthering reform of national defense and the armed forces, advancing

* Main points of the speech at the seventh group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

law-based governance, and improving strategic management of the armed forces. This has enabled us to uphold and develop China's socialist military systems in the new era and accelerate the modernization of national defense and the armed forces.

The world is undergoing an accelerating rate of change on a scale unseen in a century, and a new revolution in science, technology, and military affairs is gaining powerful momentum. This is a critical moment for China's military in the effort to meet its centenary goal. We should have a clear understanding of the significance of stronger comprehensive military governance. To build a stronger military, we should intensify our efforts, armed with a greater sense of mission and in a spirit of reform and innovation.

Strengthening military governance is a complex and systematic endeavor involving all aspects of national defense and military development. We should apply systems thinking, focus on solving problems, and strengthen top-level design and strategic planning. This will enable us to make a targeted, well-planned effort at every step, at every level, and in every field. To achieve more systematic, holistic and coordinated governance, we should strengthen overall planning and intensify coordination between different departments and fields. We should intensify defense expenditure management and supervision, with a focus on the key fields where breakthroughs will drive overall progress. To ensure smooth and efficient implementation at every step and guarantee the overall performance of our military system, we should promote innovation in strategic management, improve the mechanisms for identification of needs, quick response, and effective action, and adopt whole-process professional assessment.

High-level military offices and senior officials must take the lead in freeing the mind, innovating new working methods, and strengthening governance in every aspect of work by improving the capacity for systematic, comprehensive and law-based governance that addresses problems at the source. To achieve overall progress and competence at primary level, we should give high priority to governance and respect the principal position and pioneering spirit of our

service personnel. We should apply reform and the rule of law in military governance, consolidate and expand the achievements made in reforming national defense and the military, advance legislative work related to the military, and strengthen the enforcement and supervision of laws and regulations. The role of reform should be fully leveraged to better advance military governance under the rule of law.

Strengthening military-civilian governance is an integral part of military governance and an essential requirement for consolidating and boosting integrated national strategies and strategic capabilities. Relevant central Party and government departments, and local Party committees and governments at all levels, should raise their awareness of the importance of national defense, strengthen overall planning and coordination, and fulfill their duties in the development of national defense. The military should establish and maintain excellent communication and coordination with the civilian sector. We should fully leverage military needs in the development of national defense. In military-civilian governance, we should continue to optimize institutions and mechanisms, and improve the organizational and policy frameworks, so that all departments involved will fulfill their respective duties in close collaboration and in a regulated and orderly fashion.

Reinforce Strategic Capabilities in Emerging Fields*

March 7, 2024

As an important component of China's national strategies and strategic capabilities, our strategic capabilities in emerging fields are essential to high-quality economic and social development, to national security, and to the ability to seize the initiative in military struggles. They are therefore of major significance in building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization. In order to strengthen strategic capabilities in emerging fields, we must forge a greater sense of mission and expand reform and innovation.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, we have made coordinated efforts to build up strategic emerging industries and new combat forces, and achieved a series of significant advances. After the 20th CPC National Congress in 2022, the Party Central Committee proposed to accelerate the development of new quality productive forces in pursuit of high-quality development. This has provided a prime opportunity for building strategic capabilities in emerging fields. We must maintain our momentum, acquire a better understanding of the development dynamics in these emerging fields, and enable new quality productive forces and new quality combat capabilities to effectively integrate with and boost each other.

* Main points of the speech at a plenary meeting of the delegation of the People's Liberation Army and the People's Armed Police Force during the Second Session of the 14th National People's Congress.

We must focus on our priorities and ensure the effective implementation of strategies and plans related to building strategic capabilities in emerging fields. In order to strengthen our maritime governance capabilities, we must take a coordinated approach to ensuring maritime military readiness, protecting maritime rights and interests, and developing the marine economy. We must also optimize our aerospace configuration to build China's aerospace system. We must build a cyberspace defense system to strengthen our capacity to safeguard national cybersecurity. We must reinforce the coordinated implementation of major intelligent technology projects and step up the application of advanced outcomes.

The development of emerging fields essentially stems from innovation and application of advanced science and technology. We must boost our confidence in innovation, rely on our own strength, proceed from realities, and step up independent and original innovation. In doing so, we will foster drivers of growth for new quality productive forces and new quality combat capabilities. We must have an accurate understanding of the characteristics of integrated development in emerging fields, strengthen integrated innovation and comprehensive application, and achieve multiple breakthroughs in different fields.

In order to increase our strategic capabilities in emerging fields, we must highlight these fields as a priority in deeper all-round reform and create an innovation ecosystem characterized by self-reliance, openness, inclusiveness and vitality. We must improve systems and mechanisms for aligning supply with demand, coordinating planning, and sharing resources, and advance standards generalization, if we are to increase the overall efficiency of emerging fields. Targeting increases in new quality combat capabilities, we must expand structural reform and optimize the configuration of science, technology and industry for national defense. We must strengthen mechanisms for quick response to and rapid conversion of advanced technologies, and build innovation chains, industrial chains, and value chains tailored to the development of emerging fields. We must update our thinking,

be bold in innovating, and explore the development and deployment of new combat forces to fully unleash and boost new quality combat capabilities.

Strengthen the Military's Political Commitment in the New Era*

June 17, 2024

We must uphold the Party's absolute leadership over the military, implement the strategy for strengthening the military's political commitment in the new era, and closely align with contemporary requirements. With a keen focus on fulfilling its centenary goal by 2027, our military should embrace extensive self-reform, reinforce political work, establish politically committed and capable Party organizations, and cultivate high-caliber officials who are loyal, upright, and competent in shouldering the mission of making the military stronger. Ultimately, this will provide an ironclad political guarantee for strengthening our armed forces.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, in addition to convening the Gutian Conference on Military Political Work, the Party Central Committee has resolved to improve political work in the armed forces through rectification initiatives and to exercise full and rigorous governance over the Party and the military. Our determination is unparalleled and our efforts unprecedented. As a result, historic progress has been made in strengthening the military's political commitment in this new era. Without revolutionary forging in the political realm, the great transformation of the people's armed forces in the new era would not have been possible.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, we have explored new theories and innovative practices in military political work, formulated

* Main points of the speech at a meeting of the Central Military Commission on political work held in Yan'an, Shaanxi Province.

a strategy for strengthening the military's political commitment in the new era, and established the following principles:

- Political commitment is the soul of the armed forces.
- Political work remains the lifeline of the armed forces.
- Clearing up confusion and misunderstandings is the primary focus of our political work.
- Ideological leadership forms the foundation of all types of leadership.
- The strength of the Party and the cohesion and combat effectiveness of the armed forces come from strong Party organizations.
- Command of the armed forces should always be in the hands of those who are reliable and loyal to the Party.
- Only rigorous governance ensures good discipline, high morale, and combat effectiveness.
- There must be no sanctuary for corrupt elements within our ranks.
- Only excellent conduct can cultivate valiant troops.
- Unity between the military and the government and between the military and the people is essential for victory.

The strategy for strengthening the military's political commitment in the new era must be comprehensively and accurately studied, resolutely implemented, and continuously enriched and developed in practice.

As things stand, the world, the country, the Party, and the military are experiencing complex and profound changes. Our armed forces are facing multifaceted political tests. We must meet the requirements of the era and continue to strengthen the political commitment of our military. This will ensure that our people's military maintains its inherent nature, upholds its fundamental purpose, exhibits unwavering determination to triumph in every battle, remains united and resolute in its endeavors, nurtures a steady stream of talented individuals, maintains the utmost purity, strives for glory, and strictly adheres to laws and discipline. We must always fortify the political strengths of our military in the new era.

The deep-seated issues that require resolution are evident in the realms of politics, ideology, organization, conduct and discipline. These issues stem from weakened convictions in ideals, commitment to the Party, and compliance with official ethics. Officials at all levels, especially those in senior positions, should involve themselves in political work, set aside any propensity for face-saving, and expose their own shortcomings and mistakes. Digging deep into the roots and touching the very soul, they should engage in profound reflection, take remedial actions, address problems of ideology, and seek out in-depth and practical means to strengthen the military's political commitment.

Reinforcing political work in the military on our new journey should be directed towards six key areas.

First, engaging in conscientious and thorough ideological transformation. We should be equipped with the Party's latest theories, engage in the study of original works and articles, understand the underlying principles, apply acquired knowledge to practice, and act upon our beliefs. It is crucial that senior officials receive education first, establish an effective political education system in the military, and implement a results-oriented approach for evaluating outcomes.

Second, strengthening Party organizations' abilities to lead, to organize, and to implement. We should improve our political acumen, understanding, and capacity to deliver, bolster combat readiness, and extend the Party's leadership across all domains and throughout the entire process of military preparedness. The principle of democratic centralism will be strictly enforced. The procedures for discussion and decision-making within Party committees will be optimized, with a greater emphasis on consultation and evaluation in the process of making significant decisions. In addition, the responsibilities of Party secretaries, who serve as the primary individuals accountable for internal Party governance, should be further strengthened.

Third, bolstering the ranks of military officials. We should apply the Party's organizational guidelines for the new era, instill a comprehensive and precise understanding of the criteria for exemplary

military officials, and complete the integration of these criteria into all aspects of work related to officials. We should improve the assessment of officials to ensure a more accurate identification and evaluation of their qualities and professional competencies. The team of officials should be comprehensively improved to augment its overall efficiency, with a strategic focus on training military personnel possessing strong command capabilities.

Fourth, removing the breeding grounds for corruption. We must consistently and rigorously combat corruption, and systematically address both its symptoms and root causes. This entails strengthening the primary responsibility of Party committees, boosting the supervisory role of commissions for discipline inspection, and reinforcing scrutiny by sector-specific departments to expand and intensify our anti-corruption efforts. We need to improve the mechanisms for allocating power and keeping it in check, develop new tools to combat emerging forms of corruption and covert corruption, and reinforce comprehensive supervision over senior officials' performance of duties and exercise of power.

Fifth, encouraging service personnel to dedicate themselves to their work. We should establish a rational performance evaluation system and regularly update the list of problems reflecting form over substance and bureaucratism. In addition, we need to reduce excessive meetings, events, documents, working groups, and inspection and rating activities, to alleviate the burden on primary-level units. The "last kilometer" of the implementation of policies and institutions, such as those ensuring the welfare of military personnel, should be completed in order to effectively address problems at the primary level, increase the sense of belonging of officers and soldiers, and improve their overall wellbeing.

Sixth, restoring and promoting the fine traditions of political work in the military. We should adhere to seeking truth from facts and bear in mind that example is better than precept. Officials at all levels, especially senior ones, should lead by example and set good precedents, inspiring and motivating the troops with their excellent conduct and image.

Strengthening political commitment of the military is a collective responsibility shared by all members of the armed forces. The Central Military Commission should strengthen unified leadership, while its Political Work Department, Discipline Inspection Commission, and Political and Legal Affairs Commission should expand coordination and cooperation. All units and departments must fulfill their duties, make new progress in strengthening the military's political commitment, and forge an even stronger and more heroic military under the leadership of our Party, so that in 2027 we will welcome the 100th anniversary of its founding with peerless achievements.



One Country, Two Systems and National Reunification

Speech on the 25th Anniversary of Hong Kong's Return to the Motherland and the Inauguration of the Sixth-Term Government of the HKSAR

July 1, 2022

My fellow Chinese,
Dear friends,

Today we are gathered here on this solemn occasion to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Hong Kong's return to the motherland, and to hold the inaugural ceremony of the sixth-term government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR).

First of all, I would like to extend sincere greetings to all of you, the people of Hong Kong. I also extend warm congratulations to the newly inaugurated sixth-term HKSAR Chief Executive Mr John Lee Ka-chiu, and to principal officials and members of the Executive Council of the sixth-term HKSAR government. Let me also express heartfelt appreciation to all our Chinese compatriots both at home and abroad, and to friends from other countries, for their support for the cause of One Country, Two Systems and for Hong Kong's prosperity and stability.

In the 5,000-year history of Chinese civilization, one of the important chapters was the story of our ancestors working hard on the land south of the Nanling Mountains. In modern China, after the outbreak of the Opium War of 1840, the humiliation of ceding Hong Kong was a page of pain, but the Chinese people never stopped fighting for the survival of our nation. The past century has seen how the Communist Party of China has rallied the Chinese people and led them on an epic quest for a better future, and our fellow Chinese in

Hong Kong have made a unique and significant contribution to this endeavor. Throughout history, our compatriots in Hong Kong have always maintained a close bond with the motherland in weal and woe.

Hong Kong's return to the motherland marked the beginning of a new epoch for the region. Over the past 25 years, with the full support of the country and the joint efforts of the HKSAR government and people from all sectors, the One Country, Two Systems policy has been successfully implemented in Hong Kong, which has been widely recognized by the international community.

– Since its return, Hong Kong has continued to break new ground together with China's monumental reform and opening-up efforts, and it now functions as an important bridge between the Chinese mainland and the rest of the world. As a result, it has made an irreplaceable contribution to our country's economic miracle, marked by long-term, stable and rapid growth. By actively integrating itself into the country's overall development and aligning its development with the national development strategies, Hong Kong has maintained its strengths – a high degree of liberalization and openness, and alignment with international rules. In doing so, the region has played an important role in upgrading China's opening-up program with broader coverage and greater scope. As cooperation and exchanges between Hong Kong and the mainland continue to expand and mechanisms for this cooperation continue to improve, people in Hong Kong have better opportunities to start businesses and pursue success.

– Since its return, Hong Kong has overcome various hardships and challenges and advanced steadily. Nothing, not the global financial crisis, the Covid-19 pandemic, or the period of social unrest, has stopped Hong Kong from marching forward. Over the past 25 years, Hong Kong's economy has thrived, its status as an international financial, shipping and trading center has been maintained, and its innovative sci-tech sectors have grown rapidly. Hong Kong has remained one of the most liberal and open economies in the world and maintained a world-class business environment. Its previous laws, including the common law, have been maintained and devel-

oped, all-round progress has been made in its social programs, and overall social stability has been ensured. The vitality of Hong Kong as an international metropolis is well recognized by the world.

– Since its return, the people of Hong Kong have truly become the masters of the land. With the policy of the people of Hong Kong administering Hong Kong, and a high degree of autonomy in practice, the region has entered an era of genuine democracy. Over the past 25 years, Hong Kong's constitutional order, based on the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and the Basic Law of the HKSAR, has functioned well. The central government's overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong has been maintained, and a high degree of autonomy in the region is in place. The Hong Kong National Security Law has been adopted, which has established the legal framework for safeguarding national security in the region. The electoral system of Hong Kong has been modified and improved, thereby ensuring the implementation of the principle that Hong Kong should be administered by patriots. The democratic system of Hong Kong is in keeping with the policy of One Country, Two Systems and conforms to the region's constitutional status. It safeguards Hong Kong residents' democratic rights, secures Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, and guarantees a bright future.

My fellow Chinese,

Dear friends,

One Country, Two Systems is an unprecedented undertaking. Its fundamental goals are to safeguard China's sovereignty, security, and development interests, and maintain long-term prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao. Everything the central government has done is for the good of the whole country, and also for the good of the two regions and their residents. At the meeting celebrating the 20th anniversary of Hong Kong's return to the motherland in 2017, I stated that the central government would follow two principles in implementing the policy of One Country, Two Systems. They are firmness, and full and faithful application. First, we will not change or waver in implementing the policy; and second, we will implement it

without any distortion or alteration. Today, I would like to emphasize again that the policy of One Country, Two Systems has been tested repeatedly in practice. It serves the fundamental interests not only of Hong Kong and Macao, but of the whole country and the nation. It has gained wide support from all of the 1.4 billion Chinese people, including the residents of Hong Kong and Macao. It is also widely endorsed by the international community. There is no reason for us to change such an effective policy, and we must adhere to it in the long run.

My fellow Chinese,

Dear friends,

A review of the past can light the way forward. The practice of One Country, Two Systems in Hong Kong has provided us with valuable experience and has also given us profound enlightenment. What has been achieved over the past 25 years shows us clearly that only when we have a full and accurate understanding of the guidelines underlying the implementation of One Country, Two Systems, can we ensure that this cause will advance in the right direction and in a sound and sustained manner.

First, we must fully and faithfully apply the policy of One Country, Two Systems. This policy represents a complete system. Its top priority is to safeguard China's sovereignty, security, and development interests. Subject to this requirement, Hong Kong and Macao can maintain their existing capitalist systems over the long term and enjoy a high degree of autonomy. Since the socialist system is the fundamental system of the People's Republic of China and leadership by the Communist Party of China is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics, all residents in these two special administrative regions should willingly respect and uphold the country's fundamental system. The thorough and faithful implementation of the policy of One Country, Two Systems will open up broader prospects for the development of Hong Kong and Macao. The more firmly the principle of One Country is upheld, the greater the strength of the Two Systems will be.

Second, we must uphold the central government's overall jurisdiction while ensuring a high degree of autonomy in the HKSAR. Since its return to the motherland, Hong Kong has been reintegrated into China's governance system, and a constitutional order has been established on the basis of the policy of One Country, Two Systems. The central government's overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong underpins its high degree of autonomy, and this autonomy, bestowed by the law, is fully respected and resolutely safeguarded by the central government. The central government's overall jurisdiction and a high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong are integral to each other, and this is crucial to the governance of Hong Kong. The executive-led system is practiced in Hong Kong. The executive, legislative and judicial branches perform their respective duties in accordance with the Basic Law and other relevant laws. The executive and legislative branches exercise checks and balances and cooperate with each other, while the judiciary exercises its power of adjudication independently.

Third, we must ensure that Hong Kong is administered by patriots. A government must be in the hands of patriots, and this is a principle that is practiced in all countries. No people in any country or region in the world will ever allow an unpatriotic – or worse, a treasonous – force or figure to hold power. The Hong Kong government must be safely kept in the hands of those who love the country. This is crucial for Hong Kong's lasting prosperity and stability, and this principle must not be compromised under any circumstances. To ensure that the power of government is in the hands of the right people is to safeguard Hong Kong's prosperity and stability as well as the vital interests of more than seven million residents in the region.

Fourth, we must maintain Hong Kong's unique status and strengths. The central government has always handled Hong Kong affairs from a strategic and overall perspective and with a view to the fundamental and long-term interests of both Hong Kong and the country as a whole. The fundamental interests of Hong Kong are consistent with those of the nation as a whole, and the central government and Hong Kong compatriots share the same aspirations.

Hong Kong enjoys a close connection with the global market and strong support from the motherland. These unique advantages are valued by both the people of Hong Kong and the central government. The central government fully supports Hong Kong in its effort to maintain its distinctive status and strengths, improve its status as an international financial, shipping and trading center, keep its business environment free, open and well-regulated, maintain the common law, and expand and facilitate its international engagement. The central government is convinced that Hong Kong will make a major contribution to China's endeavor to build a modern socialist country in all respects and realize the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

My fellow Chinese,

Dear friends,

All of you, our compatriots in Hong Kong, have always been part of the process in which the Chinese people and the Chinese nation have endeavored to realize the great transformation from standing up and becoming prosperous to growing in strength. With order restored, Hong Kong is entering a new phase of prosperity. The next five years are important for Hong Kong to break new ground and achieve another leap forward. While there are both opportunities and challenges, the opportunities outnumber the challenges. The central government and people from all sectors of Hong Kong society have high expectations for the newly inaugurated HKSAR government. People of all ethnic groups across the country wish the best for Hong Kong. Here, I wish to propose four points.

First, Hong Kong should further improve its governance. To promote the development of Hong Kong, it is urgent to improve its governance system, capacity and efficacy. The chief executive and the HKSAR government have primary responsibility for the governance of the region. They should fulfill their commitments, implement the policy of One Country, Two Systems with concrete actions, uphold the authority of the Basic Law of the HKSAR, and devote themselves to the development of the region. Candidates for public office should be assessed on both competence and moral integrity before they are

recruited. Capable professionals who love both the motherland and Hong Kong – those with strong governance capabilities and a passion for serving the public – should be recruited as public servants. It is important to heighten their sense of national identity and to broaden their international vision in order to create better development plans for the region from an overall and long-term perspective. The HKSAR government needs to change its governance philosophy and properly balance the relationship between the government and the market so that both function well. It should strengthen self-management and improve its conduct to better fulfill its responsibilities, deliver better performance, and provide good governance in Hong Kong.

Second, Hong Kong should continue to create strong impetus for growth. With its special status, Hong Kong enjoys favorable conditions and broad space for development. The central government fully supports Hong Kong in its effort to seize the historic opportunities offered by China's development and actively dovetail with the 14th Five-year Plan (2021-2025) and other national strategies, such as the development of the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area and high-quality Belt and Road cooperation. The central government fully supports Hong Kong in carrying out more extensive exchanges and closer cooperation with the rest of the world and in attracting ambitious entrepreneurs to Hong Kong to realize their dreams. The central government also fully supports Hong Kong in taking active yet prudent steps to advance reform and dismantle the barriers of vested interests in order to unlock the enormous creativity and development potential of Hong Kong society.

Third, Hong Kong should fully address people's concerns and their difficulties in daily life. "Officials who enjoy benefits have an obligation to relieve people's burdens and address their concerns."¹ As I said, meeting the people's expectations for a better life is our goal. Currently, the biggest expectation of Hong Kong people is to lead a better life, which means better housing, better opportunities to start their own businesses, better education for their children, and better care in their late years. We should meet their expectations. The newly

inaugurated HKSAR government should take solid steps, live up to the hopes of the people, and attain its primary goal of meeting the expectations of the whole of society, particularly ordinary citizens. It should take bolder steps and adopt more effective measures to overcome difficulties and forge ahead. It should make sure that all citizens in Hong Kong share fully and fairly the fruits of development. Our residents must be convinced that those who work hard can improve their own and their family's lives.

Fourth, the people of Hong Kong should work together to safeguard harmony and stability. Hong Kong is the home of all its people, and harmony in a family brings success in every endeavor. Having gone through difficult times, we are all keenly aware that Hong Kong cannot afford to be dragged into chaos, and should never again be allowed to plunge into disorder. We also realize that there must be no slowdown in Hong Kong's development. We must rid ourselves of all and any interference so that we can concentrate on Hong Kong's development. Everyone in Hong Kong, regardless of profession and belief, can be a positive force and contribute to the region's development as long as they genuinely support the policy of One Country, Two Systems, love Hong Kong, and abide by the Basic Law and the laws of the special administrative region. It is my hope that all fellow compatriots in Hong Kong will stay true to our core values, which are characterized by the love of both the motherland and Hong Kong and are in keeping with the policy of One Country, Two Systems. They should continue to follow the traditions of valuing inclusiveness, seeking common ground while setting aside differences, keeping an unyielding spirit and courage, and striving for success, and create a better future together.

We must give particular care and attention to young people. Hong Kong will prosper only when its young people thrive; Hong Kong will flourish only when its young people achieve well-rounded development; and Hong Kong will secure a bright future only when its young people have good career prospects. We should help young people to gain a deep insight into trends in both China and the world, cultivate a

sense of pride in their country, and heighten their awareness that they share the future of the country. We must help young people resolve their difficulties in education, employment, business startup, and housing, so that more opportunities will be created for their development and success. We sincerely hope that all young people in Hong Kong will devote themselves to building Hong Kong into a better home, and write a fulfilling chapter of their lives with the passion of youth.

My fellow Chinese,

Dear friends,

In the words of a Chinese poem, "I would like to borrow a pair of wings from the crane to soar up to the sky."² The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is unstoppable, and the success of One Country, Two Systems in Hong Kong is an important part of this historic process. We are convinced that with the strong backing of the motherland and the solid guarantee provided by the policy of One Country, Two Systems, Hong Kong will achieve splendid feats on the journey towards the Second Centenary Goal of building China into a great modern socialist country in all respects, and that its people will share the glory of national rejuvenation with all their fellow Chinese.

Notes

¹ Su Shi: "Imperial Edict Declining the Resignation Request of Wang Cun, the Newly Appointed Grand Master of the Palace and Assistant Director of the Department of State Affairs" (Ci Xin Chu Zhong Da Fu Shou Shang Shu You Cheng Wang Cun Ci Mian En Ming Bu Yun Zhao). Su Shi (1037-1101) was a man of letters and official of the Northern Song Dynasty.

² Meng Jiao: "To Chancellor Bao Ji of the Directorate of Education" (Shang Bao Ji Jiu). Meng Jiao (751-814) was a poet of the Tang Dynasty.

Handle Cross-Straits Relations in the Overall Long-Term Interests of the Chinese Nation*

April 10, 2024

People on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are members of one Chinese nation. The Chinese nation is a great nation. It has created a long, splendid and unique civilization that is a source of pride for every Chinese. Generations of our ancestors have migrated to Taiwan from the mainland and settled there in the nation's history of over 5,000 years. We Chinese on both sides of the Straits have united to repel foreign invaders and recover Taiwan. The history of our nation demonstrates that the two sides are indivisible and both sides share the bonds of kinship.

As all compatriots on both sides are Chinese, there is no tangle in perception that cannot be unraveled, no problem that cannot be discussed, and no force that can pull us apart. The Straits cannot sever the bonds between us. The differences in our systems cannot change the fact that we belong to the same country and the same nation. External interference cannot halt the inexorable progress of national reunification. Throughout history, people on both sides of the Straits have always kept to our shared roots, maintained close ties, and supported each other.

The young are the hope of the country and the future of the nation. Only when young people on both sides prosper and maintain close bonds, can the two sides have a bright future. You young people should aspire to greater pride, confidence and assurance in your identity as Chinese, work for the lasting prosperity of the

* Main points of the talk at a meeting with a delegation led by Ma Ying-jeou.

Chinese nation, and carry forward the glory of its history.

Fellow Chinese on both sides of the Straits share the same blood, culture and history. More importantly, we shoulder shared responsibility towards our nation and have common aspirations for the future. We should handle cross-Straits relations in the overall interests and for the long-term development of the Chinese nation.

First, we should safeguard the common homeland of the Chinese nation. For millennia, the Chinese nation and civilization have experienced vicissitudes and adversity, but they have continued without interruption and continued to thrive. The key reason is that the whole nation has always upheld a common belief that our territory is indivisible, our country must not fall into disorder, our nation must not splinter, and our civilization must endure. A strong and unified country is always essential to the wellbeing of all Chinese, including the people in Taiwan. Chinese compatriots on both sides of the Straits should resolutely oppose separatist activities and foreign interference. We should safeguard the shared homeland of the Chinese nation, join hands to advance the bright prospect of peaceful reunification, and ensure that the future of our nation remains firmly in our own hands.

We on both sides have the keen hope that our homeland remains peaceful and our relations are always harmonious as one family. To achieve this, we must promote peaceful cross-Straits relations. The key is to uphold the 1992 Consensus, which embodies the one-China principle, and the essence is to have a shared recognition that both sides belong to the same country and nation. As long as we do not seek to divide the country, and hold that both sides belong to the same Chinese nation and one family, we can absolutely come together to communicate on our domestic affairs. We can foster mutual understanding, build trust, settle disputes, and reach consensus.

Second, we should jointly work for the lasting prosperity of the Chinese nation. The ultimate goal of our efforts in developing cross-Straits relations is to boost the wellbeing of both sides. Lasting prosperity for the Chinese nation is a grand yet simple goal. In essence, it means meeting the aspirations of both sides for a better

life, and ensuring that all Chinese, including the people in Taiwan, work together to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. Now that we have shown ourselves capable of leading more than 1.4 billion people on the mainland towards prosperity, we are surely able to create a bright future together with our fellow Chinese in Taiwan.

Always bearing in mind the wellbeing of the people in Taiwan, we will strive to ensure their ready access to the opportunities brought about by Chinese modernization and the benefits of development and progress on the mainland; we will actively help them overcome their difficulties, meet their needs, bring them greater benefits, ensure their wellbeing, and provide them with a better future.

Third, we should foster a stronger sense of the Chinese nation as one community. In the long history of our nation, we Chinese have shaped the territory of our country including Taiwan, created China's history and culture, and fostered our national spirit. We on both sides of the Straits have always been one family, so we should engage in frequent exchanges, become closer, and forge stronger bonds. We will take more effective measures to promote cross-Straits communication, exchanges and interactions, so that we can open our hearts to each other, build up mutual trust, and forge closer bonds of heart and mind. We on the mainland sincerely invite our fellow Chinese in Taiwan to pay more visits to the mainland, and we are glad to see mainland residents travel more frequently to Taiwan.

The Chinese culture is the spiritual lifeblood of the Chinese nation and provides a common spiritual home for people on both sides of the Straits. Both sides should strengthen confidence in Chinese culture, and become its active guardians, trustees and promoters; we should have a stronger sense of belonging, national identity, and pride, and heighten our sense of the Chinese nation as one community.

Fourth, we should make tireless efforts to realize the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Through a century of endeavor, we have pioneered a Chinese path to modernization and opened up bright prospects for national rejuvenation. We have succeeded in turning the blueprint drawn by Dr Sun Yat-sen into reality, and then gone on to

achieve far more than he ever envisaged. National rejuvenation is an unstoppable process. It carries within it all the hard work and struggle of the people on both sides. It calls for our concerted and unremitting efforts, and it is certain to be realized with our perseverance and endeavors. Young people on both sides have much to accomplish, and will accomplish much. You young people from Taiwan are welcome to pursue and fulfill your dreams on the mainland, and we on the mainland will create better conditions and more opportunities for young people on both sides to grow, excel and succeed. We hope that young people on both sides will learn from each other, stay close, work with one heart, and advance together. We hope that you will carry on the historic cause of national rejuvenation, and devote the power of your youth to this dream.

Speech on the 25th Anniversary of Macao's Return to the Motherland and the Inauguration of the Sixth-Term Government of the MSAR

December 20, 2024

My fellow Chinese,
Dear friends,

Today, we are meeting here on this solemn occasion to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Macao's return to the motherland and to inaugurate the sixth-term government of the Macao Special Administrative Region (MSAR). Let me begin, on behalf of the central government and people of all ethnic groups across China, by extending cordial greetings to all Macao residents. Warm congratulations to Mr Sam Hou Fai on his inauguration as the sixth-term MSAR chief executive, and to principal officials and members of the Executive Council of the sixth-term MSAR government. I also offer my heartfelt appreciation to all fellow Chinese, both at home and overseas, and to international friends for their long-standing commitment to and support for the cause of One Country, Two Systems and Macao's prosperity, stability and development.

Macao is a brilliant pearl on the coast of the South China Sea, a treasured part of our great motherland. It was from here that the first group of Chinese students embarked on their journey to study overseas. It was here that many Chinese classics were translated into foreign languages and introduced to the West. Moreover, it was through Macao that many elements of modern Western science, technology and culture made their way onto the Chinese mainland. Across different periods in China's history, Macao has played a significant role and made a unique contribution.

My fellow Chinese,

Dear friends,

Over the past 25 years since Macao's return to the motherland, with the strong support of the central government and the mainland of the country, the MSAR government has led the people from all sectors of society in forging ahead in unity, and achieved an enormous success in advancing the cause of One Country, Two Systems with distinctive Macao features. Macao has undergone an extraordinary transformation, and its international standing has increased significantly.

– Its systems for implementing the policy of One Country, Two Systems have continued to improve, securing China's sovereignty, security, and development interests. The MSAR has established a systematic legal system and enforcement mechanisms to safeguard national security. While the central authorities maintain overall jurisdiction, the region exercises a high degree of law-based autonomy. Macao's executive, legislative and judicial bodies perform their respective functions and responsibilities. Its executive-led system functions smoothly, and its constitutional order, based on China's Constitution and the Basic Law of the MSAR, is robust. The principle of patriots administering Macao has been applied across the board. Macao's democracy has improved, and Macao residents enjoy more extensive rights and freedoms than at any time in history. Macao's social and political foundations provide a more solid base for applying the One Country, Two Systems policy.

– Macao's economic and social development has made a historic advance, and its residents enjoy a much stronger sense of gain, fulfillment and security. Macao has worked tirelessly to drive economic growth and development. Its business environment has improved, its gaming industry has advanced in a law-abiding, healthy and orderly fashion, and its economic diversification has progressed. Macao has withstood the challenging tests posed by the SARS epidemic, the global financial crisis, and the Covid-19 pandemic, and maintained the momentum of long-term, steady development. Macao's 2023

GDP was seven times that of its pre-return period, and its per capita GDP was among the highest in the world. Macao has proactively integrated into China's overall development and participates actively in high-quality Belt and Road cooperation and the development of the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area. It has made solid gains in building the Guangdong-Macao In-Depth Cooperation Zone in Hengqin, and the space for its development has expanded significantly. Macao remains committed to a people-centered approach to governance, and has made significant progress in employment, housing, education, medical care, and social security. It has put in place a public welfare system that covers the entire life cycle and all aspects of everyday life. As a result, Macao has maintained long-term social harmony and stability.

– Macao has continuously expanded external cooperation, and its role as One Center, One Platform, One Base¹ has become more prominent. Macao maintains stable economic and trade ties with over 120 countries and regions, and is a member of over 190 international organizations and institutions. Investors from around the world have come here to do business, contributing to local development and sharing in the fruits of its economic progress. As the only place in the world with both Chinese and Portuguese as its official languages, Macao serves as an important platform for promoting economic and trade cooperation between China and Portuguese-speaking countries. The Historic Center of Macao, a World Heritage site, brims with attractions and stands as a most favored destination for Chinese and international tourists. Macao is widely known for its excellent and varied cuisines, its cultural diversity, and its grand events. It has garnered international recognition for hallmark occasions such as the Macao Grand Prix and the Macao International Music Festival. The metropolis offers a stage where the world's cultures and arts can meet and shine together. Its strengths as a base for cultural exchanges and cooperation between China and other parts of the world are becoming more prominent. Macao exemplifies the harmonious coexistence and mutual enrichment of different civilizations.

My fellow Chinese,
Dear friends,

Macao's remarkable achievements since its return to the motherland have proved to the world that One Country, Two Systems has distinctive institutional strengths and strong vitality. It is a good system that sustains the long-term prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao. It is a good system that serves the national drive to build a great country and achieve national rejuvenation. Moreover, it is a good system that contributes to peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation between different social systems. So we must remain steadfast in our commitment to this policy. The Chinese values it embodies – peace, inclusiveness, openness and sharing – are relevant to the entire world. These values must be cherished by us all.

Developments in Hong Kong and Macao since their return to the motherland tell us that to maintain long-term prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao, and to secure the steady and continued success of One Country, Two Systems, we must firmly observe four principles.

First, we must uphold the foundational tenet of One Country and fully deliver the benefits of Two Systems. We must always place China's sovereignty, security, and development interests above everything else, and we must ensure that the central authorities exercise overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong and Macao. Under no circumstances should we waver from these commitments. At the same time, we must respect the differences between the two systems, fully ensure a high degree of autonomy for the two regions, and continue to fully, faithfully and resolutely implement the policy of One Country, Two Systems, under which the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong and the people of Macao administer Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy. We must ensure that this policy remains unchanged and is implemented without any vacillation, distortion or alteration.

Second, we must ensure high-standard security in Hong Kong and

Macao, and promote high-quality development. Security underpins development, and development in turn ensures security. We must remain firm in both safeguarding security and promoting development. Hong Kong and Macao must cherish the hard-won stability and harmony they enjoy today, focus their energy on growing the economy and pursuing development, and continue to create new growth drivers and build new strengths.

Third, we must leverage the unique strengths of Hong Kong and Macao and reinforce their connectivity with both the mainland and the world. Hong Kong and Macao must adopt a more open and inclusive approach, broaden their international links, and enhance their global influence and appeal. The two regions should fully align their development with the national development strategies, accelerate integration into China's overall development, and better play their role as bridges in fostering a new development dynamic.

Fourth, we must champion our core values and promote inclusiveness and harmony. We must uphold the core values of loving the country, loving Hong Kong, and loving Macao, and encourage closer exchanges and integration of diverse cultures. We must unite all positive forces to rally the greatest possible support for the cause of One Country, Two Systems both at home and abroad.

My fellow Chinese,

Dear friends,

Today and the days to come will be a pivotal period for building China into a great country and for advancing the cause of national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization. We have also entered a new stage of applying the One Country, Two Systems policy. Our mission in implementing this policy in the new era is to deliver better development for Hong Kong and Macao, so that the two regions will contribute even more to China's growth and national rejuvenation. The new-term government of the MSAR must rally the people of all sectors of society in Macao and lead them in seizing opportunities, pressing ahead with reform, and shouldering responsibilities. It must more effectively leverage the institutional strengths of

One Country, Two Systems, apply the policy to the highest standards, and strive for further progress. Here, I wish to express four hopes for Macao.

First, Macao should endeavor to promote appropriate economic diversification. To cultivate internationally competitive new sectors, it should fully leverage its distinctive strengths and resources, be clear about its role, focus on key sectors, improve development planning for relevant industries, and step up policy and funding support. It is important to coordinate the economic development of Macao and the Guangdong-Macao In-Depth Cooperation Zone in Hengqin, expand harmonization of rules, and streamline and facilitate the cross-border flow of production factors. Macao should concentrate on key areas, engage in large-scale development of its distinctive sectors, and launch landmark projects and programs that will stimulate other sectors. Let us all be clear that the central authorities' decision to develop Hengqin is designed to promote Macao's appropriate economic diversification and make life and work more convenient for its residents. This must be borne in mind, and no sectors and projects that conflict with these goals should be considered. Macao should play a more active role in developing the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area, integrating quality resources, and strengthening coordination. It should integrate the development of education, science and technology, and talent, and make the city a magnet for high-caliber professionals, attracting and nurturing expertise from across the world.

Second, Macao should endeavor to boost its governance efficacy as a special administrative region. It should take a proactive and law-based approach to governance. To meet the needs of economic and social development, it should improve institutions, mechanisms, laws and regulations, and drive deeper reform in public administration. It should improve its organizational structure, and reform its approaches and methods of governance. Moreover, it should strengthen coordination at the macro level and build an efficient and effective service-oriented government. These measures will unleash

the tremendous vitality and development potential of society. Macao should optimize its public policy consultation mechanisms and improve its decision-making, to ensure this process is informed, democratic and law-based. It should strengthen the coordinated lawmaking mechanism between the government and the Legislative Assembly. It should improve the judicial system, increase judicial efficiency, administer justice fairly, and uphold the rule of law. It should advance reform of its civil service management system, increase the capacity of its governance team, and strengthen the system for overseeing and guaranteeing integrity.

Third, Macao should endeavor to build itself into a platform for higher-standard opening up. With its strategic positioning as One Center, One Platform, One Base, Macao should strengthen mechanisms that can help it to better contribute to China's opening up. It should proactively align with key national strategies and continue to increase its global competitiveness. It should further increase mutual openness and promote all-round mutually beneficial cooperation with Portuguese-speaking countries. It should actively participate in high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, make more friends across the world, and provide strong support for China's high-standard opening up. Macao should continue to improve its business environment, refine its legal systems in areas such as civil and commercial laws, foster and stimulate market dynamism, and attract a greater influx of international resources. It should leverage its unique blend of Chinese and Western cultural heritage to promote international cultural and people-to-people exchanges. It should share more engaging stories about the city and about China, and serve as an important gateway for mutual learning between Chinese and Western civilizations.

Fourth, Macao should endeavor to maintain social harmony and stability. Macao now enjoys overall stability, but the domestic and international environment is undergoing profound changes. Macao should prepare for inclement weather in times of calm, remain alert and guard against potential risks, and firmly safeguard both national

security and the region's stability. It should ensure that government administration, social self-regulation, and public participation interactively reinforce one another. It should guide and regulate the development of social organizations to consolidate the foundations of grassroots governance. It should remain committed to a people-centered approach, address the most serious, most urgent, and most tangible concerns of its residents, create more and better opportunities for their development, foster a fairer social environment, and strive to fulfill their aspirations for a better life.

Young people represent the hope and future of Macao, and they are a vibrant force in the development of the city and the country. Over the last couple of days, I have met many young people in Macao. Some of them have emerged as exceptional talent in administration, while others have achieved remarkable success in innovation and entrepreneurship. Among them are those who excel in teaching and research roles, and there are still others who are carving out their paths on the international stage. The MSAR government and all sectors of society should show greater care for young people and create a better environment and opportunities that help them grow, excel, and fulfill their aspirations. To the youth of Macao, I hope you will keep the city and the motherland close to your heart, and set lofty goals while remaining grounded in your efforts. I encourage you to commit to the cause of One Country, Two Systems and carry it forward. May your youthful vigor shine in the vast endeavor of building our motherland into a great country and Macao a better place.

My fellow Chinese,

Dear friends,

This year marks the 75th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. At its Third Plenary Session, the 20th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China defined a strategy for deeper comprehensive reform and for Chinese modernization. Our efforts to build a great country are opening like a splendid scroll, revealing a future of unparalleled promise. The Chinese nation is on an unstoppable march towards its rejuvenation. I firmly believe that

with the full, faithful and resolute application of the One Country, Two Systems policy, steadfast support from our great motherland, and a concerted effort on the part of the MSAR government and all sectors of society, Macao will go on to open up new horizons, create new splendors, and contribute even more to building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

Notes

¹ This refers to a global tourism and leisure center, a service platform for commercial and trade cooperation between China and Portuguese-speaking countries, and a cultural exchange and cooperation base with Chinese culture as the mainstream and the coexistence of multiple cultures.



Entering the venue for the 17th G20 Summit in Bali, Indonesia, November 15, 2022. Xi delivered a speech later that day.



With other leaders attending the First China-Gulf Cooperation Council Summit in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, December 9, 2022, at which Xi delivered a keynote speech.



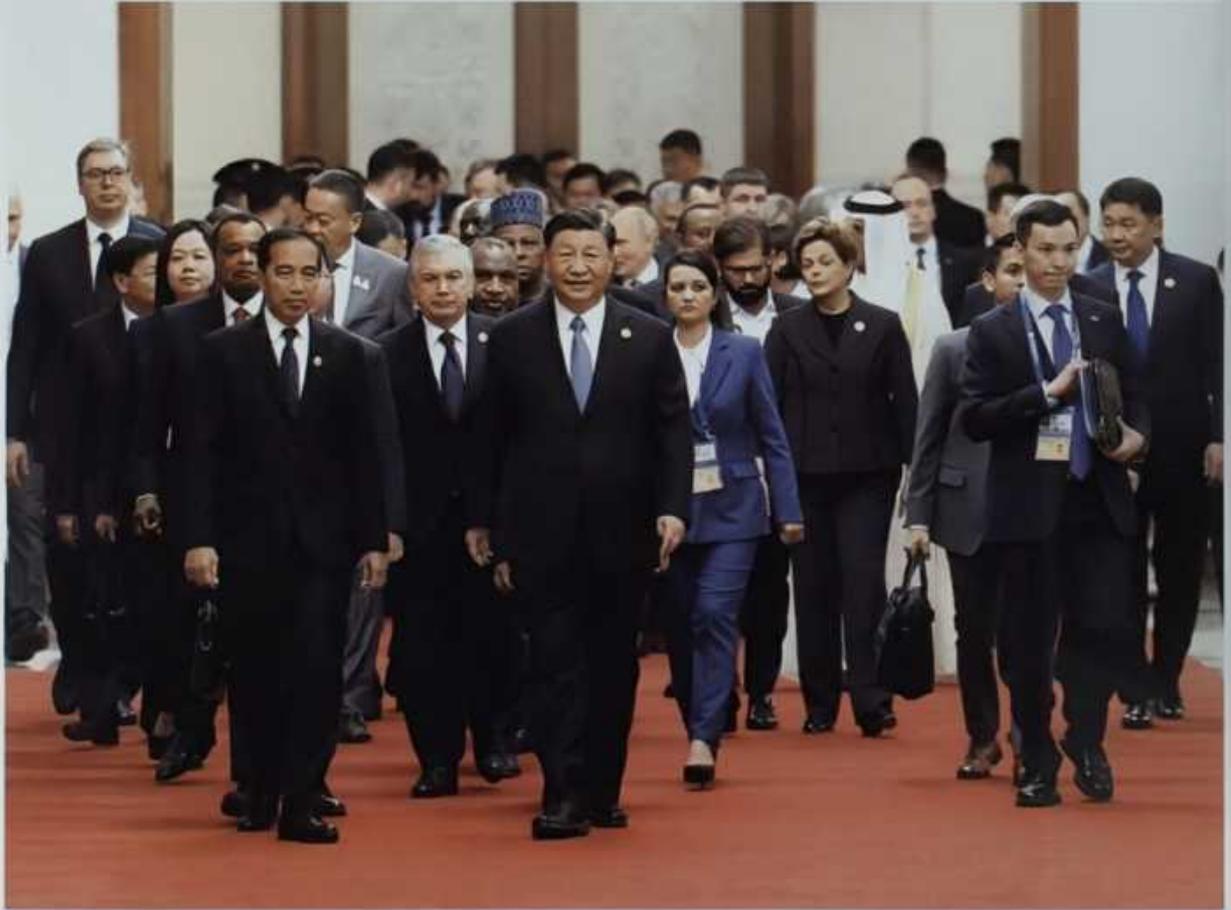
Delivering a keynote speech at the CPC in Dialogue with World Political Parties High-level Meeting in Beijing, March 15, 2023.



With the leaders of the five Central Asian countries in front of the six pomegranate trees they planted together after the First China-Central Asia Summit in Xi'an City, Shaanxi Province, May 19, 2023. Xi presided over the summit and delivered a keynote speech.



Leaving the venue after a welcome banquet with his wife Peng Liyuan, and their international guests attending the opening ceremony of the 31st FISU Summer World University Games in Chengdu City, Sichuan Province, July 28, 2023.



With international guests on their way to the opening ceremony of the Third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation at the Great Hall of the People, Beijing, October 18, 2023, at which Xi delivered a keynote speech.



With Flying Tigers veteran Harry Moyer (7th right, 1st row), descendants of General Joseph Stilwell, representatives of the Kuliang Friends, and friends from the US states of Iowa and Washington prior to a reception in San Francisco, November 15, 2023.



Together with his wife Peng Liyuan, accompanied by French President Emmanuel Macron and his wife Brigitte Macron, as they watched a traditional folk dance performed by villagers at a renowned local inn, l'Etape du Berger, on the Col du Tourmalet, Hautes-Pyrénées, May 7, 2024.



At the opening ceremony of the 10th Ministerial Conference of the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum at the Diaoyutai State Guesthouse, Beijing, May 30, 2024, at which Xi delivered a keynote speech.

和平共处五项原则发表70周年纪念大会

Conference Marking the 70th Anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

2024年6月28日 中国·北京

June 28, 2024 | Beijing, China



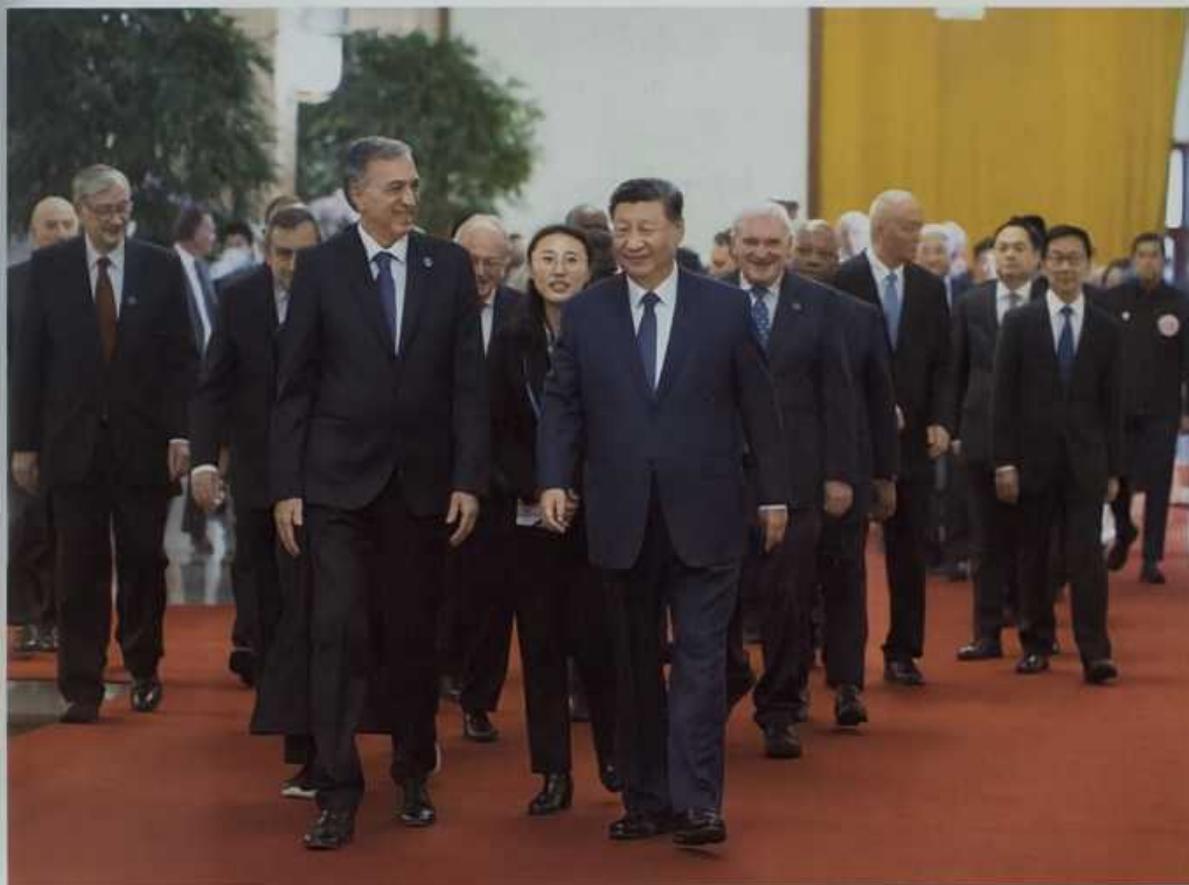
Delivering a speech at the Conference Marking the 70th Anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence at the Great Hall of the People, Beijing, June 28, 2024.



With leaders of other SCO member states during the 24th meeting of the SCO Council of Heads of State in Astana, Kazakhstan, July 4, 2024.



Delivering a keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the 2024 Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation at the Great Hall of the People, Beijing, September 5, 2024.



With foreign guests attending the China International Friendship Conference and Events Marking the 70th Anniversary of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries at the Great Hall of the People, Beijing, October 11, 2024.



With leaders of other BRICS countries attending the 16th BRICS Summit in Kazan, Russia, October 23, 2024, at which Xi delivered a speech.



With President Dina Boluarte of Peru at the Government Palace in Lima, attending the inauguration of the Port of Chancay via video link, November 14, 2024.



Delivering a speech at the 31st APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Lima, Peru, November 16, 2024.

China's Major-Country Diplomacy

Foster a More Favorable International Environment for Building a Great Country and Advancing National Rejuvenation*

December 27, 2023

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, on the journey of advancing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era, we have secured historic achievements and brought about historic changes in China's international engagement.

First, we have established and developed the thought on diplomacy of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, which allows us to expand the frontiers of China's diplomatic theory and practice, and provides foundational guidance for pursuing major-country diplomacy.

Second, we have conducted diplomacy with distinctive Chinese characteristics, style and ethos, and established China's identity as a major country that is self-confident and self-reliant, open and inclusive, and embraces a global outlook.

Third, we have proposed and advocated building a community with a shared future for humanity, which promotes mutual learning among civilizations, and charts the course for human society to achieve common development and lasting peace and security.

Fourth, we have followed the strategic guidance of head-of-state diplomacy and played an increasingly important and constructive role in international affairs.

Fifth, we have taken a holistic approach to our relations with all parties and endeavored to foster major-country dynamics characterized

* Main points of the speech at the Central Conference on Foreign Affairs.

by peaceful coexistence, overall stability, and balanced development.

Sixth, we have expanded our strategic diplomatic agenda across all fronts and formed an extensive global network of high-quality partnerships.

Seventh, we have pursued high-quality Belt and Road cooperation and established the world's largest and broadest platform for international cooperation.

Eighth, we have endeavored to ensure both development and security, safeguarding China's sovereignty, security, and development interests with unwavering resolve and an indomitable fighting spirit.

Ninth, we have actively engaged in global governance, leading the way in the reform of the international system and order.

Tenth, we have strengthened the centralized, unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee over foreign affairs, and achieved greater coordination in our international engagement.

Over the past decade of the new era, we have weathered high winds and turbulent waters and overcome a multitude of external difficulties and challenges, making new advances in our major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, and gaining much more strategic autonomy and initiative. China has emerged as a responsible major country with stronger international influence, greater capacity to lead new endeavors, and higher moral appeal.

Through our approach to diplomacy in the new era, we have gained much valuable experience, including the following:

- We must remain steadfast on principles. On major issues concerning the future of humanity and the direction of global development, we must take a clear and unwavering stance, firmly occupy the moral high ground in international affairs, and unite and rally the overwhelming majority of the international community.
- We must shoulder our responsibility as a major country. This includes promoting independence and self-reliance, championing peaceful development, and fostering global stability and prosperity.

- We must apply systems thinking, adopt a historical and holistic approach to assessing the general trends, take all factors into consideration, and seize the initiative.
- We must uphold our core principles while breaking new ground. We must follow the great traditions and fundamental orientation of Chinese diplomacy and at the same time explore new dimensions and advance innovation in both theory and practice.
- We must maintain our will to fight for what is right, firmly oppose all forms of power politics and bullying, and resolutely safeguard China's national interests and national dignity.
- We must leverage our institutional strengths. Under the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee, all provincial authorities and central departments should work in coordination and form a powerful synergy.

A process of great global transformation is accelerating. Our world, our times, and the course of history are experiencing unprecedented change. The world has entered a new period of evolution and turbulence, yet the overall direction of human development will not change. The underlying logic of the world's historical progress, despite the twists and turns in its course, will not change. The prevailing trend towards a shared future of the international community will not change. We must have full confidence in this trajectory.

Looking to the future, China is presented with new strategic opportunities for development. As we embark on the new journey, major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics will enter a new stage, allowing us to achieve even greater successes. We must focus on the central task of the CPC and the state, pursue progress while ensuring stability, uphold fundamental principles while breaking new ground, stand firm in safeguarding China's sovereignty, security, and development interests, and explore new avenues in China's diplomatic theory and practice. By doing so, we can galvanize China's relations with the rest of the world and elevate our international influence, appeal, and power to shape. This will create a more favorable international environment and provide more solid support for our strategic

goals – building China into a great country and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization.

Building a community with a shared future for humanity is at the core of the thought on diplomacy of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era. This vision emerges from our growing understanding of the laws that underlie the evolution of human society. It represents China's answers to the question of what kind of world we want to build and how we can achieve it. It reflects Chinese Communists' values, worldview, and perception of the international order. It resonates with the common aspirations of people in all countries and points the way forward for the progress of world civilizations. It is the lofty goal pursued by China in conducting major-country diplomacy.

Since the dawn of the new era, building a community with a shared future for humanity has evolved from a Chinese initiative into an international consensus, from a promising vision into tangible actions, and from a conceptual proposition to a structured process. It serves as a shining beacon, guiding the direction of future progress. The general aim of building a community with a shared future for humanity is to create an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world of lasting peace, universal security, and shared prosperity. The pathway to achieving this involves promoting global governance based on extensive consultation and joint contribution for shared benefit. The guiding principle is the common values of humanity, while the foundational support lies in a new model of international relations. The Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative, and the Global Civilization Initiative provide the strategy, and high-quality Belt and Road cooperation serves as the platform for action. Through these efforts, we seek to bring countries together to confront challenges and achieve common prosperity and move the world towards a brighter future of peace, security, prosperity and progress.

Given the many significant issues and challenges facing the world today, China calls for an equal and orderly multipolar world, and universally beneficial and inclusive economic globalization. In this equal and orderly multipolar world, all countries – regardless of size –

are treated equally; hegemonism and power politics are rejected; and democracy prevails in international relations. To ensure stable and constructive progress towards greater multipolarity, the purposes and principles of the UN Charter must be observed by all, the universally recognized basic norms governing international relations must be upheld by all, and true multilateralism must be practiced by all. To be universally beneficial and inclusive, economic globalization must meet the common needs of all countries, especially developing ones, and properly address the issue of development disparities between and within countries caused by the global allocation of resources. We must resolutely oppose all forms of unilateralism and protectionism, as well as any attempts to reverse globalization and abuse the concept of security. We should firmly promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, address the structural challenges that hinder the healthy development of the world economy, and work towards a more open, inclusive, balanced, and universally beneficial globalization.

For the present and the foreseeable future, our international engagement will be guided by the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, particularly the thought on diplomacy. We must align our diplomacy with the objectives and tasks of Chinese modernization and adhere to the principles of self-confidence and self-reliance, openness and inclusiveness, fairness and justice, and mutually beneficial cooperation. Focused on the overarching mission of building a community with a shared future for humanity, and in order to clearly define the strategic tasks of Chinese diplomacy in all respects, we must advance with the times, strengthen our strategic planning, refine our diplomatic agenda, adopt a problem-oriented approach, and apply systems thinking. With a strong sense of responsibility and a dynamic spirit of innovation, we should strive to make new advances in major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics.

Upholding fundamental principles while breaking new ground in foreign affairs is essential for advancing China's major-country diplomacy and sustaining Chinese modernization. We should reinforce the intellectual and theoretical capabilities of the foreign service, extend

reform of systems and mechanisms, boost the development of a high-caliber diplomatic corps, and continue to strengthen our international engagement to ensure it is informed, forward-looking, proactive and innovative.

We must unswervingly uphold the CPC Central Committee's ultimate authority over foreign affairs, conscientiously uphold its centralized, unified leadership, and further strengthen the systems and institutions for the Party's leadership over our international engagement. All provincial authorities and central departments must have a global vision, work in close coordination, and implement the Central Committee's decisions and plans on international engagement in both letter and spirit.

A Community with a Shared Future for Humanity: The Best Way to Promote, Sustain and Reinforce the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence*

June 28, 2024

In the course of modern human history, properly handling state-to-state relations, jointly maintaining world peace and tranquility, and promoting development and progress for humanity have always been topics of significance for all nations.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence answered the call of the times, and their creation was a historic global event. In the wake of World War II, national independence and liberation movements swept across the globe, and the colonial system crumbled and collapsed. At the same time, the world was overshadowed by the dark clouds of the Cold War and menaced by a rampant clamor that “might is right”. Newly independent countries aspired to safeguard their sovereignty and grow their national economy. The newborn People’s Republic of China supported the principle of independence, actively sought peaceful coexistence with all countries, and endeavored to improve its external environment, especially with its closest neighbors. Against this backdrop, the Chinese leadership specified the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in their entirety for the first time – mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. They were included in the China-India and China-Myanmar joint

* Main part of the speech at the Conference Marking the 70th Anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence held in Beijing.

statements, and identified as basic norms for state-to-state relations.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were born in Asia, but were quickly accepted worldwide. In 1955, more than 20 Asian and African countries attended the Bandung Conference. They proposed ten principles¹ for handling state-to-state relations on the basis of the Five Principles, and advocated the Bandung Spirit of solidarity, friendship and cooperation. The Non-Aligned Movement that rose in the 1960s adopted the Five Principles as its guiding principles. The Declaration on Principles of International Law adopted at the 25th Session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 1970 and the Declaration on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order adopted at the Sixth UNGA Special Session in 1974 both endorsed the Five Principles. With their inclusion in important international documents, the Five Principles have been widely recognized and observed by the international community.

Over the past 70 years, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have transcended time and space, overcome estrangement, proved their resilience, and demonstrated their lasting relevance. They have become open, inclusive, and universally applicable basic norms for international relations and fundamental principles of international law. They have made an indelible historic contribution to the cause of human progress.

First, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have set a historic benchmark for international relations and the international rule of law. They fully conform with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, with the evolving trends of international relations in our times, and with the fundamental interests of all nations. In addition, they stress the importance of mutuality and equality in handling state-to-state relations and highlight the essence of the international rule of law – the correlation of rights, obligations and responsibilities of all countries. The Five Principles provide a whole set of basic norms for peaceful coexistence among countries across political, security, economic and diplomatic domains. They constitute an unequivocal and effective code of conduct for all countries to follow in promoting

the spirit of the international rule of law and finding the right way to get along with each other.

Second, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have guided the establishment and development of relations between countries with different social systems. When following the Five Principles, even countries that differ in social system, ideology, history, culture, faith, development stage, and size can build a relationship of mutual trust, friendship, and cooperation. The Five Principles offer a new path towards peaceful settlement of historical issues and international disputes that triumphs over obsolete, narrow-minded, antagonistic and confrontational mindsets such as bloc politics and spheres of influence.

Third, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have been a powerful force rallying the efforts of developing countries to pursue solidarity, cooperation and growth. They mirror the deep thoughts of developing countries about improving their future and pursuing reform and progress. Inspired and encouraged by the Five Principles, more and more countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have voiced and extended support to each other, stood up against foreign interference, and embarked on an independent path of development. The Five Principles have also boosted South-South cooperation, and improved and further developed North-South relations.

Fourth, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have contributed historic wisdom to the reform and improvement of the international order. The Five Principles were initiated with the purpose of protecting the interests of small and weak countries from power politics and addressing their concerns. They categorically oppose imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and reject the belligerence and tyranny of the law of the jungle. They have laid important intellectual foundations for a more just and equitable international order.

Having traversed an extraordinary journey of 70 years, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are a common asset of the international community to be valued, inherited, and further promoted. At this moment, I recall with deep admiration those leaders of the

older generation who jointly defined the Five Principles. I also wish to pay high tribute to the visionaries from all countries who have been promoting the Five Principles with perseverance over the years.

The baton of history is passed from generation to generation, and the cause of human progress moves forward from one era to another as humanity seeks answers to the questions of the times. Seventy years ago, our forefathers, who experienced the scourge of hot wars and the confrontation of the Cold War, concluded that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were the most effective way to safeguard peace and sovereignty. Their answer has withstood the test of international vicissitudes, and has become more relevant rather than obsolete. Seventy years later, facing the historic challenge of what kind of world we want to build and how we can achieve it, China has answered the call of the times by proposing a community with a shared future for humanity. Today, this Chinese initiative has become an international consensus. A promising vision has been converted into tangible actions. It is moving the world to a bright future of peace, security, prosperity and progress.

The vision of building a community with a shared future for humanity carries forward the spirit of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Both are rooted in traditional Chinese values such as “be kind to your neighbors”, “seek amity through integrity”, and “promote harmony among all nations”. Both attest to China’s diplomatic tenets of self-confidence, self-reliance, justice, protection of the disadvantaged, and benevolence. Both demonstrate the commitment of the Communist Party of China to contribute more to humanity. Both manifest China’s firm resolve to follow the path of peaceful development. Building a community with a shared future for humanity is the best way to promote, sustain and reinforce the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the new circumstances.

The vision captures the reality that all countries have a shared future and intertwined interests, and sets a new model of equality and coexistence for international relations. China believes that all countries, regardless of their size, strength or wealth, are equal members of

the international community. They have common interests, common rights, and common responsibilities in international affairs. All countries should join forces to overcome challenges, achieve shared prosperity, build an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world of lasting peace, universal security, and shared prosperity, and realize peaceful coexistence with greater security and prosperity for humanity.

The vision responds to the world's prevailing trends of peace, development, cooperation, and win-win results, and opens up new prospects for peace and progress. China calls on all countries to consider the future of humanity and the wellbeing of the people, and commit to equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We should all champion the common values of humanity, promote global governance based on extensive consultation and joint contribution for shared benefit, and cultivate a new model of international relations. We should all work together to implement the Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative, and the Global Civilization Initiative, advance high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, and deliver more benefits to all peoples.

The vision keeps pace with the historic trends towards multipolarity and economic globalization, and inspires new pathways to development and security. China has been working together with all sides to take solid measures to build a community with a shared future for humanity. We have together achieved historic progress in materializing the vision – expanding from bilateral to multilateral, regional to global, development to security, and cooperation to governance. This has guided and boosted our efforts to create an equal and orderly multipolar world and a universally beneficial and inclusive economic globalization. It has given the international community broad prospects of peace and stability, and presented the world with greater prosperity and further development.

Looking back at the past and forward into the future at this critical moment in history, we will never stop our search for ways to better the prospects of human civilization, nor our efforts to build a better world. No matter how the world evolves, one basic fact will not

change. There is only one Planet Earth and all of humanity has one common home. Our shared future depends on Earth. We must take good care of it, and leave a happy land for our future generations.

The future beckons with promise, and challenges must be tackled. At this historic moment when humanity must choose between peace and war, prosperity and recession, unity and confrontation, we must champion more than ever the essence of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and we must strive tirelessly for the lofty goal of building a community with a shared future for humanity.

– We need to uphold the principle of sovereign equality. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence center on the principle of sovereign equality. And on that basis, they promote equal rights, equal opportunities, and fair rules for every country. They reject the powerful subduing the small, the strong abusing the weak, and the rich exploiting the poor. An equal and orderly multipolar world means every country can find its place in a multipolar system and play its due role pursuant to international law, so that the process of multipolarization is stable and constructive on the whole.

– We need to cement the foundations of mutual respect. Countries must make equality, mutual respect, and mutual trust the ground rules of engagement. It is important to acknowledge different historical and cultural traditions and different stages of development in different countries, recognize each other's core interests and major concerns, and respect the independent choices of the development paths and systems made by the peoples of all countries. We must jointly uphold the golden rule of non-interference, and jointly oppose acts of imposing one's will on others, stoking bloc confrontation, creating exclusive cliques, and forcing others to pick sides.

– We need to turn the vision for peace and security into reality. The past and present have enlightened us that all countries must shoulder their common responsibility for peace, and commit to a path of peaceful development. We must work together to seek peace, safeguard peace, and enjoy peace. In today's interdependent world, absolute security and exclusive security are simply not viable. By proposing

the Global Security Initiative, China advocates the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security. It strives to achieve development and security through cooperation, and put in place a more balanced, effective and sustainable security architecture.

– We need to pull all forces to achieve prosperity. An ancient Chinese philosopher observed, “The benevolent treat others with love, and the wise share benefits with others.” As a Latin American saying goes, “The only way to be profitably national is to be generously universal.” An Arab proverb holds that, “With unity, the fire grows; without unity, the flame dies out.” In the era of economic globalization, what is needed is not gaps of division but bridges of communication, not iron curtains of confrontation but highways of cooperation. China has been advocating a universally beneficial and inclusive economic globalization, promoting high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, and endeavoring to deliver on the Global Development Initiative. Our goal is to ensure that development opportunities benefit all and diverse development paths are accommodated so that all nations can share development fruits, all countries in the global village can pursue common development and prosperity, and the win-win vision become consensus.

– We need to commit to fairness and justice. Without these, power politics will be the order of the day, and the weak will be at the mercy of the strong. In face of new developments and challenges, the authority and central role of the United Nations must only be strengthened rather than weakened. The purposes and principles of the UN Charter are never outdated, and they are becoming ever more important. China advocates a vision of global governance characterized by extensive consultation and joint contribution for shared benefit, and China believes in true multilateralism. Our goal is that international rules should be made and observed by all countries. World affairs should be handled through extensive consultation, not dictated by those with more muscle.

– We need to embrace an open and inclusive mindset. All countries are on board the same giant ship. It carries on it not only aspirations for

peace, economic prosperity, and technological progress, but also the diversity of civilizations and the continuation of the human species. Throughout history, different civilizations helped one another prosper through exchanges, and brought about great progress and prosperity for humanity. This has left us with splendid examples of mutual reinforcement and mutual learning among various civilizations. The Global Civilization Initiative proposed by China is aimed at increasing understanding and friendship among peoples and promoting inclusiveness and mutual learning among civilizations. The world is big enough to accommodate the common development and common progress of all countries. It is entirely possible for different civilizations to prosper together and inspire each other through mutual learning on an equal footing.

The past 70 years have proved time and again that one effective way for countries to meet challenges together and create a better future is to build unity and strengthen cooperation, communication and understanding. Compared with other forces in the world, the Global South is growing with a particularly strong momentum and playing an increasingly vital role in human progress. Standing at a new historical starting point, the Global South should join forces, become more open and inclusive, and take the lead in building a community with a shared future for humanity.

Together, we should be a staunch force for peace. We should promote peaceful solutions to international disputes and make a constructive contribution to the political solutions to regional and international flashpoints. Together, we should be the core drivers of open development. We should restore development to the center of the international agenda, reinvigorate global partnerships for development, expand South-South cooperation, and strengthen North-South dialogue. Together, we should be the builders of global governance. We should actively participate in reforming and developing the global governance system, expand the common interests of all parties, and create a global governance architecture that is better balanced and more effective. Together, we should be advocates for

exchange among civilizations. We should increase inter-civilizational communication and dialogue, and strengthen experience sharing on governance. We should expand exchanges in education, culture, and science and technology, and facilitate subnational, youth and people-to-people interactions.

To support Global South cooperation, China will establish a Global South research center. In the coming five years, it will provide 1,000 scholarships under the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence Scholarship of Excellence and 100,000 training opportunities for Global South countries. It will also launch a Global South youth leaders program. China will continue to make good use of the China-UN Peace and Development Trust Fund, the Global Development and South-South Cooperation Fund, and the Climate Change South-South Cooperation Fund. To facilitate growth in Global South countries, it will work with interested parties to set up a tripartite center of excellence to implement the Global Development Initiative. China will renew the China-IFAD South-South and Triangular Cooperation Facility and make an additional Renminbi contribution equivalent to US\$10 million to be used to support agricultural development in the Global South. China is ready to discuss free trade arrangements with more Global South countries. It will continue to support the WTO Aid for Trade initiative and renew its contribution to the WTO China Program. It hopes to see more Global South countries join the Initiative on International Trade and Economic Cooperation Framework for Digital Economy and Green Development. Between now and 2030, China's imports from fellow developing countries are expected to exceed US\$8 trillion.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have long been written into China's Constitution. They are the bedrock of China's independent foreign policy of peace. At present, China is working to build a great country and achieve national rejuvenation through the Chinese path to modernization. On this new journey, we will continue to champion the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, work with all countries to build a community with a shared future for humanity, and

contribute new and greater efforts to safeguarding world peace and promoting common development.

China's resolve to keep to the path of peaceful development will not change. We will never tread the old path of colonial plunder, or the errant path of seeking hegemony when one becomes strong. We will keep to the path of peaceful development. Among the world's major countries, China has the best track record with respect to peace and security. We have been exploring a distinctive Chinese approach to addressing flashpoints, and are playing a constructive role in the Ukraine crisis, in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and in issues relating to the Korean Peninsula, Iran, Myanmar and Afghanistan. Every increase in China's strength improves the prospects of world peace.

China's resolve to develop friendship and cooperation with all countries will not change. We will actively expand global partnerships based on equality, openness and cooperation and broaden areas of shared interests with all other countries. China will promote coordination and sound interactions between major countries and work to foster major-country dynamics characterized by peaceful coexistence, overall stability, and balanced development. Acting on the principles of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness and the policy of forging friendships and partnerships with its neighbors, China strives to expand friendship, trust, and converging interests with them. With developing countries, China will remain committed to the principles of sincerity, real results, amity, and good faith, and take the right approach to friendship and interests. We will strengthen unity and cooperation with other developing countries and safeguard our common interests. China will practice true multilateralism, and take an active part in reforming and improving global governance.

China's resolve to promote common development across the world will not change. Our high-quality economic development will provide strong impetus to world economic growth. Modernization achieved by 1.4 billion Chinese people will create a supersized market larger than all the developed countries combined. China will only open itself even wider to the outside world. Its doors will never

close. We are planning to take, and in some cases are already taking, major steps to expand reform and institutional opening up across the board. We will build a business environment that is market-oriented, law-based and internationalized. The “small yard, high fence” mentality runs counter to the tide of history, as do decoupling and severing industrial and supply chains. These will do nothing but harm the common interests of the international community.

A forerunner of Chinese revolution wrote a century ago, “The course of history is never smooth. It is sometimes beset with difficulties and obstacles. Nothing less than a heroic spirit can help surmount them.”² Today, the historic baton of advancing world peace and development has been passed to our generation. Let us take the 70th anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as a starting point, shoulder our historic missions, and forge ahead together to build a community with a shared future and usher in an even better future for humanity.

Notes

- ¹ This refers to the ten principles championed by the Bandung Conference:
- (1) respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;
 - (2) respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;
 - (3) recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small;
 - (4) abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country;
 - (5) respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations;
 - (6) abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers; abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries;
 - (7) refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country;
 - (8) settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means such as negotiation,

conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations;

(9) promotion of mutual interests and cooperation;

(10) respect for justice and international obligations.

² Li Dazhao: "A Nation Enduring Hardship and a People of Vigor", *Collected Works of Li Dazhao*, Vol. 4, Chin. ed., People's Publishing House, Beijing, 2013, p. 487.

Leverage the Distinctive Role of People-to-People Diplomacy*

October 11, 2024

Amity between peoples holds the key to sound state-to-state relations. Bonds of friendship between peoples serve as the foundation of stable and sustained international relations, provide inexhaustible energy for promoting world peace and development, and constitute a fundamental prerequisite for win-win cooperation. All of you present here have long been committed to the cause of friendship with China and are good friends and old friends of the Chinese people. You have traversed high mountains and crossed expansive seas in pursuit of friendship to strengthen the amicable ties between our nations. I sincerely appreciate your effort.

Once again, the world finds itself at a crossroads in history. In response to the question posed by our era – what kind of world we want to build and how we can achieve it – I have proposed the creation of a community with a shared future for humanity. As the world faces change on a scale unseen in a century, humanity is more interconnected than ever, and we all share a common future. That future depends on the choice by the people of all countries.

A friend from abroad once said to me, “Friendship matters. Only a world bound by friendship can achieve peace.” It is the bonds of friendship between peoples that make a powerful force for advancing world peace and development, and fostering a community with a shared future for humanity.

* Main part of the speech at a meeting with foreign guests attending the China International Friendship Conference and events marking the 70th anniversary of the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.

This year marks the 75th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, for which grand celebrations were held two weeks ago. Under the leadership of the CPC, the Chinese people achieved national independence and liberation 75 years ago. Through consistent hard work, we have built a moderately prosperous society in all respects. We have achieved extraordinary success that has garnered global attention and found a path to modernization that not only propels our nation forward but also benefits the international community.

In retrospect, we are aware that China could not have achieved this success across diverse sectors without the support of the people of other countries. Many international friends have traveled all the way to China to stand in solidarity with the Chinese people, sharing in both our fortunes and adversities. Numerous foreign enterprises, organizations and individuals have actively engaged in China's drive towards socialist modernization. These efforts have yielded mutual benefits and played a significant role in fostering friendly exchanges and cooperation between China and other countries. We will forever remember their contribution to China and their sincere friendship with the Chinese people.

The people are the creators of history, and building a community with a shared future for humanity is the way forward for the people of all countries. China is ready to strengthen friendly exchanges with people from all other countries, leveraging the unique role of people-to-people diplomacy as we work together to build a community with a shared future for humanity.

First, we should embrace the spirit of shared responsibility as fellow inhabitants of our shared planet and forge a broad consensus on building a community with a shared future for humanity. People of all nations live on the same planet. We are one family and must unite to tackle the complex and interlaced international situation and recurring global challenges. Ancient Chinese wisdom holds that people in the same boat must collaborate to cross a river. Similarly, the international community today must come together in an effort

to navigate the challenges on our shared planet. China firmly believes that the developing trend of humanity, the volatile nature of progress, and the interconnected future of all countries remain unchanged. China is dedicated to collaborating with other countries to promote humanity's common values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom; to build international consensus across diverse ethnicities, faiths, cultures and regions; and to work towards an equal and orderly multipolar world and economic globalization that includes and benefits all. Through these efforts, we can turn our shared planet into a peaceful, friendly and harmonious global family.

Second, guided by the principle of win-win cooperation, we should form strong synergy to build a community with a shared future for humanity. While pursuing happiness for the Chinese people and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation, the CPC is also committed to human progress and world harmony. I proposed building a community with a shared future for humanity, and launched the Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative, and the Global Civilization Initiative with the goal of building a better world and improving the lives of all people. We have learned a lot from our efforts to build a community with a shared future for humanity in the past decade. One key lesson we have learned is that successes and significant outcomes in major undertakings can only be attained through mutually beneficial cooperation. China does not pursue a modernization that benefits China alone. We invite more foreign friends to actively participate in the Chinese modernization process. Upholding the principle of win-win cooperation, China is poised to provide new development opportunities for the world through fresh achievements in Chinese modernization. We will join other countries in advancing global modernization that is characterized by peaceful development, mutually beneficial cooperation, and common prosperity to benefit people of all countries.

Third, with an open and inclusive mindset, we will advance the building of a community with a shared future for humanity with other civilizations. "All living things can flourish without harming each other, just

as the sun, the moon, and the seasons rotate according to their own laws without hindering the others.”¹ Harmony amid diversity is the law behind the creation and evolution of all beings and the dissemination and development of human civilizations. Exchanges and mutual learning are the fundamental requisite for the progress of all civilizations, as well as an important driving force for global peace and development. Chinese civilization is an open system that has developed through exchanges and mutual learning with other civilizations. Over time, it has continued to enrich and renew itself by assimilating diverse elements. The Chinese nation is open and inclusive, and the Chinese people are kind-hearted and hospitable. China is ready to work with all parties to implement the Global Civilization Initiative. We will champion equality, mutual learning, dialogue and inclusiveness between civilizations. Through sincere communication, we can strengthen mutual understanding and friendship, let cultural exchanges prevail over estrangement and mutual learning over clash, and steer our world towards a community with a shared future for humanity.

Amity between peoples derives from heart-to-heart communication. The bonds between peoples are the most foundational, robust and enduring forms of connection. The Chinese government will continue to support the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries in playing its unique role in developing friendship and promoting international cooperation. We will build more pathways for people-to-people exchanges, bringing together friends from around the world to build a community with a shared future for humanity; we will establish more platforms for tangible cooperation, inviting all parties to participate in Chinese modernization; we will create more avenues for cultural communication, promoting broader participation in mutual learning and personal bonds across civilizations; we will forge stronger connections among youth, encouraging the younger generation to carry forward the cause of people-to-people friendship.

The CPC is fully committed to serving the people, the Chinese government belongs to the people, and China’s diplomacy represents the will of the people. People-to-people diplomacy plays a funda-

mental role in strengthening ties of friendship among peoples and promoting relations between countries. China will work with other countries to foster friendships and heart-to-heart connections, and to strengthen people-to-people ties, so that we can jointly build a better world for future generations.

Notes

¹ *Book of Rites (Li Ji)*.

**A Community with a Shared Future
for Humanity**

Promote a Spirit of Friendship and Build a China-Arab Community with a Shared Future*

December 9, 2022

Distinguished colleagues,
Friends,

Good afternoon.

At the outset, I wish to thank Saudi Arabia for the warm hospitality and considerate arrangements. I am very pleased to join you for the First China-Arab States Summit. The summit is a milestone in the history of China-Arab relations, and will take us to a more promising future of friendship and cooperation.

China and Arab states enjoy a long history of friendly exchanges. We came to know and befriend each other through the ancient Silk Road. We have shared weal and woe in our respective struggles for national liberation. We have conducted win-win cooperation in the tide of economic globalization. And we have upheld fairness and justice in the changing international environment. Together, China and Arab states have nurtured a spirit of friendship based on solidarity and mutual assistance, equality and mutual benefit, and inclusiveness and mutual learning.

Solidarity and mutual assistance is a distinct feature of China-Arab friendship. We trust each other, and have forged a brotherly friendship. We firmly support each other on issues involving our respective core interests. We work hand in hand and make progress together to realize the dream of national rejuvenation. We have

* Keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the First China-Arab States Summit held in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

braved gales and storms together in fighting the Covid-19 pandemic. The future-oriented China-Arab strategic partnership of comprehensive cooperation and common development is unbreakable.

Equality and mutual benefit is a constant driver of our friendship. China and Arab states have set an example for South-South cooperation in pursuing mutually beneficial collaboration. The two sides have established 17 cooperation mechanisms under the framework of the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum. Over the past decade, our trade has grown by US\$100 billion, with the total volume exceeding US\$300 billion; China's direct investment in Arab states has increased by 260 percent, with the stock of investment reaching US\$23 billion; over 200 Belt and Road projects have been carried out, benefiting nearly 2 billion people on the two sides.

Inclusiveness and mutual learning is a key value inherent in our friendship. We appreciate each other's civilizations, and have written a splendid history of mutual learning. We continue to draw wisdom from each other's time-honored civilizations, and jointly promote peace, harmony, integrity and truth, the very essence of civilization. There has been much frantic talk of the risk of a clash of civilizations. In the face of this, we remain steadfast in our principles. Together, we advocate inter-civilizational dialogue, oppose discrimination against particular civilizations, and endeavor to safeguard the diversity of world civilizations.

Colleagues,

Friends,

The world today is in a new period of turbulence and transformation. The Middle East is undergoing new and profound changes. The aspiration of the Arab people for peace and development is more compelling than ever, and their call for equity and justice much stronger. As strategic partners, China and Arab states should carry forward the spirit of China-Arab friendship, strengthen solidarity and cooperation, and foster a closer China-Arab community with a shared future, in order to deliver greater benefits to our peoples and advance the cause of human progress.

– We should maintain our independence and defend our common interests. China supports Arab states in independently exploring development paths suited to their national conditions and holding their future firmly in their own hands. China is ready to deepen strategic mutual trust with Arab states. Our two sides should support each other in safeguarding sovereignty, territorial integrity, and national dignity. We should jointly uphold the principle of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, practice true multilateralism, and defend the legitimate rights and interests of developing countries.

– We should focus on economic development and promote win-win cooperation. We should strengthen synergy between our development strategies, and promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation. We should consolidate cooperation in traditional areas, including the economy, trade, energy, and infrastructure. At the same time, we should strengthen new sources of growth such as green and low-carbon development, health and medical services, and investment and finance, and expand new frontiers including aviation and aerospace, the digital economy, and peaceful use of nuclear energy. We should also tackle major challenges like food security and energy security. China will work with the Arab side to implement the Global Development Initiative and drive sustainable South-South cooperation.

– We should uphold regional peace and strive for common security. China supports the Arab side in promoting political settlement of flashpoints and challenging issues with Arab wisdom, and building a common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security architecture in the Middle East. China urges the international community to respect the role of the peoples of the Middle East as masters of their own affairs, and add positive energy to the security and stability of the region. China welcomes the Arab side to participate in the Global Security Initiative, and will continue to contribute Chinese wisdom to promoting peace and tranquility in the Middle East.

– We should increase exchanges among civilizations to strengthen mutual understanding and trust. We need to increase people-to-people exchanges, expand cultural cooperation, and promote the exchange

of governance experience. We need to jointly oppose Islamophobia, carry out cooperation on deradicalization, and reject the association of terrorism with any particular ethnic group or religion. We need to advocate humanity's common values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom, and set an example of inter-civilizational exchanges and mutual learning in the new era.

We are pleased to see the decision by the summit to build a China-Arab community with a shared future in the new era and to formulate the Outline of the Comprehensive Cooperation Plan Between China and Arab States, laying out the blueprint for future China-Arab relations. As the first follow-up step of that decision, in the next three to five years, China will work with the Arab side to advance eight major cooperation initiatives in the areas of development support, food security, public health, green innovation, energy security, inter-civilizational dialogue, youth development, and security and stability. China has briefed the Arab side on the details of the eight initiatives, and will work with the Arab side to promote their early implementation and strive for early harvest.

Colleagues,

Friends,

The Palestinian issue bears on peace and stability in the Middle East. The historical injustices done to the Palestinian people should not be left unattended indefinitely. There can be no trade-off of the legitimate rights and interests of the nation, and their demand to establish an independent state shall not be denied. The international community should stay firm in its commitment to the two-state solution and the principle of "land for peace", make resolute efforts to promote peace talks, provide more humanitarian and development assistance to Palestine, and strive for a just settlement of the Palestinian issue at an early date. Recently, through the efforts of Arab states, important progress has been made in intra-Palestinian reconciliation. China welcomes these developments. I would like to reiterate that China firmly supports the establishment of an independent State of Palestine that enjoys full sovereignty based on the 1967 border and

with East Jerusalem as its capital. China supports Palestine in becoming a full member of the United Nations, and will continue to provide humanitarian assistance to Palestine, support public wellbeing projects in the country, and increase donations to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

Colleagues,

Friends,

Recently, the Communist Party of China successfully convened its 20th National Congress. The congress laid out the tasks and path of advancing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts through Chinese modernization, and provided a blueprint for China's future development. China will remain committed to upholding world peace, promoting common development, and building a community with a shared future for humanity. China remains firm in pursuing an independent foreign policy of peace and upholding international fairness and justice. China is committed to promoting friendship and cooperation with other countries based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and will work to expand deeper global partnerships. Acting on a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up, China will continue to promote high-standard opening up and advance high-quality Belt and Road cooperation. By doing so, we wish to create new opportunities for Arab states and all other countries with China's new development.

Colleagues,

Friends,

A great cause begins with a dream and turns into reality through hard work. Let us carry forward the spirit of China-Arab friendship, jointly build a China-Arab community with a shared future in the new era, and usher in an even brighter future for our relations.

Thank you.

Work Together to Build a Community of All Life on Earth*

December 15, 2022

Humanity lives in a community with one shared future. Whether in overcoming the Covid-19 pandemic, strengthening the protection of biodiversity, or achieving sustainable global development, solidarity and cooperation are the only effective means to address global challenges. A sound ecosystem is essential for civilization to prosper. We must work together to promote harmonious coexistence between humanity and nature, build a community of all life on Earth, and create a clean and beautiful world for us all.

– We must build a global consensus on the protection of biodiversity, work together to conclude the Post-2020 Global Biodiversity Framework, and identify targets and pathways for biodiversity protection.

– We must press forward with a global process, turn ambitions into action, support developing countries in building their capacity, and coordinate efforts to address climate change, biodiversity loss, and other global challenges.

– We must promote green development through biodiversity protection, speed up the transition to green development models and lifestyles, and leverage the Global Development Initiative to deliver greater benefits to people of all countries.

– We must uphold a fair and equitable global order on biodiversity protection, firmly defend true multilateralism, support the

* Main part of the speech via video link at the opening ceremony of the high-level segment of the second part of the 15th meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity.

UN-centered international system and the international order underpinned by international law, and form a powerful synergy for protecting Earth, our common homeland.

China has made considerable efforts to protect biodiversity and the eco-environment. We have consistently strengthened biodiversity mainstreaming, applied a system of ecological conservation red lines, established a system of protected areas with national parks as the mainstay, carried out major biodiversity protection projects, and conducted the most stringent law enforcement and supervision. Many rare and endangered species have been placed under effective protection, and the diversity, stability and sustainability of the ecosystem have continued to improve. We have found a path of biodiversity protection with Chinese characteristics.

Going forward, China will continue to advance its eco-civilization, and plan national development in the context of harmonious coexistence between humanity and nature. We will respond to the Action Plan for the UN Decade on Ecosystem Restoration, and launch a wide range of key projects on biodiversity protection and restoration. We will expand international exchanges and cooperation and support international forums on biodiversity. To elevate global biodiversity governance to new heights, we will do our best to provide support and assistance to fellow developing countries through the Kunming Biodiversity Fund with the support of the Belt and Road Initiative International Green Development Coalition.

There is an ancient Chinese saying, “All living things can flourish without harming each other, just as the sun, the moon, and the seasons rotate according to their own laws without hindering the others.” Let us work together to open a new chapter in building a community of all life on Earth, and create a bright future of harmonious coexistence between humanity and nature.

Build a China-Central Asia Community with a Shared Future*

May 19, 2023

Distinguished colleagues,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

I would like to welcome you all to Xi'an for the China-Central Asia Summit to explore together ways to achieve closer cooperation between China and the five Central Asian countries.

Xi'an, known as Chang'an in ancient times, is an important cradle of the Chinese civilization and nation. It is also the eastern starting point of the ancient Silk Road. Over 2,100 years ago, Zhang Qian, a Han-dynasty envoy, made his journey to the Western Regions from Chang'an, opening the door to friendship and exchanges between China and Central Asia. Through their joint endeavors over hundreds of years, Chinese and Central Asian peoples made the Silk Road expand and prosper – a historic contribution to the interaction, integration, enrichment and development of world civilizations. The Tang-dynasty poet Li Bai once wrote, "In Chang'an City we meet once more, a reunion more precious than one thousand pieces of gold."¹ Our gathering in Xi'an today, to renew our millennia-old friendship and open up new vistas for the future, is of historic significance.

Back in 2013, during my first visit to Central Asia as China's president, I proposed the initiative of jointly building a Silk Road

* Keynote speech at the China-Central Asia Summit held in Xi'an, Shaanxi Province.

Economic Belt. Over the past decade, China and Central Asian countries have worked closely together to fully revive the Silk Road and actively expand future-oriented cooperation, steering our relations into a new era.

The China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan highway that runs across the Tianshan Mountains, the China-Tajikistan expressway that defies the Pamir Plateau, and the China-Kazakhstan crude oil pipeline and the China-Central Asia Gas Pipeline that traverse the vast desert – they are the present-day Silk Road. The China-Europe Railway Express operating around the clock, the endless streams of freight trucks, and crisscrossing flights – they are the present-day camel caravans. Entrepreneurs seeking business opportunities, health workers fighting Covid-19, cultural workers delivering messages of friendship, and international students pursuing further education – they are the present-day goodwill ambassadors.

The China-Central Asia relationship is steeped in history, driven by broad actual needs, and built on solid popular support. Our relations are brimming with vigor and vitality in the new era.

Colleagues,

As global transformation on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating, our world, our times, and the course of history are experiencing unprecedented change. Central Asia, the center of the Eurasian continent, is at a crossroads connecting the East and West, the South and North.

The world needs a stable Central Asia. The sovereignty, security, independence, and territorial integrity of Central Asian countries must be upheld; their people's choice of development paths must be respected; and their efforts to promote peace, harmony and tranquility must be supported.

The world needs a prosperous Central Asia. A dynamic and prospering Central Asia will help the people of the region achieve their aspirations for a better life. It will also lend strong impetus to global economic recovery.

The world needs a harmonious Central Asia. As a Central Asian saying goes, "Brotherhood is more precious than any treasure."

Ethnic conflicts, religious strife, and cultural estrangement are not the defining features of the region. Instead, solidarity, inclusiveness and harmony are the goals of the Central Asian people. No one has the right to sow discord or stoke confrontation in the region, far less seek selfish political interests.

The world needs an interconnected Central Asia. Blessed with unique geographical advantages, Central Asia has the right foundations, conditions and capabilities to become an important connectivity hub of Eurasia and make a unique contribution to the trading of goods, the interplay of civilizations, and the development of science and technology in the world.

Colleagues,

At the virtual summit marking the 30th anniversary of diplomatic relations between China and Central Asian countries held last year, we jointly announced our vision of a China-Central Asia community with a shared future. It was a historic choice we made in the context of the new era, to serve the fundamental interests of our peoples and to provide them with a brighter future. In building this community, we should stay committed to four principles.

First, mutual assistance. It is important that we expand strategic mutual trust, and always provide each other with unequivocal and strong support on issues concerning our core interests such as sovereignty, independence, national dignity, and long-term development. We should work together to ensure that our community features mutual assistance, solidarity, and mutual trust.

Second, common development. It is important that we continue to set the pace for Belt and Road cooperation and deliver on the Global Development Initiative. We should fully unlock our potential in traditional areas of cooperation such as the economy, trade, industrial capacity, energy, and transport. And we should forge new drivers of growth in finance, agriculture, poverty reduction, green and low-carbon development, medical services, health care, and digital innovation. We should work together to ensure that our community is characterized by win-win cooperation and common progress.

Third, universal security. It is important that we act on the Global Security Initiative, and stand firm against external attempts to interfere in domestic affairs of countries in the region or instigate color revolutions. We should maintain zero tolerance for the “three evil forces”² and strive to resolve security problems in the region. We should work together to ensure that our community remains free of conflict and enjoys enduring peace.

Fourth, everlasting friendship. It is important that we implement the Global Civilization Initiative, carry forward our traditional friendship, and strengthen people-to-people exchanges. We should do more to share our experience in governance, expand cultural mutual learning, increase mutual understanding, and cement the foundations of the everlasting friendship between the peoples of China and Central Asia. We should work together to ensure that our community features close affinity and shared convictions.

Colleagues,

Our summit has created a new platform and opened up new prospects for China-Central Asia cooperation. Taking this as an opportunity, China will step up coordination with all parties to enable good planning, development and progress in China-Central Asia cooperation.

First, we should strengthen our institutions. We have set up meeting mechanisms on foreign affairs, the economy, trade, and customs, as well as a business council. China has also proposed establishing meeting and dialogue mechanisms on industry and investment, agriculture, transport, emergency response, education, and political parties, which will be platforms for all-round mutually beneficial cooperation between our countries.

Second, we should expand economic and trade ties. China will take more trade facilitation measures, upgrade bilateral investment treaties, and open “green lanes” for streamlined customs clearance of agricultural and associated products at all border ports between China and Central Asian countries. China will also hold a live-streaming sales event to further promote Central Asian products, and build a

commodities trading center. All this is part of an effort to raise two-way trade to new heights.

Third, we should reinforce connectivity. China will strive to increase the volume of cross-border cargo transport, support the development of the trans-Caspian international transport corridor, raise the traffic capacity of the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan highway and the China-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan highway, and move forward consultations on the China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan railway. China will seek to modernize the existing border ports at a faster pace, open a new border port at Biedieli, promote the opening of the air freight market, and build a regional logistics network. China will also step up the development of China-Europe Railway Express assembly centers, encourage enterprises with a competitive edge to build overseas warehouses in Central Asian countries, and build a comprehensive digital service platform.

Fourth, we should expand energy cooperation. China would like to propose that we establish a China-Central Asia energy development partnership. We should expedite the construction of Line D of the China-Central Asia Gas Pipeline, expand trade in oil and gas, pursue cooperation throughout energy industrial chains, and strengthen cooperation on new energy and peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Fifth, we should promote green innovation. China will work with Central Asian countries to conduct cooperation in areas such as improvement and utilization of saline-alkali land and water-saving irrigation, build a joint laboratory on agriculture in arid lands, and tackle the eco-environmental crisis of the Aral Sea. China supports establishing high-tech firms and IT industrial parks in Central Asia. China also welcomes Central Asian countries to participate in special cooperation programs under the Belt and Road Initiative, including programs on sustainable development technologies, innovation and startups, and spatial information science and technology.

Sixth, we should grow capabilities for development. China will formulate a China-Central Asia special cooperation program for poverty reduction through science and technology, implement the

China-Central Asia technology and skills improvement scheme, set up more Luban Workshops in Central Asian countries, and encourage Chinese companies in Central Asia to create more local jobs. To bolster our cooperation and Central Asian development, China will provide Central Asian countries with a total of RMB26 billion in financing support and grant aid.

Seventh, we should strengthen dialogue between civilizations. China invites Central Asian countries to take part in the Cultural Silk Road program, and will set up more traditional medicine centers in Central Asia. We will speed up the establishment of cultural centers in each other's countries. China will continue to provide government scholarships for Central Asian countries, and support their universities in joining the University Alliance of the Silk Road. We will ensure the success of the Year of Culture and Arts for the Peoples of China and Central Asian Countries as well as the China-Central Asia high-level media dialogue. We will launch the China-Central Asia Cultural and Tourism Capital program, and open special train services for cultural tourism in Central Asia.

Eighth, we should safeguard peace in the region. China is ready to help Central Asian countries strengthen capacity building in law enforcement, security, and defense, support their independent efforts to safeguard regional security and fight terrorism, and work with them to promote cybersecurity. We will continue to leverage the role of the coordination mechanism among Afghanistan's neighbors, and jointly promote peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan.

Colleagues,

Last October, the Communist Party of China successfully held its 20th National Congress, which defined the central task of realizing the Second Centenary Goal of building China into a great modern socialist country in all respects and advancing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts through a Chinese path to modernization. It is a grand blueprint for China's future development. We will strengthen exchanges with Central Asian countries in modernization theory and practice, synergize our development strategies, create more

opportunities for cooperation, and jointly advance the modernization process of our six countries.

Colleagues,

There is a proverb popular among farmers in Shaanxi Province, “If you work hard enough, gold will grow out of the land.” In the same vein, a Central Asian saying goes, “You are rewarded if you give, and you harvest if you sow.” Let us work closely together to pursue common development, common affluence, and common prosperity, and embrace a brighter future for our six countries.

Thank you.

Notes

¹ Li Bai: “A Tribute to Imperial Censor Cui” (Zeng Cui Shi Yu). Li Bai (701-762) was a poet of the Tang Dynasty.

² This refers to terrorism, ethnic separatism, and religious extremism.

Carry Forward the Shanghai Spirit and Build an SCO Community with a Shared Future*

July 4, 2023

Ten years ago, seeing how the world and the times were changing and how these changes were reshaping the future, I opined that humanity, living in the same global village, is increasingly becoming a community with a shared future in which everyone's interests are closely interlinked. Since then, the concept of a community with a shared future for humanity has gained extensive recognition and support from the international community, and has been transformed from an idea to action and from a vision to reality. At the forefront of this trend is the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), upholding this very concept and the Shanghai Spirit¹ to build an SCO community with a shared future.

– We have followed our great tradition of standing together through thick and thin, as passengers in the same boat should do, and we have firmly supported each other in standing up for our respective core interests. We have become trustworthy partners on our paths to development and rejuvenation.

– We have acted on the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, accommodated each other's legitimate security concerns, and responded to both traditional and non-traditional security challenges. Together we have safeguarded peace and tranquility in the region, and fostered a favorable environment for countries in the region to pursue development and prosperity.

* Main part of the speech via video link at the 23rd meeting of the Council of Heads of State of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

– We have embraced the vision of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, synergized our national development strategies and regional cooperation initiatives, and nurtured new growth drivers for our cooperation in areas such as the economy, trade, connectivity, energy, agriculture, finance, and sci-tech innovation. This has helped promote coordination in our economic development.

– We have carried forward the spirit of good-neighborliness, and advocated equality, mutual learning, dialogue, and inclusiveness between civilizations. We have called for peaceful coexistence and harmonious development of different civilizations, and expanded people-to-people exchanges and cultural cooperation. We have grown popular support for our state-to-state relations.

– We have upheld international fairness and justice, and opposed hegemonic, high-handed and bullying acts. We have enlarged the circle of friends of our organization, and built partnerships on dialogue rather than confrontation, and cooperation rather than alliance. All this has strengthened and expanded the progressive forces for world peace and stability.

The world today is undergoing both transformation and upheaval; change on a scale unseen in a century is accelerating; human society faces unprecedented challenges. Unity or split, peace or conflict, cooperation or confrontation – these are the questions raised again by our times. My answer is this: The people’s wish for a happy life is our goal, and peace, development, and win-win cooperation are the unstoppable trends of the times.

The SCO has been growing stronger in recent years. This means development opportunities as well as unprecedented risks and challenges. As the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore put it, “The sea of danger, doubt and denial around man’s little island of certainty challenges him to dare the unknown.”² We must rise to the call of our times, keep in mind our founding mission, and stay in unity and coordination to bring more certainty and positive energy to world peace and development. To this end, I wish to make the following proposals:

First, we should keep to the right direction and enhance solidarity and mutual trust. Since its founding over 20 years ago, the SCO has withstood the test of the changing international landscape, and kept moving in the right direction – promoting solidarity, mutual trust, development, and cooperation. We have accumulated valuable experience, and achieved hard-won development gains. We know that as long as we bear in mind the larger picture, shoulder our responsibilities, and remain undisturbed by all sorts of distractions, we will be able to protect and promote the security and development interests of our member states.

We should step up strategic communication and coordination, bridge differences through dialogue, and replace competition with cooperation. We should truly respect each other's core interests and major concerns, and firmly support each other's endeavors to achieve development and rejuvenation. We should keep in mind the overall and long-term interests of our region, and make our foreign policies independently. We must be highly vigilant against external attempts to foment a new Cold War or bloc confrontation in our region. We must resolutely reject any interference in our internal affairs and the instigation of color revolutions by any country under whatever pretext. The future of our development must be held firmly in our own hands.

Second, we should maintain regional peace and safeguard common security. Sustaining peace and security in this region is our common responsibility. China stands ready to work with all sides to implement the Global Security Initiative, promote the settlement of international disputes through dialogue and consultation, and encourage political settlement of international and regional hotspots, in order to forge a solid security shield in our region.

We should upgrade SCO security cooperation, and continue to conduct joint operations. We should take resolute action against the forces of terrorism, separatism and extremism such as the “East Turkistan” elements, and against drug trafficking, cybercrime, and transnational organized crime. We should move faster to strengthen the mechanisms for our law enforcement and security cooperation,

and expand cooperation in non-traditional security fields, including digital, biological, and outer space security. We should continue to utilize platforms such as the mechanism of coordination and cooperation among Afghanistan's neighbors to increase humanitarian support to Afghanistan, and encourage the Afghan authorities to establish a broad-based and inclusive political structure and embark on the path of peace and reconstruction.

Third, we should focus on practical cooperation and expedite economic recovery. Promoting economic growth is a common task for all countries in the region. China stands ready to work with all sides to implement the Global Development Initiative, commit to economic globalization as the right path forward, oppose protectionism, unilateral sanctions, and the overstretching of national security, and reject the moves of setting up barriers, decoupling, and severing industrial and supply chains. We should make the pie of win-win cooperation bigger, and ensure that more development gains will be shared more fairly by people across the world.

We should connect high-quality Belt and Road cooperation with the national development strategies and regional cooperation initiatives. We should further promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, speed up the development of port infrastructure and regional and international logistic corridors, and ensure stable and smooth functioning of regional industrial and supply chains. Ten years ago, I proposed the Belt and Road Initiative, and on its 10th anniversary, China will hold the Third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation. I welcome your participation. We should work together to broaden the Belt and Road as a path of happiness benefiting the whole world.

China proposes that the SCO scale up local currency settlement between member states, expand cooperation on sovereign digital currency, and establish an SCO development bank. China is ready to share market opportunities and development experience, and implement the capacity-building program to empower young professional farmers. China will carry out digital technology training programs in

collaboration with the China-SCO Big Data Cooperation Center, and host an SCO national green development forum.

There are already a number of ministerial meeting mechanisms under the SCO framework for practical cooperation in various areas. China has also established cooperation platforms such as the local economic and trade cooperation demonstration area, and the demonstration base for agricultural technology exchange and training. We should make full use of these mechanisms and platforms to help us tackle the vexing issues in our practical cooperation and facilitate the high-quality development of SCO economies.

Fourth, we should strengthen exchanges and mutual learning, and forge closer bonds between our peoples. All nations in the region aspire to see a harmonious development of different civilizations. We welcome joint efforts by all sides to implement the Global Civilization Initiative, promote inclusiveness and coexistence among all civilizations, and increase mutual understanding and friendship among all nations.

We should further expand cooperation in education, science and technology, culture, health, sport, and media, support the efforts of non-official organizations such as the SCO Committee on Good-Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation, and organize more events that foster people-to-people exchanges. In the coming three years, China will provide SCO member states with 1,000 International Chinese Language Teachers Scholarships, offer 3,000 Chinese Bridge summer camp opportunities, and invite 100 young scientists to China for scientific research exchanges. China will also host events on rural revitalization and climate response. Your participation will be most welcome.

Fifth, we should practice multilateralism and improve global governance. All countries in the region pursue fairness and justice. We should advocate the common values of humanity, uphold the UN-centered international system and the international order underpinned by international law, and oppose hegemonism and power politics. We should make global governance more just and equitable,

and advance the modernization of human society through collective efforts to promote equal rights, equal opportunities, and fair rules for all. We should support the SCO in increasing engagement with observer states, dialogue partners, the UN, and other international and regional organizations, jointly promote world peace, drive global development, and safeguard the international order.

Notes

¹ In June 2001, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization issued the Declaration on the Establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and launched the Shanghai Spirit, which advocates mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, consultation, respect for the diversity of civilizations, and the pursuit of common development. The Shanghai Spirit has since become the norm among SCO member states.

² Rabindranath Tagore: *Fireflies*.

Translate the Vision of a Community with a Shared Future for Humanity into Reality*

August 22, 2023

Currently, our world, our times, and the course of history are experiencing unprecedented change, bringing human society to a critical juncture. Should we pursue cooperation and integration, or simply succumb to division and confrontation? Should we work together to maintain peace and stability, or simply sleepwalk into the abyss of a new Cold War? Should we embrace prosperity through openness and inclusiveness, or allow bullying and hegemonic acts to drag us into depression? Should we increase mutual trust through exchanges and mutual learning, or allow hubris and prejudice to blind our conscience? The course of history will be shaped by the choices we make.

Ancient Chinese thinkers observed that “following the underlying trend will lead to success, while going against it will result in failure”.¹ We humans have achieved notable economic development and social progress over the past decades, and that is because we have drawn lessons from the two world wars and the Cold War, followed the prevailing trend of economic globalization, and embarked on the path of openness and development to achieve win-win cooperation. Our world today has become a community with a shared future, where we all rise and fall together. What people across the world long for is certainly not a new Cold War or the emergence of small exclusive blocs; what they want is an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world of lasting peace, universal security, and shared prosperity. Such is the

* Part of the speech at the closing ceremony of the BRICS Business Forum 2023 held in Johannesburg, South Africa.

logic of historical progress and the trend of our times.

Ten years ago, I made the proposal to build a community with a shared future for humanity, and called on all countries to build this planet we all call home into a harmonious family. In the face of high winds, turbulent waters, and even treacherous storms, we in all countries must have a correct understanding of our world, our history, and our overall interests, and we must act to translate the vision of a community with a shared future for humanity into reality.

– We should promote development and prosperity for all. Many emerging markets and developing countries (EMDCs) are where they are today because they have shaken off the yoke of colonialism. Through perseverance, hard work, and huge sacrifices, we succeeded in winning our independence; since then we have been exploring development paths suited to our national conditions. Everything we do is done to deliver better lives to our people. But a certain country, obsessed with maintaining its hegemony, has gone out of its way to hamstring the EMDCs. Whoever is developing fast becomes a target of its containment; whoever is catching up becomes a target of its obstruction. But this is futile. As I have said more than once, blowing out another's lamp will not bring light to your darkness.

Every country has the right to development, and the people in every country should have the freedom to pursue a happy life. With that in mind, I have proposed the Global Development Initiative, with the goals of having the international community promote development for all, and of boosting the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. With the support of many countries, solid gains have been made in pursuing this initiative, with cooperation flourishing in various fields. China will work with all other countries to speed up cooperation under the Global Development Initiative, strengthen drivers of global development, promote comprehensive and in-depth reform of the World Trade Organization, meet common challenges together, and make life better for people across the world.

– We should strive for universal security. Recent years have seen a turbulent world; many countries and regions are plagued by wars

and conflicts, and many people have been displaced. Members of the international community share the pressing hope to eradicate the root causes of conflict and war, and find the fundamental means to realize lasting peace and stability around the world. It is self-evident that any attempt to keep enlarging a military alliance, expand one's own sphere of influence, or squeeze other countries' buffer of security can only create threats and insecurity for all countries. Only a commitment to a new vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security can lead to universal security.

Last year, I proposed the Global Security Initiative, which has gained support from over 100 countries and international organizations. China stands ready to pursue this initiative together with all others. We should favor dialogue and oppose confrontation, forge partnerships rather than alliances, pursue win-win outcomes and oppose zero-sum games, and work together to build a community of security for all.

– We should remain committed to exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations. One flower alone cannot make a beautiful spring; only the blossoming of a rich variety of flowers can bring spring to the global garden. Human civilization is colorful by nature. It is precisely because of their differences in history, culture and system that all countries should interact with one another, learn from each other, and advance together. Deliberately stoking division by touting “democracy versus authoritarianism” and “liberalism versus autocracy” can only lead to a fractured world and a clash of civilizations.

I have proposed the Global Civilization Initiative, calling for diversity among global civilizations, and promoting the common values of humanity and people-to-people and cultural exchanges and cooperation. China welcomes participation from all countries in cooperation under this initiative. We encourage all civilizations to bring their best to bear and flourish together; we must break through barriers to exchanges and renew human civilization.

Notes

¹ Fang Xuanling *et al.*: *Book of Jin (Jin Shu)*. Fang Xuanling (579-648) was a scholar and statesman of the Tang Dynasty.

Pool the Strengths of the Global South to Build a Community with a Shared Future for Humanity*

October 24, 2024

The collective rise of the Global South is a distinctive feature of the great transformation across the world. The march of the Global South towards modernization is monumental in world history and unprecedented in human civilization. At the same time, world peace and development still faces severe challenges, and the road to prosperity for the Global South will not be smooth. Standing at the forefront of the Global South, we should pool our collective wisdom and strength and assume our responsibility for building a community with a shared future for humanity.

– We should uphold peace and strive for common security. We should come together to form a stabilizing force for peace. We should strengthen global security governance, and explore ways to address both symptoms and roots of flashpoints. Many parties have warmly responded to my Global Security Initiative. Under the initiative, we have made major progress in maintaining regional stability and in many other areas. China and Brazil jointly issued the six-point consensus¹, and launched the group of Friends for Peace on the Ukraine crisis together with other Global South countries. We should promote early deescalation to pave the way for political settlement. In July, Palestinian groups achieved reconciliation in Beijing, marking a key step towards peace in the Middle East. We should continue to promote a comprehensive ceasefire in the Gaza Strip and revive the two-state solution. We must stop the flames of war from spreading in

* Main part of the speech at the “BRICS Plus” Dialogue held in Kazan, Russia.

Lebanon and end the suffering in Palestine and Lebanon.

– We should reinvigorate development and strive for common prosperity. The rise of the Global South is rooted in a shared aspiration for development, and has boosted the growth of the countries involved. We should make ourselves the main driving force for common development. We should play an active and leading role in the reform of global economic governance, and place development at the center of the international economic and trade agenda. Since the launch of the Global Development Initiative three years ago, close to US\$20 billion of development funding has been made available and more than 1,100 projects have been undertaken. And recently, the Global Alliance on Artificial Intelligence for Industry and Manufacturing Center of Excellence was established in Shanghai. China will also build a World Smart Customs Community Portal and a BRICS Customs Center of Excellence. We welcome participation by all countries.

– We should jointly promote development of all civilizations and strive for harmony among them. Diversity of civilizations is a defining feature of the world. We should be advocates for exchanges among civilizations. We should strengthen communication and dialogue, and support each other in taking the path to modernization suited to our respective national conditions. The Global Civilization Initiative I proposed is exactly for the purpose of building a garden of world civilizations in which we can share and admire the beauty of each civilization. China will coordinate with others to form a Global South Think Tanks Alliance to promote people-to-people exchanges and experience-sharing in governance.

At its Third Plenary Session three months ago, the 20th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made a systematic plan to drive deeper comprehensive reform in order to advance Chinese modernization. This will provide more opportunities for the world. Last month, the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation was held, at which 10 partnership actions² for China and Africa to jointly advance modernization were announced.

This will provide new energy for the Global South on its way towards modernization.

No matter how the international landscape evolves, we in China will always keep the Global South in our heart and maintain our roots in the Global South. We support more Global South countries in joining the cause of BRICS as full members and partner countries or in the “BRICS Plus” format so that we can pool the strengths of the Global South to build a community with a shared future for humanity.

Notes

¹ This refers to the Common Understandings Between China and Brazil on Political Settlement of the Ukraine Crisis issued in May 2024:

- (1) The two sides call on all relevant parties to observe three principles for deescalating the situation, namely no expansion of the battlefield, no escalation of fighting, and no provocation by any party.
- (2) The two sides believe that dialogue and negotiation are the only viable solution to the Ukraine crisis. All parties should create conditions for the resumption of direct dialogue and push for the deescalation of the situation until the realization of a comprehensive ceasefire. China and Brazil support an international peace conference held at a proper time that is recognized by both Russia and Ukraine, with equal participation of all parties as well as fair discussion of all peace plans.
- (3) Efforts are needed to increase humanitarian assistance to relevant regions and prevent a humanitarian crisis on a larger scale. Attacks on civilians or civilian facilities must be avoided, and civilians including women and children and prisoners of war (POWs) must be protected. The two sides support the exchange of POWs between the parties to the conflict.
- (4) The use of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons and chemical and biological weapons, must be opposed. All possible efforts must be made to prevent nuclear proliferation and avoid nuclear crisis.
- (5) Attacks on nuclear power plants and other peaceful nuclear facilities must be opposed. All parties should comply with international law including the Convention on Nuclear Safety and resolutely prevent man-made nuclear accidents.
- (6) Dividing the world into isolated political or economic groups should be opposed. The two sides call for efforts to enhance international cooperation

on energy, currency, finance, trade, food security and the security of critical infrastructure, including oil and gas pipelines, undersea optical cables, electricity and energy facilities, and fiber-optic networks, so as to protect the stability of global industrial and supply chains.

² See “China-Africa Partnership in Pursuit of Modernization”, pp. 534-539.

Modernization and Shared Prosperity

Join Forces on the Path Towards Modernization*

March 15, 2023

Your Excellencies Leaders of Political Parties,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

It gives me great pleasure to join you all for this discussion on “Path Towards Modernization: The Responsibility of Political Parties”.

The history of human development has been full of twists and turns. Similarly, each country’s journey towards modernization has also been arduous. In today’s world, we face a number of interwoven challenges and crises. Global economic recovery remains sluggish, the development gap is widening, the eco-environment is deteriorating, and the Cold War mentality is lingering. History has once again brought humanity’s modernization process to a crossroads:

Do we seek polarization or common prosperity? Exclusive pursuit of the material, or coordinated material and cultural-ethical progress? Draining the pond to catch the fish, or ensuring harmony between humanity and nature? A zero-sum game, or win-win cooperation? Copying other countries’ development models, or pursuing independent development in accordance with one’s own national conditions? What kind of modernization do we need and how can we achieve it? Confronted with these questions, political parties as an important force steering and driving the modernization process are

* Keynote speech at the CPC in Dialogue with World Political Parties High-level Meeting held in Beijing.

duty-bound to provide answers. Here, I wish to share some of my observations.

– We must put the people first and ensure modernization is people-centered. The people are the creators of history; they are the bedrock of modernization and the strongest force in driving it forward. The ultimate goal of modernization is people's free and well-rounded development. For a modernization process to work and work well, it is essential to put the people first. Modernization is not merely about indicators and statistics on paper, but about the delivery of a happy and stable life for the people. Political parties should focus on the people's aspirations for a better life and further progress of civilization. As they strive for material abundance, political integrity, cultural-ethical enrichment, social stability, and pleasant living environments, modernization will better address the concerns of the people and meet their diversified needs. It can help improve the wellbeing of the present generation and safeguard the rights and interests of future generations, thus facilitating the sustainable development of humanity.

– We must uphold the principle of independence in exploring diversified paths towards modernization. Modernization is not a process that has been exclusively patented by a small handful of countries, nor is it a question to which there is a single answer. It cannot be realized by a cookie-cutter approach or by simple copy and paste. For any country to achieve modernization, it must follow the general laws governing the process, but more importantly, it must consider its own national conditions and unique features. It is the people of a country who can best tell what approach to modernization most suits them. Developing countries have the right and ability to independently explore modernization paths with distinctive features that best suit their own national conditions. We must each rely on our own strength to develop our respective countries, and maintain a firm grasp of our national development paths, and at the same time we must respect and support the independent choice of development paths that other countries make for themselves. Together, we may open new prospects

for modernizing human society like a garden where one hundred flowers bloom.

– Upholding fundamental principles while breaking new ground, we must ensure the continuity of the modernization process. Faced with various new issues, situations and challenges in the modernization process, political parties should shoulder their responsibilities, take bold actions, think out of the box, remove institutional barriers, explore new and optimal methods and approaches, and make breakthroughs in theory and practice, to inject unceasing dynamism into the modernization process. We should work together to reform and develop the global governance system, push for a more just and equitable international order, and advance humanity’s modernization by promoting equal rights, equal opportunities, and fair rules for all.

– We must help others to succeed as we seek our own success, and ensure that the outcomes of modernization benefit all. Humanity is a community with a shared future, where we rise together or fall together. For any country to achieve modernization, it should pursue common development through solidarity and cooperation, based on the principles of joint contribution, shared benefits, and win-win outcomes. Countries that have moved ahead in their development should genuinely help others to grow. No one will be seen in a more favorable light through blowing out another’s lamp; nor will they be able to go further themselves by blocking the paths of others. We should share opportunities and build a better future together. We should join to make a bigger pie of humanity’s modernization and ensure that its fruits more fairly benefit more people worldwide. At the same time, we firmly oppose any attempt to suppress and contain other countries’ endeavors to achieve modernization in order to secure one’s own privileges.

– We must forge ahead with enterprise and maintain firm leadership over modernization. Modernization will not fall from the sky. It can only be achieved through hard work and proactive long-term efforts. Political parties are the leading force and drivers of modernization. Their values, leadership, governance capacity, character, and

willpower directly affect the orientation and future of their countries' modernization process. He who conquers himself is strong. Political parties should integrate their own development with modernization of their countries, forge ahead with enterprise, courage and resolve, and exceed their limits. They should always have the confidence, determination and ability to respond to the challenges and questions presented by the times, and meet people's expectations, so that they will be able to steer the course of modernization and marshal strength for it.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

Achieving modernization is a dream that the Chinese people have been striving for throughout the modern era. The century-long journey that the CPC has completed to unite the Chinese people and lead them in pursuing national rejuvenation is also one of exploring a path towards modernization. Thanks to the unremitting efforts of generation after generation, we have found our own path to modernization.

The 20th CPC National Congress proposed advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization. Chinese modernization serves our huge population, and aims for common prosperity for all, coordinated material and cultural-ethical progress, harmony between humanity and nature, and peaceful development. It is rooted in our national conditions, but also draws on the experience of other countries. It honors our history and traditional culture, while integrating them with modern elements. It benefits our people and contributes to the common development of the world. It is a reliable way for us to build a great country and realize national rejuvenation, and is equally essential for seeking progress for humanity and harmony for the entire world. We will remain committed to our direction, our theory, and our path. We will never abandon our socialist system. As our own future is closely connected with that of other countries and peoples, fresh developments in Chinese modernization will create new opportunities for the world, add new impetus to humanity's exploration of paths towards modernization, and offer more innovative theories and practices in the process.

The CPC will continue to pursue high-quality development and promote global growth and prosperity. We will move faster to foster a new development dynamic that promotes high-standard opening up and steady expansion of market access. China's doors will only open wider. As we further modernize our industrial system, we will provide the world with more and better products made and created in China, and with a larger market and stronger demand. We will continue to support other developing countries in their pursuit of faster development, industrialization, and modernization, and offer Chinese solutions and support for narrowing the North-South gap and achieving common development. The CPC stands ready to work with political parties of other countries to advance high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, accelerate implementation of the Global Development Initiative, foster new drivers for global development, and build a global community of development.

The CPC will continue to safeguard international fairness and justice, and promote world peace and stability. In advancing Chinese modernization, we will follow neither the outdated path of colonization and plunder, nor the hegemonic path that others took when they grew strong. We are committed to the right course, which is that of peaceful development. We seek to settle differences through dialogue and resolve disputes through cooperation. We firmly oppose all forms of hegemony and power politics. We advocate solidarity and a win-win mentality in handling complex and interwoven security challenges, and a fair and just security architecture built by all for the benefit of all. The world does not need a new Cold War. Stoking division and confrontation in the name of democracy is in itself a violation of the spirit of democracy. This goes against the will of the people and will only bring about endless harm. A modernized China will strengthen the force for world peace and international justice. No matter how strong it grows, China will never seek hegemony or expansion.

The CPC will continue to promote inter-civilizational exchanges and mutual learning, and advance the progress of human civilization. In today's world, countries and regions have chosen different

paths to modernization, which are rooted in their rich, diverse and time-honored civilizations. Human society has developed diverse and splendid civilizations that have laid solid foundations for the modernization of various countries, endowing each with distinctive qualities. Transcending time and national borders, these civilizations have made a significant contribution to humanity's overall modernization process. Chinese modernization is a new model for human progress that will contribute to a more vibrant garden of world civilizations by drawing upon the merits of others.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

While a single flower does not make spring, one hundred flowers in full blossom bring spring to the garden. As the future of all countries is closely connected, inclusiveness, coexistence, exchanges, and mutual learning among different civilizations play an irreplaceable role in advancing humanity's modernization and enriching the garden of world civilizations. Here, I wish to propose the Global Civilization Initiative.

– We should jointly advocate respect for the diversity of civilizations. Countries should uphold the principles of equality, mutual learning, dialogue, and inclusiveness among civilizations. It is important that cultural exchanges prevail over estrangement, mutual learning over clash, and inclusiveness over superiority.

– We should jointly advocate humanity's common values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom, which are the common aspirations of all peoples. Countries should try with an open mind to understand how different civilizations perceive these values. No one country should impose its own values or models on others or stoke ideological confrontation.

– We should jointly advocate the importance of inheritance and innovation of civilizations. Countries should fully leverage their history and culture in a modern context, and push for the creative transformation and innovative development of the best of their traditional culture.

– We should jointly advocate extensive international people-to-people exchanges and cooperation. Countries should work to build a global network for inter-civilizational dialogue and cooperation, enrich the content of exchanges, and expand avenues of cooperation, to promote mutual understanding and friendship among peoples of all countries and to advance the progress of human civilization.

We are ready to work together with the international community to foster deeper exchanges and understanding among different peoples, and wider interactions and better integration of diverse cultures. Together we can work towards a more colorful and vibrant garden of world civilizations.

The CPC is committed to strengthening exchanges and cooperation with other political parties to pursue the just cause that benefits all. We are ready to increase in-depth interactions with political parties and organizations in other countries to broaden the convergence of ideas and interests. Let us leverage the potential of a new model of party-to-party relations to build a new model of international relations. By fostering stronger partnerships among political parties around the world, we can strengthen global partnerships. The CPC stands ready to share governance experience with political parties and organizations in other countries so that we can join forces on the path towards modernization and make significant progress in building a community with a shared future for humanity.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

There are bound to be setbacks on our journey to modernization, but the future is bright. The CPC wishes to work with all of you to ensure that our diverse paths towards modernization can form a powerful force propelling global prosperity and progress through the long river of history.

Thank you.

China-Africa Partnership in Pursuit of Modernization*

September 5, 2024

Thanks to nearly 70 years of tireless efforts from both sides, the China-Africa relationship has now reached a new peak. With future progress in mind, I propose that bilateral relations between China and all African countries having diplomatic ties with China be elevated to the level of strategic relations, and that the overall positioning of China-Africa relations be elevated to an all-weather China-Africa community with a shared future for the new era.

Modernization is the inalienable right of all countries. But the Western approach has inflicted immense suffering on developing countries. Since the end of World War II, Third World nations, represented by China and African countries, have successively achieved independence and embarked on paths of development, all while redressing the historical injustices of the modernization process. The People's Republic of China will soon celebrate its 75th anniversary. The Chinese people are fully committed to building a great modern socialist country and advancing national rejuvenation through a Chinese path to modernization. Africa, for its part, is experiencing a new awakening. The continent is marching in solid strides towards the modernization goals set forth in the African Union's Agenda 2063. China and Africa's joint pursuit of modernization will set off a wave of modernization in the Global South, and open a new chapter in building a community with a shared future for humanity.

* Main part of the keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.

– We should jointly advance modernization that is just and equitable. In promoting modernization, we should not only follow the general rules, but also act in accordance with our national realities. China is ready to increase exchanges of governance experience with Africa, support all countries in exploring modernization paths suited to their national conditions, and help ensure equal rights and equal opportunities for all countries.

– We should jointly advance modernization that is open and win-win. Mutually beneficial cooperation is the sunlit path to the betterment of long-term and fundamental interests of all countries. China is ready to work with African countries to expand cooperation in industry, agriculture, infrastructure, trade and investment, promote exemplary, high-quality Belt and Road cooperation projects, and build together a model for the delivery of the Global Development Initiative.

– We should jointly advance modernization that puts the people first. The ultimate goal of modernization is the free and well-rounded development of human beings. China will work vigorously with Africa to promote personnel training, poverty reduction, and employment, increase the sense of gain, fulfillment and security of the people in the course of modernization, and ensure that all will benefit from the process.

– We should jointly advance modernization that is diverse and inclusive. Well-balanced material and cultural-ethical progress is a lofty goal of modernization. China will reinforce people-to-people and cultural exchanges with African countries, championing mutual respect, inclusiveness, and coexistence of diverse civilizations on the path to modernization. Together with Africa, we will strive for more fruitful outcomes under the Global Civilization Initiative.

– We should jointly advance modernization that is eco-friendly. Green development is a hallmark of modernization in the new era. China is ready to help Africa create “green growth engines” and narrow the gap in energy accessibility. Upholding the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, the two sides should push for the global transition to green and low-carbon development.

— We should jointly advance modernization underpinned by peace and security. Modernization would not be possible without a peaceful and stable environment for development. China is ready to assist Africa in bolstering its independent capacity for safeguarding peace and stability, prioritize Africa in implementing the Global Security Initiative (GSI), promote mutual reinforcement between high-quality development and high-standard security, and work together with Africa to uphold world peace and stability.

China and Africa account for one-third of the world population. Without our modernization, there will be no global modernization. In the next three years, China will work with Africa to implement 10 partnership actions for modernization to expand China-Africa cooperation and spearhead the modernization of the Global South:

First, the Partnership Action for Mutual Learning Among Civilizations. China is ready to work with Africa to build a platform for sharing governance experience, a China-Africa knowledge network for development, and 25 centers on China and Africa studies. We will make better use of Africa's leadership academies to cultivate governance talent, and invite 1,000 members of African political parties to China for in-depth exchanges of experience in party and state governance.

Second, the Partnership Action for Trade Prosperity. China will voluntarily and unilaterally open its market wider. We have decided to give all least developed countries that have diplomatic relations with China, including 33 countries in Africa, zero-tariff treatment for 100 percent tariff lines. This has made China the first major developing country and the first major economy to take such a step. It will help turn China's huge market into Africa's great opportunity. China will expand market access for African agricultural products, deepen cooperation with Africa in e-commerce and other areas, and launch a "China-Africa quality enhancement program". We are prepared to enter into framework agreements on economic partnership for shared development with African countries, to provide long-term, stable and predictable institutional guarantees for trade and investment between the two sides.

Third, the Partnership Action for Industrial Chain Cooperation. China will work with Africa to foster industry cooperation growth clusters, press forward with the Pilot Zone for In-depth China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation, and launch an “African SMEs empowerment program”. Together with Africa, we will build a digital technology cooperation center and initiate 20 digital demonstration projects, in order to embrace the new revolution in science, technology and industry.

Fourth, the Partnership Action for Connectivity. China plans to carry out 30 infrastructure connectivity projects in Africa, work together with African countries to promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, and put in place a China-Africa network of land-sea links and coordinated development. We are ready to assist in the development of the African Continental Free Trade Area, and expand logistics and financial cooperation for the benefit of trans-regional development in Africa.

Fifth, the Partnership Action for Development Cooperation. China is ready to issue a Joint Statement on Deepening Cooperation Within the Framework of the Global Development Initiative with Africa, and to implement 1,000 small but effective projects for improving people’s wellbeing. We will replenish the China-World Bank Group Partnership Facility to boost Africa’s development. We support Africa in hosting the 2026 Youth Olympic Games and the 2027 Africa Cup of Nations. We will work together with Africa to deliver more fruits of development to the people on both sides.

Sixth, the Partnership Action for Health. China is ready to join with Africa in establishing a hospitals alliance and joint medical centers. We will send 2,000 medical personnel to Africa, and launch 20 health facilities and malaria treatment programs. We will encourage Chinese companies to invest in Africa’s pharmaceutical production, and continue to do what we can to help Africa with epidemic response. We support the development of the Africa Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to strengthen public health capacity in all African countries.

Seventh, the Partnership Action for Agriculture and Livelihoods. China will provide Africa with RMB1 billion in emergency food assistance, build 100,000 *mu* (about 6,670 hectares) of standardized agriculture demonstration areas in Africa, send 500 agricultural experts, and establish a China-Africa agricultural science and technology innovation alliance. We will implement 500 programs in Africa to promote community welfare. We will also encourage two-way investment for new business operations by Chinese and African companies, enable Africa to retain added value, and create at least one million jobs for Africa.

Eighth, the Partnership Action for People-to-People Exchanges. China will work with Africa to take concrete steps to implement the Future of Africa – Vocational Education Cooperation Plan, establish together an engineering technology academy, and open 10 Luban Workshops. We will provide 60,000 training opportunities to Africa, mainly for women and youths. China and Africa will launch a Cultural Silk Road program as well as a joint initiative on innovation in radio, TV and audiovisual programs. The two sides have agreed to designate 2026 as the China-Africa Year of People-to-People Exchanges.

Ninth, the Partnership Action for Green Development. China plans to launch 30 clean energy projects in Africa, put in place meteorological early warning systems, and carry out cooperation in disaster prevention, mitigation and relief, as well as biodiversity conservation. We will create a China-Africa forum dedicated to the peaceful use of nuclear technology. Together with Africa, we will establish 30 joint laboratories, and collaborate on satellite remote sensing and lunar and deep-space exploration. All of these efforts are aimed at supporting green development in Africa.

Tenth, the Partnership Action for Common Security. China is ready to build a partnership with Africa to implement the GSI, and make it a model of GSI cooperation. We will provide Africa with RMB1 billion in military assistance grants, and offer training to 6,000 military personnel and 1,000 police and law enforcement officers from Africa. Additionally, we will invite 500 young African military

officers to visit China. The two sides will engage in joint military exercises, conduct joint training and patrols, launch an action for a mine-free Africa, and work together to ensure the safety and security of personnel and projects.

Over the next three years, the Chinese government will provide RMB360 billion in financial support to implement the 10 partnership actions. This breaks down into a RMB210 billion credit line, RMB80 billion in various forms of assistance, and a contribution of at least RMB70 billion in investments from Chinese companies. China will also encourage and support African entities in issuing panda bonds in China as a measure to strengthen our results-oriented cooperation in all areas.

In July this year, the Communist Party of China successfully convened the Third Plenary Session of its 20th Central Committee, laying out systematic plans for driving deeper all-round reform and advancing Chinese modernization. This will profoundly transform China. It will also provide new opportunities and new driving forces for African countries as we jointly pursue our dreams of modernization.

As an African proverb goes, a real friend is someone you share the path with. On the path to modernization, no one, and no country, should be left behind. Let us rally the more than 2.8 billion Chinese and African people into a powerful force on our shared path towards modernization, promote modernization of the Global South through China-Africa modernization, and write a magnificent new chapter of development in human history. Let us join hands to bring about a bright future of peace, security, prosperity and progress for our world.

Advance High-Quality Development of Greater BRICS Cooperation*

October 23, 2024

I would like to take this opportunity to once again welcome new members to our BRICS family. The enlargement of BRICS is a major milestone in its history, and a landmark event in the evolution of the international situation. At this summit, we have decided to invite many countries to become partner countries, which is another major step forward in the development of BRICS. As we Chinese often say, “For the man of virtue, righteousness is the greatest good.”¹ It is in pursuit of our shared aspirations, and for the overarching trend of peace and development, that we BRICS countries have come together. We must make full use of this summit, maintain the momentum of BRICS, and consider and devise our strategy to address issues that have a global impact, determine our future direction, and are of strategic significance. We must build on this milestone summit to set off anew and forge ahead with one heart and one mind.

As the world enters a new period defined by turbulence and transformation, we are confronted with pivotal choices that will shape our future. Should we allow the world to descend into the abyss of disorder and chaos, or should we strive to steer it back on the path of peace and development? This reminds me of a novel by Nikolay Chernyshevsky entitled *What Is to Be Done?* The protagonist’s unwavering determination and passionate drive are exactly the kind of willpower we need today. The more tumultuous our times become, the more we must stand firm at the forefront, exhibit tenacity, demon-

* Main part of the speech at the 16th BRICS Summit held in Kazan, Russia.

strate the audacity to pioneer, and display the wisdom to adapt. We must work together to build BRICS into a primary channel for strengthening solidarity and cooperation among Global South nations and a vanguard for advancing global governance reform.

– We should build a BRICS committed to peace, and we must all act as defenders of common security. We humans are an indivisible community of security. Only by embracing the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security can we pave the way for universal security. The Ukraine crisis still persists. China and Brazil, in collaboration with other countries from the Global South, have initiated a group of Friends for Peace to address the crisis. The aim is to gather more voices advocating peace. We must uphold three key principles: no expansion of the battlefield, no escalation of fighting, and no provocation by any party, and strive for swift deescalation of the situation. While the humanitarian situation in Gaza continues to deteriorate, the flames of war have once again been rekindled in Lebanon, and conflicts are escalating among the parties. We must promote an immediate ceasefire and an end to the killing. We must make unremitting efforts towards a comprehensive, just and lasting resolution of the Palestinian question.

– We should build a BRICS committed to innovation, and we must all act as pioneers of high-quality development. As the new revolution in science, technology and industry accelerates, we must keep pace with the times and foster new quality productive forces. China has recently launched a China-BRICS Artificial Intelligence Development and Cooperation Center. We are ready to deepen cooperation in innovation with all BRICS countries to unlock the benefits of AI development. China will establish a BRICS Deep-Sea Resources International Research Center, a China Center for Cooperation on Development of Special Economic Zones in BRICS Countries, a China Center for BRICS Industrial Competencies, and a BRICS Digital Ecosystem Cooperation Network. We welcome active participation from all interested parties to promote the high-quality upgrading of BRICS cooperation.

– We should build a BRICS committed to green development, and we must all act as champions of sustainable development. Green is the defining color of our times. It is important that all BRICS countries proactively embrace the global trend of green and low-carbon transformation. China’s high-quality production capacity, as exemplified by its manufacturing of electric vehicles, lithium-ion batteries and photovoltaic products, provides a significant boost to global green development. China is willing to leverage its strengths to expand cooperation with BRICS countries in green industries, clean energy, and green mining, and promote green development through the entire industrial chain, in order to increase the “green quotient” of our cooperation and upgrade the quality of our development.

– We should build a BRICS committed to justice, and we must all act as forerunners in reforming global governance. The international power dynamic is undergoing profound changes, but global governance reform has lagged behind for a long time. We should champion true multilateralism and adhere to the vision of global governance characterized by extensive consultation and joint contribution for shared benefit. We must ensure that global governance reform is guided by the principles of fairness, justice, openness and inclusiveness. In light of the rise of the Global South, we should respond favorably to the calls from various countries to join BRICS. We should advance the process of expanding BRICS membership and establishing a partner country mechanism, and strengthen the representation and voice of developing nations in global governance.

Current developments make reform of the international financial architecture all the more pressing. BRICS countries should play a leading role in this reform. We should deepen fiscal and financial cooperation, promote the connectivity of our financial infrastructure, and apply high standards of financial security. The New Development Bank should be expanded and strengthened. We must ensure that the international financial system more effectively reflects the changes in the global economic landscape.

– We should build a BRICS committed to closer people-to-

people exchanges, and we must all act as advocates for harmonious coexistence among all civilizations. BRICS countries boast a profound and illustrious historical and cultural heritage. It is important that we promote the spirit of inclusiveness and harmonious coexistence among civilizations. We should boost the exchange of governance experience among BRICS countries, and fully harness the untapped potential for cooperation in areas such as education, sports, and the arts, so that our diverse cultures can inspire one another and illuminate the path forward for BRICS. Last year, I proposed an initiative for BRICS digital education cooperation, and I am delighted to see that it has become a reality. China will implement a capacity-building program for BRICS digital education. We will open 10 learning centers in BRICS countries in the next five years, and provide training opportunities for 1,000 local education administrators, teachers, and students. This will be a tangible step to deepen and strengthen people-to-people exchanges among BRICS countries.

China is willing to work with all BRICS countries to open a new horizon in the high-quality development of greater BRICS cooperation, and join hands with Global South countries in building a community with a shared future for humanity.

Notes

¹ Jin Ying: *A Collection of Maxims (Ge Yan Lian Bi)*. Jin Ying (dates unknown) was a scholar of the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911).

Promote Universally Beneficial and Inclusive Globalization*

November 15, 2024

Although China and Latin America are thousands of miles apart, we have carried forward our exchanges in spite of the vast Pacific Ocean. As early as the second half of the 16th century, ships laden with silk and porcelain from China reached the distant coasts of Latin America, starting friendly connections between China and the region.

Today, several hundred years later, China, Latin America, and the entire Asia-Pacific are deeply woven into the fabric of economic globalization. We are now an interdependent community with common interests and a shared future. But the world is in a new period of turbulence and transformation. Unbridled unilateralism and protectionism and an increasingly fragmented world economy threaten to reverse the trend towards economic globalization. This formidable challenge for us is like sailing up a river – if we do not forge ahead, we will be carried downstream. Where is the Asia-Pacific economy going? This is a decision we must make.

Economic globalization is an objective requirement of growing social productive forces. It is a natural outcome of advances in science and technology and a powerful driver of future trends. Despite headwinds and undertows, economic globalization has always been the general trend. Any attempt to block economic cooperation under any pretext and to disrupt the interdependence of the world is a step in the wrong direction.

Economic globalization is caught now in a tug of war between

* Part of the written speech at the APEC CEO Summit held in Lima, Peru.

driving forces and obstructive forces, but the driving forces still prevail. The impact of the new revolution in science, technology and industry is growing stronger, and the world is moving faster to embrace a digital, green and smart economy. All this is building up powerful energy for further acceleration of economic globalization.

We should steer economic globalization in the right direction. We must reject the path taken by a few other countries in pursuit of dominance and hegemony. We should ensure that economic globalization generates more positive outcomes and enters a new phase that is more dynamic, inclusive and sustainable.

Tougher times call for greater confidence. We should join hands to promote a universally beneficial and inclusive economic globalization that delivers positive outcomes to as many countries and communities as possible.

First, we should take innovation as the driving force for stronger growth of the world economy. Innovation is the source of productivity. We should make full use of artificial intelligence and other emerging technologies to boost the world economy and stimulate growth through the current scientific and technological revolution. Advances in science and technology should benefit all of humanity. We should help developing countries with their capacity building in science and technology and promote global flows of knowledge and technology.

Second, we should keep pace with the times and reform the system of global economic governance. We should follow the principle of planning together, building together, and benefiting together to ensure that the global economic governance system better reflects the new reality of the world economic map. The representation and voice of the Global South should be steadily strengthened, and all countries should be entitled to equal rights, equal opportunities, and fair rules in conducting international economic cooperation. We should uphold the WTO-centered multilateral trading system, push for an open world economy, and keep global industrial and supply chains stable and smooth.

Third, we should always take a people-centered approach and

seek to solve imbalances in development. Global prosperity and stability cannot be achieved when the rich get richer and the poor poorer. True development means common development for all countries. We should ensure people's wellbeing while seeking economic growth, and foster a development environment that is inclusive and beneficial for all. We should pursue economic globalization that is people-centered and delivers more balanced development and more equal opportunities, so that different countries, sectors and communities can all benefit from development. China hopes that all parties will take an active part in the Global Development Initiative to help expedite the implementation of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and promote balanced and full development of all countries.

APEC was born on the eve of the end of the Cold War when a new round of economic globalization was gradually emerging, and has since taken on the mission of promoting economic globalization. It has contributed immensely to boosting trade and investment liberalization and facilitation in the Asia-Pacific, to delivering mutual economic benefits between member economies, and to advancing the interests and wellbeing of the people in our region. Asia-Pacific economies have maintained robust growth and created the remarkable Asia-Pacific miracle.

The success of the Asia-Pacific is due to our firm commitment to peace and stability in the region, our continuous practice of true multilateralism and open regionalism, our deep faith in the trend towards economic globalization, and our dedication to mutual benefit and mutual success.

The Asia-Pacific should remain the locomotive of economic globalization in the future. We should stay on the right course and seek to break new ground at the same time. While further burnishing the Asia-Pacific hallmark of openness and inclusiveness, we should make new efforts to foster a green and digital Asia-Pacific, build an Asia-Pacific community with a shared future, and usher in another 30 golden years of development for our region.

Build a Just World of Common Development*

November 18, 2024

Today, transformation on a scale not seen in a century is accelerating across the world. Humanity faces unparalleled opportunities and unprecedented challenges. As leaders of major countries, we should not let our vision be obscured by fleeting clouds. Rather, we must see the world as a community with a shared future, shoulder our responsibility to the future, move forward with the times, and drive human progress.

I pointed out at a previous G20 Summit that prosperity and stability would not be possible in a world where the rich become richer while the poor are made poorer, and countries should make global development more inclusive, more resilient, and beneficial to all. At the Hangzhou Summit, China placed development at the center of the G20's macroeconomic policy coordination for the first time, and the summit adopted the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the G20 Initiative on Supporting Industrialization in Africa and Least Developed Countries. The Rio Summit this year has chosen the theme "Building a Just World and a Sustainable Planet". It has placed the fight against hunger and poverty at the top of the agenda, and decided to establish a Global Alliance Against Hunger and Poverty. From Hangzhou to Rio, we have been working for one and the same goal – to build a just world of common development.

To build such a world, we need to channel more resources to fields such as trade, investment, and development cooperation, and strengthen development institutions. There should be more bridges

* Main part of the speech on the fight against hunger and poverty at Session I of the 19th G20 Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

of cooperation, and less of the “small yard, high fence” mindset, so that more and more developing countries will be better off and achieve modernization.

To build such a world, we need to support developing countries in adopting sustainable approaches to work and daily life, properly responding to challenges like climate change, biodiversity loss, and environmental pollution, strengthening eco-environmental conservation, and achieving harmony between humanity and nature.

To build such a world, we need an open, inclusive and nondiscriminatory environment for international economic cooperation. We should promote a universally beneficial and inclusive economic globalization, energize sustainable development with new technologies, new industries, and new business forms, and support developing countries in better integrating into digital, smart and green development to bridge the North-South gap.

To build such a world, we need to stay committed to multilateralism. We should uphold the international system centered on the UN, the international order underpinned by international law, and the basic norms for international relations based on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.

China’s development is an important part of the common development of the world. We have lifted 800 million people out of poverty, and met the poverty reduction target of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development ahead of schedule.

This achievement did not just fall into our laps. It is the fruit of the strenuous, unified efforts of the Chinese government and people. In everything China does, it always places the people front and center, and it solemnly declares that “not a single poor region or person should be left behind”. To tackle poverty, we design targeted policies tailored to each village, each household, and each person; we facilitate growth by vigorously channeling talent, funds and technologies to underdeveloped regions; we help localities generate growth by fostering distinctive industries and upgrading infrastructure, all adapted to their own conditions; and we promote common prosperity by pairing

up developed regions with less developed ones. I have worked from village to county, city, provincial and central levels. Poverty alleviation has always been a priority and a major task I am determined to deliver.

China's story is proof that developing countries can eliminate poverty and a weaker bird can start early and fly high, when there is the endurance, perseverance, and fighting spirit that enables water drops to penetrate rocks over time and turns blueprints into reality. If China can make it, other developing countries can make it too. This is what China's battle against poverty says to the world.

China will always be a member of the Global South, a reliable long-term partner of fellow developing countries, and a doer and go-getter working for the cause of global development. A single flower does not make spring. China wants to see a hundred flowers in full blossom and will join hands with fellow developing countries to realize modernization. Today, I wish to outline China's eight actions for global development.

First, pursuing high-quality Belt and Road cooperation. On top of RMB700 billion added for new financing windows and an additional RMB80 billion injection into the Silk Road Fund, China is moving ahead with the development of a multidimensional Belt and Road connectivity network, which is focused on building a green Silk Road and will empower a digital Silk Road.

Second, implementing the Global Development Initiative. On the basis of over 1,100 development projects already in operation, we will make sure the Global South research center that is being built is fit for purpose, and the US\$20 billion of development funds will continue to be put to good use to support developing countries and deepen practical cooperation in areas such as poverty reduction, food security, and the digital economy.

Third, supporting development in Africa. At the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation held in September this year, I unveiled 10 partnership actions on joining hands with Africa to advance modernization over the next three years and, in this connection, a commitment of RMB360 billion in financial support.

Fourth, supporting international cooperation in poverty reduction and food security. China has decided to join the Global Alliance Against Hunger and Poverty. We support the G20 in continuing to convene the Development Ministerial Meeting, and will remain a committed host of the International Conference on Food Loss and Waste.

Fifth, China, alongside Brazil, South Africa, and the African Union, is proposing an Initiative on International Cooperation in Open Science to help the Global South gain better access to global advances in science, technology and innovation.

Sixth, supporting the G20 in carrying out practical cooperation for the benefit of the Global South and using outcomes such as the Roadmap to Increase Investment in Clean Energy in Developing Countries and the High-level Principles on Bioeconomy to good effect. China supports the work of the Entrepreneurship Research Center on G20 Economies based in Beijing, and supports cooperation in digital education and the digitalization of museums and ancient archives.

Seventh, implementing the G20 Anti-corruption Action Plan. We are strengthening cooperation with fellow developing countries in fugitive repatriation and asset recovery, denial of safe haven, and anti-corruption capacity building.

Eighth, China is pursuing high-standard opening up, and unilaterally opening its doors wider to the least developed countries (LDCs). We have announced the decision to give all LDCs that have diplomatic relations with China zero-tariff treatment for 100 percent tariff lines. From now to 2030, China's imports from other developing countries are likely to top US\$8 trillion.

The Chinese often say, "A journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step." China is ready to take steps together with all parties to build a just world of common development, consign poverty to history, and turn our vision into reality.

Work for a Just and Equitable Global Governance System*

November 18, 2024

Proceeding from a new starting point, the G20 needs to build on its past achievements and continue to act as a force to strengthen global governance and drive human progress. We should keep in mind that humanity lives in a community with a shared future, see each other's development as presenting opportunities rather than challenges, and view each other as partners rather than rivals. We should observe the basic norms for international relations underpinned by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and safeguard the international order based on international law. In light of the G20's mandate, we can build greater international consensus in the economic, financial, trade, digital and eco-environmental fields, among others, to improve global governance and promote an equal and orderly multipolar world and a universally beneficial and inclusive economic globalization.

First, we need to improve global economic governance and build a world economy characterized by cooperation. We have developed the G20 comprehensive growth strategies and established a framework for strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth. We should stay committed to strengthening global economic partnerships, reinforcing macro coordination in fiscal, financial, monetary, and structural reform policies, cultivating new quality productive forces, and raising total factor productivity, in order to open up more possibilities for the

* Main part of the speech on reform of the institutions of global governance at Session II of the 19th G20 Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

global economy. It is important to make good use of the G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meetings, let them serve as a ballast for macro policy coordination, and foster an open, inclusive and nondiscriminatory environment for international economic cooperation. As main creditors, international financial institutions and commercial creditors need to take part in debt reduction and suspension for developing countries. It is also important to create a clean business environment by upholding a zero-tolerance stance against corruption, stepping up international cooperation on fugitive repatriation and asset recovery, and denying safe haven to corrupt officials and their assets.

Second, we need to improve global financial governance and build a world economy characterized by stability. To increase the voice and representation of developing countries, the World Bank should carry out shareholding reviews, and the International Monetary Fund should carry out quota share realignment in accordance with the agreed timeframes and roadmaps. Joint efforts are needed to keep the international financial market stable and prevent negative spillover of domestic monetary policy adjustments. Developed countries should fulfill their responsibilities in this regard. It is important to improve systems for financial risks monitoring, early warning, and handling, reinforce cooperation in areas such as digital currency and taxation, and strengthen the global financial safety net. The G20 Sustainable Finance Roadmap should be implemented at a faster pace to better meet the green financing needs of developing countries.

Third, we need to improve global trade governance and build a world economy characterized by openness. We should place development at the center of the international economic and trade agenda, and steadily advance trade and investment liberalization and facilitation. We should press ahead with reforming the WTO, oppose unilateralism and protectionism, restore the normal functioning of the dispute settlement mechanism as soon as possible, include the Investment Facilitation for Development Agreement into the WTO legal framework, and reach early consensus on the e-commerce agree-

ment. We should work actively to keep the WTO rules relevant, both addressing long-standing issues and exploring the formulation of new, future-oriented rules, to increase the authority, efficacy and relevance of the multilateral trading system. It is important to avoid politicizing economic issues, avoid fragmenting the global market, and avoid taking protectionist moves in the name of green and low-carbon development. Two years ago, China and Indonesia, together with some other countries, launched the Initiative of International Cooperation on Resilient and Stable Industrial and Supply Chains, calling for industrial and supply chain partnerships that are more equal, inclusive and constructive. We stand ready for closer cooperation with all sides on this initiative.

Fourth, we need to improve global digital governance and build a world economy characterized by innovation. We should strengthen the function of the G20 Digital Economy Ministers Meeting, and let it play a leading role in digital transition, the deep integration of the digital economy and the real economy, and rule-making in emerging fields. We should step up international governance and cooperation on artificial intelligence, to make sure that AI serves the common good and benefits all, and it is not a plaything of the rich countries and the wealthy. China hosted the 2024 World AI Conference and High-level Meeting on Global AI Governance, and issued the Shanghai Declaration on Global AI Governance. Together with other parties, China promoted the adoption of a UN General Assembly resolution on strengthening international cooperation on AI capacity building. China will hold another World AI Conference in 2025 and welcomes the participation of fellow G20 members.

Fifth, we need to improve global ecological governance and build a world economy characterized by eco-friendliness. We should honor the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, and fully and effectively implement the Paris Agreement and the Kunming-Montreal Global Biodiversity Framework for the sake of harmony between humanity and nature. Developed countries should provide developing countries with the necessary funding, technology and

capacity-building support. The recent UN Biodiversity Conference reached important consensus. We should jointly support the ongoing and upcoming UN conferences on climate change and desertification in achieving positive outcomes. Energy transition and energy security is a major issue. We should follow the approach of establishing the new before abolishing the old, and replace traditional energy with clean energy in a stable and well-ordered way, as we expedite the green and low-carbon transition of the world economy. China stands ready to deepen international cooperation with all sides in green infrastructure, green energy, green mining, and green transport, and will provide support to developing countries to the best of its ability.

Global security governance is part and parcel of global governance. The G20 should support the UN and its Security Council in playing a greater role, and support all efforts conducive to the peaceful settlement of crises. To deescalate the Ukraine crisis and seek a political settlement, we should follow the principles of no expansion of the battlefield, no escalation of fighting, and no provocation by any party. China and Brazil, together with some other Global South countries, launched the group of Friends for Peace on the Ukraine crisis, with the goal of bringing together more voices for peace. The fighting in Gaza has inflicted deep suffering on the people. It is urgent for all sides to stop fighting, end the war, and provide support for easing the humanitarian crisis in the region and for postwar reconstruction. The fundamental way to break the cycle of Palestinian-Israeli conflict lies in the implementation of the two-state solution, the restoration of Palestine's legitimate national rights, and the establishment of an independent State of Palestine.

Let us renew our commitment to the founding mission of the G20, and make a fresh start from Rio de Janeiro. Let us carry forward partnership, practice true multilateralism, and usher in a better future of common development and prosperity.

Belt and Road Cooperation

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Blaze a Trail of Happiness That Benefits the Entire World*

May 24, 2023

The world today is undergoing profound change on a scale unseen in a century, marked by an irresistible historic trend towards multipolarity and economic globalization. Upholding true multilateralism and pursuing coordinated development across regions represents the broad consensus of the international community. The Eurasian continent is home to the world's largest population, the greatest number of countries, and the most diverse range of civilizations. In a world of turbulence and transformation, how should we navigate Asia-Europe cooperation? The question is crucial not only to the wellbeing of the people in the region, but also to the trajectory of global development.

China has arrived at a clear answer to this pivotal question of our times. I have proposed the Global Development Initiative, the Global Security Initiative, and the Global Civilization Initiative, calling on all countries to join forces in forging an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world of lasting peace, universal security, and shared prosperity, and in building a community with a shared future for humanity. This year marks the 10th anniversary of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The fundamental objective of this initiative is to explore new ways to achieve common development for all countries, neighboring and distant, and to blaze a trail of happiness that brings benefits to the entire world.

* Main points of the speech via video link at the opening ceremony of the plenary session of the Second Eurasian Economic Forum of the Eurasian Economic Union.

As a member of the Eurasian family, China cannot develop in isolation from our fellow family members. Likewise, China's development benefits the entire region. China sincerely hopes that the collaboration between the BRI and the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) will progress and expand, and that all countries in the region will unite as one to break new ground in Asia-Europe cooperation. China will host the Third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation in the second half of this year. China will work with all BRI partners and EEU member states to steadfastly champion the values of peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit. Together, we will share opportunities, surmount challenges, and strive for a brighter future. In unity, we will write a new chapter in the march of civilizations towards a multipolar world.

Build an Open, Inclusive and Interconnected World for Common Development*

October 18, 2023

Your Excellencies Heads of State and Government,
Your Excellencies Heads of International Organizations,
Distinguished representatives,
Distinguished guests,
Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends,

Today, we are meeting here for the opening ceremony of the Third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation (BRF). On behalf of the Chinese government and people, and in my own name, I wish to extend a very warm welcome to you all.

This year marks the 10th anniversary of my proposal of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Drawing inspiration from the ancient Silk Road and focusing on connectivity, the BRI aims to strengthen policy, infrastructure, trade, financial, and people-to-people connectivity, inject new impetus into the global economy, create new opportunities for global development, and build a new platform for international economic cooperation.

Over these 10 years, we have remained committed to this founding mission. Thanks to our joint efforts, Belt and Road international cooperation has emerged, grown rapidly, and produced fruitful outcomes.

Belt and Road cooperation has extended from the Eurasian continent to Africa and Latin America. More than 150 countries and over

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

30 international organizations have signed Belt and Road cooperation documents. We have held two previous sessions of the BRF, and have established over 20 specialized multilateral cooperation platforms under the BRI.

Belt and Road cooperation has progressed from sketching the outline to filling in the details, and blueprints have been turned into real projects. A large number of signature projects and small but effective public wellbeing programs have been launched.

Belt and Road cooperation has expanded from physical connectivity to institutional connectivity. Important guidelines for high-quality Belt and Road cooperation have been laid down, which include the principle of planning together, building together, and benefiting together, the philosophy of open, green and clean cooperation, and the goal of pursuing high-standard, people-centered and sustainable cooperation.

Over these 10 years, we have endeavored to build a global network of connectivity consisting of economic corridors, international transport routes, and an information highway, as well as railways, roads, airports, ports, pipelines, and power grids. Covering the land, the ocean, the sky and the internet, this network has boosted the flow of goods, capital, technologies and human resources among countries involved, and injected fresh vitality into the millennia-old Silk Road in the new era.

Trains speeding along rail tracks, automobiles running on roads, flights connecting different countries, cargo ships breaking the waves, and e-commerce bringing convenience to people's lives – these have all become symbols of international trade in the new era, just as the camel caravans and sailing ships were in the past.

Hydro, wind and solar power plants, oil and gas pipelines, and increasingly smart and interconnected power transmission networks are removing the development bottleneck caused by energy shortage and fulfilling the dream of developing countries to achieve green and low-carbon development. These energy projects have become the oasis for sustainable development in the new era.

Modern airports and harbors, smooth roads, and newly built industrial parks for business cooperation have created new economic corridors and new growth drivers, and have become the business thoroughfare and staging posts of the new era.

Rich and colorful culture years, art festivals, expos and exhibitions, Luban Workshops, people-to-people exchange programs like the Silk Road Community Building Initiative and the Brightness Action program, and deeper exchanges among non-governmental organizations, think tanks, media organizations, and youth – all these flourishing activities are creating a symphony of friendship in the new era.

When Covid-19 struck, the Belt and Road became a life-saving road. China provided more than 10 billion masks and 2.3 billion doses of vaccines to other countries and jointly produced vaccines with over 20 countries, making a special contribution to BRI partners' efforts in fighting Covid-19. And China also received valuable support from more than 70 countries when it was hit hard by the pandemic.

Belt and Road cooperation is based on the principle of planning together, building together, and benefiting together. It transcends differences between civilizations, cultures, social systems, and stages of development. It has opened up a new path for exchanges among countries and established a new framework for international cooperation. Indeed, the BRI represents humanity's joint pursuit of development for all.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

Our achievements in the past decade are truly remarkable, and there is so much we can draw from them.

We have learned that humankind is a community that shares a single common future. China can only do well when the world is doing well. When China does well, the world will do even better. Through Belt and Road cooperation, China is opening its door even wider to the world, with its inland regions turning from “fullbacks” into “forwards”, and coastal regions scaling new heights in their

opening up. China's market has become even more closely integrated with the global market. China has become a major trading partner to more than 140 countries and regions and continues to be a primary source of investment for an increasing number of countries. Both Chinese investment overseas and foreign investment in China have boosted friendship, cooperation, confidence and hope.

We have learned that win-win cooperation is the sure way to success in launching major initiatives that benefit all. When countries embrace cooperation and act in concert, a chasm can be turned into a thoroughfare, land-locked countries can become land-linked, and underdeveloped regions can be transformed into prosperous lands. Countries taking the lead in economic development should lend a helping hand to their partners who are yet to catch up. We should all treat each other as friends and partners, respect and support each other, and help each other succeed. As the saying goes, when you give roses to others, their fragrance lingers on your hand. In other words, helping others is also helping oneself. Viewing others' development as a threat or treating economic interdependence as a risk will not make one's own life better or speed up one's development.

We have learned that the Silk Road spirit of peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning, and mutual benefit is the most important source of strength for Belt and Road cooperation. I once said that the pioneers of the ancient silk routes won their place in history not as conquerors with warships, guns, horses or swords. Rather, they are remembered as friendly emissaries leading camel caravans and sailing ships loaded with goods. Belt and Road cooperation is based on the belief that flames grow higher when everyone adds wood to the fire and that mutual support can get us far. Such cooperation seeks to deliver a good life not only to people of just one country, but to people in other countries as well. It promotes connectivity, mutual benefit, common development, cooperation and win-win outcomes. Ideological confrontation, geopolitical rivalry, and bloc politics are not the choices we make. What we stand against are unilateral sanctions, economic coercion, decoupling, and severing

industrial and supply chains.

What has been achieved in the past 10 years demonstrates that Belt and Road cooperation is on the right side of history. It represents progress in our times, and it is the right path forward. We need to remain clear-eyed and undisturbed in a volatile world, and we need to be keenly aware of our responsibility to posterity, to the people, and to the world. We should jointly address various global risks and challenges, and deliver a bright future of peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit for future generations.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

Our world, our times, and the course of history are experiencing unprecedented change. China is endeavoring to build itself into a great country and realize national rejuvenation on all fronts by pursuing Chinese modernization. The modernization we are pursuing is not for China alone, but for all developing countries through our joint efforts. Global modernization should be pursued to strengthen peaceful development and mutually beneficial cooperation and bring prosperity to all. On our way forward, we will encounter both headwinds and tailwinds. We need to stay focused on our goals, take results-oriented actions, persevere, and keep moving forward until our goals are met. China will work with all parties involved to expand Belt and Road partnerships of cooperation, raise this cooperation to new heights of high-quality development, and make relentless efforts to achieve modernization for all countries.

Now, I wish to announce eight major steps China will take to support high-quality Belt and Road cooperation.

First, building a multidimensional Belt and Road connectivity network. China will speed up the high-quality development of the China-Europe Railway Express, participate in the development of the trans-Caspian international transport corridor, host the China-Europe Railway Express Cooperation Forum, and work with relevant parties to build a new logistics corridor across the Eurasian continent linked by direct railway and road transportation. We will vigorously integrate

port, shipping and trading services under the Silk Road Maritime platform, and accelerate the building of the New International Land-Sea Trade Corridor and the Air Silk Road.

Second, supporting an open world economy. China will establish pilot zones for Silk Road e-commerce cooperation, and enter into free trade agreements and investment protection treaties with more countries. We will remove all restrictions on foreign investment access in the manufacturing sector. Taking the most demanding international economic and trade rules as benchmarks, we will further advance high-standard opening up in cross-border service trade and investment, expand market access for digital and other products, and deepen reform in areas including state-owned enterprises, the digital economy, intellectual property, and government procurement. China will hold the Global Digital Trade Expo annually. In the next five years (2024-2028), China's total trade in goods is expected to exceed US\$32 trillion, and in services, US\$5 trillion.

Third, carrying out practical cooperation. China will promote both signature projects and small but effective public wellbeing programs. The China Development Bank and the Export-Import Bank of China will each set up a RMB350 billion financing window. An additional RMB80 billion will be injected into the Silk Road Fund. Together, they will support BRI projects on the basis of market and business operation. Cooperation agreements worth US\$97.2 billion have been concluded at the CEO Conference held during this forum. China will carry out 1,000 small-scale assistance projects, and increase vocational education cooperation through Luban Workshops and other initiatives. We will also step up joint efforts with relevant parties to ensure the safety and security of BRI projects and personnel.

Fourth, promoting green development. China will continue to achieve deeper cooperation in areas such as green infrastructure, green energy, and green transport, and step up support for the BRI International Green Development Coalition. China will continue to hold the BRI Green Innovation Conference, and establish dialogue and exchange mechanisms for the solar industry and a network of

experts on green and low-carbon development. China will implement the Green Investment Principles for the Belt and Road Initiative, and provide 100,000 training opportunities for partner countries by 2030.

Fifth, advancing scientific and technological innovation. China will continue to implement the Belt and Road Science, Technology and Innovation Cooperation Action Plan, hold the first Belt and Road Conference on Science and Technology Exchange, increase the number of joint laboratories built with other parties to 100 in the next five years, and support young scientists from other countries to work on short-term programs in China. At this forum, China will put forward the Global Initiative for Artificial Intelligence (AI) Governance. We stand ready to increase exchanges and dialogue with other countries and jointly promote sound, orderly and secure global AI development.

Sixth, supporting people-to-people exchanges. China will host the Liangzhu Forum to strengthen dialogue on civilizations with BRI partner countries. China has launched the International Tourism Alliance of Silk Road Cities. This is in addition to the Silk Road International League of Theaters, the Silk Road International Arts Festival, the International Alliance of Museums of the Silk Road, the Silk Road International Alliance of Art Museums, and the Silk Road International Library Alliance that are already in place. And we will continue with the Chinese Government Scholarship Silk Road Program.

Seventh, promoting integrity-based Belt and Road cooperation. Together with its cooperation partners, China will release the Achievements and Prospects of Belt and Road Integrity Building and the High-level Principles on Belt and Road Integrity Building, and establish the Integrity and Compliance Evaluation System for Companies Involved in Belt and Road Cooperation. We will also work with international organizations to carry out research and training on promoting integrity in Belt and Road cooperation.

Eighth, strengthening institutions for Belt and Road international cooperation. China will work with its BRI partner countries to strengthen the building of multilateral cooperation platforms covering

energy, taxation, finance, green development, disaster reduction, anti-corruption, think tanks, media, culture, and other fields. China will continue to host the BRF and establish a secretariat for the forum.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends,

The past decade has been a journey of dedicated cooperation and fruitful outcomes. Belt and Road cooperation was proposed by China, but its benefits and opportunities are for the world to share. Let us meet the expectations of the people, assume the responsibilities entrusted to us by history, closely follow the trends of the times, and press ahead with energy and enterprise. Let us expand Belt and Road international cooperation, and bring Belt and Road cooperation to a new stage of higher-quality and higher-level development. Let us advance the modernization of all countries, build an open, inclusive and interconnected world for common development, and jointly build a community with a shared future for humanity.

I wish the Third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation every success!

Thank you.

Promote High-Quality Belt and Road Cooperation*

December 2, 2024

In today's complex and turbulent international environment, opportunities and challenges coexist in our pursuit of high-quality Belt and Road cooperation. However, generally speaking, the opportunities outweigh the challenges. To create a brighter future for Belt and Road cooperation, we should strengthen our strategic confidence, maintain our strategic resolve, and act with a sense of courage and responsibility.

Since the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) was proposed in 2013, great headway has been made under the strong leadership of the CPC Central Committee. All BRI partners have worked together in the Silk Road spirit of peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning, and mutual benefit. Planning together, building together, and benefiting together, we have expanded Belt and Road cooperation into new fields and more countries, and raised it to a higher level. The initiative is increasing its international appeal and influence, and growing more cohesive. Significant progress has been made in Belt and Road cooperation, which has helped bolster China's friendship with participating countries, and through which China has contributed to their economic and social development.

In recent years, the world has entered a new period of turbulence and transformation. Unilateralism and protectionism have become more prevalent, and regional conflicts and turmoil have become more frequent. Against this backdrop, as we advance Belt

* Main points of the speech at the fourth meeting on the Belt and Road Initiative.

and Road cooperation, it has become even more important that we find appropriate and effective ways to manage risks and challenges and to address the impact of geopolitical conflicts. We must increase the sense of gain for participating countries while ensuring our own development and making concrete efforts to secure our overseas interests.

Belt and Road cooperation has entered a new stage of high-quality development. Our overall approach must be to pursue progress while ensuring stability. We must implement the new development philosophy in full, to the letter, and in all fields, and move faster to create a new development dynamic. Championing the cause of a community with a shared future for humanity, we should uphold the principles of open, green, clean, high-standard, people-centered and sustainable cooperation, and maintain our commitment to planning together, building together, and benefiting together. Guided by the eight major steps to support high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, we should focus on connectivity and integrate high-quality development with high-standard security, government guidance with market-oriented operations, well-conceived plans with dynamic optimization, and quantitative growth with qualitative improvement. We should coordinate efforts to strengthen hard connectivity of infrastructure, soft connectivity of rules and standards, and people-to-people connectivity between China and participating countries. We will drive progress in both major signature projects and small but effective public wellbeing programs, and advance cooperation in both traditional and emerging fields. We should strengthen mechanisms for high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, and explore new space for resilient, sustainable, and mutually beneficial development at a higher level.

Stronger mechanisms for high-quality Belt and Road cooperation must be a priority, in particular for these initiatives: coordinating and managing Belt and Road cooperation plans; coordinating and advancing hard, soft and people-to-people connectivity; results-oriented industrial and supply chain cooperation; international exchange and cooperation in emerging fields; diversified investment and financ-

ing guarantees; internal-external coordination in risk prevention and control; protecting overseas interests; effective international communication; and clean Silk Road cooperation. These mechanisms are designed to promote steady and sustained progress in high-quality Belt and Road cooperation.

Once a blueprint is adopted, it must be carried through to implementation in a consistent manner. We must brave risks and challenges, stand resolute behind high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, and make a greater contribution to building a community with a shared future for humanity.

The Party's Leadership and Self-Reform

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Promote and Sustain the Revolutionary Traditions of Yan'an*

October 27, 2022

The Seventh CPC National Congress held in 1945 marked a major milestone in the history of our Party, testifying to its growing political, ideological and organizational maturity. Politically, after the Yan'an Rectification Movement¹, the whole Party was united under the leadership of Mao Zedong, achieving unprecedented unity and solidarity within the Party. Ideologically, the Party established the guiding position of Mao Zedong Thought in the whole Party and incorporated it into the Party Constitution. Organizationally, the Party formed a group of seasoned statesmen who followed Mao Zedong resolutely. The Seventh CPC National Congress was a critical event in the Party's history, setting the orientation and charting the course for the Party in achieving a series of victories in the years that followed.

The revolutionary heritage sites in Yan'an witnessed the glorious journey of our Party during the Yan'an period (1935-1948) in leading the Chinese revolution and exploring ways to adapt Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times. Like a constant source of wisdom, they offer fresh insights, profound understanding, and great inspiration on every visit. We must improve the management of these sites, thoroughly study their revolutionary past, and better tell the stories of Yangjialing and the Seventh CPC National Congress in combination with present-day realities.

Yan'an is a sacred place of the Chinese revolution and the cradle

* Main points of the speech during a visit to the revolutionary heritage sites in Yan'an.

of the PRC. For 13 years from 1935 to 1948, the Party Central Committee and the older generation of revolutionaries including Mao Zedong lived and fought in Yan'an. They led the Chinese revolutionary cause from a low ebb to a high tide, achieved a historic turning point, and reshaped the destiny of China. The towering Baota Hill and rolling Yanhe River witnessed these great endeavors. Yan'an nourished the growth and expansion of the Communist Party of China with coarse grain and supported the Chinese revolution on its march towards victory. Yan'an and its people made tremendous contributions to China's revolutionary cause, which we should always remember.

I lived and worked in Yan'an for seven years, and my father also lived here at one time, so I am quite familiar with this place. When I was sent to work in northern Shaanxi as an educated youth, every time I passed through Yan'an I would always visit former revolutionary sites such as the site of the Seventh CPC National Congress, Yangjialing, Zaoyuan, and Fenghuang Hill. Since becoming a member of the central leadership, I have visited Yan'an three times on inspection tours. This time, I am here with my colleagues on the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee to declare that the new central collective leadership will carry forward the great revolutionary traditions and fine conduct established by the Party during the Yan'an period and promote the revolutionary spirit of Yan'an.

The glorious traditions and fine conduct that were forged and developed during the Yan'an period, as well as the Yan'an spirit, are the Party's precious spiritual wealth and should be passed down from generation to generation. The main elements of the Yan'an spirit include a firm commitment to the right political orientation, the guiding principle of freeing the mind and seeking truth from facts, the fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, and a pioneering ethos of self-reliance and hard work.

Maintaining the right political orientation is the essence of the Yan'an spirit. In 1938, in answer to the question of what should be studied at the Military and Political University of Resistance Against

Japanese Aggression in Yan'an, Mao Zedong stated, "First and foremost, we should learn about political orientation." In order to propel the great cause inaugurated by the revolutionaries of the older generation, all Party members must uphold the right political orientation, resolutely implement the Party's underlying theories, basic guidelines, and fundamental principles, and carry out the decisions and plans of the CPC Central Committee.

It was during the Yan'an period that the Party defined the fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly and incorporated it into the Party Constitution, emphasizing that "these battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests"², calling on Party officials to stand firmly on the side of the people, and creating an environment where "there were only public servants, not officials giving orders"³. All Party members must stand firmly with the people, fulfill the Party's purpose, practice the Party's mass line, maintain close ties with the people, apply the people-centered philosophy of development in all our efforts, and work steadily towards common prosperity, so that the gains of modernization can benefit all our people fairly.

After settling in Yan'an, the CPC Central Committee and the Red Army faced extreme conditions resulting from military and economic blockades imposed by the enemy. In response to Mao Zedong's call for "using our own hands for ample food and clothing", the soldiers and civilians in Yan'an enthusiastically launched the Great Production Campaign, which provided strong support for the front line of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression. All Party members must vigorously promote this spirit of self-reliance and hard work, which must never be discarded whatever level of material prosperity we achieve in the future. We must work hard for concrete results, concentrate on managing our own affairs well, and support the development of our country and our nation with our own strength.

Back then in Yan'an, Mao Zedong and other veteran revolutionaries lived in cave dwellings, ate coarse grain for meals, and wore simple cloth garments. However, the "Yan'an strength" of the Communists

finally triumphed over the “Xi’an strength” of the Kuomintang. All Party members should carry forward and build on the glorious traditions and fine conduct of the older generation of revolutionaries and Communists. We should have the courage to advance the Party’s self-reform, promote full and rigorous internal governance, always maintain the Party’s progressive and wholesome nature, and ensure that the Party remains the strong leadership core in advancing the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

During the Yan’an period, endowed with a tenacious fighting spirit and displaying exceptional fighting qualities, the Party battled vigorously against the aggression of Japanese militarism, responded effectively to a series of major challenges such as the Xi’an Incident, the July 7th Incident, and the Chongqing Negotiations, forcefully led and directed the revolutionary efforts across the country, and dealt capably with the focused attacks by the Kuomintang troops on the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. Relying on nothing more than millet and rifles, it blazed a new trail for the Chinese revolution. All Party members should carry forward this fighting spirit, build up our fighting capabilities, resolutely overcome all kinds of difficulties and challenges on the road ahead, and open up new horizons for the development of our cause through tenacious struggle.

The 20th CPC National Congress laid out the guidelines and policies of the Party and the state for the present and years to come, and crafted a grand blueprint for national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization. Let us embark on this new journey and reach our new goal.

Notes

¹ This refers to a Marxist education campaign within the CPC from the spring of 1942 to the spring of 1945. Its main aims were to fight against subjectivism in order to improve theoretical study, to fight against sectarianism in order to improve Party conduct, and to fight against the “Party stereotype” in order to improve the quality of Party writing. Through the movement the whole Party reaffirmed the practice of

applying the basic tenets of Marxism to the actual conditions of China's revolution. It was called the Yan'an Rectification Movement because the CPC Central Committee was seated in Yan'an at the time.

² Mao Zedong: "Serve the People", *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1965, p. 177.

³ Zhu De: "Two Poems in the Rhythm of Dong Biwu's Poems (II)", *Poems of Zhu De (New Edition)*, Vol. 1, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2007, p. 110.

Centralized, Unified Leadership of the Central Committee: A Major Precept of a Mature Marxist Governing Party*

December 26-27, 2022

The 20th CPC National Congress has drawn up the grand blueprint for building a great modern socialist country in all respects and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization, and clearly defined the goals and tasks for all the undertakings of the Party and the country on the new journey in the new era. Applying the guiding principles of the 20th National Congress is the primary political task of the whole Party at present and for a period to come. We members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee should take the lead and set a good example in fully studying, grasping and applying these guiding principles. We must live up to the people's expectations and fulfill our mission by effectively unifying our thinking and action around the decisions and plans adopted at the congress.

Upholding the centralized, unified leadership of the central committee is a major precept of a mature Marxist governing party. If the central committee of a large party in a country of our size cannot enforce strong, effective, centralized and unified leadership, there is a risk that different localities and departments will go their own way and nothing will be accomplished. Upholding the centralized, unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee is a concrete requirement rather than an abstract concept. It should, first and foremost,

* Main points of the speech at a criticism and self-criticism meeting among members of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

be met by firmly upholding the authority of the Central Committee and strengthening our commitment to the Four Consciousnesses, the Four-sphere Confidence, and the Two Upholds. At all times and under all circumstances, we must stay closely in line with the Central Committee. Our voices should form a harmonious ensemble under the unified command of the Central Committee; we must maintain the correct tempo and there must be no discord. At all times and under all circumstances, we must uphold the Party's guidelines, remain committed to its aspiration, and fulfill its mission. We must answer the Central Committee's call, execute its decisions, and stay clear of its prohibitions; we should recalibrate our standards against the set requirements from time to time in order to quickly correct any deviation. At all times and under all circumstances, we must maintain absolute loyalty to the Party, be of one mind with the Central Committee, have the deepest respect for the Party and concern for its interests, stand firm to defend it, and do all we can to ensure that it prospers. Major decisions, matters and developments in our work should be reported to the Central Committee for instruction in a timely manner.

Chinese modernization is an unprecedented undertaking that requires experimentation and innovation. This places a new and higher demand on the competency and ability of Party organizations and leading officials at all levels, and on our morale, conduct and image. For us members of the Political Bureau, political ability is the most important attribute in performing our duties. We should continue to place ourselves under the strictest standards for Marxist statesmen, and increase our political acumen, understanding, and capacity to deliver. We should do a good job in assessing significant and overall development trends at home and abroad, keep in mind the priorities of the country, and launch major programs to meet the interests of the country and the Party, and to benefit the people and win their hearts. As called for by the Party's 20th National Congress, we should continue to increase our ability to promote high-quality development, serve the people, and prevent and defuse risks.

To translate the grand blueprint drawn at the Party's 20th National Congress into reality, leading officials at all levels must be proactive and take on their responsibilities. They should dedicate themselves to the Party and public service and perform their duties with a great sense of responsibility for the Party and the people. We should create a sound environment conducive to fostering an enterprising spirit, and readily support those who step up to their responsibilities and those who are engaged in solid work. We should be able to identify, cultivate and promote officials who are willing to embrace a challenge. We should focus on eliminating any obstacles that hinder officials from playing their role, so that the determination to assume responsibilities and do good work becomes the norm. We must carry forward our fighting spirit, actively respond to threats and challenges, and open up new horizons for our cause with tenacity.

We members of the Political Bureau should take the lead in strengthening systems thinking and elevating our political awareness. We should improve our abilities in advancing the great struggle, the great project, the great cause, and the great dream. We should ensure a holistic approach to the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and coordinated implementation of the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy. We should have the overall national interest firmly in mind and act accordingly. We should subordinate minor principles to major principles, and local interests to the overall national interest. We should constantly improve our capacity for strategic, historical, dialectical, systems, innovative and law-based thinking, and have plans in place for worst-case scenarios. If we are forward-looking and focus on overall planning, we will effectively advance all undertakings in a holistic manner. We should always take a broad perspective and a long-term view, refrain from petty calculations and self-interested scheming, and consciously prevent and oppose egoism, fragmentation, disregard of rules, and the silo mentality. We must contribute to both local and national development.

The conduct of leading officials, especially those in senior roles, has always been an important weather vane that gauges Party conduct

and social morality. It serves as an important window for the people to observe Party conduct. We members of the Political Bureau should rigorously examine ourselves against the newly revised measures for enforcing the Eight Rules, to ensure full implementation of the provisions. We should focus on correcting the chronic malaise of form over substance and bureaucratism, and take the lead in modeling positive Party conduct. We should vigorously promote study and research. To observe firsthand and gain a detailed yet comprehensive understanding of real conditions in the country, we should undertake more grassroots field trips to make case studies in areas within our scope of responsibility, in areas experiencing difficulties, in areas where public complaints are concentrated, and in areas where things are not going smoothly. We should create conditions and a social atmosphere that encourage grassroots officials and ordinary people to be open and speak their minds. Once a problem is identified, we should engage in a targeted study, analyze the root causes, get to the crux of the matter, and find a solution.

Our Party always represents the fundamental interests of all Chinese people. It has never represented any individual interest group, power group, or privileged stratum. To be able to stand firm, leading officials should first and foremost be of unquestionable integrity themselves. The key to integrity lies in self-awareness. The most valuable attribute is perseverance, and the greatest challenge is to maintain total incorruptibility. We members of the Political Bureau should take the lead in demonstrating integrity and self-discipline and in fulfilling our political responsibility for governing the Party. We should improve Party conduct and promote integrity in areas within our scope of responsibility or under our jurisdiction, and show resolve in fighting against all forms of misconduct and corruption. We should seek to foster pure comradeship between peer officials, develop well-regulated superior-subordinate relations, and form a new type of cordial and clean relationship between government and business. We should serve well as creators, leaders and defenders of a healthy political ecosystem and social atmosphere. At the same time, we should set strict

requirements for our family members, relatives, and immediate staff, and ensure that they do not abuse our power or influence for their personal gain.

Stay Alert and Determined in Tackling Challenges Unique to a Large Political Party*

January 9, 2023

Over the past decade, in response to a range of prominent issues and challenges within the Party, the Central Committee has incorporated full and rigorous internal Party governance into the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy. We have applied stringent measures to remove all irregularities and combat severe corruption whatever the pain, and fortified the Party through revolutionary tempering. At its 20th National Congress in 2022, the Party carried out a thorough review of our achievements in exercising full and rigorous internal governance over the past decade, while also emphasizing the imperative for all members to stay alert and determined in tackling the unique challenges faced by a large political party like ours. This imperative represents a novel and pivotal approach to strengthening full and rigorous internal Party governance on its new journey in the new era. It is based on the Party's development trajectory, its mission and tasks, and the complex environment it faces, and on a deep understanding of its fundamental nature and evolving conditions.

Our Party, guided by the Marxist theory of political party development, stands as the world's largest political party founded on the principle of democratic centralism. It has maintained long-term governance over the world's most populous country. With its rich history, immense scale, and extensive membership base, the Party possesses the strength to undertake major initiatives and complete

* Part of the speech at the Second Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

monumental projects. However, it also faces distinctive challenges in internal governance and in governing the country. The following are some of the major issues that need to be further studied and resolved.

– How to remain true to our original aspiration and founding mission. The great cause of the Party is formidable and challenging, and we face a long and arduous journey ahead. Some Party members have come to lose sight of the founding mission of the Party, forgetting the ultimate ideal of communism and the common ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics. In failing to maintain a clear sense of who they are, who they serve, and who they rely on, they have forsaken the truth of what it means to be a Communist. We must stay true to our original aspiration, uphold the Party's ideals, convictions and principles, and continue to strive for the wellbeing of the Chinese people and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. In addition, to preserve the Party's progressive and wholesome nature, we should maintain a strong connection with the people.

– How to achieve consistent unity in our thinking, will and action. As the Party expands, some of its members will be tempted to form self-serving factions, cliques and cabals, often failing or refusing to comply with decisions made by the Central Committee. This will undermine Party unity and solidarity, and damage its cohesion and capabilities. As reform and opening up has continued to advance, diverse interests and ideas in society have had a profound impact on the thinking and conduct of Party members and officials. In the face of major challenges and critical situations, it is imperative that we consistently direct our thoughts and efforts towards a shared goal, in order to foster cohesion and synergy in both thinking and action. This will ensure that all Party members remain closely united around the Central Committee and progress in unison.

– How to maintain strong governance and leadership capacity. It is inevitable that during the course of its long-term governance, our century-old Party has experienced a certain degree of inertia in thought and deed. Outdated ideas, routines and approaches can sometimes solidify into entrenched habits. Our membership is constantly

growing and evolving, leading to discrepancies in the quality of officials. We must keep pace with the times and strengthen our capacity for sound, democratic and law-based governance. This requires us to address deficiencies in professional abilities and skills, ensure alignment with the requirements of the new era, and foster the ability to lead our modernization drive, so as to become both politically committed and professionally competent in achieving the goal of national rejuvenation.

– How to maintain a can-do mindset. Our Party has been governing China for decades and the country has enjoyed a prolonged period of peace. In the absence of existential threats and rigorous challenges in a harsh environment, a number of Party members and officials begin to lose their enterprising spirit, wallowing in comfort and indulging in pleasure instead. As a result, they may become demoralized, and succumb to confusion and even panic when faced with the numerous new challenges presented by the great struggle. It is imperative that we maintain the drive to work hard and pursue success. We must demonstrate the courage, the competence, and the perseverance to confront challenges head-on, bravely shoulder our responsibilities, open up new horizons for our cause, and make uncompromising efforts to overcome all obstacles on our journey forward.

– How to identify and address our own problems in a timely manner. Just as a fortress can be most easily breached from within, the biggest threats to our Party are likely to be internal. This makes it easy for some in our Party – a large one with a glorious history and a record of remarkable achievements in governance – to be carried away by its successes and overlook its shortcomings. It is easy for them to be lured into a trap where they are more comfortable reforming others than reforming themselves. To prevent this from happening, we must uphold truth, rectify errors, follow the trends of the times, respect the will of the people, promote our best practices, and draw lessons from experience. We must strive to steer the right course and stay at the forefront of the times in an era of profound global change.

– How to maintain a wholesome political atmosphere. Over the years, negative elements have persisted in undermining the Party's progressive and wholesome nature, and viruses have eroded the Party's health. Unless we take strict precautions and regularly cleanse the political environment, these issues will accumulate over time into more complex and challenging problems that are difficult to resolve. We must maintain vigilance against potential dangers, and have a plan in place for worst-case scenarios. To maintain the Party's health, we must enforce strict self-discipline and deal with problems the way we would treat diseases – taking supplements to strengthen our bones, eradicating harmful viruses and bacteria, eliminating necrotic tissue, and healing wounds. Additionally, we must cultivate a positive and robust political culture within the Party while continuously improving its political environment. This will provide the strength required for denouncing vice and extolling virtue, thereby ensuring that the Party never betrays its nature and mission.

Our Party must overcome all these challenges in a series of crucial steps towards fulfilling its missions and tasks in the new era, and in adapting its internal governance to the new situation and new requirements. We are striving to achieve the lofty goal of building a great modern socialist country in all respects and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization. We must overcome the challenges of high winds, heavy seas, and even dangerous storms on the journey ahead, and the long-standing Four Tests and Four Risks must be addressed. It is inevitable that our efforts to resolve the issues unique to a large political party will be an arduous and protracted process. This means that full and rigorous internal governance and self-reform of the Party is an ongoing drive. Advancing towards the goals of our Party's long-term governance, our country's enduring peace and stability, and our people's happiness and wellbeing, we must regard full and rigorous internal Party governance as a long-term strategy and perpetual mission rather than a temporary process with a visible end result. We must overcome complacency, fatigue and weariness, and guard against misguided expectations,

changes of direction, or lowering of standards. We must remain problem-oriented, maintain strategic resolve, and follow the spirit of thorough self-reform. To carry through the great self-reform of the Party, we must show unwavering determination, apply the most stringent of standards, and implement the most rigorous of measures.

On the new journey, as an effective means in providing political guidance and assurance, and in advancing its own development and that of the country, the Party should continue to exercise full and rigorous internal governance. Throughout this process, we must ensure that all Party members bear in mind the Three Musts¹ and fulfill the Party's fundamental purpose. By strengthening management and supervision over officials, while encouraging them to shoulder responsibilities, we can cultivate stronger leadership and create more extensive synergy to reach our goals. The objective is not to exert rigid control over Party members, instill fear and apprehension, or intimidate members into inaction. Rather, it is to establish a positive and robust political environment and an enabling framework for practical endeavors by providing clear guidance, defining the rules, improving Party conduct, and boosting the capacity to resist adverse influences. We must continue to explore and strengthen effective measures for full and rigorous internal Party governance. We should apply the "three distinctions" between different types of errors, be both strict and supportive with our officials, and integrate incentives with restraints. This will allow us to stimulate the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of Party members and officials, and foster an atmosphere conducive to achieving progress on the new journey and making our due contribution in the new era.

Notes

¹ This refers to the requirements that Party members must stay true to the Party's original aspiration and founding mission, must remain modest, prudent and hardworking, and must have the courage and capability to meet challenges head-on.

Reinforce Full and Rigorous Internal Governance to Strengthen the Party in the New Era*

January 9, 2023

One of our major initiatives is to advance the great project of strengthening the Party and always commit to effective self-supervision and strict internal Party governance. This is also a cornerstone of the enduring success and prosperity of the Party and the country. Over the past century, our Party has united the Chinese people and led them in working towards the great transformation of the Chinese nation, from standing up and becoming prosperous to growing in strength. This endeavor is a great cause; it has transformed our society through a process of significant self-reform. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the distinctive theme of Party development in the new era has been strengthening internal governance. To achieve this goal, we have proposed a series of innovative concepts, implemented a series of transformative practices, and improved a series of institutional norms. As a result, basic systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance have been established.

Building these pioneering systems is of overall significance. In the past decade since the advent of the new era, the CPC has continued to expand its understanding of the dynamics of self-reform. We have promoted theoretical, practical and institutional innovations in strengthening the Party, and achieved substantial results in building our systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance.

* Part of the speech at the Second Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

We regard reinforcing the Party's political foundations as our first priority and a fundamental task. We have upheld and strengthened the Party's leadership, conducted vigorous internal Party activities, and purified and restored the political ecosystem. To ensure unity, we have urged the whole Party to strengthen its commitment to the Four Consciousnesses, the Four-sphere Confidence, and the Two Upholds, and to rally closely around the CPC Central Committee.

Ideological work is the basis for strengthening the Party. We have armed ourselves with the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era; we have carried forward the great founding spirit of the Party; and we have held regular education sessions within the Party to sustain the faith of members and officials and reinforce our commitment to the communist ideals.

We have proposed and remain committed to the Party's organizational guidelines for the new era. To strengthen their organizational system and bolster their political and organizational capabilities, we have overhauled weak and lax Party organizations, and improved them at all levels. We have maintained the Party's scrutiny of officials and set requirements on their performance in the new era, aiming to foster highly competent officials who are loyal, honest, and equipped with a strong sense of responsibility.

We began by developing and enforcing the central Party leadership's Eight Rules on improving conduct. In a spirit of "leaving our print on the stone we tread and our mark in the steel we grasp", we have persevered in correcting the Four Forms of Official Misconduct¹, opposed privilege-seeking mindsets and practices, addressed unhealthy tendencies that had long run unchecked, and halted problems that had plagued us for years. This has helped reshape the image of the Party and earn more trust and support from the people.

Strengthening discipline has been incorporated into the overall framework of the Party's development. Holding the belief that Party discipline must be stricter than the law and should precede the law, we have rigorously enforced the Party's political discipline and rules. This has driven comprehensive reinforcement of discipline regarding

organization, integrity, working practices, personal life, and interactions with the people. We have closely scrutinized the performance of duties and the exercise of power by Party members and officials, dealt with problems at an early stage, and applied the four forms of disciplinary oversight and enforcement² in a precise manner, making Party members and officials fully aware of the Party's strict governance as well as its unwavering support for their work.

We have integrated institutional improvements into all aspects of the Party's development. We have continued to improve the Party Constitution in line with the times, focused on strengthening Party leadership and Party development to promote institutional innovation, formed a relatively complete system of Party regulations, and established the main supervision framework of the Party and the state. We have thus confined power in an institutional cage, providing fundamental, overarching, stable and long-term guarantees for the Party's development in the new era. We have conducted an unprecedented anti-corruption campaign, leaving no ground unturned, achieving full coverage, and showing zero tolerance. We have integrated our efforts to ensure that officials dare not, cannot, and will not engage in corruption. We have adopted a multi-pronged approach to "take out tigers", "swat flies", and "hunt down foxes". A large number of corrupt elements have been investigated and punished, and serious political threats to the Party have been eliminated. The anti-corruption campaign has achieved an overwhelming victory, and we will consolidate its impact across all areas. We have blazed an anti-corruption path with Chinese characteristics.

No political party in the world is as dedicated to self-development as the Communist Party of China. Our conscientious self-reform is thoughtfully designed and systemically executed. This gives our Party a distinct strength and places it at the forefront of the times. We have won the people's staunch support and recognition for full and rigorous internal Party governance. According to a 2022 survey by the National Statistics Bureau, 97.4 percent of the public expressed satisfaction with the results of full and rigorous internal Party gover-

nance, the drive for improving Party conduct and promoting integrity, and the anti-corruption work – an increase of 22.4 percentage points compared with 2012.

Strengthening the systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance is a major measure proposed at the 20th CPC National Congress to strengthen the Party in the new era. The systems ought to be dynamic, rich in content, comprehensive in scope, robust in standards, and efficient in execution. To fortify them, we need to exercise institutionalized and rule-based governance of the Party. It is essential to emphasize that Party development requires consistency, synergy and coordination in all dimensions. Sound institutional arrangements and well-designed and effective regulations must be a priority. We also need to emphasize systematic analysis, dialectical reasoning, and the application of governance principles.

We must ensure that the systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance run through all our work on Party development. We should not limit this internal governance only to correcting misconduct, enforcing discipline, and fighting corruption. We must carry out strategies and policies for full internal governance in our efforts to reinforce the Party's political foundations, buttress ideological commitment, consolidate the organization, improve conduct, strengthen discipline, build stronger systems, and eliminate corruption.

Our targets must include every Party organization and every member, so that the whole Party is under effective supervision and governance. Particular emphasis is on the “key few”, most notably top-ranking officials and first-in-line leaders. Every Party member ought to receive equal treatment without exception, so that there are no oversights and no blind spots.

We should reinforce the whole chain of responsibilities. We should prioritize the responsibility of Party committees and Party leadership groups at all levels for full and rigorous internal Party governance, as well as the supervisory responsibility of discipline inspection commissions at all levels. We should encourage the secretaries of Party committees and Party leadership groups at all levels

to shoulder their responsibilities as the first person in charge, and ensure that other members of the leadership teams assume responsibilities for internal Party governance in addition to their prescribed duties. Every Party member and official should exercise their due rights and fulfill their due responsibilities, and we should ensure that rights match responsibilities and that those who fail to fulfill their responsibilities are held accountable. Pressure should be applied level by level, and responsibilities should be interlocked. We should encourage a sense of responsibility and mission in managing and governing the Party, and consolidate and develop a positive process where the whole Party makes concerted efforts to this end.

We should guarantee institutional coverage throughout the whole process and across every aspect and tier of full and rigorous internal Party governance. With the Party Constitution as the fundamental guide and democratic centralism as the key approach, we should steadily improve Party regulations and increase their authority and applicability. With institutional improvements, we will realize consistent, coordinated, full and rigorous internal governance based on rules and regulations.

Improving the systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance is the shared responsibility of the whole Party. We should leverage the Party's political, organizational and institutional strengths in this endeavor. It is necessary to understand the Party's past experience of self-reform, especially the latest experience of full and rigorous internal Party governance since the 18th CPC National Congress. In light of the new situation and tasks and under the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Central Committee, we should enforce a governance mechanism in which each Party committee takes its own responsibility under unified coordination. The systems of internal Party governance must be rigorous, comprehensive, rule-based, institutionalized, standardized, and meticulously planned. All our endeavors must fully reflect the demands of our times, demonstrate the underlying principles of the systems, and answer the call for innovation. When we achieve this, we will provide robust politi-

cal, ideological and organizational guarantees for the sound development of the Party and the nation.

Notes

¹ This refers to form over substance, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance.

² This refers to:

- (1) regular criticism and self-criticism sessions, and timely cautions, admonitions and warnings, obligatory corrections, and reprimands, to make those who have committed minor transgressions “flush and sweat”;
- (2) light disciplinary penalties and minor organizational adjustments to official positions, which are to be applied in the majority of cases;
- (3) heavy penalties and major adjustments to official positions, which are to be applied in a small number of cases;
- (4) investigation and prosecution, which are to be undertaken in a very small number of cases involving serious violations of discipline and suspected criminal conduct.

Goals of the Education Campaign on Studying and Applying the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era*

April 3, 2023

The Decision¹ recently issued by the CPC Central Committee has clearly defined the general requirements, goals, tasks, methods and measures for the current education campaign. Party organizations at all levels must act on them, taking into consideration their own conditions to ensure the desired results.

First, grasping the general requirements. The general requirements of the current education campaign are as follows: gaining a thorough understanding of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, strengthening commitment to the Party, prioritizing practice, and making a greater contribution. Closely related, interconnected, and mutually coherent, as a whole they embody the consistent requirements of our Party: integrating knowledge with practice, theory with reality, and the transformation of our subjective world with that of the objective world. These general requirements should be applied throughout the education campaign.

To gain a thorough understanding of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, Party members and officials should engage in earnest study to build a full and systematic knowledge of its basic points and strengths as a scientific system, grasp its worldview and methodology, and uphold and apply its stances, viewpoints and methods. In this process, we should identify

* Part of the speech at a meeting on the education campaign on studying and applying Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

closely with the Party's new theories from political and philosophical perspectives, apply them both in letter and in spirit, master the essence of Marxism, and use the Thought to guide all aspects of our work.

To strengthen commitment to the Party, Party members and officials should conscientiously apply the Thought to transform their subjective world, thoroughly understand the inherent requirements of the Thought on strengthening ideals and convictions, elevating theoretical attainment, and reinforcing commitment to the Party, and thereby preserve the political character of Communists.

To prioritize practice, Party members and officials should conscientiously apply the Thought to transform the objective world, advance our undertakings, and observe, understand and steer the trends of our times. We should proactively identify, respond to, and seek change, solve problems in economic and social development and in strengthening the Party, forestall and defuse major risks, and strive for new progress and breakthroughs in Chinese modernization.

To make a greater contribution, Party members and officials should draw from the Thought to find wisdom and strength for their endeavors. We should master the ways of thinking, working and leading embodied in the Thought, and constantly improve our abilities and performance in fulfilling our duties. We should focus on development, endeavor to deliver results, make a solid contribution in our work, and strive to make achievements that can stand the test of time and win the approval of the people.

Second, focusing on goals and tasks. In carrying out this education campaign, our fundamental tasks are as follows: integrating learning, reflection and application, and seeking unity between knowledge, faith and practice; turning the Thought into a powerful force for strengthening our ideals and convictions, reinforcing our commitment to the Party, guiding our practice, and advancing our work; ensuring the entire Party is united in its thinking, has an iron will, is coordinated in its actions, and remains powerful; and achieving solid results in cultivating inner strength, acquiring fresh

knowledge, rectifying conduct, and improving work performance. We should achieve the following specific goals:

One, strengthening cohesion, forging the soul, and consolidating the foundations. Party members and officials should be educated and guided to undergo theoretical and ideological training to reinforce their faith in Marxism, belief in Chinese socialism, and confidence in realizing the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. We must carry forward the great founding spirit of the Party, stay true to our original aspiration and founding mission, remain modest, prudent, and committed to hard work, and be brave and adept in confronting adversity. This will help us reinforce our beliefs, convictions and commitment.

Two, tempering character and strengthening loyalty. Party members and officials should be educated and guided to temper their political character and constantly strengthen their political acumen, understanding, and capacity to deliver. We must reinforce our commitment to the Four Consciousnesses, the Four-sphere Confidence, and the Two Upholds. We must uphold the Party's guidelines, remain committed to its aspiration, fulfill its mission, and stay loyal to the Party, the people, and Marxism. With the deepest respect for the Party, we should always share its concerns, firmly defend it, and spare no effort to make it stronger.

Three, doing solid work, undertaking responsibilities, and promoting development. Party members and officials should be educated and guided to bear in mind the country's underlying interests. We must focus on the Party's central task in the new era and on the new journey, do solid work, and achieve concrete results. We must concentrate on problems, meet difficulties head-on, perform our duties well for the Party and the people, and have the drive to take on responsibilities at all times. We must contribute to new progress in high-quality development with new initiatives and efforts, and open up new horizons for our cause through tenacious struggle.

Four, fulfilling the Party's fundamental purpose and working for the people's wellbeing. Party members and officials should be educat-

ed and guided to follow the people-centered philosophy of development and remain committed to serving the people and relying on them in all endeavors. We should solicit advice from the people and respond to their needs. We should always share the lot of the people and stay truly connected to them. We should steadily improve the people's wellbeing by facilitating development, address their most pressing difficulties and the problems of their greatest concern, and win their support by rendering them service and meeting their needs, giving them a greater sense of gain, fulfillment and security.

Five, maintaining integrity and dedication and adopting healthy and positive practices. Party members and officials should be educated and guided to respect and observe discipline and rules. We should persevere in rectifying the Four Forms of Official Misconduct, and give more prominence to remedying the practices of form over substance and bureaucratism. We should ensure that the exercise of power is fair, law-based, people-oriented, and free from corruption. We should foster a clean relationship among Party members and officials, a rule-based relationship between superiors and subordinates, and a new type of cordial and clean relationship between government and business. We should be the pacemakers, creators and defenders of a healthy political environment and social ethos.

Third, fully implementing key measures. This campaign is not divided into stages or steps. We should integrate theoretical study, research and fact-finding, development efforts, and review and rectification, and promote them together.

– Strengthening theoretical study. Party members and officials should study original works and texts to comprehend the fundamentals. We should reflect on what we have learned to develop an in-depth understanding of the essence and requirements of the Thought as a scientific system, and make sure we put it into practice.

We should vigorously promote the Marxist approach to learning that combines theory with practice. In view of the extraordinary journey and great transformation in the new era, Party members and officials should fully understand the practical experience in creating

and developing the Thought. Bearing in mind the requirements of the times – coordinating efforts on the great struggle, the great project, the great cause, and the great dream, and ensuring a holistic approach to the Five-sphere Integrated Plan and coordinated implementation of the Four-pronged Comprehensive Strategy – Party members and officials must be fully conversant with the new visions, ideas and strategies of the Thought on governance. To meet and respond to the demands of our work, we should have in-depth knowledge of the important directives of the Thought in relevant fields, and the corresponding approaches, measures and methods.

Our study of the Thought should be both focused and comprehensive. To make the study more targeted and effective, we should guide Party members and officials to focus on what is most relevant to their work and shore up their deficiencies. Party committees and Party leadership groups at all levels should engage in in-depth discussions and exchanges through various forms of study, such as theory study groups for leading officials and reading groups for Party members. Leading officials should play an exemplary role by giving Party lectures, which in turn can expand their own understanding. We should use our education experience within the Party to guide and motivate the general public to study the Thought, so that the people become familiar with our Party's new theories.

– Conducting in-depth research and fact-finding. In accordance with the Central Committee's work plan on encouraging research and fact-finding across the Party, Party members and officials, especially leading officials at all levels, should go to the front lines. We should go to rural areas, urban communities, enterprises, hospitals, schools, new types of economic entities and social organizations, and other grassroots units. There, we will be expected to identify, learn about, and analyze problems, especially the hard nuts to crack. We should be able to study new situations and solve new problems with the help of the Party's new theories. We should adopt a problem-oriented approach, be more conscious of problems, identify them clearly, and face them squarely. We should look not only at bright spots but

also in dark corners. This will allow us to build a clear understanding of the situation, accurately identify problems, and provide effective solutions.

We should improve approaches to fact-finding, avoid form over substance and bureaucratism, and conduct extensive research in places and units where difficulties and public complaints are concentrated, and where progress is slow. We should readily put ourselves in others' shoes and engage with the public. We should pay heed to the people's aspirations, genuinely reflect their wishes, and show true concern for their difficulties. We should know exactly what concerns the people most and what they wish for.

Attention should be given to applying the results of fact-finding. On the basis of these results, we should conduct deeper research, improve the quality of conclusions, and turn findings into actual measures for solving problems and doing a better job. We should remedy situations where fact-finding has provided sufficient information, but research and analysis is inadequate and the proposed measures and suggestions are too general and abstract to address practical problems.

The timing and location of fact-finding trips should be arranged in a coordinated manner to avoid large numbers rushing to the same place or people making trips just for show. During such trips, research teams should travel without pomp, and official receptions should be simple, in order not to increase the burden on the grassroots units.

– Promoting high-quality development. Party members and officials should focus on high-quality development, which is the primary task in building China into a modern socialist country in all respects. We should guide development with intensive theoretical study and solve tough problems through in-depth fact-finding and research. The study of the Thought and related research should be aligned with the tasks set at the 20th CPC National Congress, and new achievements in promoting high-quality development should be used as a testament to the effectiveness of this education campaign.

We should earnestly implement the directives, decisions and plans

of the Central Committee on applying the new development philosophy, fostering a new development dynamic, and promoting high-quality development. We should apply systems thinking and think in terms of the general picture. In order to form a powerful synergy in promoting high-quality development, we should work effectively in the following areas:

- expanding domestic demand;
- deepening supply-side structural reform;
- accelerating the modernization of the industrial system;
- promoting rural revitalization across the board;
- implementing our strategies for invigorating China through science and education, building a talent-strong country, and driving development through innovation;
- ensuring and improving living standards through development;
- promoting green development and advancing the Beautiful China initiative;
- advancing law-based governance on all fronts;
- building China into a cultural powerhouse;
- maintaining social stability.

We should deal with reality, think out of the box, and embrace new ideas. We should focus on the root causes of problems and weaknesses in our region, department or institution that hinder and restrict high-quality development, and address them with targeted measures. We should always seek to better coordinate our efforts on systematic, holistic, high-quality development by balancing important relationships between speed and quality, between development and security, between development and environmental protection, and between development and epidemic prevention.

Special emphasis should be placed on the following: Leadership teams at all levels must be conscious that we carry the trust of the Party and the people; we must have the vision to lay the groundwork for future success, and carry through our blueprint without claiming credit; we must stick to existing plans as long as they are feasible, meet the demands of our new realities, and satisfy the people's needs; and

we must relay efforts from our term of office to the next. We should guard against any impulsive drive for instant success, reckless and massive campaigns for speedy growth, abrupt policy shifts, a focus on superficial performance to the neglect of real results, and other phenomena that tend to emerge following the start of a new term of office.

– Paying close attention to review and rectification. Self-examination, self-review, and problem rectification should be conducted during the study process, and problem rectification should run through the entire education campaign. We must ensure that the people see real results in solving problems.

Leadership teams should check their research and fact-finding against the problems listed in the Decision, and use the Thought and Central Committee decisions and plans as the yardstick to systematically analyze problems identified in fact-finding, problems encountered in promoting development, and problems of strong public concern. They should work out measures to rectify these problems, together with those found in inspections, auditing and scrutiny, item by item. Those that can be rectified should be addressed immediately; those that cannot be resolved immediately must be kept on the radar, followed up on, and properly dealt with in due course. Procrastination and ineffective responses must be avoided.

Party members and officials, especially leading officials, must engage in self-examination and reflect on their responsibilities and work. Should a problem be identified, they must examine it against their commitment to the Party, and conduct earnest and in-depth criticism and self-criticism to address its ideological roots.

All localities, departments and entities should launch special programs to rectify outstanding problems. They must resolve to take resolute action against tough challenges and ensure real results, establish long-term institutions while rectifying current problems, and move fast to institutionalize good practices and experience gained from studying and applying the Thought in this education campaign. As to recurring problems, they should seek the underlying institutional

causes, improve relevant mechanisms, and establish sound institutions to prevent recurrence.

Central Party and government departments are in special and important positions in the governance system of the Party and the state. They are closest to the Central Committee and serve it directly. Therefore, they are like weather vanes in this education campaign. They must play an exemplary role and lead the campaign to delve deep and achieve solid results. At the same time, they should intensify education and regulation of their officials, effectively strengthen their political stance and commitment to the Party, and ensure that rules are strictly respected and that laws and discipline are rigorously enforced. They must ensure unity in thinking through serious education and clean the organization with stringent regulation. They should work hard to build themselves into model departments that are trustworthy, that can live up to the expectations of the people, and that can excel in ensuring the Two Upholds.

Notes

¹ This refers to the Decision of the CPC Central Committee to Conduct an Education Campaign Throughout the Party on Studying and Applying Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

New Tasks and Responsibilities in Strengthening the Party and Its Organization*

June 26, 2023

Our Party and its officials play a pivotal role in building China into a modern socialist country in all respects and in advancing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Party Central Committee has upheld and strengthened overall Party leadership, exercised effective self-supervision within the Party, and advanced full and rigorous internal Party governance. It has proposed and implemented a series of new visions, ideas and strategies, and opened up new frontiers in the reform of a large political party of more than one hundred years' standing. Party committees at all levels and their organizational departments have fully implemented the Central Committee's decisions and plans, focused on full and rigorous internal Party governance, and prioritized reinforcing the Party's political foundations. They have armed themselves with the Party's theories, selected and appointed the upright and competent, strengthened and consolidated the grassroots, cultivated and pooled talent, and made a positive contribution to building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and beginning a new journey towards building a modern socialist country.

To fulfill its missions on the new journey in the new era, the Party should assume new responsibilities and complete new tasks in its development and organization. We must act under the guidance of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, fully apply the guiding principles of the Party's 20th

* Main part of the directive on strengthening the Party and its organization.

National Congress, promote in-depth understanding of the Central Committee's guidelines on strengthening the Party, comply with the general requirements for Party development in the new era, follow the Party's organizational guidelines, and advance the great new project of strengthening the Party in the new era. Upholding and strengthening the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership is paramount. It is our fundamental mission to remain loyal to and safeguard the Party, and do all we can to make it better and stronger. It is our major task to resolve the challenges unique to a large political party like ours by improving the system for full and rigorous internal Party governance. We should continue to unify the whole Party in thinking, will and action with the Party's new theories, and link Party units more effectively to implement Party policies. We should strengthen the core of our officials who can be trusted with the weighty mission of national rejuvenation, move faster to build world hubs for talent and innovation, and continue to foster model units and capable teams. We must continue to improve our work in organization and lay firm organizational foundations for advancing social transformation through the Party's self-reform, in order to build a great country and rejuvenate the Chinese nation.

Advance the Party's Self-Reform*

January 8, 2024

Our Party is the largest governing Marxist party in the world. How can it escape the historical cycle of rise and fall and ensure that it will never betray its nature and mission? This is a strategic question facing all Party members. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, in the great endeavor of exercising full and rigorous internal Party governance, we have continued to engage in theoretical reflection and practical experimentation. On the basis of the first answer put forward by Mao Zedong, which was to “put the government under the people’s scrutiny”¹, we have found the second answer, that is, to continuously advance the Party’s self-reform.

Through our advances in theory and practice in full and rigorous internal Party governance in the past decade of the new era, we have expanded our understanding of the Party’s self-reform, accumulated valuable experience, and delivered a series of important theoretical findings which systematically address such major questions as why our Party must carry out self-reform, why it is capable of doing so, and how it can advance this process.

Our Party pursues lofty and noble ideals and shoulders arduous and demanding missions. Only by scrutinizing ourselves against the requirements of the times, remaining vigilant and guarding against potential dangers and risks, tempering ourselves in the spirit of self-reform, and improving the Party’s leadership and governance, can we ensure that our Party will never betray its nature and mission, and that it will always remain the strong leadership core in building socialism

* Part of the speech at the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

with Chinese characteristics. Meanwhile, we must be fully aware that as circumstances and tasks evolve, and the external environment and the dynamics of the Party's membership change, problems will inevitably arise. Therefore, we must have the courage to confront and address them and promptly eliminate any negative influence, to maintain the Party's vigor and strong vitality. This is why we must advance self-reform.

The courage to engage in self-reform is our Party's most distinctive characteristic and its greatest strength. Its nature and purpose, and its original aspiration and founding mission dictate that it always represents the fundamental interests of the greatest possible majority of the people. Seeking no gain for itself, the Party embraces a thorough spirit of self-reform and pursues fundamental benefits and the greater good. Selflessness enables it to uphold the truth, correct mistakes, and have the courage to regularly examine its conduct and reflect on errors. By promptly identifying and solving problems within the Party rather than shying away from or concealing them, we can launch a strong counterattack against any attempt by individual interest groups, power groups, and privileged strata to corrupt the Party. This is the key to preserving its progressive and wholesome nature, and the source of its courage to carry on self-reform.

In extending the Party's self-reform, we should focus on the following nine points:

First, the fundamental guarantee is to uphold the centralized, unified leadership of the CPC Central Committee. Advancing self-reform reflects our Party's conscientious effort to make itself stronger and better uphold and reinforce its leadership. To advance self-reform, we must make coordinated plans and implement them in a unified way under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee. This will enable us to keep advancing in the right direction.

Second, the fundamental purpose is to guide and lead social transformation. We must plan self-reform based on the new demands of social transformation, and assess its effectiveness through new achievements in the process. In this way, we can ensure that self-

reform guides social transformation, which in turn advances self-reform. Currently, in planning and advancing self-reform, we must ensure that it is well aligned with and better serves the Party's central task.

Third, the fundamental guide is the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. To advance self-reform with determination, we must consistently arm the whole Party with this new theory, encourage and guide Party members and officials to expand their understanding and apply it in practical work, and draw nourishment from it to strengthen our ideals and convictions, reinforce our commitment to the Party, and raise our moral and ethical standards.

Fourth, the strategic goal is to escape the historical cycle of rise and fall. Advancing self-reform is an important means for the Party to realize this goal. To this end, we must keep the Party healthy and consolidate its position as the long-term governing party by maintaining a high level of political vigilance, cleansing the viruses that damage the health of the Party, and promptly eliminating hidden problems undermining its governing foundations.

Fifth, the main direction is to tackle the challenges unique to a large party like the CPC. The challenges are mainly marked by what we call the "six how-tos"². No solution will be found overnight. To advance the Party's self-reform, we must adopt a problem-oriented approach, maintain strategic confidence, address both the symptoms and root causes of problems, employ comprehensive and coordinated measures, and make sustained efforts, so that small successes add up into significant ones. By continuously resolving the unique challenges we face, we can demonstrate the strengths of a large party.

Sixth, the effective method is to improve the systems for full and rigorous internal governance. We must closely follow the general requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era and ensure comprehensive coverage in content, extensive reach in targets, complete accountability across all levels, and consistency in all systems. We must continue to run the Party with rules and regulations,

improve those rules and regulations designed for self-reform, and further establish a virtuous cycle in which the Party relies on its own strength to identify and resolve problems, promote innovation, and strengthen its overall governance capabilities.

Seventh, the focus is to forge strong Party organizations and build a team of competent and highly committed Party members. To ensure that Party organizations at all levels make all-round progress and remain advanced and effective, we must fully implement the Party's organizational line for the new era. We must improve our organizational system where Party units are closely connected through all levels and competent in policy implementation, strengthen their political and organizational functions, and address such problems as the weakening of Party leadership, failure to strengthen the Party, and inefficiency in internal Party governance. The criteria for assessing the caliber of officials in the new era must be strict in terms of their political commitment, capability, and integrity, so that they will remain loyal, clean and responsible.

Eighth, the linchpin is to correct misconduct, enforce Party discipline, and fight corruption. These efforts should be integrated into a cohesive whole. We must consistently follow established principles, take strict measures, and foster an environment that is conducive to observing discipline. We must take refining Party conduct as our goal, enforcing strict discipline as a guarantee, and combating corruption and punishing wrongdoing as the means to remove obstacles, in order to advance the Party's self-reform in an interconnected and progressive manner. This ongoing process will enable the Party to make historic strides by discarding the outdated in favor of the new, and breaking new ground while upholding fundamental principles.

Ninth, the strong impetus comes from the integration of the Party's self-supervision and the people's scrutiny, which are inseparable and mutually reinforcing. To advance self-reform, we must strengthen the Party's self-supervision and improve the systems and mechanisms for internal Party scrutiny. We must readily accept the people's scrutiny and effectively integrate internal Party scrutiny with

oversight by state agencies, other political parties, the judiciary, the public, and the media, in order to maintain a constructive and mutually reinforcing interaction between supervision by self and by others.

Just as there are no bounds to practice, there is no end to theoretical innovation. We must continue to free our minds, seek truth from facts, keep up with the times, and break new ground while upholding fundamental principles. We must continue to explore innovative theories and practices, gain a deeper understanding of the principles that underpin the Party's self-reform, develop more rigorous guidelines and measures for self-reform, and make concrete and intensive efforts on every front and in every area.

Notes

¹ From Mao Zedong's conversation with Huang Yanpei, a prominent non-CPC individual, in July 1945. See *Chronicle of Mao Zedong*, Vol. II, Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2023, p. 612.

² See "Stay Alert and Determined in Tackling Challenges Unique to a Large Political Party", pp. 583-587.

Redouble Our Efforts to Eliminate the Breeding Grounds of Corruption*

January 8, 2024

Over the past decade of the new era, our consistent and decisive actions have delivered a sweeping victory in the fight against corruption, and we should build on these achievements. However, the situation is still complex and challenging, and it is crucial that we remain fully aware of the latest developments and challenges in this battle, and of the breeding grounds of corruption. We must persevere, and continue to make targeted and consistent efforts to secure a decisive victory.

In the future battle against corruption, we must make consistent and concentrated efforts to eradicate the breeding grounds. The overarching guideline for deterring corruption is to ensure that officials do not have the audacity, the opportunity, or the desire to engage in corruption. We should employ systematic measures to address both symptoms and root causes, advance the fight in both scope and depth, implement targeted, precise and combined measures, reduce recurrent problems while containing new ones, and make the campaign a regular and long-term one.

First, we must strengthen the Party's centralized, unified leadership over the fight against corruption. Party committees at all levels must take solid steps to reinforce their whole-process leadership over the fight. They must provide resolute support for investigating and handling corruption cases, and take decisive actions to resolve tough issues. Party committees should bear principal responsibility for the

* Part of the speech at the Third Plenary Session of the 20th CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

fight against corruption – they must not transfer this duty to the oversight of discipline inspection commissions, or in any other way shift or abdicate their responsibility. Discipline inspection commissions and supervision commissions, as specialized agencies, should proactively fulfill their responsibilities, assist Party committees in rigorously and effectively organizing and coordinating anti-corruption efforts, and build synergy among all parties involved. All functional departments should work in concert and with greater efficiency, and turn the Party Central Committee’s decisions and plans into concrete actions against corruption.

Second, we must maintain a tough stance against corruption. The threat is complex and severe, and we cannot afford to retreat, relax, or show tolerance; rather, we must continue the charge. We must always be mindful of the Seven Malpractices¹, with top priority given to curbing corruption arising from collusion between government and business. We should strike hard against capital’s exploitation of power for profit, and take firm measures to prevent interest groups and influential organizations from infiltrating the political sphere. In particular, we must focus our efforts on sectors with a high concentration of power, funds and resources. Potential corruption risks must be preempted. We should strengthen scrutiny over projects in civil-military integration. We should engage grassroots organizations and the general public in the anti-corruption campaign, and deal with corruption by “flies” and “ants”, i.e., petty officials, so that people will have a more direct sense that action is being taken.

Third, we must promote deeper reform to halt the spread of corruption. Corruption is, in essence, the abuse of power. This being the case, we should focus on the use of power in key areas such as policy adoption, decision-making, approval, and oversight, and promote deeper institutional reform in key sectors. At the same time, we must expedite the creation of governance mechanisms in emerging fields, and implement stricter checks on the allocation and exercise of power. We should remedy institutional loopholes, regulate discretionary power, and reduce opportunities for rent-setting and

rent-seeking. We should put in place mechanisms to synergize early warning and punishment for corruption, strengthen dynamic monitoring of potential risks and hazards to integrity, and give prompt and joint responses to new forms of corruption and disguised corruption.

Fourth, we must improve the legal and institutional framework for combating corruption. In our efforts to improve fundamental laws, rules and regulations in order to ensure that officials do not have the audacity, the opportunity, or the desire to engage in corruption, we should design support systems for tighter oversight over leadership teams and their heads. We should continue to promote anti-corruption legislation, amend the Supervision Law to keep abreast of developments, and introduce a law on countering transnational corruption. In the course of studying the newly revised Party disciplinary regulations, we should organize an education campaign on the topic among the entire Party membership and strengthen supervision and inspection of the implementation of key regulations to ensure full compliance and implementation.

Fifth, we must impose heavier punishments on bribery. We must severely punish bribers who cause damage by luring officials into corruption, and publicize typical cases as a warning to potential offenders. We should redouble efforts to retrieve illicit gains and rectify their consequences.

Sixth, we must commit ourselves to constantly developing a healthy political environment. We should place equal emphasis on punishing corruption and promoting integrity, enforce strict political discipline and rules, and regulate internal Party activities. We should abolish clandestine rules, enforce explicit discipline, and prohibit self-serving factions, cultivating connections, or currying favor with higher-ups for personal gain. We should crack down on political swindlers and prevent the infiltration of commodity trading rules into the Party. We should reverse unhealthy tendencies in the selection and appointment of officials, promote integrity-driven relationships between peer officials and between superiors and subordinates, and foster a clean political environment.

Seventh, we must promote a culture of integrity for the new era. We should strengthen education on commitment to the Party, Party conduct, and Party discipline, carry forward the Party's glorious traditions and fine conduct, and inspire all Party members to pursue lofty ideals. We should view trading power for personal gain and engaging in corruption as the greatest shame. We should cultivate good family values, ethics and traditions among our members and call on leading officials to make sure that their family and relatives comply with laws and regulations. We should promote the idea of integrity, commend models of integrity, and create a healthy political environment where integrity is valued and corruption rejected.

Notes

¹ This was put forward by Xi Jinping at the second full assembly of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in October 2014. In order to seek promotion and greater power, some officials, ignoring the Party's political discipline and rules, have engaged in one or more of these malpractices:

- (1) practicing cronyism and sidelining those outside of their circle;
- (2) ganging together to form self-serving factions;
- (3) making anonymous and false allegations against others and generating rumors;
- (4) buying support and votes;
- (5) promising official posts in exchange for personal gain and relying on favoritism for promotion;
- (6) feigning compliance while obstructing in practice and acting as they please;
- (7) practicing insubordination and making baseless criticisms of Central Committee decisions.

Improve the Systems for Full and Rigorous Internal Party Governance*

June 27, 2024

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, we have pressed ahead with full and rigorous internal Party governance, achieved innovations in theory, practice and institutions, built systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance, and opened up new frontiers in the self-reform of a century-old political party. All Party members, officials, and the general public have shown strong support for strengthening internal Party governance and expressed their recognition for the progress we have made. However, we must also be aware that a number of prominent issues, including unhealthy ideas, organizational shortcomings, and lax conduct, are yet to be fully resolved. The fight against corruption remains challenging and complex, and new issues continue to emerge. Additionally, our Party is set to grapple with the Four Tests and the Four Risks for a long time to come. Internal Party governance and self-reform are always high on our agenda. If we are to withstand future tests and overcome potential threats, the entire Party must always remain clear-minded and resolute. By improving our systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance, we will continue to advance the great project of strengthening the Party in the new era.

In the state governance system, our Party plays the core role of exercising overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all sides. To ensure proper and procedure-based exercise of power and improve

* Main part of the speech at the 15th group study session of the Political Bureau of the 20th CPC Central Committee.

the Party's governance and leadership capacity, we must align our efforts to strengthen the Party with new developments in the Party and the country. Strengthening the Party in the new era is a systematic project, with reinforcing the Party's political foundations as the overarching principle. It requires concerted efforts in all aspects of Party development. We must follow the Central Committee's guidelines on strengthening the Party and its guidelines on the Party's self-reform, uphold and strengthen the Party's overall leadership and the Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership, and implement the general requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era. We should apply systems thinking and effective measures to address all aspects of Party governance, ensure full coverage of all Party members and organizations, enforce strict accountability at all levels, and realize seamless integration of all institutions. Our goal is to further improve the systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance, creating a complete, efficient framework that is well-conceived, procedure-based, and highly functional.

First, we should establish an organizational system that enables effective communication and robust policy implementation through all levels. The Party's leadership and internal governance must be reinforced through solid efforts, and Party organizations at the central, local and grassroots levels must be strong and function smoothly. Only when Party organizations at all levels fully perform their political and organizational functions as a close-knit system, can we continue to advance full and rigorous internal Party governance.

The key to building a close-knit organizational system lies in upholding the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership, and in strengthening commitment to the Two Upholds. We should improve mechanisms for implementing the Central Committee's major decisions and plans. Any obstacles should be swiftly detected and removed to ensure smooth execution and no deviation. In strengthening the Party, we should uphold and improve the leadership system and organizational framework, exercise tiered responsibility and oversight, build solid foundations at the grassroots

level, and reinforce Party organizations at all levels and in all sectors. We should give equal weight to remedying weak points, filling in gaps, improving performance, and optimizing functions. We should guide grassroots governance through Party development, continue to strengthen weak and lax grassroots Party organizations, and increase the leadership capacity of grassroots Party organizations for grassroots governance. We should adapt to profound economic and social changes, and explore ways to strengthen the Party in new types of economic entities and social organizations, as well as among groups in new forms of employment. We should explore new approaches to the design of Party organizations and their activities, effectively resolving questions regarding leadership over efforts to strengthen the Party, the establishment and functioning of Party organizations, and the education and management of Party members. This will increase the Party's capacity to inspire, unite and influence in emerging fields. Through proficient use of the internet and information technology in Party development, we will strive for full coverage of the Party's organizations and work online and offline.

Second, we should build an effective education system for Party members to help them maintain firm ideals and convictions, strengthen cohesion, and forge inner strength. Grasping the Party's sound theories and reinforcing its ideological foundations provide strong support for strengthening internal Party governance. We must buttress the Party's ideological foundations, continue to apply its innovative theories, and strengthen education on commitment to the Party. All Party members and officials should act on the guidelines for full and rigorous internal Party governance.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, we have focused on studying theory and carried out a series of intensive education campaigns throughout the Party, effectively increasing the understanding of Marxism and bolstering unity in political stance, thinking, and action. We should continue to explore new approaches and methods to equip Party members with innovative theories, combine regular education with intensive education, integrate theoretical study with practical

application, and attach equal importance to strengthening commitment to the Party and striving for greater competence. We should improve and implement long-term mechanisms for promoting theoretical study, with the aim of increasing our inner strength, expanding knowledge, cultivating better conduct, and improving work performance. We should improve the system of regular theoretical study sessions held by Party committees, Party leadership groups, or grassroots Party organizations; improve the mechanisms for evaluating and optimizing theoretical training offered by Party schools, academies of governance, and executive leadership academies; and develop high-quality textbooks. Our goal is to ensure that the Party's innovative theories become the bedrock of the members' political convictions, a powerful source of inspiration, and the foundation of exemplary performance.

Third, we should build an effective oversight system that targets both symptoms and root causes. The key to strengthening internal Party governance is real action, strict discipline, and a targeted approach. We should closely monitor, analyze and assess new developments in the Party and emerging issues in Party conduct. We should address both the symptoms and root causes and exercise Party governance with greater precision and effect.

We should adopt a holistic approach to strengthening commitment to the Party, improving Party conduct, and tightening Party discipline, and fix existing problems while building long-term safeguards. We should improve the mechanisms for managing Party members, for implementing stringent rules to regulate and supervise officials, for improving conduct and enforcing discipline, and for coordinating efforts to ensure that our officials dare not, cannot, and will not engage in corruption. We should enforce the strictest standards in all areas and through the entire process of Party governance, at all levels of Party organizations, and for all Party members without exception.

We should integrate the Party's self-supervision with the people's scrutiny, synergize all forms of oversight, and build an all-encompassing, authoritative and highly effective oversight system under the Party's

unified leadership. Special attention should be paid to oversight in key fields, including political oversight, oversight of leadership teams and their heads, oversight concerning major issues, major projects, the appointment and removal of key officials, and the use of significant funds, and oversight in key sectors with a high concentration of power, funds and resources. Real efforts should be made to eradicate all forms of privilege-seeking and corruption.

Fourth, we should build a complete, well-structured and effective institutional system. As strengthening internal Party governance must follow rigorous political principles, we should put in place a well-conceived and complete system of institutions. This system should meet the needs of internal Party governance and support all endeavors of Party development. It should install comprehensive institutional restraints. At the same time, it is also necessary to prevent the system from being too cumbersome and falling into an “institutional trap”. We should better integrate all institutions to ensure that they are not fragmented or isolated, and that they do not impede each other.

We should drive deeper reform in the development of internal Party rules and regulations, strengthen top-level design, fill institutional gaps, and increase effectiveness and efficiency. We should respect the creativity of grassroots Party organizations and institutionalize their successful practices in a timely manner to ensure that our institutions are based on actual conditions and meet practical needs. We should govern the Party through institutional checks and in strict compliance with rules and regulations, strengthen their enforcement, and keep internal Party governance on the right track.

Fifth, we should build a responsibility system that clearly defines the subjects and their responsibilities. Strengthening internal Party governance is a shared responsibility of the entire Party. We must build a multitiered and categorized system specifying the responsibilities of Party members, officials, and Party organizations at all levels, and ensure that they understand, assume and fulfill their responsibilities.

We should make it clear that Party committees and Party lead-

ership groups bear primary responsibility for strengthening Party governance, with a focus on providing strong overall leadership, properly selecting and appointing officials, strengthening oversight over the exercise of power and keeping it in check, and safeguarding the people's interests. Simultaneously, we should delineate the responsibilities of discipline inspection commissions at all levels to ensure effective oversight, strict discipline enforcement, and precise accountability. We should make sure that secretaries of Party committees and Party leadership groups shoulder the primary responsibility for building strong leadership teams, improving the performance of their organizations, and executing decisions and policies. We should ensure that in addition to their prescribed duties, other members of leadership teams assume responsibilities for Party governance according to their division of work. We should define the responsibilities of Party members and officials based on their work and duties, encouraging self-discipline, mutual supervision, and mutual help to correct mistakes. We should put in place precise and well-conceived accountability mechanisms and enforce accountability across all levels. By specifying the subjects and their responsibilities, evaluating their performance, and enforcing accountability, we will ensure that the responsibilities for Party governance are truly fulfilled.

In improving the systems for full and rigorous internal Party governance, members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee should take the lead and play an exemplary role. We must be strict with ourselves, assume responsibilities, and conduct rigorous supervision within our scope of responsibilities. We should unite and lead the whole Party in improving its governance and advancing its development, and provide a strong guarantee for building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation through Chinese modernization.

Study, Understand, Uphold and Observe Party Discipline*

August 16, 2024

Since April this year, we have been conducting an education campaign focused on the Regulations of the Communist Party of China on Disciplinary Action. The campaign has achieved its objectives.

First, all Party members have studied the Regulations in letter and in spirit.

Second, examples of violations have been highlighted as warnings, to alert and remind every member to understand and respect Party discipline, and ensure that they do not have the audacity or the desire to engage in corruption.

Third, the campaign has not been carried out as an isolated endeavor; it aligns with our central task. It has progressed in parallel with the implementation of major decisions and plans by the Central Committee and the completion of key undertakings, encouraging Party members and officials to focus on their duties and fulfill their responsibilities.

Fourth, the campaign has been conducted in a straightforward and pragmatic manner. It has been coordinated by the Central Leading Group for Strengthening the Party, while the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee and relevant departments of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection have set up a task force to prevent the practice of form over substance. This clear-cut structure has been robust and highly effective.

On the whole, the education campaign has achieved positive

* Directive on the education campaign on Party discipline.

results in addressing the problems prevalent among some Party members and officials, in particular the lack of attention to and insufficient knowledge and understanding of Party discipline. As a result, they have achieved greater loyalty, integrity and responsibility in their conduct.

As our next step, we will consolidate and build upon the achievements of the campaign, transforming them into a robust drive for high-quality development by applying effective experience and practice in everyday work. To carry this campaign through to completion, we should make early preparations and provide guidance for organizing criticism and self-criticism sessions for the year 2024 at Party branch level and among leading Party members, with the emphasis on thoroughly studying and implementing the Regulations to foster constructive criticism and self-criticism.

We should continue education on studying, understanding, upholding and observing Party discipline on a regular basis, with the Party's Constitution, rules and discipline as the key content for all study and training sessions. Typical cases of violation should be analyzed and cited as cautionary examples to encourage further study and problem-solving. We should establish a mechanism for both routine and intensive educational programs, and conscientiously conduct the four forms of disciplinary oversight and enforcement to leverage the role of Party discipline as a means of education, restraint, protection and motivation. We must eradicate the breeding grounds of corruption and take more effective measures to contain its spread, while also continuing to address ongoing cases.

Compliance with Party discipline and rules should not be used as an excuse for shirking one's duties and responsibilities. Instead, it is a prerequisite for Party members and officials to deliver results through courageous, enterprising, active and diligent efforts.



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图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

习近平谈治国理政. 第五卷: 英文 / 习近平著;
英文翻译组译. -- 北京: 外文出版社, 2025. 7.

ISBN 978-7-119-14336-1

I. D2-0; D610.4

中国国家版本馆CIP数据核字第20258G4B61号

习近平谈治国理政 第五卷

© 外文出版社有限责任公司
外文出版社有限责任公司出版发行
(中国北京百万庄大街 24 号)

邮政编码: 100037

<http://www.flp.com.cn>

北京中科印刷有限公司印刷
2025 年 7 月 (小 16 开) 第 1 版
2025 年 7 月第 1 版第 1 次印刷
(英文)

ISBN 978-7-119-14336-1

08000 (平)