

**JIANG ZEMIN**  
**ON THE "THREE REPRESENTS"**

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Home Page:

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

E-mail Addresses:

[info@flp.com.cn](mailto:info@flp.com.cn)

[sales@flp.com.cn](mailto:sales@flp.com.cn)

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The important concept of the "Three Represents" (the Communist Party of China must always represent the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people in China) is an in-depth thesis formulated and a scientific conclusion made by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC, according to the new changes in the international and domestic situations, the new problems and tasks facing China in the era of reform and opening to the outside world and the modernization drive, the historic mission resting with the CPC and the practice of Party building, and on the basis of a thorough summing up of the historical experiences of the Party. It is a new development of the Marxist theory on Party building. Persevering in the "Three Represents" concentratively reflects the character, basic aim and fundamental task of the Party as the vanguard of the working class, as well as the fundamental requirement for us to strengthen Party building and carry forward the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new century.

This book is a collection of 12 speeches by Jiang Zemin, beginning with "How Our Party Is to Attain the 'Three Represents' Under the New Historical Conditions" made by him on February 25, 2000 during an inspection tour in Guangdong Province, and concluding with "Speech at the Rally in Celebration of the 80th

Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China," as delivered by him on July 1, 2001. Some of these speeches are published here for the first time.

All the articles have been reviewed and approved by the author himself.

Party Literature Research  
Department, Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of China

July, 2001

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## HOW OUR PARTY IS TO ATTAIN THE "THREE REPRESENTS" UNDER THE NEW HISTORICAL CONDITIONS\*

*February 25, 2000*

To run China well, the key lies with our Party, that is, the soundness of the Party's ideology, its style of work, its organization and discipline, its fighting capability, and its leadership level. This was what Chairman Mao and Comrade Deng Xiaoping always emphasized during their lifetime; this is also a basic experience our Party has gained from long years of practice in leading the people in revolution, construction and reform. Whether or not we can meet the requirements of the new situation and new tasks and build our Party into one that is more compact in organization, more uniform in action, more solid in unity and more vigorous in vitality, has an important bearing on the prosperity of the cause of the Party and the people and the long-term stability and peace of the state.

How to perpetuate our Party's nature as the vanguard of the working class so that it can better represent the interests of the broadest masses of the people while opening to the outside world and developing the socialist market economy; and how to assure that the entire Party membership always acts according to

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\*Part of a speech delivered during an inspection tour of Guangdong Province.

the goals the Party strives for and in the highest interests of the state and the people, and maintain and strengthen the Party's steadfast unity and high level of unity of action at a time when society's economic composition, organizational form, material interests and the mode of employment are in an accelerated trend of diversification—these are important questions, in both theory and practice, which concern the drive to step up Party building under the new historical conditions. Only when these questions are correctly answered can Party building be better promoted.

In the 20th century, our Party united with and led the people of all ethnic groups in China in a great, protracted struggle for national independence, emancipation of the masses, prosperity of the country and happiness of the people. A summary of the Party's 70-odd years of history invariably leads to the important conclusion that the reason why our Party has won the support of the people is because, during the historical periods of revolution, construction and reform, our Party has always represented the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese people, and because our Party has fought tirelessly for the realization of the fundamental interests of the state and the people by adopting correct lines, principles and policies. Today, humanity has arrived at the turn of a new century and a new millennium. How our Party can do better in the "Three Represents" under the new historical conditions is a major topic that calls for profound deliberation on the part of the Party membership, in general, and the high-ranking Party leaders, in particular.

This topic must be pondered in close association with the changing situation both at home and abroad, the latest development of the Chinese productive forces and the reality of the Chinese economic system in the process of profound changes, the population's new demand for developing their material and



cultural lives, and the major changes taking place in the ranks of Party members who are cadres. Because our Party represents the requirements of development of the advanced productive forces, all the efforts of the Party membership are, in the final analysis, aimed at liberating and developing the productive forces, and all the principles and policies of the Party are designed for the ultimate purpose of facilitating always the development of the productive forces and the strengthening of the state's economic prowess. Because our Party represents the orientation of the advanced Chinese culture, the entire Party membership must always adhere to the guidance of Marxism and strive to inherit and develop all the fine cultural traditions of the Chinese nation while learning and assimilating all the outstanding cultural achievements of foreign countries, so as to create and promote the socialist culture of a distinct Chinese nature without letup and achieve the coordinated socialist material and cultural development and all-round progress of society. Because our Party represents the fundamental interests of the broadest masses of the people, all the work of the Party members is designed to serve the people wholeheartedly and achieve, develop and fully protect the interests of the people; and any behavior that is detached from the masses, runs counter to their will or infringes upon their interests is not permitted. All the Communists and leading cadres should profoundly understand and firmly grasp the "Three Represents" as a guide to their thinking and action — only thus can they truly become qualified Party members or leaders. I raise this topic today in the hope that you will study it in both theory and practice.

Ours is a party with more than 60 million members, and it is no mean feat to run an organization of this size. There are still quite a few areas where Party building lags behind the new situation and new tasks, and there are considerable inner-Party problems at variance with or even in violation of the interests of the Party and the people. In stepping up Party building we are

faced with many new situations and issues that need to be studied and tackled. For example, how Party organizations and Party members who are cadres at various levels are to correctly handle the relationship between the overall and partial interests and carry out the Central Committee's lines, principles and policies to the letter; how to let Party organizations in state-owned enterprises play the role of political nucleus in promoting the reform and growth of these enterprises; how to strengthen the education and management of Party members who are cadres, strengthen Party building at the grass-roots level, and let Party members who are cadres play the role of vanguards and models and let grass-roots Party organizations serve as combat bastions; how to strengthen the education and administration of Party members leading a mobile life and Party members who are cadres working in non-public sectors, and enable them to play their roles. These and other issues call for further studies and the formulation at an early date of a package of practicable policies and measures. In accordance with the reality of the Party building in their respective localities, Party committees at all levels should compose a list of major topics on the overall situation of Party building, make in-depth studies and investigations to gain a clear idea of what is really going on, and adopt measures to step up the work and promote Party building in a down-to-earth manner.

Leading cadres from the central on down to the local levels, high- and mid-ranking Party leaders in particular, should attach importance to study, political awareness and integrity, foster a sound outlook on the world, life and value, fortify their faith in communism, remember the Party's goal of serving the people wholeheartedly, and close their ranks with the people. In the practice of promoting reform and opening-up and the modernization drive, they should constantly improve themselves, maintain a high degree of self-discipline, self-examination, self-caution and self-motivation, always stay motivated and positive, and work in

real earnestness for the Party and the people. It is imperative to administer the Party with strict discipline, enhance the cohesiveness and fighting capability of the Party organizations, and turn the leading bodies at all levels into staunch leadership cores that are politically steadfast, united, hardworking and creative, honest and incorruptible in serving the people, and capable of performing the historic task for cross-century development.

The heavier the task of reform and construction, the harder the leading cadres at all levels should work to foster and carry forward the style of hard work, earnestness and devotion, a style of work the Party has all along required of its leading cadres. To adhere to this earnest and down-to-earth style of work, it is necessary to conscientiously implement the Party line, principles and policies in coordination with the reality of a given locality or a given department, work consistently for the fulfilment of the tasks, and provide down-to-earth solutions to any problems that have cropped up in the work for reform, development and social stability and in the production and life of the masses. Young cadres, in particular, should foster this fine style of work. To cultivate and bring forth a large contingent of young cadres who are ideologically and politically sound, well-educated and imbued with strong leadership ability is an urgent, major political task for us. Just as in the Yangtze River it is the waves coming from behind that push those before them, so in the human world it is the young that supersede the old. For healthy growth, young cadres have to be tempered and withstand the test of the practice of reform and opening-up and the modernization drive. Without being tempered in an arduous and complex environment, without withstanding the test of key work posts and arduous tasks, young cadres can hardly be expected to come to the fore. The test challenging leading cadres in the current peaceful period is different from that in the years of war, but such a test is multi-faceted, and not to be taken lightly. Some leading cadres have fallen from their

positions of power precisely because they have failed the test of power, money and sex temptations. The fact that some leading cadres recoil from their duties and shun contradictions wherever they can is precisely because they are afraid of stepping on too many toes and losing popular favor. With such fears they can never do a good job. If a certain cadre has won many votes but is afraid of upholding the principles and is intent on cutting a benign figure, can we say he is a qualified cadre? The problem with the television stations, newspapers, radio stations and other mass media today is that they give too much coverage to leaders' activities. It is necessary to report on and reflect what leaders are doing within reasonable bounds, but let me remind you that you cannot report for reporting's sake or show off your camera shots to impress your superiors and the masses — if that is what you are doing, then you are wooing the public with claptrap and have no intention of seeking truth from facts. To judge the performance of a leading cadre, the Party and the people will eventually proceed from nothing except the work they have actually done. All cadres, young ones in particular, must understand perfectly that to be a cadre and a leader is to work for the interests of the Party and the people and that it is the glory of all Communists to be ready at any moment to sacrifice themselves for and contribute whatever they have to the Party and the people. Once the Party has appointed you to a work post, then all you are supposed to do is to perform your duties conscientiously and be successful in that post. On no account should you be given to trying to figure out how to get a promotion, outsmart others or gain some petty benefit. Haven't those cadres who have abused their power for personal gains or abandoned themselves to the fishing-for-a-promotion hanky-panky left us enough lessons in the last few years? Let us all learn from these lessons. Communists, and particularly our leading cadres, should work devotedly and indefatigably for the Party and the people. Only in this way

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can you achieve something in your work, and only thus can the Party and the people remember you and pass a fair judgement on what you have achieved in your work.

THE “THREE REPRESENTS” ARE THE  
FOUNDATION FOR BUILDING THE PARTY,  
THE CORNERSTONE FOR ITS EXERCISE OF  
STATE POWER AND A SOURCE OF ITS  
STRENGTH\*

*May 14, 2000*

ON EARNESTLY STEPPING UP PARTY BUILDING IN  
ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE  
“THREE REPRESENTS”

Acting up to the “Three Represents” principle consistently is the foundation for building the Party, the cornerstone for its exercise of state power and a source of its strength. To build the Party in accordance with the requirements of the “Three Represents” is in conformity with the general goal and requirements of the great new Party-building project during the new period. These requirements should run through our effort to push ahead with Party building ideologically, politically, organizationally and the building of our style of work. It is thus essential for Party committees at all levels to implement the 15th Party National Congress’ general arrangements for Party building in an all-round

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\*Major excerpts from speeches delivered at symposiums on Party building held in Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai.

way, grasp the fundamental task of arming the entire Party with Deng Xiaoping Theory, and promote the work of Party building in a comprehensive way around two major historic topics: Raising without letup the level of the Party's leadership as the ruling party, and fortifying the resistance of the entire Party membership against corruption and its erosion and any other risks.

Our country is in the primary stage of socialism. To uphold and optimize the basic economic system whereby socialist public ownership plays the leading role while the economies under diverse modes of ownership grow simultaneously; to uphold and optimize the socialist market economic system and enable the market to play a fundamental role in the allocation of resources under state macroeconomic coordination and control; to uphold and optimize diverse forms of distribution, with distribution according to work as the dominant form; to deepen reform, open wider to the outside world and promote the "two fundamental changes"—these are the inevitable demands arising from the efforts to further liberate and develop China's social productive forces and mobilize the enthusiasm of the broad masses of the people during the current stage of development. Under the new historical conditions, broad and profound changes are taking place in the social life of China, and the society's economic composition, forms of organization, modes of distribution of interests, and forms of employment will become even more varied. All these are bound to exert a profound influence on our political, economic, social and cultural life, and make new and higher demands on our Party in ruling the country and leading all the various undertakings. To fully understand and accurately grasp the profound changes that have taken place or are taking place in Chinese society is, therefore, of paramount importance to strengthening Party building during the new period of historical development.

For instance, under the planned economic system, the state

took care of virtually all the urban residents' demands for employment, and the entire rural population was organized under a collective economic system that prevailed at the time. Party members and the masses by and large worked in the departments or units under direct government administration, and the Party's organizational work and leadership were generally carried out through departments and units in a tight-knit organization that ran from the top leadership down to the grass-roots level. Today, apart from Party and government institutions and departments and state-owned enterprises, new economic organizations and areas of social activity have emerged. Many take jobs in non-public economic sectors, and quite a few people are self-employed. The relationship between farmers and the grass-roots organizations under the contracted responsibility system implemented in the rural areas is no longer the same as before. The burgeoning market economy has increased, tremendously, the mobility of people in employment and productive and business activities. Under these circumstances, the inadequacy of relying solely on the old methods of exercising Party leadership is apparent. How to bring the vast fields of society and a growing market under solid and effective Party leadership is a major issue that merits our serious study and search for a resolution.

A second instance is that diversification has come to stay in employment, distribution and other fields among workers and farmers and other social strata in our country. There are those working in state-owned enterprises, as well as those in non-public enterprises; there are those who work in technology-, knowledge- or capital-intensive enterprises, and those who remain in labor-intensive firms. A considerable number of workers are found in failing enterprises, while there are also factory layoffs; some workers are paid relatively well, while others live on low incomes. In rural areas, some farmers have become entrepreneurs, township enterprise employees or workers engaged in farm production



along specialized lines, while others take jobs in cities or simply stay behind in the countryside. Quite a few people still live in poverty in some rural areas. Whatever their ethnic background, people throughout our country share the same fundamental interest, that is, to promote the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics, continuously enhance China's comprehensive national strength, and work ceaselessly to improve material and cultural life. However, changes that have taken place in the nature of labor and in the modes of employment and distribution of income, invariably give rise to differences of one kind or another in the actual interests of people of different localities, departments, jobs and fields of endeavor. Under these circumstances, how to better represent the fundamental interests of all the people and the concrete interests of different social strata, and how to handle the relationship between efficiency and fairness in compliance with the principle of giving precedence to efficiency while taking fairness into consideration, constitute another major issue concerning whether Party leadership can be exercised in an effective manner.

A third instance concerns the fact that there are 1.5 million private enterprises and some 31 million individual households engaged in industry and commerce, which have a combined 130-million-strong workforce across the country. In terms of economic prowess and numbers of people, this is by no means a negligible force. Within the framework in which diverse forms of economy grow simultaneously while public ownership plays the leading role, non-public enterprises are playing a major part in activating urban and rural economy, meeting the multifarious demands of society, increasing job opportunities and promoting the growth of the national economy. Non-state economic sectors are an integral part of the Chinese socialist market economy. We should uphold the leadership of the Communist Party and let the state sector control the lifelines of the national economy and play the leading

role in economic development. However, at the same time we should be positive in encouraging and guiding the healthy growth of the non-state economic sectors while encouraging them to enhance their competitiveness on the home and world markets, to improve their enterprise management, to raise their technological level and to upgrade their products. This has posed another new topic for us, that is, how to strengthen Party leadership over these areas and rally the masses in these fields effectively around the Party.

For a fourth instance, diversification of material interests is unavoidable with the deepening of reform and the growth of the market economy, and so is the emergence of new demands among the masses for social and other benefits. These demands manifest themselves not only in the work and life of the masses but also in the various fields and departments of our work. In this regard, not only should the Party principles and policies better guarantee and meet the masses' reasonable demands for increased benefits, our Party should also play its leadership role better in keeping the overall situation in control and coordinating the interests of various quarters, and should fully encourage enthusiasm of all the people and the various fields of endeavor in the struggle for our common goals.

There are so many instances like these that here I can only cite a few of them. It is my hope that you will redouble your efforts in deliberation and study in close association with reality, and be active in your exploration of effective ways and means for stepping up Party building under the new situation.

Party committees at all levels should act according to the arrangements of the Party Central Committee and do an all-round good job in the various aspects of Party building, particularly in implementing the "Three Represents" in every aspect of work in the building of the Party's grass-roots organizations. Grass-roots organizations form the foundation of all the Party's work and

fighting capability. We have long suggested the necessity of preventing the situation in which "a weak foundation rocks the earth and shakes the mountains." The work to step up the building of the Party's grass-roots organizations has to be pursued, and should never be slackened even for a single moment. Because grass-roots Party organizations are scattered in all spheres of endeavor across the country and maintain direct ties with the masses of all social strata, they should not only play a positive role in the work for reform, development and stability, but also show high fighting capability in the event of unexpected incidents and political upheavals. With our vast country, huge Party membership and complex society, it is impossible for us to be immune from all problems. But we should make sure to minimize the problems and, when problems do occur, come up with the ways and means to tackle them in good time. In some localities and among some grass-roots organizations, however, things have become disorganized, unmanaged and anarchistic. Things have been left to take their natural course, and no one seems to have been on the alert or have had the slightest inkling before problems or strange happenings surface; even after such problems have occurred, they are not tackled in a timely fashion because no one has reported on them or given them attention. This indicates that the Party is rather weak in both organization and fighting capability in these places. If this situation is allowed to run unchecked, the work of our Party and government will lose popular support, which is an extremely dangerous situation.

We should step up the Party's organizational building in enterprises by centering on the promotion of reform and the development of state-owned enterprises. Our Party is the vanguard of the working class, and to rely on the working class wholeheartedly is a basic Party and state principle. To maintain its nature as the vanguard of the working class now and in the future, and to always live up to the "Three Represents" principle, our

Party must rely wholeheartedly on the working class, fully encourage the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the broad masses of the workers, unite with and lead them in the vanguard of their enterprises' development and the national modernization drive. No matter how enterprise assets are regrouped, how the relations of proprietorship change, or how the internal decision-making and management mechanisms are readjusted, the Party's political leadership over state-owned or state-controlled enterprises, and the role of Party organizations as the political core of these enterprises, shall be upheld and not be weakened to the slightest extent. To strengthen Party building in sync with the introduction of a modern enterprise system is exactly the inherent need of the effort to revitalize these enterprises and create a modern enterprise system with salient Chinese features. The activities of Party organizations and the work of Party building in enterprises should be carried out in association with the transformation, production and management of these enterprises. It is all the more necessary that Party organizations take the initiative and play their role as combat bastions when the reform or development of an enterprise has reached a crucial moment or when it has production or management difficulties. Mass work is a major task for enterprise Party organizations. In an enterprise which has gone bankrupt or been closed down, the Party organization should conscientiously perform its duties, work in the forefront, publicize Party principles and policies, and help laid-off Party members and workers solve problems in daily life. In the course of reform in some enterprises, the Party organizations became so demoralized and debilitated that they all but gave up mass work. Their leaders were in a quandary when mass protests caught them unawares. We should draw a lesson from this and never allow it to happen again.

The Party's rural grass-roots organizations constitute the core of leadership over various organizations and fields of endeavor

in the countryside. The development of agriculture and rural economy in China has entered a new stage characterized by the transition of major farm produce from chronic shortages to relative surpluses of a periodic and structural nature. Party committees at and above the county (city) level should help rural grass-roots Party organizations adapt to this new change, go out of their way to raise the general quality of Party branch members by enhancing their awareness of the masses and the policies, their grasp of market economy know-how as well as agro-science and technology, and their understanding of how to be law-abiding while conscientiously improving their style of work. Rural grass-roots Party organizations should be resolute in carrying out the Party's basic rural policies; they should pay due attention to supporting new things that have occurred in rural reform, actively lead the farmers in deepening such reform, readjust the local farming structure, increase farmers' incomes and reduce their burdens, maintain social stability in the countryside, and quicken the pace of achieving the initial stage of prosperity. It is necessary to proceed from the actualities of a locality and adopt diverse approaches to gradually develop and strengthen the collective economy—a necessity arising from the need to enhance rural grass-roots Party organizations' function to provide collective services and increase the Party's cohesiveness among the broad masses of farmers. Only after the collective economy has acquired considerable strength and the village community has become capable of providing more services for villagers in such fields as production, business and the application of science and technology, can the village Party branch acquire greater cohesive force and rallying power among the masses.

No time should be lost to step up Party building among non-public economic organizations. Party building in non-state enterprises is a new field of work. Active explorations carried out in some localities over the last few years have come up with some

results, but generally speaking development is unbalanced, and the work is obviously falling short of the needs of the situation. Incomplete statistics indicate that there are no Party members in 86 percent of the private enterprises across the country, that Party organizations are found among a meager 0.9 percent of these enterprises; and that a considerable number of these enterprises have Party members but no Party organizations. Party committees at various levels, and particularly their major leading comrades, should catch up on their ideological understanding of the development of the objective situation, redouble their efforts in carrying out Party work and intensifying Party building among non-public economic organizations. This is the need of our Party to establish a basic economic system and consolidate it during the primary stage of socialism, and to guide the healthy development of the non-state economic sectors. It is also the need of the Party to strengthen its ties with the broad masses of workers in non-public enterprises, and to consolidate the ruling party's class and mass foundation under the new situation. Party organizations should be established in all non-public economic organizations where conditions permit, and function as the political core among the workers of these enterprises. We should be bold and self-assured when carrying out Party building in a non-state enterprise because justice is on our side. However, this does not mean we should not be patient and thoughtful in day-to-day work. Once the goals and principles for Party building in non-state enterprises have been set, it is necessary to select, train and prepare a backbone force of Party members who have the quality and ability to work in this kind of enterprises. Because the relations of proprietorship in non-state enterprises are not the same as those in state-owned and collective enterprises, Party organizations are required to adapt their approaches to the performance of their role as the political core, their actual setups, the content and modes of their activities, and their work methods to the pecu-

liarities of these enterprises and coordinate them closely with production and management. They are also required to promote material and cultural progress with flexible, diverse measures and pay due attention to actual results. The private business owners of today have come to the fore by responding to our Party's policy of reform and call to get rich first, and many of them were laborers in the first place. Party organizations should follow Party and government policies and do an active and good job in uniting with these people and educating and guiding them, and rally them around the Party so that they will support the establishment of Party organizations in their enterprises, endorse various Party policies, abide by the law in running their enterprises, be considerate of the workers and guarantee their rights, and make their due contributions to the state and society.

It is imperative to step up Party building in neighborhoods and communities. With the deepening of reform, many social services and many social administrative and social security functions, which Party and government institutions and enterprises have usually performed, are being gradually separated from these institutions and enterprises, leaving many such services and functions in the hands of neighborhood and residents' committees. With non-public enterprises, social organizations and non-government institutions settling down in the neighborhoods one after another, and with the massive arrival of retirees, unemployed people and workers from out of town, the community has become sensitive and complicated. To do a good job in community Party building is, in essence, to lay a solid organizational and mass foundation for the Party's work in the cities. Party building in the community is a new consideration, and Shanghai and some of the other cities where the work has got off to an early start should conscientiously sum up their experience. To build the Party in the community, the first thing to do is to make sure that wherever there are Party members there should be a Party organization to



educate and take care of them, and that wherever there are residents there should be a Party organization doing mass work to serve them and there should be Party members playing a good role. Party building in the community should be carried out by proceeding from the salient features of the urban community and be centered around the promotion of socialist culture and ethics, ideological and political work among the masses, comprehensive maintenance of public order, community services, as well as efforts to maintain the Party's close ties with the masses and raise the quality of residents and the level of urban civilization.

Over the last few years various localities and departments have followed the requirements of the Party Central Committee and adopted a series of new methods and measures to deal with new situations and new problems arising from their practice of stepping up the building of the Party's grass-roots organizations. They have achieved certain results in this regard. Their experience should be summarized without delay, and their work improved without letup. Given how fast the current situation is developing, a major subject that calls for active deliberation and energetic practice on the part of the entire Party membership is how to intensify the building of Party organizations at the grass-roots level in light of the new situations and problems. We should adhere to our Party's long-established fine traditions, experience and methods that have proved effective in the practice of grass-roots organizational building. However, at the same time we should also study and solve new problems in the spirit of reform, persist in improving on what has proved to be effective, and, while doing so, never stop exploring new forms, new channels and new methods. In our practice and exploration in this field, we should abide by the Party Constitution, the inner-Party rules and regulations, and the State Constitution and law; and our practice and exploration should be carried out in a way that will help the Party always measure up to the requirements of the "Three Rep-



resents," maintain its flesh-and-blood ties with the people, and improve its work in leading the broad masses of the people in the great cause of building socialism the Chinese way. In short, Party committees at all levels should attach great importance to, and take great pains to promote, the organizational building of the Party and the ideological and political work at the grass-roots level, and they should also do something solid and refrain from all kinds of formalism. Once a good job has been done in this field, and once grass-roots Party organizations have been fully consolidated and their fighting capability and cohesive force vastly increased, then it will be assured that the Party's work can be carried out more smoothly in all aspects.

### ON IMPLEMENTING THE "THREE REPRESENTS" IN ALL SPHERES OF PARTY WORK

Adherence to the "Three Represents" is a concentrated manifestation of our Party's nature as the vanguard of the working class, and the fundamental goal and task of the Party; it is also a basic requirement the Party has set for its organizations at all levels and all its members and functionaries. Whatever the Party does, the requirements of the "Three Represents" should be upheld, embodied and fulfilled.

Firstly, it is imperative to always crystallize the requirements of the "Three Represents" in our efforts for resolutely and correctly carrying out the Party line, principles and policies. The soundness of the Party theory and line holds the key to maintaining our Party's attainment of the "Three Represents" and its advanced character. Under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory, our Party has formulated its basic line and basic program for the primary stage of socialism, complete with a whole package of principles and policies for such areas as economy, politics,

science and technology, education, culture, national defense, and foreign affairs, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Practice throughout the last two decades has furnished ample evidence that the Party line, program, principles and policies have been correct in that they have fully reflected the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of the advanced Chinese culture, and the fundamental interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese people. In our cross-century journey of endeavor, the entire Party membership must continue to uphold the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory, adhere to the Party's basic line, program and principles, and unswervingly advance along the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Generally speaking, the entire Party has done a good job and gained a lot of experience in implementing the Party line, principles and policies over the years, but there are lessons and shortcomings as well. Leading cadres at all levels should study harder and earnestly sum up their experience in organically integrating the sensible implementation of the Party line, principles and policies with an all-round embodiment of the "Three Represents," so as to raise their ideological and theoretical level, and enhance their political sensibility and judgement. We should observe the inherent rules governing the contradictions of the productive forces versus the relations of production and the economic base versus the superstructure during the current stage of historical development, and guard against all forms of subjectivism and one-sidedness so as to do an even better job. We should implement the Party line, principles and policies in an all-round way and with the overall situation in view, and guard against attending to one thing while losing sight of another. The basic line of "one central task, two basic points," the basic economic system in which public ownership plays the leading role and diverse forms of ownership develop simultaneously, and the principle of "grasping two links

at the same time and attaching sufficient importance to both," should be adhered to and implemented with concrete measures. We should always remember and stick to the requirements of the "Three Represents," be good at distinguishing and warding off the interference of erroneous words and deeds that run counter to the "Three Represents," and make sure that the Party line, principles and policies are carried out without a hitch.

Secondly, it is imperative to implement the requirements of the "Three Represents" in various aspects of Party work. Every leading cadre should work in a creative way and in accordance with the reality of their own localities or departments to ensure that the Party line, principles and policies and the work arrangement of the Party Central Committee are implemented soundly. The ideological and political oneness of our Party manifests itself first of all in the steadfastness and loyalty of the entire Party membership in implementing the Party's basic line and general principles and general policies. Things are always caught in the movement and change of contradictions. In our march forward we should be keen on discerning new problems and new contradictions from the changing objective situation in good time, and be good at studying them. We should never stop drawing on the fresh experience that the masses of the people have created in practice, to improve our work until it becomes near perfect. We have been talking about raising our Party's ruling and leadership level, and, in my opinion, this is a major principle. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "If a party, a country or a nation does everything by sticking to dogmas, follows an ossified way of thinking, and is prevailed over by superstition, then it can never move forward, its hope of life will die, and either the party or the country will be doomed"; "only by emancipating the mind, persevering in seeking the truth from facts, doing everything by proceeding from reality, and linking theory with practice, can our socialist modernization drive go without a hitch, and our Party's theories based on

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought develop smoothly." Confronted with a complex situation in the wake of the "cultural revolution," Comrade Deng Xiaoping guided our Party in fully confirming Chairman Mao's historic merits while firmly correcting the mistake of "taking class struggle as the key link," set the new policy of reform and opening to the outside world, and launched the modernization drive, thereby setting our Party and our country on a new road of development in big strides. In light of China's reality of reform and development, Comrade Deng Xiaoping raised many ideas that are of pioneering significance for the causes of our Party and our country. Among other things, he pointed out that our country is still in the primary stage of socialism and it takes the arduous and unremitting efforts of several, a dozen or even several dozen generations to consolidate and develop the socialist system; that it is necessary to introduce the contracted responsibility system linking remuneration to output in the rural areas; that some people and some localities should be allowed to get rich first, so that the localities that have developed first can provide an impetus to the localities that are trailing behind until common prosperity is achieved; and that both planning and market are economic means and whether there should be more central planning or market does not amount to an essential difference between socialism and capitalism. He also designed the scientific concept of "one country, two systems" for resolving the Taiwan issue and the Hong Kong and Macao issues. A look back on the past inevitably drives home to us all, that without Comrade Deng Xiaoping's leadership over our Party in persistently carrying out the ideological line of emancipating the mind and seeking the truth from facts, in persevering in reform, in making innovations in a determined way, the excellent situation today in which the cause of our Party and our country is forging ahead would be out of the question. Dwelling on the situation in which capitalism had developed to the point where joint-stock

companies and trusts had emerged in "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891," Frederick Engels asserts that capitalist production by joint-stock companies is no longer private production but production on behalf of many associated people. "And when we pass on from joint-stock companies to trusts, which dominate and monopolize whole branches of industry, this puts an end not only to private production but also to planlessness." In the "Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*," Karl Marx says that a social order never perishes before all the productive forces for which it is broadly sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the womb of the old society. However, Lenin broke through this prediction by pointing out that due to the norm of uneven political and economic development of capitalism, socialism can first emerge triumphant in one or several countries on a weak link of capitalism. As a result, the October Revolution under his leadership was a success. But why is it that after more than 70 years of socialist development, the drastic tragedy could happen in the Soviet Union that led to its disintegration and downfall? The reasons and lessons behind this call for profound and comprehensive summary. A good summary of it can bring new development to Marxism-Leninism. The Marxist-Leninist theory can never sit at a standstill; once it becomes static it will become lifeless dogma. Without developing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, there would be no new policy of reform and opening-up, still less the charting of a new road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In building socialism the Chinese way, we do not have written answers to many of the questions involved, and we have to seek answers from dissecting and summing up new situations and new practices by applying the basic Marxist principles. We could not budge an inch if we were given to

copying dogmas mechanically and turning a blind eye to new demands of development in practice.

We should keep linking theory with practice, further emancipate our minds, seek the truth from facts, be bold and creative, break new ground and make progress. We should never be reconciled to the beaten track and become complacent and conservative. Contradictions and problems confronting us are legion, and they are complicated and intertwined as well, but in the final analysis, what we should do is to understand correctly and handle properly the problems occurring in the course of emancipating and developing society's productive forces and readjusting and improving the relations of production under the new historical conditions, and to understand correctly and handle properly the problems occurring in our conscientious efforts to revamp and improve those parts of the superstructure that are at odds with the development of the economic base. The entire Party membership, whether in implementing the Party's theory, line and principles and policies or in undertaking various tasks, is thus required to bear the requirements of the "Three Represents" firmly in mind and be watchful about whether the measures we have taken and the work we have done are consistent with these requirements. We should unswervingly uphold what is in keeping with these requirements, actively readjust or make up for what is not totally in keeping with them or needs to be made up for, and be brave and realistic in amending what is not in keeping with these requirements. Only thus can our reform and construction go smoothly, and the advanced nature of the Communists and the ethos of the times be fully embodied.

Thirdly, we should implement the requirements of the "Three Represents" in the fostering of a contingent of high-caliber functionaries. For our Party to meet these requirements, the key lies in the fostering of a contingent of leading cadres who can rise to the occasion of what the new situations and new tasks require of

them, particularly in selecting and cultivating a team of successors capable of tackling major cross-century tasks. This is a task of utmost importance. We are currently at a most opportune time for screening and grooming outstanding young cadres, and we should redouble our efforts in this regard. No time can be lost to implement the arrangements made at the national symposium on the work of cultivating and selecting of young cadres. In screening and grooming young cadres, the requirements of the Party's political line should be met, and the political line carried out without fail. The Party's well-defined guidelines and policies on cadres, which have also clarified what kind of people to use and what kind of people not to be used, should be carried out in all seriousness and earnest. Young cadres should go where hardship is, see the world and brave the storms. The braver cadres are working in places or on posts where the environment is harsh and difficulties abound, the more steeled they will become in willpower, ability and morality, and the quicker and more steadfast they will grow. Those who loathe giving up ease and comfort and working in places or on posts where things are difficult should not be entrusted with important tasks if they refuse to mend their ways. The cause of the Party and the people calls for talent in many fields, and our work in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological, diplomatic, educational, legal, military and many other fields calls for pooling and cultivating outstanding people. The requirements for the talents needed on all fronts are generally the same, that is, they should possess both political integrity and ability. “Political integrity” and “ability,” however, are by no means in the abstract—in different fields of endeavor, the requirements for “political integrity” and “ability” are specified according to actual conditions. To discover talents, we emphasize we are not sticking to “stereotypes”; and in using people of talent, we stress making full use of what they are good at doing. These are some of the major experiences of selecting



and using people through the ages. Talents are the foremost resource of a country seeking development. In the present-day world, competition for talents is more intensified than ever. An important reason behind the fast growth of the economy and science and technology in the United States is the fact that it has enlisted large numbers of talented people from around the world. We should have such political vision as to study the methods of solution for this problem at an early date and to truly regard and tackle the cultivation and use of people of various aptitudes as a major task that bears on the prosperity of the cause of the Party and the people. We should be determined to step up and deepen the reform of our cadre and personnel system, do a good job in integrating the principle of the Party assuming the responsibility for cadres' affairs with the effort to improve the methods for the administration of cadres, and strive to formulate mechanisms and a whole package of methods to facilitate the emergence and sound growth of people of outstanding talent.

Fourthly, it is necessary to be assiduous in implementing what the "Three Represents" requires of us in strictly running the Party. Our Party has 63 million members, including 500,000 leading cadres at and above the county level. Only when the Party members and cadres are educated and administered without fail, only when the Party has consolidated and strengthened itself, can we be effective in exercising our ruling power and running the country and make the socialist modernization drive a success. Things can be really dangerous if we fail to enforce strict Party discipline and slacken our effort in administering our ranks of Party members and cadres. The serious problems brought to light in the last few years from among some of the officials who are Party members, including those high in rank, have time and again rung the alarm for us. The 15th Party National Congress set unequivocal requirements for tightening up Party discipline, and this was the central topic for the speech I delivered at the Fourth



Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection held early this year. It appears that the most important thing to do is to make sure these requirements are being acted upon. Party committees at all levels should be accountable for implementing in real earnest the principle of tightening up Party discipline in all aspects of Party work—in ideology, politics, organization, style of work, discipline enforcement, the building of Party systems, and so on, and earnestly carrying out this principle in educating, administering and supervising the entire Party membership and cadres. We should be reasonably tolerant of our comrades, but this does not mean principle can be compromised. "To be strict is to love, and to be too lenient is to ruin." We cannot be always right when observing a person. Even those we are absolutely certain of can change their minds. In this regard we must stick to one thing, and that is we should never try to shield a cadre when something goes wrong with him, especially one we have trusted or even appointed to an important position. We will be totally wrong, and will do great harm to the cause of the Party and the people, if we protect someone who has committed a mistake, in the belief that we will lose face if we fail to do something in his favor. A Party functionary is no one's private property. The practice of seeking good relations at the expense of principle should be stamped out, and so should other vulgar ways of doing things in inner-Party life. The Party organization and leadership are politically weak more often than not where such vulgarities hold sway, and troubles arise among the Party members and cadres there more than elsewhere. It is hard for cadres to mature in an environment where vulgarity prevails. In his work, *Discourse on Calumny*, Han Yu (768-824) of the Tang Dynasty says, "The scholar-official of yore was strict with himself in every way possible, but tolerant of and magnanimous toward others. Because he was strict with himself in every way possible, he never slackened his efforts; and because he was tolerant of

and magnanimous toward others, people loved to perform good deeds." That is to say, a leader should be strict with himself and set a good example in the first place, and he should also refrain from blaming others whenever something goes wrong. Party discipline can be strictly enforced only by carrying out the Party's various systems to the letter. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that a good system can make it impossible for bad people to have their ways, and that under a bad system a good man finds it impossible to do good things to the best of his ability and can even be driven to the opposite. The system is therefore an issue fundamental, overall, stable, and long-term in nature. The systems that have been established in the Party should be strictly carried out, and constantly improved upon, so as to bring about a complete mechanism that contains strict Party discipline enforcement systems. Leading cadres should be subjected to strict requirements and tight administration and supervision, and it should become a routine for them to carry out criticism and self-criticism in positive and healthy ways. In educating and supervising cadres, they should be watchful of the slightest symptom of something wrong, and cadres should be reminded in time of any undesirable symptom. Strict law enforcement and discipline measures should be combined with intensified ideological education, and two "defense lines" should be set up and brought to perfection, namely, the cultivation of sound ideology and morality and the deterrence of Party discipline and state law, so as to gradually minimize inner-Party breaches of discipline, violations of law and cases of corruption. Inner-Party breaches of discipline and violations of law will be investigated and dealt with in all seriousness. To win the trust of the public, stern punishments should be meted out when and where necessary. •

Here I would like to emphasize another point. Differences always exist among things. Ours is a large country where conditions vary and development is uneven. The coastal regions are

developing more quickly and their conditions are better in various areas. Conditions in the central and western regions are poor, and though their development is picking up they are still trailing behind the relatively better-developed coastal regions by a considerable margin. The coastal regions should grow faster where conditions permit and take the lead to achieve the basics of modernization. In the meantime, the cadres and masses in the coastal regions should be conscientiously educated to remember where their riches have come from and to get on now that they are rich. The idea is to spur them on to make new progress in reform and development and contribute afresh to development in other parts of the country. Since the founding of New China, central and west China and the old industrial bases in northeast China have contributed tremendously to the construction of the country. For this reason they deserve support to speed up local development. To develop the western regions in a big way and speed up economic growth in central and west China is a major strategic decision the Party Central Committee has arrived at by taking into consideration the entire picture of China's socio-economic development in the 21st century. Comrades in the coastal regions must fully understand the major significance of this strategy and be active in helping central and west China speed up growth.

In those counties and cities where education in the "Three Emphases" (on study, political awareness and integrity) is being carried out, and in those localities and organizations where the results of education in the "Three Emphases" are being reviewed, ideological education should be deepened according to the requirements of the "Three Represents." Their leading cadres should check against these requirements to notice any gap in ideology, work and style of work. They then should go out of their way to solve any outstanding problems that have adversely affected the work related to reform, development and social stability and that are preventing them from meeting the requirements of

the "Three Represents." And, they need to continue to consolidate and expand the results of their education in the "Three Emphases."

To step up Party building in accordance with the requirements of the "Three Represents" under the new historical conditions is a real task both immediately urgent and historically long-term, a task that should run through the entire process in which the people strive for modernization under the leadership of our Party. To intensify Party building during the new period of historical development and fulfil the requirements of the "Three Represents," the first thing to do is to make studies and investigations and get to know the actual situation. To attach due importance to studies and investigations and be good at them is a fine tradition of our Party. I once said that studies and investigations are the "basis for planning and the way to success." We can get nowhere if we fail to make thorough investigations of the actual situation or if we are given to making decisions and directing our work by relying on half-baked knowledge and past experience or by taking things for granted. Chairman Mao said, "Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone." In reform and development, the practice of Party members and cadres in their vast numbers is rich and varied and vibrant with vitality. To fulfil the requirements of the "Three Represents," our Party must be able to really grasp the practice of the Party members and cadres and provide leadership to them in their practice and always march in the vanguard of socio-economic development in China. This means that we should know how to obtain convincing first-hand information by grasping the problems and getting a clear idea about what is going on, derive the norms from such information by refining and summarizing in a scientific manner, and use the norms to guide our work. From now on, the entire Party membership should spend about a year's time going

down to the grass-roots level and maintaining close ties with the masses, and making studies and investigations and summing up the practical experience, so as to lay a good foundation for stepping up Party building during the new period of historical development. In making studies and investigations, the first thing to do is to get a clear idea about the makeup of the ranks of Party members and cadres and their thinking, the facts about the building of Party organizations at all levels and how they go about their activities, the progress made in Party building, as well as the new situations and new problems confronting the work of Party building. Only thus can we have a clear idea about where we are. This is training in the basics, and let us make sure a good job is done of it. Party committees at all levels, leading comrades in particular, should bear in mind the changes in the domestic and world situations, the latest development in the productive forces of Chinese society and the reality of the Chinese economic system in the process of profound changes, the new demands of the masses of the people for the development of their material and cultural lives, and the new situations and new changes among our Party members and cadres. They should grasp those major theoretical and realistic problems that have to be studied and solved in order to intensify and improve Party building, make in-depth deliberations and studies and investigations, and strive to find correct solutions to problems by linking theory with practice.

## STRENGTHEN THE TRAINING OF YOUNG AND MIDDLE-AGED LEADING CADRES TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE NEW CENTURY\*

*June 9, 2000*

Comrades:

The Party Central Committee is holding this National Conference on the Work of Party Schools with the main purpose of arranging the implementation of the decision recently made by the Party Central Committee to strengthen and improve the work of the Party schools in the 21st century. Comrade Jintao has delivered a speech on how to do well the work of the Party schools. I agree to his opinions. The speeches by several other comrades were also quite good. Our Party has always paid great attention to the work of the Party schools. The Party schools at all levels have taken up an important task and done their best to train a large group of excellent young and middle-aged cadres for the Party. Today, I want to talk about the problem concerning how to strengthen the training of the young and middle-aged leading cadres to meet the needs of the new century.

Constantly training young and middle-aged leading cadres has always been a strategic task. Comrades Mao Zedong and Deng

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\*Speech delivered by Jiang Zemin at the National Conference on the Work of Party Schools.

Xiaoping had rated this task upon a high plane of understanding, regarding it as bearing on the prospects and development of the Party cause and how to safeguard the red state power achieved by hundreds of thousands of martyrs at the cost of their lives. All Party members must be aware of the new conditions and features of the contemporary international and domestic situations, the heavy tasks our Party has to shoulder in the new century and the concrete conditions of our Party building, so that we can further understand the extreme importance and urgency of training a large group of young and middle-aged leading cadres to meet the needs of the new century.

From the aspect of the international situation, many events have happened in the past few years, and the world is far from peaceful. Hegemonism and power politics have registered new development. But the people of all nations want peace and the main trend of the times for seeking development has not changed. In the foreseeable future, we will have to strive for a peaceful international situation. We must see clearly that, owing to a serious imbalance in strength in the world, the United States holds a superpower position in economy, science and technology, and military affairs. The process in which the world marches to multi-polarization is not a smooth one and will experience a long period of development. Economic globalization, as an objective process, has its duality. The developed Western countries are trying to guide the course of economic globalization. The developing countries in general are weak, and they, without correct countermeasures, will be in a more unfavorable position. The rapid development of science and technology in the world has played a more important and direct role in economic and social development. The developed Western countries occupy an obviously favorable position in science and technology, and the developing countries while facing opportunities to realize a technological leap, are confronted with huge pressures. Today,

international relations, especially those among the great powers, focus on competition of comprehensive national strength in economy, science and technology, national defense and national cohesive force. Such a feature of global politics and economic development will last for quite a long period of time in the 21st century. The hostile forces in the West are dismayed to see socialist China develop and become stronger, and they have not changed their strategic attempt to "Westernize" and "disintegrate" China. Our fight with the hostile forces in the West in the struggle between infiltration and anti-infiltration and between subversion and anti-subversion will last for a long time to come and become complicated and even very acute sometimes. We must have a higher vigilance, seize favorable opportunities, judge the hour, and size up the situation. We should stick to our principles and positions and also pay attention to the methods of struggle. It is necessary to seize opportunities and speed up development, and also to resolutely maintain the interests and safety of our country.

From the point of view of the domestic situation, China's socialist modernization will enter a new stage of development. China is in the primary stage of socialism. This primary stage is a long historical period for realizing the industrialization, socialization, marketization and modernization of the country's economy. The general target is to basically realize socialist modernization by the middle of the 21st century and to ensure a great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. During this long process, we have experienced several concrete periods of development and will still experience similar concrete periods of development in the future. Through the reform and opening-up and speedy development in the past two decades, China has registered important changes in the level of the productive forces, the relations between supply and demand, the social environment and economic relations with foreign countries. During the process of speeding up industrial-



zation, we have faced the new task of promoting information technology to spur national economic development. Based on the successful fulfillment of the second-phase strategic targets, we should start to implement the third-phase strategic targets, build a moderately well-off society and march toward the modernization of our country. We have confidence and favorable conditions and are capable of accomplishing this task. But we should be fully aware of the difficulties and challenges, as well as the hardships and complications for fulfilling this task. We should consolidate the role of agriculture as the foundation of the national economy, push forward the strategic readjustment of the economic structure, implement the strategy of developing the country through science and education and the strategy of sustainable development, speed up the development of the western region, establish a comparatively sound socialist market economy system, face up to the opportunities and risks after joining the WTO and deal with the relations between reform, development and stability. All these tasks demand that we continuously enrich our knowledge and experience, and improve our level of leadership.

From the point of view of Party building, in the past few years we have persisted in arming the Party with Deng Xiaoping Theory and promoted Party building based on the two historical tasks of constantly improving the Party's level of leadership and level of exercising political power, and enhancing the ability of the Party members and cadres to resist corruption and its erosion, and withstand risks. We have achieved remarkable results in this area. But we should be aware that we are still far from having solved the problem of how Party organizations at all levels and all Party members and cadres can adapt themselves to the new situation and new tasks, constantly strengthen cohesiveness and fighting capability and play pioneering and exemplary roles. We have a lot of work to do in consolidating and upgrading Party building and solving the key problems within the Party.

At present, Party cadres are at an important period of seeing the old generation being replaced by the new one. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, to meet the demand for fostering a contingent of more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent cadres, we have adopted positive measures for training and selecting large groups of excellent young cadres. Almost all the members of the current Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee were selected at that time from among the younger comrades in the central and local departments. Also, the leading members of all departments and all areas were chosen from among younger comrades in the 1980s and 1990s. In comparison with those 20 years ago, the cadres are younger and their educational level is higher. This is a great change. Quite a lot of old cadres will hand over their work positions to younger ones in the coming years. Not only will the cadres who grew up before the founding of New China but also will the cadres cultivated before the "cultural revolution" retire from their positions. A large group of young cadres who grew up after the "cultural revolution" will take up more important leading positions. This replacement work must be done well. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once pointed out profoundly: "Once the political line is determined, it should be implemented by people. By what kind of people? The results vary with those who support the Party's political line, who do not support this political line or who take a middle-of-the-roader's attitude." The key point for us is to select the best persons possible, and train, help and supervise them in their work. I have thought a lot about the selection and training of young and middle-aged leading cadres. If we fail in the solution of this problem, we will find it difficult to face Comrades Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping and our revolutionary forerunners, the Party and the people.

In 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The Chinese

Communist Party is a party leading a big nation of several hundred million people to wage great revolutionary struggles. Without most leading cadres having both ability and political integrity, it will be impossible to fulfill such historical tasks." He added, "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined. Therefore, it is our fighting task to train large numbers of new cadres in a planned way." Today, our Party is holding power in a nation with a population of 1.26 billion. Without a large group of leading cadres having both ability and political integrity, it would be absolutely impossible to lead the people of all ethnic groups in China to push forward the arduous modernization drive under a complicated international and domestic situation. In fact, the competition in today's world and in the future is a competition for talented people from all fields and at all levels, including leading cadres. All these people are facing all kinds of competitions and tests. History and reality have proved that whether a political party and a state can train excellent leaders has a great bearing on the ups and downs of the party and the state to a great extent. The key to whether China's socialist cause can be consolidated and developed, and whether China can remain always powerful and prosperous in the midst of acute international competition in the future, lies in whether our Party can constantly train a large group of high-caliber leaders. If we solve this problem inadequately, we will find it difficult to withstand all kinds of severe tests and challenges in the new century and to reach the fixed goals of our Party and state. All Party members should realize the importance of training excellent young and middle-aged leading cadres from upon the high plane of politics, and do this work well without loss of time according to the requirements of the Party Central Committee, conscientiously and urgently, but not perfunctorily and sloppily.

In February this year, I pointed out in my inspection tour of Guangdong Province that Party organizations at all levels and all

Party members should strengthen and improve the Party-building work according to the requirements of the "Three Represents," so that our Party can remain forever in an impregnable position, win great support from the people of all ethnic groups and lead them to go forward steadily. I have raised this question after pondering for quite a long period of time. With the initiation of reform and opening-up and the development of a socialist market economy, building what kind of a party and how to build it has a direct bearing on the future and destiny of our Party and state. The new and great project of our Party put forth at the Fourth Session of the 14th Party Central Committee and the 15th Party National Congress is an answer to this problem. We have achieved new experiences in strengthening and improving the Party-building work. I feel that if we are to adhere to the theories and series of the important thoughts of Comrades Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping on Party building, the most important thing, in the final analysis, is to adhere to the "Three Represents" in ideology and in action. This is the foundation for building the Party, the cornerstone for its exercise of state power and a source of its strength.

I hope that all Party members, especially senior cadres, will, in line with the requirements of the "Three Represents," review conscientiously the history of struggle of our Party, conscientiously think over the positive and negative historical experiences of our Party in the course of long practice, especially the basic experiences of our Party in withstanding all kinds of tests and trials at home and abroad since the initiation of the reform and opening-up. We should think about how to solve the problems existing in our Party and how the Party can lead the people to fulfill the development tasks of the new century. After all these problems are straightened out, with clear thinking and a proper work orientation, we can strengthen the Party building in the new historical stage and train a large group of young and middle-aged

leading cadres.

Our Party has wielded its power, formulated all policies and carried out its work in an increasingly complicated international and domestic environment. The road ahead is not smooth, and we will inevitably meet all kinds of troubles and challenges at home and abroad. Putting aside things that happened long ago, I would only mention the major incidents that have happened during the past two years since the convention of the 15th Party National Congress. These include the Asian financial crisis, serious floods, the flagrant attack on our embassy in Yugoslavia by the United States, the "Falun Gong" organization gathering crowds to make trouble, Lee Teng-hui dishing out the "two states" proposal aimed at splitting the motherland, and the success of the "Taiwan independence" protagonist Chen Shui-bian in election in the Taiwan region. We can say that the situation changes all the time independent of our will. We have had to deal with all these things, which happened suddenly. In the past few years, we have learned an important lesson: The more complicated the situation, the heavier our tasks and the more acute the struggle, the firmer we should be in persisting in Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Party's basic line, principles and programs. We should resolutely focus on economic construction and make unremitting efforts to fulfill the Party's general targets and tasks for the primary stage of socialism. Whatever happens, all these basic things must not change. They are our backbones. Only with them, can we stand firmly no matter how severe the storm is, can we grasp opportunities instead of letting them slip through our fingers, and blaze new trails forward instead of following the beaten track. Leading cadres at all levels should stick to these basic things ideologically and theoretically, and thus have a firm attitude in dealing with complicated problems. While training and cultivating young and middle-aged leading cadres, we should make them understand that they should firmly adhere to these basic things at all times.

We should ensure that they are tested in all kinds of important struggles. Those who can remain calm and firm in the face of severe trials and sudden incidents, and organize and lead the broad masses to overcome difficulties should be cultivated and promoted. In general, we should focus our efforts on training a large group of excellent young cadres who are firm politically, capable of dealing with all kinds of challenges and good at handling complicated situations.

In this important task of training young and middle-aged leading cadres, Party schools should and can play an important role. The work of these Party schools is an important component of the Party cause. Ensuring that education in the Party schools is done properly is of realistic and far-reaching significance for the development of our Party and state. The work of the Party schools at all levels should be conscientiously connected with the Party and state, and comrades in the Party schools should work diligently, in accordance with the development of the international and domestic situations and the actual demands of the Party building, and make more contributions to the training of young and middle-aged leading cadres.

For building our Party, first of all we should improve the ideological and political quality of the Party's leading cadres at all levels, especially that of the young and middle-aged leading cadres, and train them to become statesmen of a new generation who are loyal to Marxism, stick to the socialist road with Chinese characteristics and are good at administering the Party and state. Young and middle-aged leading cadres are the hope of our Party and state, and represent the future of our Party and state. The work of training young and middle-aged cadres should be done well and without delay. We must be cool-headed and firm in this task.

Firstly, it is necessary to strengthen the cultivation of the Party spirit of these young and middle-aged leading cadres and

ensure that they stick to the fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly. All of them should constantly improve their political quality through systematic study of Party history and the Marxist theory on Party building and the education in Party spirit and work style. The most important thing is that they should foster the concept of serving the people wholeheartedly and persist in this to the end. The Party cause needs young and middle-aged leading cadres. As leading cadres they will have a certain position and power. Nevertheless, they should not hanker for high office, but should be content to be able to do their work well for the Party and the people. Some people think about nothing but promotion, running after, demanding — and even buying — official posts. Such an unhealthy trend and evil practice are against the Party's aim, and must be resolutely eliminated. The Party and the people eagerly hope that the broad masses of young and middle-aged leading cadres will consciously strengthen the cultivation of their Party spirit, cherish lofty aspirations, stand on solid ground and work earnestly for the good of the people. They should firmly establish a correct outlook on the world, life and values. They should be strict with themselves, set examples, withstand the test of power, money and sex temptations, and resist all kinds of corruption and all erroneous trends. They should persist in enhancing democracy, link themselves closely with the masses and be bold in criticism and self-criticism. Also, they should persist in opposing bureaucracy and formalism, and strive to be good cadres of the Party and good servants of the people.

Secondly, it is necessary to widen the field of vision of young and middle-aged leading cadres, to make them good at observing the world situation and correctly understand the demands of the times. In its initial period, our Party was composed of progressive intellectuals. It spread Marxism-Leninism and integrated the most advanced Marxist-Leninist theories with the practical struggle of the working class, the most advanced class in China, representing

the progressive trends of the times in China and the world at large. The Chinese Communist Party is a symbol of social progress and the embodiment of the hope for national prosperity in the minds of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our Party, under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory, has persisted in an ideological line of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts, profoundly summarized the historical experiences of socialist construction in China and other countries, adapted itself to the progressive trends of the times, bravely implemented the reform and opening-up policies, studied and drawn lessons from all progressive achievements of other countries in the world, including the capitalist countries, with a broad mind and led the people of the whole country to create a new situation in which socialism with Chinese characteristics is being built. When the world socialist movement suffered serious setbacks, our Party remained at the helm of the state and made further progress, and imbued socialism in China with new vitality. This is an important lesson and also a valuable experience. All Party members, especially young and middle-aged leading cadres, must intensify their study and practice in order to widen their field of vision, observe with sharp eyes the political, economic, scientific and technological and cultural changes in the world, and always stand in the forefront of the development of the times, the reform and opening-up, and the modernization drive. In history, there have been many people who, disregarding the development trends in the world, had stood still and refused to make progress, and got enmeshed in a web of their own spinning, which led to the decline and fall of the state and nation. For instance, the Qing Dynasty lasted for 268 years—from 1644 to 1911. The dynasty witnessed a period of great prosperity from 1661 to 1796, historically known as the "Golden Period of Emperors Kangxi and Qianlong." During this period, especially in the last year of the



reign of Emperor Qianlong, China's economic level led the world, and its population accounted for one third of the world's total. The country enjoyed a favorable balance of foreign trade for a long period. But also during this period, the industrial revolution took place in the Western countries, and science and technology and productivity developed rapidly. The Qing imperial rulers disregarded these great changes, arrogantly shut China off from the rest of the world, and refused to learn advanced science and technology. Finally, over a period of a mere 100 years or so, China had found itself lagging far behind the Western countries, helpless in the face of the challenges from these countries armed with advanced ships and guns. This historical lesson has been deeply etched upon our minds. The current generation of young and middle-aged leading cadres has grown up since China implemented the reform and opening policies. In general, they have extensive knowledge and a broader field of vision, and are active in thinking. But this does not mean that they have a scientific understanding of the dynamics of world development and progress. They should constantly improve themselves through hard studies and work practice. While training young and middle-aged leading cadres, Party schools should help them to gain an in-depth understanding and grasp of the economic, political, scientific and technological, legal and military trends in today's world, to keep the whole world always in view, to constantly increase their world knowledge and their analytical and discerning power. This is a matter of great importance.

Thirdly, it is necessary to foster the strategic thinking capacity of the young and middle-aged leading cadres, and make them good at constantly studying and solving key problems in the work for reform, development and stability in accordance with concrete conditions. Our Party has paid great attention to theoretical study and research in order to find solutions to concrete problems through correct theory. Persistence in integrating theory with

practice and studies of strategic problems encompassing the whole situation is a good tradition of our Party. Ours is a big country; our tasks are numerous and heavy, and there are many complicated problems crying for our solution. If our leading cadres do not pay enough attention to theoretical study or strategically think about and study important international issues, it will be difficult for them to handle the work of leadership well. This would be very dangerous. The 15th Party National Congress has called on all Party members to focus on the actual problems in China's reform and opening-up and modernization drive, and on the work we are doing now, keep in their minds the application of Marxist theory and the theoretical thinking about practical problems, and pay attention to new practice and new development. This task is very important. We have not done this very well so far, and must exert more efforts in this regard. If leading cadres, including young and middle-aged cadres, can persevere and achieve new progress continuously in this field, our Party will be able to constantly open up new vistas for its cause and work in all fields. The Party schools should train young and middle-aged leading cadres according to these requirements and, through a series of investigations and deliberations on strategic problems, help them to enhance their ability to study and solve major practical problems and to foster their ability to ponder these problems on the strategical plane.

Fourthly, in the final analysis, it is necessary to greatly promote the theoretical standard of young and middle-aged leading cadres, and enable them to really grasp the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method. Marxism is a science, and our ideological-political belief. Since it was introduced into China, Marxism has witnessed two great "historic leaps" in the process of being integrated with Chinese practice — resulting in the two theoretical achievements of Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping

Theory have come down to us in one continuous line as a unified scientific system and the guiding ideology of our Party. Deng Xiaoping Theory has the significance of direct guidance in the solution of contemporary problems concerning the future and destiny of Chinese socialism. Through sustained and deepened theoretical study over the past few years, our Party has achieved some progress in the study of Deng Xiaoping Theory, but not a progress deserving of high estimation. In general, cadres around 40 years old have been educated in Marxism and the Party's good traditions. But their study is not systematic and sound enough. They know a lot about Chinese history and the current situation, but their understanding is not deep or extensive enough. They have experienced some tests of inner-Party life and social practice, but such tests have not been rigorous or extensive enough. In other words, young and middle-aged cadres of this generation still lack a sound understanding of the basic theory of Marxism, a systematic understanding of Chinese history and reality, and the strict tests of inner-Party life and rigorous environment. We should replenish what we lack. Theoretical and historical knowledge we can acquire from reading books, but one's character and willpower have to be cultivated through hard practice. To improve the Marxist theory level of leading cadres at all levels, young and middle-aged leading cadres in particular, is a logical demand arising from the constant advance of the Party cause and the development of young and middle-aged leading cadres themselves. Party schools should always take Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory as the theoretical basis of all subjects, and demand that all cadres study the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, the important documents issued by the Party and state since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and carefully study the important works of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Zedong. In this way, all leading cadres will be able to persist in the

correct application of the basic principles of Marxism while constantly absorbing new experiences and new concepts, enhancing their spirit of science and technology and innovation, and being bold and good at carrying out their work creatively. As long as leading cadres at all levels, especially young and middle-aged leading cadres, achieve such theoretical standard there is great hope for the future of our cause.

All Party members, senior cadres in particular, should have a strategic insight and broad vision and show great foresight, just like the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries. We should earnestly fulfill the important political task of training a large group of young and middle-aged leading cadres, achieve satisfactory progress in this field and train successors worthy of the trust of the Party and the people. Then we will have fulfilled our historic task. For this work, the Party Central Committee has made arrangements which we should conscientiously implement. Here I would like to emphasize three points, as follows:

Firstly, we should not stick to one pattern, but select cadres in accordance with their strong points. This has always been a successful way to select people for tasks, both in ancient times and today, both in China and other countries. In the course of selecting young and middle-aged leading cadres, we must be open-minded and get rid of the old and backward ideas of giving priority only to seniority, and extending special favors. Of course, we need to scrutinize the qualifications and records of service in selecting cadres. But we must be careful to avoid formalism and following the same pattern all the time. If we select cadres only on the strength of their qualifications and records of service, we will not be able to make use of the maximum number of talented persons. Younger people certainly have their shortcomings and insufficiencies, but when judging persons we should pay special attention to their political integrity, strong points and prospects of development, and not simply criticize them for failing to be per-

fect. We must help them to correct their shortcomings and remedy their insufficiencies, develop their strong points and minimize their weak points, and enable them to display their special abilities. So we should put them in work positions where their strong points can be fully utilized. This will be good for the cadres themselves and for the Party's cause. Otherwise, harm will be done to the cadres themselves and the Party's cause. There are only a few people who are good in all fields. Our senior cadres, especially the leading members of all the departments at different levels, are responsible for all work, so they should have more knowledge and be good in all fields. They should know quite well both the natural and social sciences and have not only theoretical knowledge but also rich practical experience. Only in this way, can they do their work well. In selecting cadres, it is necessary to stick to the principle that they should have both ability and political integrity. A firm political stand and conviction, genuine talent and pioneering spirit are basic requirements for cadres. Ability and political integrity are not abstract qualities, but concrete ones. We should judge a cadre by such qualities, which are more important than his record of service. China has a population of 1.2 billion, of whom 63 million are Party members. Also, there are more than 41 million cadres of all categories. There is no doubt that China has large numbers of talented people. The key is how we do our work of selecting the right ones. We should open up more channels and mobilize the broad masses of the people to find talented people. Our principles are to persist in appointing people on their merits, not by favoritism, judge them by both their ability and political integrity, not criticize them for failing to be perfect, adhere to the required standards, and not stick to one pattern. We should further deepen the reform of the personnel system, build a proper mechanism for promotion and demotion, and provide a good environment and conditions for excellent young cadres to stand out and develop in a healthy way.

Secondly, for the healthy growth of young and middle-aged leading cadres, their own efforts are the internal factor and cultivation by the Party organization is the external factor. Both factors should be linked closely. Cultivation plays an important role in the growth of cadres. Some promising young people may come onstage of themselves and go offstage of themselves if we do not discover them in time or cultivate and train them in a planned way. After we discover promising young people, we should pay sufficient attention to their training through severe tests and work practice in order to enhance their capability and knowledge. There are many ways of training. Theoretical education and study are cultivation, and so is practice at the grass-roots units. The ideological level, working capability and ability of leadership of a leading cadre must be trained in the practice of leadership work. We should put people with basic qualities in appropriate leading posts. Practice has proved that it is good for young cadres' improvement and maturity if they are put in important leading posts and places with hard conditions, complicated situations and many contradictions and difficulties. If they make some achievements in their work posts, they should be used continuously and promoted. If they refuse to work in these difficult places or fail to make achievements, they are not excellent cadres and should not be promoted or put in important posts. Leading cadres must stand severe tests. If young cadres know little about difficulties and do not experience any tests, they may become flowers in a greenhouse, which cannot withstand storm and stress. To use such people on difficult jobs is the best way to cultivate them and their art of leadership. Also, it is the best way to judge them.

Thirdly, our cause is unprecedented and great, and we need all kinds of talented people. Young and middle-aged leading cadres with good qualities are needed to work in political, economic, cultural, scientific and technological, educational, military and dip-

lomatic fields. Cadres in any field must be qualified politically. Under this premise, they must be good in their special fields. For instance, to strengthen agriculture, promote science and technology in order to develop agriculture and lead farmers to get rich and have a comfortable life, we need cadres who are good at doing work concerning rural areas, agriculture and farmers in the new era. To speed up the two fundamental changes, push forward the strategic economic restructuring and administer the state-owned enterprises well, we need capable people who are familiar with micro-economy and enterprise work, and can handle the market. To open wider to the outside world, join the WTO and combine "inviting in" with "going out" organically, we need capable people who know the international economy, international economic laws and the international market quite well. To carry out diplomatic work, maintain our national sovereignty, interests and security, we need talented people who can persist in the Party's diplomatic principles and policies and are good at carrying out international exchanges and struggles. To maintain the unification of the motherland and oppose "Taiwan independence" and strengthen our work related with the people of Taiwan, we need cadres who know the conditions in Taiwan, are familiar with the conditions of the people in Taiwan and can handle work concerning Taiwan. Also, to meet the challenge of the new global military revolution and strengthen the revolutionization, modernization and regularization of the armed forces, we need cadres who are really up to the mark politically and ideologically and are well versed in modern military affairs. In a word, the cause of our Party and the people needs talented people in all fields and at different levels. The requirements for talented people in different fields are varied, and the law concerning their growth is different too. The work of selecting and training young and middle-aged leading cadres should be done according to the special features of different departments and different work posts. It should encour-



age talented people in different fields to vie with each other and fully display their abilities. In this way, groups of excellent young and middle-aged leading cadres can grow up one after another, and their abilities can be fully employed, and thus we can constantly achieve success in our cause.

The three points mentioned above can be explained in lines from three poems written by three famous Chinese poets: "O Heaven! Bestir yourself, I beseech you/And send down talented men of all kinds" by Gong Zizhen, "It remains firm and sturdy under repeated pounding and hammering/And fears not the strong winds from the west and east or the north and south" by Zheng Banqiao, and "May the east wind blow light and gentle/It's spring when all the flowers bloom" by Zhu Xi. That means in training young and middle-aged leading cadres, we do not stick to one pattern; we should put them through severe tests; and we should bring forth more and more talented people.

Training cadres through various kinds of Party schools and other cadre schools is an important way to cultivate leading cadres and enhance their art of leadership. In the early years of its founding, our Party suggested the founding of, and helped Sun Yat-sen to run, the Whampoa Military Academy, and suggested opening the Peasant Movement Institute as a form of cooperation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, for training leaders for the then national revolution. Later, our Party founded the Red Army University, the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University and the Central Party School, the last of which is still operating today. Through these schools, our Party has trained large groups of talented people for administering the Party, the country and the army. On August 8, 1943, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in a speech delivered at the opening ceremony of the second section of the Central Party School: "We run the Party School with the aim of improving the political and theoretical level of our comrades and making our Party more



united.” The decision on strengthening and improving the work of the Party schools facing the 21st century as adopted by the Party Central Committee makes it clearer that Party school education is the main channel for training Party and government leading cadres at all levels, and Party schools should deepen the reform of their teaching system in order to improve the quality of leading cadres. Party committees at all levels should conscientiously implement this decision, strengthen the leadership of the work of the Party schools and enable them to fully play their role in training young and middle-aged leading cadres.

I urge the main leading members of the Party committees at all levels to go to the Party schools frequently to give lectures or hold talks or join in their discussions on some important problems. Since I was transferred to work in the Party Central Committee, I have been to the Central Party School to hold meetings and deliver reports. The Party Central Committee has sponsored symposiums on several occasions at the Central Party School for the principal leaders of all provinces and ministries. I have joined these symposiums and group discussions, and expressed my opinions. It is beneficial for the people attending such gatherings to exchange information and unify their thinking, as well as a chance for me to study and improve. It will benefit the growth of the young cadres if the main leading members of the Party committees at all levels give lectures and exchange their experiences, ideas and opinions about problems with the others. These Party committees should help the Party schools solve practical problems and actively create conditions for the ideological, political and professional building of the teachers and cadres of the Party schools, and for the modernization of teaching facilities and infrastructure facilities. Party schools at all levels should persist in administering their schools rigorously, strengthen the administration of education and the students, and constantly improve the quality of teachers and education.

Many comrades have expressed the opinion that it is necessary to release them, for a certain period of time, from their regular work so that they can study at Party schools. Certainly, they will find some contradictions in time, study and work arrangements. We leave the solution of these contradictions with Party committees at all levels. We are in an important historical period and have a thousand and one things to attend to in our job of reform and construction. If we stop our study, we will lag behind the trend of the times, and fall short of the people's expectations. To do well the work of our Party, every leading cadre must study, study and study again. Party committees at all levels should consider cadres' study in light of the Party's cause and arrange their work and study rationally, and guarantee that young and middle-aged leading cadres can leave their regular work and join the study at the Party schools. Their study at the Party schools is one of the important conditions for their use and promotion. Training and study should be integrated with the use of cadres. Persistence in this work will bring good results.

I sincerely hope that Party schools at all levels will continue to make new contributions to the Party's cause.

## CONSTANTLY MAKE INNOVATIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF PRACTICE\*

*June 20, 2000*

Innovation is the soul of a nation. It is the never-ending power for a country's prosperity and the source of energy of a political party. At a recent conference for the academicians of the Chinese Academy of Natural Sciences and Chinese Academy of Social Sciences I stressed the importance of promoting the spirit of science within the Party as well as among the general public. What we mean is to seek truth from facts, to make new explorations into the unknown world, to respect the truth and be bold enough to make new innovations, so as to push forward all the work of the Party and state.

Innovations include those in theoretical, system, scientific and technological and other fields. For the past two decades, the glorious achievements we have made under the Party's leadership in our reform and opening-up and our modernization drive are all closely associated with innovations in theory, systems, and science and technology. The formation and development of Deng Xiaoping Theory is the crystallization of theoretical innovation

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\*Excerpt from a speech delivered by Jiang Zemin at a symposium on Party building in the five provinces and autonomous regions of northwest China and the development of the western regions of China.

by the Party in the new era as well as its greatest achievement. All other innovations are undertaken under the direction, promotion and influence of this theoretical innovation. Now, in response to the new situation and new problems in China and in the world as a whole, we must persevere in taking Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory as our guide. We must uphold the Party's ideological line of proceeding from reality in everything we do, emancipating our minds and seeking truth from facts. We must follow the tide of the times, study new situations that crop up constantly and solve new problems, so as to form a new type of awareness and explore new frontiers.

To make innovations to our systems means improving the existing systems so that they will suit the development of the socialist market economy and the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Thanks to the explorations and efforts since the introduction of the reform and opening-up policies, and particularly since the 14th Party National Congress, we have established the basic framework of the system of socialist market economy. However, a series of deep-rooted problems must be tackled before we can make this new economic system complete and mature. The pattern in which public ownership plays the dominant role in the national economy, while other forms of ownership develop side by side, must be improved systematically. New breakthroughs must be made in the reform of state-owned enterprises, with emphasis on the establishment of a modern enterprise system. A regulated, unified national market will have to be established and improved. Through further reform, we must establish and improve an economic and technological competition and cooperation mechanism as a requirement for China's entry into the World Trade Organization; a distribution system, which integrates distribution according to work with distribution according to production factors; a multi-layer social welfare

network; the government's management and operation system, and the Party's and state's leadership system. We must continue with investigations to adapt ourselves to the changing conditions and requirements of socialist modernization, and make new achievements in the innovation of the economic and other systems.

To make scientific and technological innovations is to make science and technology a strong driving force behind China's cross-century development. We are now in an era of fundamental scientific and technological revolution. We must focus on those significant scientific and technological projects that are of strategic, basic or vital importance to China's economy, science and technology, national defense and social development, and make innovations on our own. Following the principle of concentrating on certain areas while placing less emphasis on other areas, we shall aim at the vanguard of the world's scientific and technological development, trying to make breakthroughs in areas where conditions are favorable, to make new discoveries in basic science and new technological inventions so as to realize a leapfrog expansion of China's science and technology.

To make theoretical innovations is to push forward our Party's basic theories through absorbing new practical experience and new ideas while inheriting the good things of the past. In July 1937, in "On Practice," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-

materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing." To uphold Marxism, it is most important to uphold Marxism's scientific principles and spirit as well as its spirit of innovation. In view of the changes in reality, it is important for us to constantly absorb nutrition from the practice of the masses to enrich and develop the basic theories so that they can better guide our work.

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping had set good examples for us in theoretical innovations. Marx and Engels extensively absorbed the theoretical literature of their predecessors, and summed up the objective law of the development of human society, pointing out that the movement of the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production are the driving forces of social development, and came to the scientific conclusion that this will inevitably lead to communism. They criticized and surpassed the theories of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Georg Hegel and Ludwig Feuerbach to create a scientific guidance for the liberation movement of the proletariat and mankind as a whole. Later, they constantly came up with new judgments and offered new theoretical explanations in light of the new situations of the development of capitalism and new practices of workers' movement. In his article "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891" Engels points out that capitalist production by joint-stock companies is no longer private production but production on behalf of many associated people. "And when we pass on from joint-stock companies to trusts, which dominate and monopolize whole branches of industry, this puts an end not only to private production but also to planlessness." Marx and Engels predicted that socialist revolution would erupt in some developed capitalist countries simultaneously, and be victorious. After analyzing imperialism's economic and political characteristics and basic contradictions, Lenin shed light on the law concerning the imbalance in the economic and political development of the imperialist countries.

He came to the conclusion that socialist revolution could succeed in the weakest link of imperialism — in one or a few countries first. And he led the October Revolution to victory. For a period after the October Revolution, Soviet Russia attempted to implement a “wartime communism” policy, whereby commodities and money were eliminated and equal distribution among all people was adopted. But its practice soon made Lenin realize that “a proletarian country using direct orders to adjust the production and distribution of the country’s products according to the principle of communism in a peasant country” was a practice divorced from reality and that “reality proved us wrong.” Therefore, Lenin put forward his “new economy policy,” using commodities and money to resume and develop the economy. Integrating the fundamental tenets of Marxism with the specific conditions of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong originated the theory of the new-democratic revolution, and pointed out that China should take a road differing from armed uprisings in cities, as occurring during the October Revolution, by encircling the cities from the rural areas. And he guided the Chinese revolution to victory. When the “cultural revolution” came to an end, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, with unrivaled courage, directed the Party members to emancipate their minds and seek truth from facts. Fully confirming Mao Zedong’s historical achievements, he resolutely corrected the mistake of “taking class struggle as the key link” and put forward the new theory of reform and opening-up and the modernization drive. Deng Xiaoping constantly made theoretical innovations based on his analysis of China’s reform and construction. A series of new concepts, including the primary stage of socialism, the household responsibility system, allowing some people and some areas to get rich first, the establishment of special economic zones, the dual functions of the plan and the market, and “one country, two systems”—are extraordinary theoretical creations and a remarkable development of Marxism-Leninism and

Mao Zedong Thought. Think about it. Without Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who led the Party to carry out the ideological line of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts, and insisted on reform and making innovations, would the undertakings of our Party and state be in such good shape as they are today?

The history of Marxism has taught us a profound truth: social practice is a continuous process, we should keep renewing our ideas and make innovations in light of practical needs. Emancipating the mind and making theoretical innovations are the powerful driving force behind great social progress. We must always take Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and, particularly, Deng Xiaoping Theory as our guide. Meanwhile, we must make new explorations based on new practice and come up with new theories which serve as guides to practice. The 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China called upon all Party members—with practical problems in China's reform and opening-up and the modernization drive and what we were doing as their focus of study—to consider the application of Marxist theories, make theoretical examinations of practical problems, and consider new practices and new developments. The 15th Party National Congress also pointed out that to uphold Deng Xiaoping Theory and continue to enrich and creatively develop the theory is a solemn historical task for the central leadership as well as for ordinary Party members. All Party members should take this task as their sacred responsibility, pool the wisdom of the masses, study and solve important strategic problems concerning the development of the cause of the Party and state to ensure that the Party is always in the forefront of the times, and truly fulfill the requirements of the "Three Represents."



## THE NEW SITUATION AND NEW CIRCUMSTANCES FACING IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK\*

*June 28, 2000*

Since the introduction of the reform and opening-up policies, the Party's ideological and political work, integrated with the implementation of the Party's basic theories and basic line, and the advancement of the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, has made new achievements and accumulated new experiences while withstanding new tests. We have persisted in using Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and Deng Xiaoping Theory in particular, to arm the whole Party and educate our cadres and people. We have persisted in the correct guidance of public opinion and carried out in-depth education in patriotism, collectivism, socialism and the spirit of doing pioneering work through hard struggle. We have extensively carried out activities to build socialist culture and ethics with the participation of the masses, and publicized a large number of advanced examples that embody the spirit of the times. We have striven to enrich the people's spiritual and cultural life, and use outstanding works to inspire the masses of the people. We have combined ideological education with the effort to solve the actual problems

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\*Part of a speech delivered by Jiang Zemin at the Central Conference on Ideological and Political Work.

facing the general public, closed the ties between the Party and the people, and extensively mobilized the initiative of the people of all ethnic groups in China to build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Generally speaking, the ideological and political work over the past 20-odd years, particularly since the 14th Party National Congress, has provided a strong spiritual motive force and an important political guarantee for promoting reform, development and stability, and for the victory of the modernization drive. However, it should be pointed out that we have learned some lessons in the sphere of ideological and political work. For a time, the phenomenon of paying greater attention to economic construction to the neglect of ideological and political construction, which was criticized by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, occurred. Profound study and effective means were lacking concerning how to strengthen and improve ideological and political work in the new historical period. By summarizing both positive and negative experiences, the whole Party must gain a profound understanding that in the new historical period the Party's ideological and political work must proceed from the ever-changing practice and be intensified and improved, without any slackening.

There is a view that, facing the new circumstances and new problems at home and abroad, it is not easy to explain the situation clearly to the cadres and masses, who are subjected to multifarious influences. This problem should be tackled in an overall way. Fundamentally speaking, the Party's ideological and political work concerns the ideological and spiritual life of the people. Marx said that the mode of production of material well-being controls the entire process of social, political and spiritual life and that it is not man's thinking which determines his social being, on the contrary, it is man's social being which determines his thinking. To do a good job of ideological and political work in the new historical period, we must, from international and

domestic, as well as historical and practical, perspectives, make a deep analysis of the objective environment and its basic characteristics that play a role in the ideological activities of the cadres and the people, and correctly examine and handle those major theoretical and practical issues that influence the ideological activities of the cadres and masses. With a clear understanding and appropriate handling of questions in this regard, we will have a foundation that is geared to actual circumstances in our performance of the ideological and political work in the new historical period.

Here, I would like to raise some major questions that call for deep study and thinking by comrades of the whole Party, so as to gain a scientific understanding and correct answers in ideological and political terms.

The first question is how to understand the historical process of the development of socialism. More than 150 years have elapsed since the birth of Marxism, and over 80 years have passed since the October Revolution that founded the first socialist country. Our country's socialist system has been in place for more than 40 years. For more than 150 years, gigantic progress has been made and rich experience accumulated in exploring socialist theories and practices, in ensuring that the people enjoy political equality and become masters of their country, in abolishing the system of the exploitation of man by man, in eliminating social polarity and narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor, and in building a new type of thinking, ethics and culture. Practice proves that socialism is the correct road that leads the proletariat and the working people worldwide suffering from oppression and exploitation to become masters of their own destiny, gain social emancipation, and build a happy life. Since the founding of New China, and particularly since the introduction of the reform and opening-up, our country has achieved great results in socialist construction that have drawn worldwide atten-

tion, significantly enhanced our comprehensive national strength, and constantly improved the people's living standards. Socialism has developed vigorously in China, showing strong vitality and creativeness. The masses of the people sincerely support the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This has laid a solid foundation for us to successfully carry out ideological and political work.

However, we should be constantly aware of the fact that within the entire historical process of the world, the history of socialism covers only a short period. In general, socialism is still in the primary stage of practice and development. It is also worthy of notice that, in general, the socialist countries born after the October Revolution had been backward economically, politically and culturally. To thoroughly change this backwardness, a prolonged process of development is required after the founding of the basic socialist system. The road ahead, which will unavoidably encounter unexpected and inconceivable difficulties and risks, is not smooth sailing. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said the consolidation and development of the socialist system calls for the efforts of several generations, or even scores of generations. He aptly estimated the prolonged and arduous nature of the construction and development of the socialist cause. Since socialism is a brand-new social system and there is no successful example to follow, continuous and repeated practice and understanding are required to find answers to the questions of what socialism is and how to build socialism. Errors and even setbacks of various types may occur during this process.

The drastic changes in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union were tremendous setbacks sustained by world socialism. Why did the Soviet Union, a socialist country that had developed for more than 70 years, disintegrate? Some sincere-minded people have developed doubts and feel perplexed, beginning to worry about the future of world socialism. Even some of

our Party members and cadres have developed a "crisis in belief" to various degrees. This is an objective reality, which we cannot but recognize and face squarely.

By seriously summarizing the lessons of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the drastic changes in Eastern Europe, as well as the grave deviation of the "cultural revolution," and deeply analyzing the reasons behind these phenomena, we may come to two conclusions. Firstly, it is necessary to adhere to socialism. Hostile forces in the capitalist world assert categorically that socialism and Marxism will die out. This is no more than idle chatter. Secondly, it is necessary to carry out socialist reform and explore the road for the development of socialism that suits the reality of each country. Practice proves that China's socialism has not only continued to exist, but also developed better through reform. We should, based on such a basic understanding, guide the masses of our Party members, cadres and people to correctly understand the objective laws governing social development and the prolonged and arduous nature of the socialist cause, and strengthen their resolve and confidence in taking the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is a major topic that our Party's theoretical research and ideological and political construction must face and tackle.

The second question is how to understand the historical process of the development of capitalism. The development of capitalism, starting from the bourgeois revolution in England, has a history of 360 years. Many people find it hard to explain that Marx and Engels proclaim in the *Communist Manifesto* that owing to the basic contradiction between the socialization of production and the private ownership of the means of production, capitalism is bound to become extinct and communism is bound to triumph. In the early years of the 20th century, Lenin stated that capitalism in the stage of imperialism was monopolistic, decadent and moribund capitalism. But capitalism has not died

out in the world today. On the contrary, the advanced capitalist countries have made new and great progress in productive forces, science and technology and other fields.

At present, developed capitalist countries have a much higher level of economic, scientific and technological development and material and cultural well-being than developing socialist countries like ours. This is an objective reality, which we cannot but recognize and face squarely. But, does the existence of this phenomenon show that the basic law governing the development of human society as outlined by Marxism is untenable? Surely, the answer must be a negative one. In 1859, in the "Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*," Marx says that a social order never perishes before all the productive forces for which it is broadly sufficient have been developed, and new superior relations of production never replace older ones before the material conditions for their existence have matured within the womb of the old society. In today's world, the basic contradictions inherent in the capitalist system continue to exist, and they are not changed in essence owing to the economic, scientific and technological development of advanced capitalist countries. However, since socialism, the opposite of capitalism, appeared in the world and showed its tremendous superiority, the advanced capitalist countries have, on the one hand, tried in every possible way to struggle against socialism, and this kind of struggle has never ceased despite constant changes in its form. On the other hand, to maintain the survival and development of the capitalist system, they have gone to great lengths in pursuit of self-regulation, amelioration and improvement in some links of the capitalist relations of production and the operation and management mechanism of the capitalist economy, including learning from some of the practices of socialism. This has not only enabled the capitalist relations of production to accommodate the existing productive forces, but also allowed the productive forces to de-

velop, and mitigated to a certain extent the class and social contradictions under the rule of capitalism.

Specifically, as the world entered the 20th century, and particularly in the wake of World War II, within the scope permitted by the capitalist system, the Western capitalist countries adopted numerous measures in such fields as taxation, welfare policy and enterprise organizational structure, as well as in intensifying government interference in economic affairs, which regulated and eased to a certain extent the restraints of the private ownership of the means of production over the development of the productive forces. In particular, they have absorbed and utilized the most up-to-date achievements of modern scientific and technological development, which has provided new space for the development of capitalist productive forces. It is worthy of notice that under the conditions of the continuous existence of the old international economic order and before the establishment of a new international economic order, the developed capitalist countries have relied on their economic, scientific and technological and even military superiorities to obtain huge profits in the world market. This is another important condition for their continuous development.

In recent years, I have frequently quoted the viewpoint expressed by Engels in his "A Critique of the Draft Social-Democratic Programme of 1891." Engels says that capitalist production by joint-stock companies is no longer private production but production on behalf of many associated people. "And when we pass on from joint-stock companies to trusts, which dominate and monopolize whole branches of industry, this puts an end not only to private production but also to planlessness." This suggests that changes may take place during the course of the self-development of capitalism. We should correctly understand these changes and explain them theoretically. The self-amelioration and self-improvement made by Western capitalist



countries have neither touched the foundation of capitalist rule nor changed the nature of the capitalist system or the truth of the basic Marxist tenets about capitalism. The advanced capitalist countries have made energetic efforts to develop a "new economy" and accelerate the process of economic globalization, which has resulted in the continuous growth of their wealth. However, wealth has become increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small number of people, which has unavoidably aggravated the basic contradictions of capitalism. Meanwhile, it deserves notice that the advanced countries also have adopted some measures to limit excessive incomes and monopoly.

The production and development of all things are governed by objective laws. No matter how concrete the process of development is, nothing can escape the objective laws in the end. But, generally speaking, the historical end decreed by these objective laws is unlikely to manifest itself in advance before the whole process of evolution works itself out. Any objective law plays its role gradually and more and more profoundly in the process of the evolution of history. We should adhere to the basic principles of Marxism, and pay attention to guiding the masses of cadres and people to correctly understand the historical progress of modern capitalism by extensively integrating theory with practice and history with reality. It is necessary to let people understand why only socialism can save and develop China. On the one hand, the basic principles and scientific theses of Marxism should not be negated owing to the prosperity appearing in the specific course of evolution of capitalism. On the other hand, it is necessary to strengthen the study of the self-regulation and development of modern capitalism, produce a convincing theoretical analysis, and further enrich and develop Marxist theory.

The third question is how to understand the impact of the practice of China's socialist reform on people's thinking. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee,



in late 1978, we have practiced reform and opening-up, developed a socialist market economy, promoted fundamental changes in the economic structure and in the mode of economic growth, and further emancipated and developed our country's socialist social productive forces. This profound social reform is bound to bring about profound changes in people's thinking.

Our Party estimated this change in the early stage of the reform and opening-up. The reform and opening-up and the modernization drive have brought about rapid economic development and tremendous social progress, enhanced people's consciousness of competition, efficiency, democracy and the rule of law, and heightened the spirit of exploration and innovation, which has created better material and spiritual conditions for us to improve our ideological and political work. Meanwhile, owing to the increasing diversity of social economic sectors, organizational forms, material interests and ways of employment, people's ideological activities have become noticeably independent, selective, variable and different. The weak points of market economic activities and the negative impacts brought about by them have been reflected in people's thinking and interpersonal relations, which leads to liberalism, decentralism, money worship, hedonism and egoism. Many new circumstances have also presented themselves in the content and forms of expression of the contradictions among the people. Our practice of opening to the outside world helps the people to broaden their vision, widen their knowledge and enliven their thinking. However, decadent capitalist thinking and culture have infiltrated from outside. The remnants of feudal thinking that have existed in our society for a long time, including feudal superstition and ignorant and backward ideas and concepts, like the dregs of society, are tending to float to the top again. Once the changes in social life are reflected in people's minds, they are bound to cause corresponding changes in ideology.

The process of our reform has seen a stimulation in thinking and the emergence of a great variety of concepts, with the interweaving of correct and incorrect ideas and the mutual influence of progressive and backward ones. There is no doubt about it. Although the erroneous and backward ideas and concepts that go against Marxism are nonessentials, they must be treated seriously. To allow them to develop unchecked will cause tremendous social hazards. The growth and spread of some erroneous ideological trends has often begun with the neglect of such by-products. In the end, we have to pool great efforts to solve them. Such lessons should not be forgotten. The more deeply the reform goes, the higher the vigilance we need against the occurrence of erroneous ideologies and the negative impacts they bring about, and greater efforts should be made to intensify and improve our Party's ideological and political work.

The fourth question is how to understand the current international environment and the influence of the international political struggle. The world is now heading toward multi-polarity, the process of economic globalization is being accelerated, and scientific and technological progress is being made worldwide day by day. Under such circumstances, different ideological trends interlock and buffet each other. This is bound to exert an influence in our country's ideological field and on the thinking of our cadres and people. This kind of influence has both positive and negative aspects.

It is worth noting that since the October Revolution the capitalist countries have spared no pains to launch attacks of all kinds against the socialist countries, including ideological infiltration as the major form of offensive. The drastic changes in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union were closely related to the long-term ideological infiltration from advanced capitalist countries. At present, China is the largest socialist country in the world. It is developing continuously, and becoming

more powerful and prosperous all the time. Hostile capitalist forces are intensifying the implementation of the "Westernization" and "disintegration" political strategies through various ways and means, in an attempt to subvert the leadership of the CPC and China's socialist system. They will never change this political scheme of theirs. Over the past few years, they have ceaselessly used human rights, democracy, freedom, ethnicity, religion, the Dalai Lama and Taiwan issues to attack us. They have colluded with the so-called "democratic movement elements" who exile themselves abroad and antagonistic elements in China, in an attempt to take colluded action. The struggle between us and domestic and overseas hostile forces in the field of infiltration and anti-infiltration and subversion and anti-subversion will be protracted and complicated. This is a main manifestation of class struggle that still exists and will continue to exist for a long time to a certain extent in China.

Our correction of the mistake of "taking class struggle as the key link" that occurred for a time was entirely correct. But, this does not mean that class struggle is extinct. As long as class struggle still exists to any extent we should not cast aside Marxist views and methods about class and class analysis. These views and methods provide us with the key to understanding the complicated political phenomenon of the struggle between socialism and hostile forces. While adhering to the reform and opening-up, and strengthening international economic and cultural exchanges, we should attach great importance to guarding against the infiltrative and subversive activities of hostile forces. This is also a major subject that requires intensive study in our effort to strengthen the Party's ideological and political work during the new historical period.

Profound changes are taking place in the world today, and China is carrying out self-transformation with the aim of perfecting and developing its socialist system. The Party's ideological

and political work faces a more complicated situation, heavier tasks and more arduous work. The Party's ideological and political work is not dispensable and insignificant. On the contrary, it is indispensable and can accomplish a great deal. Practice tells us that success in ideological and political work will facilitate the development of our cause. During the effort to combat the floods in 1998, the protest against the bombing of our embassy in Yugoslavia by US-led NATO, and the struggles against Lee Teng-hui's "two states" proposition that aims at splitting the motherland, and the "Falun Gong" cult, the masses of the Chinese people displayed extremely high political enthusiasm and a patriotic spirit, which helped build up a strong momentum. But if ideological and political work remains weak or is neglected, erroneous ideological trends will spread, which will confuse people's thinking, lead to disunity and create serious consequences. The political turbulence in 1989 was a grave lesson. We must have a sober understanding that owing to complicated international and domestic factors, we have a great deal of work to do in the ideological and political field, and the contradictions and struggles in our country's ideological and political field are protracted and complicated, and will become extremely acute under certain conditions. Hence, the role of ideological and political work in the Party's entire work schedule should remain unchanged, the task of the Party organizations at all levels to unswervingly push forward ideological and political work should remain unchanged, and the requirement for constantly enhancing the quality and level of ideological and political work should remain unchanged.

The Party's ideological and political work is the lifeline of economic and other work. This is determined by its functions and roles. Only by fully developing the political advantages of the Party's ideological and political work can we stick to the correct orientation of the development of economic and other work, ensure that the Party's line, principles and policies are imple-

mented in the work in various fields and among the masses of people, promptly eliminate and overcome interference by all kinds of wrong things, and consolidate and develop the ideological and political foundation for the united struggle of all ethnic groups in China, thereby providing a powerful motive force and guarantee for the work in economic and other fields. Comrades of the whole Party, particularly leading cadres at all levels, must have sufficient understanding of the importance of ideological and political work.

## DEVELOPMENT DEMANDS NEW WAYS OF THINKING\*

*October 11, 2000*

Development is the absolute need. This is a strategic concept we must stick to consistently. This question should be viewed not only economically, but also politically. In the past 20-odd years, our Party's line and policies have been well supported by the whole nation, and we have been able to stand the test of storm and stress from both home and abroad, and our country's international prestige and influence have witnessed sustained growth. All these are closely related with the rapid development of our country's social productive forces, the notable boosting of our overall national strength and the uninterrupted improvement of the people's livelihood. We will have to depend on development if we want to continue to solve the contradictions in our economic activities and social life, enhance our capability to withstand various risks and realize our third-phase strategic target. We will have to depend on development if we want to solve the Taiwan issue and fulfill the great cause of national reunification. We will also have to depend on development if we want to combat hegemony and power politics, fulfill our international obligations of maintaining world peace and promoting the common development of

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\*Part of Jiang Zemin's speech at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Central Committee of the CPC.

all countries and unceasingly strengthen China's influence in international affairs. The saying "He who has greater wealth speaks louder than others" is as true today as it has ever been. At present, the fast pace of the development of the world economy and science and technology is creating great pressure upon us. We'll fall behind if we do not quicken our development. It is politically and economically important for us to seize opportunities and accelerate development. A comprehensive analysis of the conditions both at home and abroad indicates that the situation is favorable for us to maintain a comparatively faster development. We must adhere to the policy of expanding domestic demand and solve the problems emerging in our progress through development. We must resort to effective macro-economic control in good time, and try to maintain a down-to-earth, solid and sustainable development of our economy, thus creating an all-round development—economically, socially and eco-environmentally. Development must be the coordinated development of material civilization and spiritual civilization. We must continuously stick to the policy of "grasping two links at the same time and attaching sufficient importance to both links," vigorously press ahead with the fostering of socialist ethics and culture and constantly improve the ideological and ethnical standards and scientific and cultural levels of the whole population, so as to provide a powerful ideological guarantee, spiritual motivation and intellectual support for our modernization drive.

Development demands new ways of thinking. The general thrust of China's economic development at the beginning of the new century is to implement the strategic readjustment of the economic structure, push forward the two fundamental changes and maintain a sustained, rapid and healthy development of the national economy. The coming five to ten years will be an important period for the economic restructuring of our country. The prominent contradictions and deep-seated problems in our

economic development lie in the fact that the economic structure is irrational, as mainly revealed in the irrational industrial make-up, discordant development of different regions, low level of urbanization, backward industrial and agricultural production technology and the relatively poor overall quality of our national economy. If we do not speed up our efforts to solve these problems, it will be difficult for us to promote the quality of economic growth and build up our capacity for sustained development. Viewed internationally, all countries, especially the developed ones, are speeding up their restructuring. The economic restructuring of the United States, in progress since the 1980s, with the stress on the information industry, turned out to be the basic engine driving the sustained growth of the US economy in the 1990s. The Asian financial crisis forced related countries to readjust their economic structures so as to overcome structural defects in their economies. The restructuring in some Asian countries has made progress. Through years of hard work, India has seen comparatively faster development in the aerospace, information and especially the software industries. In such circumstances, we must resolutely step up restructuring; otherwise we will be in an inferior position in the intense international competition. So far as the problem of the economic structure is concerned, if we have an early knowledge of it and make timely readjustments, we will have the initiative; if we have a belated knowledge of it and are slow to make readjustments, we will be placed in a passive position. We must lose no time doing a good job of the readjustment of agriculture and the rural economic structure, accelerate industrial reorganization and transformation and structural optimization and upgrading, devote major efforts to developing the service trades, implementing the strategy for the large-scale development of the west and enhance coordinated development between regions. The whole Party must reach a common understanding and be determined to do the job of restructuring well, persisting in



carrying forward the economic restructuring in the course of development and maintaining fast development in the process of economic restructuring. We must strive to make notable headways in readjusting the industrial structure, the structure of distribution and the structure of ownership.

Reform is the fundamental way and driving force for socialism to bring about self-improvement and development. Viewed from the progress of world history, socialism, as a new social system, is still at the early stage of experiment and development. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that it would take us several generations, a dozen of generations, even scores of generations' unremitting efforts and struggle to consolidate and develop the socialist system. This opens up a tremendous area for us to push the socialist cause forward uninterruptedly. Our understanding of socialism should be deepened constantly with the development of practice. Our fundamental aim in carrying out reforms is to bring the relations of production into line with the development of the productive forces; to make the superstructure conform to the development of the economic base and enable our socialist society in all fields to develop into a comparatively mature system with a finalized pattern. The self-improvement and development of socialism, in the final analysis, is a question of making innovations in the system. We still have much to do in improving the basic economic system with the public sector as the main player and diverse forms of ownership developing side by side, improving the distribution system with distribution according to work as the main body and multiple distribution ways functioning simultaneously, building up the socialist market economy system and carrying out political restructuring. There will be no solution to many problems if we do not carry out reforms and make innovations in the system. Our reform practice in the past twenty-odd years has laid a good foundation for further deepening the reform. The work of continuously carrying forward the reform

will become more difficult and complicated. We must press ahead with an indomitable will and make major headways in making innovations in the system and not flinch from difficulties. Adjustment of the different interest groups' relations will be made in any reform, and it will inevitably touch on the interests of some people. We must correctly handle the relationship between reform, development and stability, and make the progress of reform both vigorous and reliable.

In order to realize our cross-century target of development, we must rely on progress and innovation in science and technology on a large scale. Marx once said that the productive forces the bourgeoisie created during its class domination in less than one hundred years were more than the total productive forces created throughout all the ages preceding it. The productive forces the whole world created in the past one hundred years were more than the total productive forces created throughout all the ages before it. One of the fundamental causes of the rapid development of the world productive forces lies in the development of science and technology at an amazing speed. In the 21st century, the world's science and technology and the productive forces will see new revolutionary breakthroughs, about which we must have an ample awareness. We must seize the opportunity of the new science and technology revolution, energetically carry forward the progress and innovation of our science and technology, and strive to reduce the gap in the level of sci-tech development between our country and the developed countries. To step up information technology drive in both economic and social development, as proposed at this plenary session, is a significant measure we must take to push forward the industrial optimization and upgrading and achieve industrialization and modernization. The development trend of the modern world indicates that information technology plays an important role in driving economic and social development. We must attach great importance to and push

forward, on a large scale, the information industry with which to bring along industrialization. We should also fully exploit untapped potential and work hard to realize a leapfrog development of the social productive forces. The key to pushing forward the progress of science and technology lies in making innovations. Sci-tech innovation is the central link in raising sci-tech strength. Without our own innovation, we will have no position in the world's sci-tech area. The question of sci-tech innovation, in the final analysis, is one of qualified personnel. The developed countries are contending for qualified personnel worldwide. It will be difficult for us to make headway if we fail to cultivate, use properly, keep and attract qualified personnel. On the one hand, we need to further develop education and improve its quality, and intensify the training of qualified personnel; on the other hand, we need to establish an innovative mechanism capable of utilizing both the advantage of socialism in being able to concentrate on major affairs and the advantage of the socialist market economy system. We need to create an environment and atmosphere in which talented people will stay or come to the fore and utilize their skills to the full. It is imperative for all of us to have a sense of urgency in this matter. Leaders at all levels are required to treat this question with a statesman's insight and boldness, give vigorous support to the reform of sci-tech and related systems, remove all the factors that hinder innovation, and make greater efforts to create a new situation in which people of talent emerge in large numbers and their initiative and creativity are fully employed.

To raise the living standard of the people constantly is the basic starting point and final goal of all the work of our Party. With the constant improvement of their livelihood, the people will support the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system even more wholeheartedly, and devote themselves to the reform and opening-up and the modernization drive with

even more confidence, and the ruling foundation of our Party will be increasingly consolidated. In comparison with the developed countries, the living standard of our people is still low. The poverty-stricken people and the laid-off workers and some other people are still leading a hard life. People have strong expectations for improvements in their lives. It will be an arduous task to enable our more than 1.2 billion people to enjoy relatively comfortable lives and gradually come to enjoy considerably well-off lives. It has always been the sacred duty of us Chinese Communists to make sure that all the people gain tangible benefits unceasingly on the basis of the development of overall social production and construction. All the members of the Party must bear the interests of the masses in mind at all times, care for the masses, work for the interests of the masses by every possible means and lead them to create a happy life through continuous hard struggle.

In order to maintain the sustained, rapid and healthy development of the economy and earnestly safeguard the economic security of the nation, it is imperative to continue to lay great stress on and pay close attention to the problem of ensuring the supply of grain, water resources and oil-gas resources. This is a strategic question that bears directly on the long-term development of our country. I've talked about this question many times, and today I want to stress it again. Ours is a large developing country with a population of over 1.2 billion, and the problem of food has long been paramount. To feed over 1.2 billion people we have to rely only on ourselves; we cannot rely on others. We should not be too quick to say that the problem of agriculture has been solved. It is imperative to lay a solid foundation for agriculture. To develop agriculture is an arduous and long-term task, and we must always give agriculture top priority in developing the national economy. The serious drought this year has caused a reduction of the grain harvest, which shows the inefficiency of

our agriculture when it comes to resisting natural disasters and that we have not basically broken away from depending on the weather for our food. We need to constantly enhance the comprehensive productivity of agriculture, and attach great importance to protecting and enhancing our grain production capability. We also need to protect cultivated land and bolster the peasants' enthusiasm. We should be market-oriented and rely on science and technology, accelerate the readjustment of agriculture and the rural economic structure, raise the level of industrial management of agriculture, and improve the quality and benefits of agriculture by wide margins. The inadequate water resources have become the major factor restraining our economic and social development. The key to solving this problem is to improve the conservation, protection and scientific use of water resources and strive to raise the utilization rate of water. We must adhere to the policy of integrating measures in promoting what is beneficial with abolishing what is harmful, attaching equal importance to tapping new sources of supply and reducing consumption, and combating flood and drought simultaneously. Great efforts must be made to solve the problem of flood and waterlogging, and the inadequacy of water resources and water pollution. To solve the shortage of water in the northern areas, various ways of alleviation should be adopted. On the basis of doing a good job of economizing on water, and preventing and controlling water pollution, it is imperative to speed up the first-stage work of the project to divert water from the south to the north, and launch the project as soon as possible. Our petroleum reserves are insufficient and incommensurate with the needs arising from the growth of the economy and population, against which we must take precautionary measures. Viewed from the drastic changes in the world petroleum market today, this problem should all the more arouse our close attention. We need to stabilize the eastern region and develop the western region, exploit the potential of

the existing oilfields in the east and step up oil exploration in the west, as well as offshore oil prospecting, so as to increase our oil-gas reserves. Taking strategic security into consideration, we need to "go out" and energetically develop and utilize overseas resources by various means, and implement a multiple import policy. It is necessary to rationally readjust the energy structure and make full use of our rich coal and water resources. On condition that it is technically possible and economically rational, we should study and develop energy sources that can replace petroleum while making great efforts to economize on petroleum in various ways. Here I would like to emphasize the great importance of ecological construction and environmental protection. We should exert sustained efforts to make our mountains ever green, unpolluted waters ever running and resources ever present. In brief, out of consideration for the long-term development of the Chinese nation, for the capability of coping with possible emergencies breaking out anywhere in the world and for our future generations, we must persist in carrying out the sustainable development strategy.

## ON IMPROVING THE PARTY'S STYLE OF WORK\*

*October 11, 2000*

Taking a panoramic view of the international and domestic situations, there are three major tasks we must grasp well in the new century, namely to continue with the modernization drive, accomplish national reunification, safeguard world peace and promote common development. Party building is the basic guarantee of realizing the three tasks. We must adhere to the principle that the Party must handle Party affairs well and must enforce strict discipline. We must comprehensively strengthen Party building in ideological and organizational fields as well as work style and earnestly settle the problems existing within the Party, so as to constantly improve the Party's level of leadership and the ability to exercise the state power, constantly strengthen its ability to repel corruption and its erosion, resist various risks, and always keep its vim and vigor.

When giving a speech during my investigation tour to Guangdong early this year, I indicated that our Party should always represent the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the broadest masses of the people in China. The requirements of the

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\*Part of Jiang Zemin's speech at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Central Committee of the CPC.

"Three Represents," put forward according to the character, purpose, historical experience and reality of our Party to better fulfill the Party-building requirements of Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory in a comprehensive way in the new practice during the new period, are the foundation for building the Party, the cornerstone for its exercise of state power and a source of its strength, as well as our basic principle to strengthen Party building in the new period. Much work has to be done to make all the comrades of our Party deeply understand, and fully and correctly grasp, the requirements of the "Three Represents." First of all, we should make further studies and elaboration on the integration of theory with practice. Focusing on the topic, the whole Party should make investigations and studies to form a common view to answer the question, in close integration with the changes of the domestic and international situation, with the profound changes of the development of the productive forces and economic system in our country, with the requirements of the development of the people's material and cultural life, and with the great changes of the contingent of the Party members who are cadres. We should fulfil the requirements of the "Three Represents" in our various fields of work to see whether our measures and work conform to them, so as to unswervingly uphold those in conformity with them, and be bold enough to correct those not in conformity with them in the spirit of seeking truth from facts.

It is no easy task to administer such a large contingent of our Party, which boasts of 63 million members. There really exist some prominent problems in the Party, which do not conform to its character and purpose. We must be absolutely resolute to solve them, otherwise they would lead to serious consequences. Some cases of corruption are so startling that high vigilance must be aroused to the whole Party. Since the 1990s, some other parties in power for dozens of years have fallen out of power, and some



have withered away. The basic cause, however, is their internal problems. It would be of great significance to the strengthening of our Party building to make careful analyses of the rise and fall of these parties and draw lessons from them. Both history and reality have proved that the prospect and destiny of a political power or party are eventually decided by the trend of popular support. If it fails to win the support of the majority of the people, it will inevitably collapse. At present, the general situation in our country is good, but we are also faced with many problems, including both internal and external troubles, which we should never take lightly. The key point is to strengthen and improve Party building in an all-round way, strive to improve the Party's cohesive force and fighting capability, and always keep the close link between the Party and the people while doing well in the modernization drive, so that we will be able to withstand the tests of various risks, and constantly push forward the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Today, I would like to focus on the problem of strengthening the Party's work style. The Party's work style bears on the image of the Party. If the work style is not upright, the Party would have a poor image, and would surely lose contact with the people and reality. Therefore, we should never take work style lightly. To fulfill the task of modernization, we must have a good work style, otherwise the correct line would not be carried out completely, and the Party's work would be seriously affected. Therefore, we hope that the whole Party would strive to improve its ideological, study and work styles.

Firstly, on ideological style: It is the living spirit of Marxism to emancipate our minds and seek truth from facts, which is the basic ideological weapon for us to understand new things, adapt ourselves to new situations, and fulfill new tasks. China's reform and development over the past 20-odd years has been a great course in which, under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory,

all the Party members have summarized the historical experience and lessons, adhering to the principles of proceeding from reality in everything we do, emancipating the mind, seeking truth from facts and making constant explorations and innovations, so as to constantly promote the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. If the whole Party had not adhered to the principle of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts, we would not have been able to adopt a series of new policies on the reform and opening up and the modernization drive, nor could we have created the present excellent situation in the development of the cause of the Party and state.

There is no ready-made experience and mode for the development of the socialist modernization and the socialist market economy, so we have to make explorations and innovations through practice. Since China carried out the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, by focusing on the basic issue of "what is socialism, and how to build socialism," profoundly revealed the nature of socialism, raising our understanding of socialism to a new level. In the new historical period, the whole Party must persist in the ideological line of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts, continue to grasp the basic issue concerning the nature of socialism, and explore, practice and create in a bold way. This is the ideological guarantee for adhering to the basic line of the Party and building socialism with Chinese characteristics. As we proceed with the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we should constantly make explorations and improve our understandings in this field without stagnation. We emancipate our minds and seek truth from facts in order to enable the cause of our Party and state to constantly adapt to the national conditions and meet the requirements of the times, the general situation and our tasks, so that it will always forge ahead and flourish. Any thoughts of being content with the status quo,

clinging to old ways, making no attempt to make progress, and letting things take their own course would be unfavorable to the development of the cause of the Party and state. Emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts must integrate with each other, and such a principle should run through it all. If we do not emancipate our minds, dogmatism will prevail, and we cannot seek truth from facts; if we do not seek truth from facts, and become divorced from reality and the creative practice of hundreds of millions of people, we will have no way to truly emancipate our minds. When our work is going on smoothly, we should not get dizzy with success, or put forward unrealistic demands. When meeting difficulties in our work, instead of getting discouraged and becoming overcautious, we should be good at developing a new situation under difficult conditions. All the Party members, especially leaders at various levels, must constantly study and solve new problems—always sticking to the historical, practical and developmental views of Marxism, adhering to the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth, and giving play to historical initiative and revolutionary creativity.

Secondly, on study style: The Party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed that the whole Party should strengthen its studies, study, study and study again by integrating studies with new practices. We must study in various fields, and first of all, we should strengthen the studies of Marxist theories. The key to the studies of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory is to master their theoretical essence, skillfully applying their basic principles to the new practices of the socialist reform and modernization drive, and striving to make innovations in the integration of theory and practice. We must not follow dogmatism or stick to certain specific expositions. The vitality of Marxism lies in constant innovations in practice. Every major breakthrough in Marxist theories and every historical leap in so-

cialist practices are the results of the theoretical innovations integrated with the basic principles of Marxism and the concrete practices. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Comrades Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping were all shining examples of making theoretical innovations. In adhering to the basic principles of Marxism during the process of the socialist construction, it is of sovereign importance to adhere to the thesis that the relations of production must fit in with the development of the productive forces, constantly emancipating and developing the social productive forces through reform and opening-up to gradually achieve the common prosperity of the whole people. This is the true essence of historical materialism. Practice is the source of theoretical innovations, while the people are its main body. To make theoretical innovations, we must respect the initiative of the masses, and persist in the criterion of practice and the criterion of the "three favorables." Instead of restraining practice with book knowledge, we should enrich book knowledge with practice, which is the fundamental requirement for us to establish and develop a good study style. Only with such an attitude can we deeply and thoroughly understand the quintessence of Marxism, and properly and flexibly use its truth. We should not adopt dogmatism and book worship both in the study and application of the works of the writers of Marxist classics. Neither should we adopt such an approach in the study and reference of the experiences of foreign countries, including the Western countries; instead we should adopt an analytical and realistic approach. We should proceed in everything we do from our national conditions, and from the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Thirdly, on work style: Formalism and bureaucratism are the two major problems on the current work style of our Party, which the masses feel most strongly about. The whole Party must attach great attention to the problems, and unhesitatingly stop the two unhealthy trends as soon as possible. We must do our work

through a certain form, for we cannot express the contents without it, but we must not go in for formalism, whose crucial point is seeking undeserved reputation instead of actual effects. For example, when doing their work, some cadres are used to caring for mere show and shouting slogans, without carefully understanding the spirit of the Party Central Committee or knowing what is going on at the lower levels; some are given to a mountain of paperwork and a sea of meetings, social activities and receptions, so they cannot go deep down to the grassroots level; some hanker after fishing for fame and credit and currying favor by claptrap, and take a perfunctory attitude toward their superiors and the masses; some carry out the activities of "reaching the required standards" in various names, which is lively in appearance, but actually harassing the people and wasting money; some only give empty talks and conventional phrases without doing any practical thing; some cover up contradictions and problems by reporting only what is good while concealing what is unpleasant, which leads to evil consequences. One of the principal causes of some serious sudden incidents, mass disturbances and unexpected incidents is that we have not done a solid or practical job. At one time, arrangements may have been made for a certain task, but they have not been carried through to the end; while at another time, slogans may have been raised, but they have not been put into practice. As a result, everything tends to become mere show without practical results. If we do not correct this tendency, it will not only result in failing to put the Party's lines and principles into practice, but it will also lead to disturbances, or even big disturbances. The crucial point of the bureaucratic style of work is to act as bureaucrats and overlords, cutting oneself off from the masses. In certain places and departments, some cadres do not give serious thoughts to anything, while others tyrannically abuse their powers and lord it over the masses, giving rise to strong discontent among cadres and ordi-

nary people. We should not only understand the harmfulness of the bureaucratic work style, but also have a deep understanding of its roots. Bureaucratism, to a great extent, originates from the "official rank standard" concept of China's feudal society. The "official rank standard" means "taking official ranks as the foundation" and doing everything for the sake of official ranks; once you have official ranks, you can have everything you want. Or, "when a man becomes powerful, those near him ride on his coattails to success," as the old Chinese saying goes. Circulated over thousands of years, the "official rank standard" concept has made its influence deeply felt to this day in our social life. Some Party members and leading cadres have also, consciously or unconsciously, fallen captive to this concept, giving rise to some unhealthy tendencies, such as running after, buying or selling official posts; seeking honor and positions through fraud and deception, false reports and exaggerations; using one's wits to ensure one's own survival, making no attempt to make progress and being content with making no mistakes—all for the sake of protecting the official ranks; and abusing one's powers to seek personal gains. The crucial point of the "official rank standard" concept at present lies in taking an irresponsible attitude toward the cause of the Party and state and the interests of the nation and people, while caring only for themselves, their relatives or small groups. This is a very harmful attitude, so we must severely criticize and resolutely get rid of this concept left over by history. As I have said before, every leading cadre should often consider such questions carefully as why they take part in the revolution, and what they should do as cadres, what they should leave after their death. Since we Communists are struggling wholeheartedly for the interests of the Party, the country, the nation and the people, there is no personal thing that we cannot abandon.

"Solid work would help us promote the national development, while empty talks would harm the country." As formalism and

bureaucratic work style is a big scourge for our Party, the whole Party and the whole nation should resolutely stop these unhealthy tendencies. Leaders at various levels must adhere to the principle of stressing practice, speaking honestly, handling concrete affairs in a down-to-earth manner and seeking actual effects, and promote the work style of devoting oneself to doing solid work. We should firmly carry out the line and policies of the Party Central Committee, strive to do well in our jobs creatively in accordance with the actual situation of our work, think what the people are thinking, help those in need, work for what they are seeking, and solve the various urgent problems that affect the reform and development, the stabilization of the overall situation and the production and life of the masses, in a sound manner, so as to win the people's confidence with their solid improvement in work style.

We will welcome in the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Party next year, the first year of the new century. Our Party has performed immortal deeds for the Chinese nation and people since it was founded. We should further make it clear to all the Party members and the people of all ethnic groups through extensive and thorough education and publicity that only by adhering to the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics under the leadership of the CPC, can we develop China and realize the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. At the same time, we should further make it clear to all the Party members who are cadres that, shouldering the important mission of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and leading the people of all ethnic groups to march on unceasingly, our Party should strengthen the Party building in a down-to-earth manner in accordance with the requirements of the "Three Represents" and promote the new great projects of Party building in an all-round way. In short, we should, by taking the important opportunity of the 80th anniversary of the Party, review the history to

sum up the experience, having our eyes on the reality to solve the problems, and look forward to the future to enhance our confidence.



## ISSUES TO BE CORRECTLY HANDLED IN CURRENT ECONOMIC WORK\*

*November 28, 2000*

### I. UPHOLD THE STRATEGIC PRINCIPLE OF EXPANDING DOMESTIC DEMAND, STRENGTHEN AND IMPROVE THE MACROECONOMIC REGULATION SYSTEM

Upholding the expansion of domestic demand is a long-term strategic principle of the economic development of our country. To promote economic development with domestic demand as its mainstay is determined by the basic facts of our country. Ours is a developing country with a large population. There is much room for acceleration of economic development and enhancement of people's living standards. The broad domestic market is the best advantage for our country. In the face of ever growing fierce competition in the international market and complicated changes in world economy, to have our feet firmly planted in domestic demand may provide a large space for manoeuvre for the Chinese economy and strengthen our capability to withstand international economic risks. To uphold the principle of expansion of domestic demand is, in essence, to maintain the important

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

thought that development is the absolute need and to regard development as the principal theme. In recent years, we have successfully withstood the effect of the Asian financial crisis, effectively contained the trend of deflation and maintained rapid economic growth. In this regard we have benefited to a large extent from implementing the principle of expanding domestic demand.

The implementation of the pro-active fiscal policy is an important measure adopted for current expansion of domestic demand. Judged from the requirement of economic development, it is still necessary to continuously carry out the pro-active fiscal policy in the short term. To consolidate and develop the current sound revival of the economy, it is imperative to maintain continuity of the financial policy. Any premature adjustment of policy orientation and intensity would most likely reverse the good trend of economic development, and thus a development opportunity would be lost. At present, inadequacy of effective demand remains a problem. It will need time to expand social investment, encourage consumption by citizens, and enable them to become a primary driving force. To rally economic growth by way of government input is still very essential. The promotion of restructuring and strengthening weak aspects, agriculture in particular, in the national economy also needs a further increase of input. We must also be aware that financial expenditure is very inflexible. Next year, funds for social security will have to be increased, and more funds must be appropriated to support tax-for-fees reform in rural areas and strengthen national defense, but the room for adjustment of existing financial expenditure is limited. It is necessary to continue to issue a certain amount of treasury bonds next year, and it is also possible to give an overall review of our financial and banking circumstances. Of course, from a long-term point of view, while making use of financial policy to support economic growth, attention must be paid to guarding against

financial risks. We must bring the effect of the pro-active fiscal policy to the full, lay emphasis on infrastructure projects under construction and enable them to play their roles as soon as possible. At the same time, we must increase investment in agriculture, support the development of science and technology and education and the technological transformation of enterprises, and intensify development in the western region. It is imperative to strengthen supervision and inspection, manage funds well, ensure engineering quality and enhance efficiency and benefits. We should encourage enterprises and the public to increase their investment by various flexible means and channel more social capital into development and construction projects in more sectors. We should make comprehensive use of various financial policies and means, closely integrate issuing and using of treasury bonds with optimization of expenditure structure, promote the reform of finance and taxation, and strengthen the collection and management of taxes.

To implement the strategic principle of expansion of domestic demand, it is imperative to continuously execute a stable monetary policy. Finance is the core of modern economy. We must comprehensively understand and correctly handle the relationship between guarding against financial risks and supporting economic development, striving to enable finance to play its role in promoting economic growth. The financial sector should truly intensify supervision, strictly enforce laws and disciplines, and ensure that finance is administered in a safe, efficient and steady manner. All financial credit measures concerning expansion of domestic demand, readjustment of structure and promotion of consumption must be implemented in an all-round way. Support must be rendered to those sectors with a reasonable requirement for funds. Only when the economy develops in a sustained and healthy way can financial security be truly guaranteed. It is imperative to further strengthen co-ordination between the monetary

policy and financial policy, flexibly execute monetary policy and regulate and control economic operation. We should press forward with the reform of interest rates to be regulated by the market, and strictly standardise and steadily develop the monetary and capital markets. Financial services to rural areas and medium and small enterprises should be intensified and improved. Financial institutions, state-owned financial institutions in particular, should further deepen reform, change operational mechanism, strengthen internal management, uphold the concept of service and enhance market competitiveness in accordance with requirements for establishment of a modern corporate structure.

## II. STRENGTHENING OF AGRICULTURE AND INCREASE OF FARMERS' INCOME SHOULD BE GIVEN PROMINENCE IN ECONOMIC WORK

Since the Ninth Five-Year Plan period, the comprehensive productivity of our country's agriculture has been noticeably enhanced. Grain and other major agricultural products have realized a historic turn, from a long-term shortage to an overall balance, with a surplus in good harvest years. This has made an important contribution to the development of the national economy and social stability. Now, one prominent problem is the slow increase of farmers' income. This is a new problem, encountered as agriculture enters a new development stage. It is a comprehensive reflection of irrational agricultural structure, low level of urbanization, and low labor productivity in agriculture. The issue of farmers' income is directly connected with the entire national economic development. If production has been raised but farmers' income has not, their enthusiasm for pro-

duction will be affected, and the balance between grain supply and demand might be tipped. If farmers' income and rural purchasing power cannot be raised, it will be hard to genuinely implement the principle of expanding domestic demand, and it will also be difficult to maintain the good situation in economic development. If the broad masses of farmers are unable to become well off, it will be impossible to achieve the objective of building a well-off society comprehensively. Party committees and governments at all levels must attach great importance to this issue, and making every effort to increase farmers' income shall be deemed as one of the most important matters for next year's economic work.

We shall continue to push forward strategic readjustment in agriculture and rural economic restructuring. This is the fundamental way to raise farmers' income. Earlier this year, we put forward the strategic readjustment of agriculture and rural economic restructuring as the central task in the new period's agricultural and rural economic work. Agricultural readjustment in the past year showed a good beginning, and certain achievements have been made. However, it should be further stepped up. We must closely rely on science and technology, optimize the agricultural product mix, give full play to geographical advantages, and greatly enhance the overall quality and efficiency of agriculture. It is imperative to actively and steadily carry out the strategy of urbanization; accelerate the restructuring of town and township enterprises and innovate new systems; give full play to farmers' initiatives and creativity; and extensively create employment opportunities and methods for income increase. Industrialization of farming on the basis of the household contract system is an effective avenue to upgrading the scale in agricultural production and guiding farmers to enter the market. It is also an important force to propel the strategic readjustment of agricultural structure. This should be greatly promoted and

supported. Promotion of industrialized operation of farming should be combined with the restructuring of agriculture, development of town and township enterprises, and development of small towns. Agricultural product processing enterprises, sales organizations, research institutions and farmers should be oriented to form a mechanism, by which both their interests and risks are jointly shared, so as to bring more actual benefits to farmers. The relationship between agricultural restructuring and stability of grain production must be correctly handled. In a country with such a large population like ours, we must never say that we have more grain than needed, or that agriculture has surmounted all its barriers. We must never neglect agriculture, or relax our grip on grain production. We shall continuously implement the policy of purchasing surplus grain from farmers without limit and at protective prices, so as to protect farmers' interests and their enthusiasm in growing grain crops. A sizable margin of the farming acreage has been reduced this year. It must remain relatively stable next year. Our resolve to maintain protection and enhancement of grain productivity must never be shaken. The regulating role of the national grain reserve must be fully exploited. The state grain security must be guaranteed. Our resolve in maintaining the strategic readjustment of the rural economic structure must never be shaken and a steady growth in farmers' income must be ensured.

Support and protection of agriculture shall be intensified, and conditions for agricultural production improved. This is a vital guarantee for consolidating the foundation role of agriculture and the increase of farmers' income. The sharp drop of grain output caused by serious droughts this year has once again indicated that the calamity-resisting capability of our country's agriculture is not strong. Improvement of the production conditions of agriculture is a long-term task. As state financial strength continues to grow, input in agriculture and rural areas should be further

increased. We must support farmland water conservancy construction, construction for agricultural ecology, and the popularization of the knowledge of agricultural science and technology. We must arrange construction projects which are beneficial to directly increasing farmers' income, enhancing the anti-calamity capability of agriculture, improving rural market conditions, and sharpening agricultural competitiveness.

Rural tax-for-fees reform, as well as rural financial reform, must be accelerated. Where farmers have difficulties in increasing their income, particular attention must be paid to alleviating their burdens and letting them have a period for recovery. Acceleration of rural tax-for-fees reform is an avenue to fundamentally resolving the issue of reducing farmers' burden. As this important reform is concerned with the immediate interests of the broad masses of farmers and long-term peace and stability in rural areas, all localities and departments must enhance their comprehension of this issue. The principal leaders of the Party and government shall assume overall responsibility to truly strengthen leadership over this task. We should earnestly do a better job in town and township organizational reform, and be determined to reduce the number of personnel living on public payroll, change government functions, adjust expenditure structure, and ensure success in the tax-for-fees reform. Improvement of the rural financial system and rural financial services is not only badly needed for the strategic readjustment of rural economic structure, but is also a major task of the reform of the whole financial system. We should quicken the reform of the administrative system of rural credit cooperatives, enhance management levels of business operations, help overcome difficulties faced by farm households needing loans, and genuinely serve the needs of agriculture and farm households. Agricultural banks and other financial institutions should also strengthen their support to agriculture and the rural economy.



### III. SPEED UP THE REFORM OF SYSTEMS AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, AND PROMOTE THE STRATEGIC READJUSTMENT OF ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

After the Fifth Plenary Session of the 14th Party Central Committee called for effecting fundamental changes in both the economic system and the way of economic growth, much headway had been made during those years. The Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee called for turning economic restructuring as the principal task. Adhering to this principal task and pressing forward with the two fundamental changes was a new idea in respect of our country's economic development in the new century. A new round of restructuring has been carried out against the background that a socialist market economy system has been initially established, revolution in science and technology has been developing vibrantly and economic globalization has continuously been gaining speed. It is imperative to strive to enhance enterprises' technical innovation and market competitiveness, enhance quality, efficiency and benefits, and strengthen potential for further development of the national economy. Next year, we must accelerate restructuring and score new achievements.

With enterprises as the mainstay, restructuring must be carried out by closely relying on deepening the reform and the creation of new systems. Restructuring is, in essence, a process of optimized allocation of resources. To enable the market to play a basic role, the key lies with the quick responses enterprises are able to make to market demands and a mechanism that is able to automatically regulate optimized allocation of resources. We must be clearly aware that many aspects are not yet in place, as far as enterprise reform and management are concerned. The task to overcome thorny problems is still strenuous. Efforts must be



made to enlarge what has been achieved with respect to reform and poverty reduction, and arduously push forward the reform and development of state-owned enterprises. The strategic readjustment of the layout of state-owned economy and the strategic readjustment of economic structure should be integrated. Taking into account the different circumstances of different enterprises, readjustment in line with "survival of the fittest" and "advancing in some aspects while retreating in others" shall be carried out. Those that go forward should have new parts to play; those that retreat should do so in an orderly way. We must focus on large and strong enterprises and give a free hand to small ones. We should develop a number of large conglomerates whose principal business must be outstanding, whose management level must be high and whose competitiveness must be strong. Reform in those monopolized trades must be accelerated by the introduction of competition and input of vigor. State-owned large and medium-sized enterprises should, in line with establishment of modern corporate structure, speed up standardised corporate reform, promote their transformation into a shareholding system and improve the legal person management structure. As for important trades and key industries that have a direct bearing on the lifeline of the national economy and national security, state economy must hold a dominant position. State-owned assets, which amount to several trillion yuan, derived and accumulated through the hard work of the people of the entire country, must be well administered and well utilized. We should intensify the management of state assets, establish a standard supervision mechanism, and implement a responsibility system to ensure preservation and appreciation of their value. The acceleration of technical transformation and intensification of corporate governance is an important approach for optimizing and upgrading industrial structure. Enterprises must seize market opportunities as soon as they appear, and form an internal motive and mechanism for self-regulation. We must

lose no time in renovating the technology in a number of key enterprises, upgrade their technical structure and product mix, continuously get rid of obsolete processes of production, prevent the blind launching of unwarranted projects and the engagement of low-standard redundant construction. Governments at all levels must truly transform their functions, strengthen service and create a sound environment for enterprise reform and fair competition. We should further accelerate the separation of enterprise management from government administration, and transform government functions. The government should not directly interfere with enterprises' business activities, and should cut back on administrative examination and approval procedure concerning economic matters. This is a pressing task for deepening the reform.

Progress of science and technology is a decisive factor in enhancing the overall quality of the national economy. Without the support of progress and the innovation of science and technology, restructuring will not be able to rid itself of low standard and low efficiency. With the innovation of science and technology as a driving force, we should promote the upgrading of structure, seize coign of vantages and win initiatives. We must strive to develop our country's new- and high-tech industries that are relatively advantageous and have market potential; drive industrialization by means of information technology; actively promote the wide use of information technology in all walks of life; and accelerate the application of information technology in important fields vital to the overall economy. We must strive to develop omni-applicable technology and key technology that supports both restructuring and industrial upgrading. We should expedite reform of the sci-tech system, and further perfect the new state science and technology innovative system. We should gradually establish a venture investment mechanism for high technology and an incentive mechanism for innovation in science

and technology. With the key items of science and technology, we may draw on successful experiences of foreign countries in this regard, make concerted efforts to tackle difficult problems with investment contributed jointly by science and technology institutions, private enterprises and state subsidies.

Restructuring must be based on the basic situation of our country. China's multi-level productive forces, diversity of ownership system and differences between regions, as far as economic development is concerned, have determined that restructuring must be appropriately carried out in light of local circumstances. We must make full use of comparative advantages, taking care to handle the following three relationships well. Firstly, the relationship between new- and high-tech industry and traditional industry. New- and high-tech industry has a broad market prospect and therefore is a new aspect for economic growth. Traditional industry, extensive in scale and large in volume, is where our country's strength lies, and still has much room for development. We must expedite the transformation of traditional industry with new and high technology and applicable advanced technology, and promote the rise of the manufacturing sector and old industrial bases. Secondly, the relationship between capital-intensive industry and labor-intensive industry. While striving to develop capital- and technology-intensive industry, we must earnestly implement all related policies and measures, and actively assist the development of labor-intensive industry, particularly in the service sector. This will be helpful in bringing about new investment and consumption, and provide more employment opportunities. Thirdly, the relationship between development of the eastern and central regions and development of the western region. The eastern, central and western regions must all actively explore development methods which should be in line with each region's own characteristics and complementary to one another. To develop the western region in a big way is a

great strategic decision of the central authorities. We must make a good beginning in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period, formulate a good plan, implement policies to the full, give prominence to key projects, stress actual results and make progress in a down-to-earth manner.

During the Tenth Five-Year Plan period, we will undertake matters of great importance, and do a better job in the construction of key strategic projects. Many restrictive factors to economic development exist in water resources, energy and communications. Construction of facilities for the transmission of natural gas and power from the west to the east, main routes of transportation networks and other infrastructure projects must be intensively carried out. Other projects, including those which channel water from the south to the north, and the establishment of state strategic oil reserves, which concern the whole country, must also be intensively discussed and appraised, so that they may be carried out as early as possible. It is imperative to build a railway to Tibet for many reasons, from the point of view of economic development, political stability, state security and the cementing of ethnic unity. We must first have a good feasibility study report and a sound basis of exploration and design, and then start construction. Attention must also be given to the strengthening of ecological conservation and environmental protection, to ensure sustainable development. One who fails to see far ahead will face danger close at hand. Under the conditions of the socialist market economy, it is the principal duty of the Party and government in economic work to plan long-term development and primary deployment of the productive forces, and ensure the state's economic security. We also need new methods to tackle big projects, make full use of market mechanism, endeavor to adopt advanced technology, mobilize and organize forces from all sectors, and achieve our goal through concerted efforts.

#### IV. PREPARE FOR ENTRY INTO THE WTO AND USHER IN A NEW PHASE OF OPENING TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD

After 14 years' effort and struggle, our country will soon enter the WTO. This marks that our country's opening to the outside world will enter a new phase, and we will be involved in the process of economic globalization in a wider scope and a greater depth. The entry into the WTO will benefit the further expansion of the opening-up and win a better international environment for our country's economic development. It will also help promote the reform of our economic system and the strategic readjustment of our economic structure, enhance the vitality of our economic development and increase our international competitiveness. On the whole, it is in the fundamental and long-term interests of our country. Simultaneously, accession to the WTO also poses a stern test for us. The way the government manages economy, the enterprise operational mechanism, and the rules and environment of economic operation all need to undergo a profound transformation. Some trades and enterprises will be undercut quite seriously. We may say that opportunities and challenges exist side by side. The key is how we should deal with them.

Entry into the WTO means that we should be more active in participating in international cooperation and competition. The key point of our work for the next step will be getting well prepared to join the WTO. All enterprises, state-owned enterprises in particular, should quickly change their operation mechanisms and upgrade their structures and, with particular aims, adopt measures to upgrade their technology, quality and management, and strive to enhance their competitive capability. Those industries that possess relative advantages should take the initiative to further develop an international market. We should lose no time

in sorting out, revising and improving relevant laws and regulations concerning the economy, and establish a foreign-related law regime that conforms to the reality of our country and is in compliance with the rules of the WTO. We must lose no time in training a large number of highly qualified professional personnel well versed in the rules of the WTO, and able to comply with requirements of competition. Here, I would like to stress particularly that we must study and make good use of the provisions for the transitional period, handle well the relationship between acting upon the rules of the WTO and the protection of Chinese industry. We must exercise our rights and honor our obligations, strive to gain benefits and circumvent disadvantages so as to expand the positive aspects derived from entry into the WTO to the maximum, and reduce the negative aspects to the minimum. To open to the outside world, we must first open internally. Monopoly by departments and regional separatism must be broken. All irrational restrictions on entry into the economic market, with respect to different ownerships, must be eradicated. Experience has indicated that we would be unable to win in international competition without full, orderly competition at home. The more protective measures, the weaker the enterprises' competitiveness. Having undergone more than 20 years of reform and opening-up, we are now equipped, to certain extent, with a material and technical foundation to withstand risks, and have accumulated experiences to cope with complex and changeable international economic situations. As long as our work is well and thoroughly done, our country's economy is bound to gain a new momentum of development after entry into the WTO.

We should further deepen the reform of our foreign trade administrative system, implement the strategy of revamping trade by science and technology and market diversity, readjust the import and export structure, enhance the content of science and technology in export commodities, and strive to expand exports.

We should actively and steadily implement the "going out" strategy, and support competitive enterprises to conduct cross-border business operations and the development of resources. We should open more areas to the outside world in a planned way, actively and effectively make use of foreign capital, encourage large domestic enterprises to establish equity joint ventures and cooperative joint ventures with transnational companies, and guide foreign investors to invest in the central and western regions and infrastructure projects. Special economic zones, Pudong New Area and other coastal areas should take this opportunity to participate more actively in an international division of labor, enable opening to the outside world to develop more extensively and profoundly, and serve as a model, radiator and locomotive for inland regions.

## V. PAY ATTENTION TO AND PROPERLY SOLVE PROBLEMS IN PEOPLE'S WELLBEING

Continuous improvement of people's living standards is our Party's principal aim in serving the people wholeheartedly, the ultimate reflection of the requirements of the "Three Represents" and the integrated point of correctly handling the relationship between reform, development and stability. As living standards rise, promotion of reform will win broader support, and the cornerstone for the Party's exercise of state power will be more consolidated. Since the reform and opening up policy was adopted, the living standards of the Chinese people have been considerably raised on the whole, and the nation has by and large achieved the initial goal of becoming moderately well-off. But we must also be aware that presently the income level of urban and rural residents is still low, and many have difficulties making ends meet. All those in leading positions must see this issue in a politi-



cal perspective and from the point of the stability of the whole country, and must always regard the proper solving of problems in people's wellbeing as the fundamental task of the Party and government.

Expansion of employment through diverse channels is an important approach to increasing the income of urban and rural residents. The population of our country is large, and employment is a serious problem. As the industrial structure improves and the reform of state-owned enterprises deepens, the issue of unemployment has become acute. If this issue is not properly solved, people's living standards and social stability will be directly affected. Party committees and governments at all levels must take the expansion of employment as an important objective of our work. We should strive to develop all forms of ownership and make an effort to create more job opportunities. Vocational training in various forms should be carried out to enhance production skills and promote re-employment. Laid-off workers should be guided to change their ideas about employment, encouraged to find jobs by themselves and seek employment in various forms.

A complete social security system is an important pillar of the socialist market economy system. To meet the requirements of the reform of state-owned enterprises and economic restructuring, we will, on the basis of experiments, press forward with the implementation of the basic old-age pension, unemployment and medical insurance systems for urban workers next year. We will also reform the medical and health care system and establish and improve the minimum living standard system for urban residents. In establishing a social security system, we must adhere to the following principles: Firstly, it must be based on actual circumstances in our country, keep abreast with the development level of the national economy and consider the affordability of all sectors. What must be guaranteed first is people's basic needs in life. Secondly, we must adhere to the combination of fairness and



efficiency, maintain the balance between rights and obligations and give due consideration to the interests of the state, enterprises and individuals. Thirdly, we must pay attention to the connection and transition between the old system and the new, and avoid serious fluctuations. Meanwhile, we must see to the transfer of laid-off workers to be covered by social unemployment insurance. During the transition period, enterprise re-employment centers should continue to play their roles and see their tasks through. We must be warm toward laid-off workers who remain with the centers; issue allowances for their basic needs of life and help them get re-employed.

We should continue to do a better job in helping the poor and taking care of low-income groups in urban areas. Great achievements have been made in helping the poor in China, which has attracted worldwide attention. But currently there are about 30 million rural citizens who still live in poverty. The living standards of those who have quit poverty are still low. It often happens that some people become poverty-stricken again because of natural calamities. To help those on a low income is an important task in the Tenth Five-Year Plan period. We must adhere to the policy of helping them by way of development, and increase financial transfer payment in poor areas, particularly in ethnic minority areas. We need to provide jobs as a form of relief and fundamentally change basic production and living conditions in the poorer areas. We should also give more attention to the living conditions of low-income groups in urban areas, and truly help them solve their actual difficulties in various aspects. We must make an effort to display the good tradition of unity and mutual help of the Chinese nation in the whole of society, and mobilize people in all walks of life to help all those living in poverty.

Party committees and governments at all levels must always uphold the principle of "feeding people first, building the country second." The construction task is heavy in all fields. It is

imperative to arrange our financial resources in a unified way, to correctly handle the relationship between "feeding people" and "building the country." Priority should be given to people's wellbeing. The salary of staff and workers in government departments and institutions must be paid on time. With regard to building the country, we must base ourselves on reality and act within our means, and fully consider the sustainability of local financial strength and the public. Whether a project should be launched or not should be determined by its potential in economic development and by an improvement in people's living conditions. It is absolutely forbidden to engage in the so-called "image projects" to seek so-called "administrative merits" by turning a blind eye to actual conditions, and to compete blindly with others in this regard. In certain areas where even salaries are unable to be issued on time, some cadres still go single-mindedly after investment scale and launch new projects indiscriminately. Such a practice inevitably aggravates financial difficulties, resulting in a greater burden on farmers and enterprises, and gives rise to sharp contradictions in all quarters. Such a practice, which wastes manpower and money, must be resolutely opposed. Whether the relationship between "feeding people" and "building the country" is well handled or not is an important criterion to judge whether or not leading cadres stick to "seeking truth from facts" and the mass line.

## VI. STEP UP THE PROMOTION OF SOCIALIST CULTURE AND ETHICS AND PROMOTE SOCIAL PROGRESS IN AN ALL-ROUND WAY

Building up a well-off society in a comprehensive way involves two aspects, namely, material progress and the advancement of

socialist culture and ethics. We must adhere to the principle of "grasping two links at the same time and attaching sufficient importance to both links." Stepping up the advancement of socialist culture and ethics must be put in an important position. We should intensify and improve political and ideological education, and profoundly carry out activities concerning cultural and ideological betterment among the broad masses of people, which will serve to provide a powerful ideological guarantee, a mental driving force and an intellectual support to the reform and opening-up and socialist modernization. We must measure up to the requirement of always representing the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture, and boost socialist culture, so as to cater to people's ever-growing cultural needs. We should firmly adhere to the idea of coordinating the development of economy and society, persist in rejuvenating the country with science and education, and redouble our effort in such fields as science and technology, education and culture. We should strengthen democracy and improve the rule of law, and promote socialist undertakings in an all-round way. Here, I would like to lay stress on the following three points.

Firstly, we must accelerate the training of a contingent of talented people and enhance the quality of the entire nation. Whether our cause will go from victory to victory, whether we can take the initiative into our hands in intense international competition, the key lies with talents. The "Proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for Drafting the Tenth Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development" has made it a task of major strategic importance to develop education in a big way and to train and attract talented people and put them to proper use, a task that has been set by taking into consideration the overall situation of the development of the state and the nation. It is imperative that we formulate and implement the strategy for talents, expedite their training and

attract all kinds of talented people, top-notch ones in particular, who are badly needed in the modernization drive. We must further deepen the reform of the personnel system, and create a social environment in which skilled personnel are respected and creativity is encouraged. We must form a mechanism to facilitate the emergence of these people and enable every individual to give full play to his or her talent. We must adopt diverse forms and find diverse channels to strengthen training, and see to it that human resources are allocated in a scientific and rational way. While giving strong encouragement to the initiative and creativity of available talents, we should, at the same time, adopt more effective policies and measures to attract more outstanding talents to render service to the modernization drive. To raise the quality of the whole nation is the basis for people of exceptional ability to come to the fore in large numbers, and it is also a major manifestation of the comprehensive strength of a nation. We must strengthen ideological and ethical education, foster the spirit of science and creativity, create a social atmosphere in which science is revered, and continuously upgrade the ideological and ethical standards, and the scientific and cultural levels of the entire nation.

Secondly, major efforts must be made to strengthen cultural development. This is an important method to guide and educate the people in the new situation. The transformation of the economic system, the diversification of social life, and the acceleration of the opening-up and IT promotion will inevitably affect people's minds and ethics profoundly, and bring about mutual interfusion of different ideologies and cultures. With regard to uplifting culture, we must grasp the spirit of the times, and stick to the correct orientation. In response to new changes in people's work, study, lifestyles and ways of pastime, we must make full use of various modern media, particularly radio, movie, television and the Internet, to consolidate and widen the socialist cultural sector,

form a healthy, uplifting environment of public opinion, and create a harmonious social atmosphere and a rich and colorful cultural life. After China's accession to the WTO, we will be faced with new challenges with the entry of Western cultural products. It is imperative that we enhance the competitiveness of our country's cultural products in both content and form, promote and develop outstanding national culture, absorb the cream of mankind's cultural achievements and, with more and better intellectual products to win the public, inspire people's morale and cultivate their taste.

Thirdly, we must take the initiative to establish an ideological and moral system that conforms to the development of the socialist market economy. The development of this economy requires not only a corresponding legislation, but also an ideological and moral system in line with the former. We should persist in taking Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory as our guide, and focus on the establishment of the common ideal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and the fostering of a correct outlook on the world, life and values. We should combine upholding fine traditions with fostering the spirit of the times, strike a balance between respect for individual lawful rights and interests and assumption of social obligations, coordinate the stress on efficiency and safeguarding social fairness, integrate exemplary requirements with popular requirements, and strive to form a healthy, harmonious, uplifting ethical norm commensurate with economic and social development. With no credibility, there will be no order and no healthy growth of the market economy. We should emphasize the sense of credibility in the whole of society, strengthen education in trustworthiness and good faith among citizens. We should establish a strict credit system and standardize contractual relationships. All economic entities must do business according to law. Acts of manufacturing and selling

counterfeit products, tax evasion and fraud, economic fraud, and malicious dodging of debts must be cracked down upon sternly, so as to create a sound market order.

PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
PARTY'S WORK STYLE, THE BUILDING OF A  
CLEAN GOVERNMENT, AND THE FIGHT  
AGAINST CORRUPTION\*

*December 26, 2000*

In a few days' time, we shall enter the 21st century. At this important moment, we are holding this plenary session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the Communist Party of China. In the new century, how to make the Party stronger according to the requirements of the "Three Represents" and promote the development of the Party's work style, the building of a clean government and the fight against corruption is still an important subject for the comrades of the whole Party to further deliberate and resolve. Here I would like to state my views in connection with my own thinking on this issue.

I. ON SUMMING UP THE EXPERIENCES OF THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTY'S WORK STYLE, THE  
BUILDING OF A CLEAN GOVERNMENT, AND THE  
FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

I have worked on the CPC Central Committee for more than

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\*Speech delivered by Jiang Zemin at the Fifth Plenary Session of the CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

11 years. The Party Central Committee has always attached great importance to combating corruption and building a clean government. In June 1989, Comrade Deng Xiaoping told us that, while focusing on economic work, we should, first of all, stress the issue of combating corruption. In accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instructions, we have adhered to taking the Party's basic line as guidance, and strengthened the development of the Party's work style, the building of a clean government, and the fight against corruption. Every year, I give a speech at the plenary session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. In 1993, on the basis of the study of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions on the development of the Party's work style, the building of a clean government, and the fight against corruption, we made arrangements on several major anti-corruption items of work. In 1994, we recognized that the anti-corruption struggle cannot be won at one stroke, but we should regard it as a protracted combat, and raised nine points concerning the anti-corruption struggle. In 1995, we stressed that, to prevent corruption, we must strengthen ideological and political education, and improve the quality of the Party members and cadres. In 1996 we focused on the study of the responsibilities of the discipline inspection and supervision organs, the anti-corruption work setup, supervision within the Party, and the strengthening of the leadership of the Party committees over anti-corruption work in the new period. In 1997, we reiterated that we should spare no effort to keep up the practice of plain living and hard struggle, and resolutely oppose extravagance and waste. In 1998, we emphasized that leading cadres at all levels must resist corruption and its erosion, and serve as examples in anti-corruption work and the building of a clean government. In 1999, we put forward the demand that the whole Party should safeguard and strengthen the Party's political, organizational and economic work and mass work discipline. Early this year, we em-



phasized the need for the whole Party to further implement the principle of being strict in Party discipline. All these are our important concepts and vital measures in the fight against corruption and the building of a clean government, indicating that our understanding has been constantly deepened, our measures have been constantly reinforced and the struggle is continuously going deeper and deeper.

How to regard the current situation of opposing corruption and promoting a clean government is a very important political issue. The Party Central Committee is firm and its stand clear-cut on this issue, winning the resolute and wholehearted support of the comrades of the whole Party and the broad masses of the people. The principles and policies we have adopted are practical and effective. We hold that we should stress reform and opening to the outside world on the one hand, and punish corruption on the other, and we have defined the guiding ideology, basic principle, leadership system, operating mechanism and work pattern of the anti-corruption struggle. Starting from the issues that have evoked strong repercussions among the people, we have resolutely investigated and punished leading cadres involved in serious cases of corruption, and strived to prevent corruption by looking into its root cause. Thanks to the joint efforts of the whole Party and the great support of the people, we have made great achievements in the current stage of the work for opposing corruption and promoting a clean government, thus creating favorable conditions for safeguarding the overall situation of reform, development and stability. This is our basic estimate. Comrades of the whole Party should further unify our cognition, strengthen our confidence, and firmly carry on the fight against corruption and for a clean government.

The important understanding and experiences acquired by us over the past few years, during the practice of the work in this regard, can be summed up as follows:

Firstly, upon the development of the Party's work style, the building of a clean government, and the anti-corruption struggle, hinge the life and death of the Party and state. The aim of our Party and government is to serve the people wholeheartedly, which demands that leading cadres at all levels must be upright, just and honest, always share weal and woe with the people and be closely bound up with the destiny of the masses. If we don't solve the issue of opposing corruption and building a clean government, there will be no strong political guarantee for reform, development and stability, the Party and government will be divorced from the masses, and our Party and state will be in danger of collapse. Comrades of the whole Party must, from the standpoint of the Party and state's lasting political stability, fully understand the extreme harmfulness and danger of corruption, and the great significance of combating corruption and building a clean government, persist in taking Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory as guidance, uphold the Party's basic line, focus on economic construction, obey and serve the overall situation of reform, development and stability, and carry the development of the Party's work style, the building of a clean government, and the fight against corruption through to the end.

Secondly, the fight against corruption and for a clean government is a long-term, arduous and complex task. As a social and historical phenomenon, corruption has existed at all times and in many countries. In essence, corruption is a product of the exploiting classes and systems. The socialist system, as a brand-new social system different from all exploiting systems in history, has created the conditions for fundamentally eliminating corruption. As China is still in the primary stage of socialism and also in the transition period from the planned economy system to the market economy system, the development level of the productive forces is not high. The scientific and cultural levels are not high

either, and the legal system and other specific systems are far from perfect. The vestiges of the backward ideology of the feudal society that lasted for several thousand years in Chinese history still exist. In addition, China's opening-up policy will make it easier for decadent capitalist ideology and lifestyles to infiltrate. Moreover the antagonistic forces in the West have never stopped implementing the political strategy of "Westernization" and "disintegration" in our country, trying every means to entice and corrupt some of our weaker-willed cadres. The existence of these elements has offered fertile soil and conditions for the propagation and spread of corruption and greatly hampered the fight against corruption. This soil and these conditions can not be eliminated within a short period of time. Hence, getting rid of corruption will inevitably be a very long historical course. We must unremittingly fight against corruption, and spare no effort to reduce it to the minimum. We should be ready for a long-term struggle, have a sense of urgency, work hard and fight corruption resolutely.

Thirdly, the fight against corruption and for a clean government should run through the entire process of the reform and opening-up. Adopting the policy of reform and opening-up is a road taken by socialist China to turn itself into a strong country. Opposing corruption and building a clean government are important political guarantees for the smooth implementation of the reform and opening-up and the modernization drive. The more progress we make in the reform and opening-up drive, the more attention we should give to the fight against corruption and for a clean government. We must always uphold the policy of "grasping two links at the same time and attaching sufficient importance to both links." That is, on the one hand, we should focus on reform and opening-up, and on the other, we should punish corruption so as to guarantee the correct implementation of the policy of reform and opening-up, and make sure the work

for building socialism with Chinese characteristics proceeds in the right direction.

Fourthly, the fight against corruption and for a clean government is an important matter concerning the whole Party and whole society. We must adhere to the anti-corruption leadership system and work mechanisms in which the Party committees exercise unified leadership, the Party and government control the matter with joint efforts, the committees for discipline inspection play a coordinating role, and each department takes care of its own responsibility, with the support and participation of the masses. We should uphold the anti-corruption work setup by grasping three tasks at the same time, i.e., leading cadres should be honest and self-disciplined, large and important cases should be investigated and handled, and unhealthy tendencies in departments and trades should be corrected. We should make an overall strategic plan, and make tactical arrangements step by step. We should first tackle the issues that have evoked the strongest repercussions among the masses, so as to attain achievements one after another in the fight against corruption.

Fifthly, we should take care of both the incidental and fundamental aspects simultaneously and tackle the issue in a comprehensive way. In fighting against corruption and building a clean government, it is necessary to look into the incidental aspects, as well as the fundamental ones. In dealing with both the incidental and fundamental aspects simultaneously, we should see education is the basis, the legal system is the guarantee, and supervision is the key to success. By deepening reform, we shall constantly clear away the soil in which corruption grows and spreads. We should adhere to the integration of education, the legal system and supervision, and uphold the combination of prevention with punishment. As for the overwhelming majority of Party members and cadres, we should base our efforts on education and focus on prevention. In the meantime, we must crack

down on the handful of corrupt persons. We should persist in giving priority to the ideological-political aspect of Party building, and solidly construct an ideological Great Wall against corruption and degeneracy. Leading cadres should enhance their study, political awareness and integrity, and should stress self-discipline, self-examination, self-caution and self-motivation, set up a correct view of the world, life and values, and resolutely resist the influence of money worship, hedonism, out-and-out egoism and other decadent ideologies and cultures. We should persist in combining the development of democracy with the improvement of the legal system, and inner-Party supervision with legal and mass supervision, encourage supervision by public opinion, and set up a sound restraining mechanism of exercising power according to law. We should spare no effort to promote the construction of systems with the strengthening of democratic centralism as the main content, constantly improve the management and supervision systems for manpower, finance and materials, and perfect the working mechanism for opposition to corruption and the building of a clean government so as to promptly discover, effectively prevent and sternly crack down on acts of corruption.

Sixthly, we should always adhere to the principle that the Party must handle Party affairs well and must enforce strict discipline. This is our Party's good tradition and treasured experience. Without good Party building, there will be no successful governance. So we must be strict in Party discipline. Enforcing strict Party discipline is a principle that must be carried through the Party's ideological, political, work style, disciplinary, organizational and system building fields in an all-round way, and be truly implemented in the education, administration and supervision of the Party organizations at all levels, and the broad masses of the Party members and cadres. We should be especially strict with leading cadres, and strictly educate, administer and supervise

them. We should also be very strict in selecting leading cadres, and leading cadres' violation of disciplines and laws must be strictly investigated and dealt with. We shall build up a complete set of relatively convenient and useful mechanisms with binding force, so as to guarantee that Party organizations at all levels can truly conduct effective education, administration and supervision of the cadres who are Party members.

Having a good command of the above-mentioned understanding and experience, and putting them into practice will be of great significance to strengthening the cultivation of the Party's work style and the building of a clean government, and to deepening the anti-corruption struggle. This understanding and experience will be constantly enriched and developed through practice in the future.

## II. ON CORRECTLY UNDERSTANDING THE PARTY'S STATUS AS THE RULING PARTY AND ITS INFLUENCE

Our Party is a Marxist political party, and our state adopts the socialist system with the people as the masters of their own country. Corruption is incompatible with the character of our Party and state. Then why has this phenomenon appeared in our Party and society? And, why does it die hard? I have been turning this over in my mind for quite a long time.

I have mentioned above some factors giving rise to corruption. I feel we should think hard in terms of the change of our Party to the status as a ruling party and the relevant issues consequent upon this. Historical materialism believes that it is man's social being that determines his thinking, and man's actions are not originated out of thin air. One's socio-political position and social life environment are bound to produce impacts on his

ideology and actions. This is also true of political parties.

Our Party has experienced a history of nearly 80 years, and has made immortal achievements for the Chinese people and Chinese nation. The 80-year course includes two major historical periods. In the first 28 years, our Party struggled to seize the political power of the whole country and found a new China. During this period, our Party united and led the people of all ethnic groups in China to wage a life-and-death struggle against domestic and foreign enemies, making great sacrifices. In the later 50 years or more, our Party has held the political power of the whole country and performed the functions as the ruling party. During this period, our Party united and led the people of all ethnic groups in China to conduct the socialist revolution, construction and reform, opened a new road for building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and achieved tremendous successes in all undertakings. During these two different historical periods, great changes took place in our Party's status, from a party that struggled to seize political power to a ruling party wielding the political power of the country, a party that has continuously ruled the country for more than half a century. This historical change in the Party's status will inevitably exert a profound influence on Party members and the contingent of cadres.

In the revolutionary war period, when one joined the Party or the revolutionary ranks, one had to be ready to contribute everything, including one's life; and everybody in the revolutionary ranks worked hard for the lofty revolutionary ideal and the people's interests. In the political environment of cruel ruling by reactionaries and an extremely arduous living environment, the broad masses of the Party members and cadres, to win victory in the revolution, could survive and develop only by closely relying on the masses, and winning support and strength from the masses. The Party led the people to expropriate the local tyrants, allocate the land, resist the invasion by Japanese militarism and



oppose the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. All of these represented the interests of the masses, and the masses supported us from the bottom of their hearts. Thus our Party maintained flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people. At that time, the resources that could be mobilized by our Party were very limited. Both high-ranking cadres and Party rank and file lived very hard lives. But since the founding of New China in 1949, our Party has become a ruling party, with the political power and the power to mobilize the human, financial and material resources of the entire country. Moreover, the power it has and the quantity of resources it can mobilize are so great that it defies all comparison with the period before the Party came to power. A large number of Party members and cadres hold leading posts from the central to local levels. The change of the Party's status, and the change of the status of the Party members and cadres are a new great test for Party organizations at all levels and for each Party member and cadre as well, thus raising a new subject for our Party's self-improvement. The most important questions are: Do the cadres of our Party at all levels truly understand that our power is granted by the people? Can they correctly use the power in their hands? And can they always maintain close contacts with the masses, and never be divorced from the masses? As for these important questions, I should say that our Party has always kept a clear head.

Before and after the founding of New China, Comrade Mao Zedong warned time and time again in great earnest that the whole Party should always keep to the style of hard struggle and plain living, guard against arrogance because of victory — giving oneself the air of a hero, standing still and not seeking progress, and loving pleasure and not being willing to live a hard life — and that we should be on guard against the attacks of sugar-coated bullets. Comrade Mao Zedong once compared seizing command of the political power of the whole country to "going to the capital to sit for the imperial civil examinations," and said with



sincere words that we hoped everyone would get good scores in the exam, and that we must not withdraw from Beijing like the peasant revolt leader Li Zicheng [of the late Ming Dynasty, who, soon after the capture of Beijing, lost it to the enemy for his growing dizzy with success]. Withdrawal meant failure. The Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China once made a profound analysis, on the theoretical and political planes, of the change of the Party's status after it came to power and the problems consequent upon it, requiring the comrades of the whole Party be modest and prudent, correctly use the power in their hands, avoid being divorced from the masses, and be able to stand the test of being in power. To prevent corruption, our Party had made great efforts. In general, the Party members and cadres at that time were honest or relatively honest. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, held in late 1978, our Party has led the people to carry out the reform and opening-up and the modernization drive. The new task and new environment in the new period have made our Party confront new tests in ruling the country. In view of the new changes in the international and domestic environments and the new problems arising in society, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed, time and time again, that we should unremittingly strengthen the Party building and handle Party affairs well. On April 10, 1982, when the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee discussed the fight against economic crimes, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said with great sincerity: "This tendency is rampant. If our Party does not pay enough attention to checking this tendency, our Party and state might be in danger of 'changing its physiognomy.' I am not exaggerating things out of proportion just to cause alarm." On June 16, 1989, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out sharply once again that if we want to rectify our Party style to realize our strategic objectives, we will really be in danger of failure if we don't punish corruption, especially the corruption at the

high level in the Party. The Party Central Committee has emphasized again and again that the work style of the governing party is an important issue concerning the life and death of the Party and state. The reason why Comrades Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping and the Party Central Committee warned the comrades of the whole Party again and again is that they wanted to require the comrades of the whole Party to always be on guard against the impact brought about by the change of the status of the Party after its coming to power, always uphold the Party's character and purpose, never be divorced from the masses, and always maintain vigorous life and exuberant vitality. This is what we mean by emphasizing the need to stand the test of being in power. In the past 50-odd years, our Party has on the whole been able to stand such a test.

However, many facts have proved again and again that after our Party became a ruling Party, some people within the Party gradually stopped thinking about making progress, loved ease and hated work, and did not want to work hard and live a plain life, and the tendency to seek ease and comfort had grown. The phenomenon of seeking personal interests by abusing the power in one's hands has constantly appeared; and the unhealthy formalist and bureaucratic styles have run rampant. This is not only true of our Party, but also of the Communist Parties of other socialist countries that they met such problems after they came to power, especially after they had been in power for a long time. Now some governing parties of socialist countries have collapsed, losing political power. The lesson is very profound. If we don't maintain vigilance, but let mistaken ideas and corrupt acts that run counter to our Party's character and purpose go unchecked, it will give rise to disastrous consequences. The reason why some people within the Party can engage in various kinds of corrupt activities is that they abuse the position of our Party as a ruling party, and the power granted by the Party and people. Both histo-

ry and reality have proved that the construction and administration of a ruling party are much more difficult than those of the parties not in power. Our Party is a Marxist party in power, but it will not be very easy for our Party to be never divorced from the masses and to be in an invincible position forever. Therefore, we must strengthen the Party building consciously and unremittingly in an all-round way ideologically, politically and organizationally, and in work style. There is not any other way. The longer the Party is in power, the more attention it should pay to the Party's self-improvement, and to the administration of Party members and cadres. We must not relax in our efforts in the least in this regard.

After our Party became a governing party, and especially after our Party was in power for a long time, we confronted an outstanding issue: How to make the Party members and cadres always have a correct outlook on interests. Our Party was founded to serve the interests of the people. We should always put the interests of the people first, do everything for the masses, and rely on the masses in everything we do. We should get the opinions of the masses and refer them back to the masses, and should by no means cut ourselves off from the masses and put ourselves above society. Of course, Communists are not Puritans. They also have normal family lives, and have normal social exchanges. When doing work, Party members and cadres need to be granted certain powers. Along with economic development, Party members and cadres' material treatment and working and living conditions should also be improved step by step. These personal interests and work functions and powers specified within the legal and policy sphere are right and just.

Our Party has always required that all Party members and Party cadres at all levels adhere to putting the interests of the Party and the people above everything, subordinate personal interests to the Party and people's interests, and be the first to bear

hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. Our Party never allows them to seek personal gains by abusing their position and authority. These viewpoints have been made very clear since the first day our Party came to power. It is appropriate to say that most of our Party members and cadres have done well on this issue. However, in reality it is true that some Party members and cadres have gone against the Party's demands. Among the people's, state, collective and personal interests, they give more priority to their own personal interests, and even hanker after unreasonable, undeserving or illegal personal profits, or try every way to safeguard and expand such personal interests by abusing their positions, powers and influence. This is very wrong. In reality, many corruption cases resulted from such pursuance of personal interests. To seek such private interests, some Party members and cadres, first and foremost, think of themselves, their families or their cronies, without thinking of the interests of the Party and state. Consequently, abusing power for personal gains, striking deals between power and money, wallowing in luxury and pleasure, taking bribes and bending the law become rampant.

We are developing a socialist market economy and adopting the policy of reform and opening-up, with the fundamental aim of improving the material and cultural lives of the broad masses of the people. Party leading cadres at all levels should take the lead in integrating the implementation of the Party's existing policies with adherence to the Party's ideals and the demands raised of Party leading cadres by the Party Constitution, and handle well the relations between "allowing some people to become rich first" and the common prosperity. However, some Party members and cadres, who have not correctly understood this policy of the Party and state, always want themselves to become rich first, and even adopt various illegal means to seek private interests at the cost of principle. How can the masses support the leaders of a department or a region if the latter take no notice of

the interests of the masses, especially the straitened circumstances of laid-off workers and the poverty-stricken population, and think about their own interests all day long? Or if a locality has not progressed for a long time, and the masses live a fairly poor life while the cadres live in villas, use luxury cars and indulge in dissipation? Or if the leading cadres do not lead and organize the masses to develop production and improve their wellbeing, but concentrate on arranging the "route of retreat" for themselves and finding "ways out" for their children, relatives and friends? It would be very strange if the masses did not bear grudges! Leading cadres must by no means fish for and safeguard selfish interests by abusing the powers in their hands. Otherwise, they will bring the greatest harm to the cause of the Party and people, and they themselves will become notorious culprits. Of course, the reasonable interests of Party members and cadres should be safeguarded. The wages of the grassroots Party and government cadres of many localities are not paid in full or in time, thus bringing them great difficulties. This problem should evoke the attention of all localities and relevant departments, and should be properly resolved, so as to make them work contentedly. We must not "expect the horse to run fast but refrain from letting it graze," as the saying goes.

We must be especially on guard against the much talked "vested interests." Our Party has publicly stated that, apart from the interests of the working class and the overwhelming majority of the people, our Party does not have its own special interests. It is because our Party has always upheld this principle that we have won the heartfelt support of the people during the historical periods of revolution, construction and reform. But we should soberly see that as our Party is in the ruling position, and has been in power for quite a long time, some people in the Party have gradually adopted some erroneous ideas. They regard the power granted to them by the Party and people, as well as their

position, influence and working conditions, as their own "vested interests." Instead of using these to work better for the Party and people, they use them to fish for unreasonable and illegal private interests. They even take these things as private property not to be tampered with by anybody, and try every way to safeguard and expand these so-called vested interests. This is very dangerous. Historical facts show that many political parties or political groups of the exploiting classes, after coming to power, made use of their power to boost the private interests of their own classes, groups and officials in power, and spared no effort to safeguard and continuously expand such private interests, thus forming a vested interest group that oppressed the people and infringed upon the people's interests. Because of this, they were opposed by the masses in the long run. Our Party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, which serves the people wholeheartedly. We shall never allow the existence of such vested interests that the political parties of the exploiting classes and their ruling groups seek after, and shall never become such a vested interest group. If that happened, our Party would be ruined. I am raising this issue to indicate that our Party, as a party in power for a long time, has some cadres who easily succumb to the lure of vested interests. I hope that all the comrades of the Party will always maintain sharp vigilance, and consciously fight against this erroneous ideological tendency.

I have on many occasions raised these questions to our leading cadres for their careful consideration: Why did you join the revolution? What should a cadre do today? What will you leave behind for later generations? I think these questions should be raised continuously and leading cadres at all levels should think about them often, repeatedly and thoroughly. Only when cadres at all levels, especially ranking cadres, think over these questions carefully and correctly can they have a strong moral integrity and behave open and aboveboard. Leading cadres must foster a cor-

rect view of interests. They should "be concerned with state affairs before others, but enjoy themselves only after others have found enjoyment," and always put the interests of the people, Party and state in the first place. No matter how society develops, for Communist Party members the purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly should never change, neither should the principle of being the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comfort change. Every leading cadre of the Party should be honest in performing his or her official duties, and work hard and devotedly for the Party and people's cause, and never change his or her original revolutionary intention under any circumstances.

Communist Party members and Party cadres should do a good job of exercising power on behalf of the Party and people, and strive to improve their ideological and ethical standards and scientific and cultural levels, which are important conditions for exercising state power well and also for preventing corruption. Undesirable phenomena such as corruption among some Party members and cadres arise mainly because of their low ideological and ethical standards and low scientific and cultural levels. Party members and cadres do not live in a vacuum. Since they live and work in society, they cannot avoid the impact of the decadent ideology, culture and lifestyle existing in society, and the negative factors of the market economy. If Party organizations do not strengthen education and governance over them and if these Party members and cadres themselves do not maintain sharp vigilance and take precautions, some of them will inevitably be corroded by those things. Therefore, continuous improvement of the ideological and ethical standards and scientific and cultural levels of the cadres will play a basic role in developing the Party's work style and building a clean government and in the struggle against corruption.

I have always held that to strengthen study will be beneficial to improving one's mental outlook and make one consciously



resist undesirable phenomena such as corruption. When you study well and master more theoretical and scientific and cultural knowledge, you will improve your political understanding and mental outlook, and be qualified to talk about political awareness and moral integrity. To be diligent in study and to be good at study will not only help us change the objective world, but also help us remold our subjective world. All Party comrades, especially leading cadres, must persist in study, study and study again.

The main reason why I stressed that we should have a correct understanding of the position of the Party in power and other related questions is that our Party, as a party in power, must pay close attention to the relationship between the Party and the masses, and the feelings of the people. Whether the people are for or against it is the basic factor deciding the rise and fall of a political party or a political power. An honest style of government has always been an important factor for popular support, good government, and the stability and prosperity of the society. This is an important lesson of the law of rise and fall. The collapse of every dynasty in Chinese history and the great empires in world history and the loss of power in contemporary world of the political parties which had been in power for a long time were all closely connected with the trend of public feeling. Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor to unify China in Chinese history, represented the requirement of historical development at the beginning. Then he craved greatness and success and extorted excessive taxes and levies, which aroused resentment among the people. As a consequence, the Qin empire became extinct after two generations. Du Mu, a great Tang Dynasty poet, wrote in his "Ode to Epang Palace" that "The six states in the Warring States Period [475-221 BC] destroyed themselves; they were not destroyed by Qin. And it was the Qin empire [221-207 BC] that buried itself; others didn't bury it. If the six states had had the support of their people, they would have defeated Qin. If Qin



had taken care of the people of the six states after conquering those states, no one could have destroyed it and it would have continued in power for three generations, even ten thousand generations. While the Qin contemporaries had no time to sigh for Qin's fall, later generations had the time to sigh for it. But if later generations only sighed for Qin's fall without taking warning from it, then they would be sighed for by yet other later generations." Here, reference is to the importance of popular support. When Emperor Yangdi of the Sui Dynasty [581-618] succeeded to the throne after his father, Emperor Wendi, he inherited an economically strong nation. At first, he did a great deal of work to safeguard the country and improve the economy and transportation by restoring the transportation route to the Western Regions, building roads, reconstructing the Great Wall and digging the Grand Canal. But later, the people rose in revolt because they had suffered too much as a result of excessive enslavement by the emperor and his indulgence in luxury and extravagance, and the despot himself finally ended up by hanging himself in Yangzhou. Luo Yin, a poet of the late Tang Dynasty, wrote a poem satirizing him. "From the State of Chen the Emperor took over all the land under Heaven / Alas he lost it with only a few *mu* of it left in the end." After the establishment of the Tang Dynasty [618-907], the sober-headed Emperor Taizong exerted himself to make the country prosperous. He accepted advice, appointed able and virtuous ministers, lightened the tax and forced-labor burden, and reformed the central and local administration. All this helped stimulate the development of the productive forces, making this period of unprecedented prosperity known historically as the "Good Government of the Reign of Zhenguan Period." His successors, however, neglected the welfare of the people, indulging in dissipation. Emperor Xuanzong, for instance, let himself be infatuated with his favorite concubine, Lady Yang, so much so that, to quote the famous Tang poet Bai Juyi, "She slept till the

sun rose high, for the blessed night was short / From then on the monarch held no longer morning court." He left the reins of government to Yang Guozhong, Lady Yang's cousin, who, with all authority arrogated to himself, stopped at nothing in doing evil and connived at officials at all levels when they embezzled government wealth, took bribes, lorded it over the people and bled them white. Finally, An Lushan, a provincial military governor, rose in rebellion against the Tang empire on the pretext of "launching a punitive campaign against Yang Guozhong under orders." This touched off the historically known "An Lushan-Shi Siming Rebellion," which led the Tang empire from prosperity to decline and then to the "Wang Xianzhi-Huang Chao Uprising," which ended in the fall of the Tang capital Chang'an and the collapse of the empire. I could give many more examples of how dynasties rose to power with the support of the people, and fell because they lost that support. The great changes in Eastern Europe, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, the failure of the Kuomintang in the mainland and its subsequent loss of power in Taiwan, the step-down of the former Indonesian president Suharto, the defeat of Mexico's Revolutionary System Party in the election, the sudden change in the situation in Peru and the former president Alberto Fujimori's refusal to return from his stay in Japan, and the turbulent political situation in the Philippines all prove that public feeling is an important reason for these changes, despite other complicated causes for each case. We should draw lessons from these examples, both past and present.

We have engaged in developing the Party's work style, building a clean government, fighting against corruption and exposing and punishing corrupt elements, including severe punishments for a few law-breaking ranking cadres, because, if we acted otherwise, we would cut ourselves off from the masses and allow our Party and state to perish. Doing this shows our Party's self-confidence and strength. The masses utterly detest corruption.

Our fight against corruption represents the will of the majority of the people and has enhanced the prestige of the Party among the people. At the same time, the struggle against corruption has taught the cadres who are Party members good lessons and given them a test in political awareness and Party spirit. Our fundamental aim in putting forward the requirements of the "Three Represents" and putting stress on strengthening Party building in an all-round way in accordance with these requirements is to ensure that our Party's flesh-and-blood ties with the masses are always maintained. All comrades in the Party, especially leading cadres, must look at the development of the Party's work style, the building of a clean government and the fight against corruption from the political plane, and firmly carry this task forward.

### III. WORKING HARDER TO PREVENT AND TACKLE CORRUPTION AT ITS ROOTS

Dealing with both the incidental and fundamental aspects simultaneously complement and promote each other in the fight against corruption. Only by dealing with the incidental aspect, or cracking down on the brazen activities of the corrupt elements, can we create the prerequisites for dealing with the fundamental aspect of the anti-corruption struggle. Only by dealing with the fundamental aspect, or preventing and tackling corruption at its roots, can the achievements made in the struggle be consolidated and developed, and the problem of corruption be solved radically. Several years ago, while dealing with the fundamental aspect we put more stress on measures for dealing with the incidental aspect because of the spreading of corruption. That was absolutely necessary. At present, we should work harder to prevent and tackle corruption at its roots.

Firstly, we must put the prevention of corruption into all the important policies and measures. Combating corruption and building a clean government are a part of the social system engineering, which call for the cooperation and joint efforts of all quarters and close integration with the economic construction, the development of democracy and the legal system, the fostering of socialist ethics and culture and other work. When economic, social and cultural development policies, important reform measures and laws and regulations are being formulated, combating corruption and building a clean government should be taken into account as an organic part, as should their advantages or disadvantages to the fight against corruption and for the building of a clean government. We should keep the good and get rid of the bad, perfect our decisions and put prevention first. Party committees and governments at all levels and functional and appropriate departments must include the fight against corruption and the building of a clean government in their routine work, instead of separating the one from the other. In a word, we must persist in the principle of subordinating to and serving economic development, the central link, adapt to the rules of the socialist market economy, integrate combating corruption and building a clean government closely with the implementation of the important measures for the reform and opening-up and the economic construction. Outstanding problems which hinder reform, development and stability should be studied in good time and effective measures worked out to cope with those problems.

Secondly, we must depend on the development of democracy and improvement of the legal system to prevent and address corruption. This is our consistent requirement and the most reliable measure. Combating corruption and building a clean government should be institutionalized and legalized. We should continue to strengthen democracy and the legal system. We should continue to improve such democratic practices as making village affairs,

factory affairs and government affairs transparent to the public, conducting democratic appraisal, addressing inquiries and holding hearings, so as to allow the masses of the people to play an active role in democratic election, decision making, management and supervision and to ensure the correct exercise of power. Party and government leading groups at all levels must strictly carry out democratic centralism, and strengthen the internal supervision of the leading groups, guarantee that members of the leading groups do their work according to discipline and law, prevent violations of law and discipline, and guard against putting oneself above the Party organization. Democratic atmosphere should be fostered in inner Party life, and people should be encouraged to voice their opinions. Let all have a say, not just one. We should not indulge in the practice of saying nothing to people's faces but gossiping a lot behind their backs. Still less must we indulge in toadying or bootlicking. Both of the above attitudes are harmful to the cause of the Party. Party and government leading groups at all levels should make specific and clear regulations on what problems should be decided through democratic discussion, and what procedures should be followed in making decisions. Once adopted, these regulations should be carried out conscientiously. At the same time, the code of conduct for a clean government for leading cadres to observe under the socialist market economy system should be improved, so that they may clearly know what should be done and what should not be done. Legislation concerning the fight against corruption should be strengthened, and laws and regulations on the prevention and punishment of corruption should be perfected to guarantee their thorough implementation. Party and government departments at all levels must resolutely implement the requirements of preventing and tackling corruption at its roots, and work out and implement the rules and measures for preventing and tackling corruption in line with the characteristics of their work and targeting such areas and sectors

in which corruption breeds easily.

Thirdly, we should strive to remove the soil and conditions breeding corruption through making innovations in the institutions. Restricting corruption through institutional innovations is an important experience we have attained from practice. A good institution can effectively prevent or curb corruption, otherwise corruption will occur and spread. Institutional innovation should be focused on sectors in which corruption breeds easily. Work should be done well especially for the reform of the personnel, financial and distribution systems. From the cases already revealed we can see that money-power deals have all occurred in the process of microeconomic actions in which leading cadres are directly involved. It is imperative to carry out reform of the administrative examination and approval system. Projects which should be conducted through the market mechanism instead of administrative means shall be dealt with through the market mechanism. For those projects which should be examined and approved through administrative channels, a scientific mechanism should be established so as to plug up loopholes and reduce the chances of money-power deals. Government departments at all levels should further transform their functions, and problems which can be solved by legal, policy and economic means should not be solved through administrative means as far as possible. Even for those which have to be solved by administrative means, open and fair procedures are required. Reform of the personnel system should be accelerated on the principle of democracy, openness and competition, so that outstanding and talented people will easily come to the fore. In this way, the malpractices of asking for official posts through personal connections or obtaining official posts through bribery can be stopped. Reform of the financial system should be speeded up and management and supervision of financial work should be strengthened. Welfare in Party and government organs, state-owned enterprises and insti-

tutions should be standardized and institutionalized gradually. The wage system for staff members in Party and government organs should be further reformed and perfected. Salaries for Party and government cadres at different levels and of different categories should be paid according to the standards set by the central authorities. Facts have proved that income increases arbitrarily arranged by Party and government organs and their "small exchequers" have caused many problems. For example, government orders are often blocked and subordinates can find ways to get around them. Local and departmental protectionism and other malpractices are all related to this. In a word, through deepening the reform and institutional innovations, a scientifically allocated and interacting power operation mechanism with a rational structure and strict procedures should be established, targeted at the specific system and weak sectors which easily give rise to corruption. The reform should also be based on the principle of seeking truth from facts. Both the excessive centralization of power and excessively decentralized power easily cause corruption. To meet the requirements of the prevention and control of corruption at its roots, power should be centralized or decentralized according to actual conditions, and subjected to the test of the social effects.

Fourthly, we should build a solid protective ideological barrier against corruption and its erosive effects. To strengthen the ideological and political building of the Party is an important task for preventing and tackling corruption at its roots, and must be carried through the whole process of the reform and opening-up and the modernization drive. It is not easy to make Party members and cadres keep their revolutionary will, spirit and moral integrity in the long years of peaceful construction, therefore relevant education, guidance and management must be strengthened. All Party members and cadres, especially leading cadres, should persist in studying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong

Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory, and in realizing the "three emphases" on study, political awareness and integrity. And efforts should be made to solve the problems of world outlook and the outlook on life and values, so as to fortify Party members' conviction on their ideals and strengthen their consciousness and resolution in taking the road to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. More efforts should be made in publicity and education concerning the fight against corruption and the building of a clean government, and education in the Party spirit, work style and discipline, while education in the need to abide by law and discipline should be strengthened. Cadres who are Party members should be educated and guided to consciously test their Party spirit in the course of the reform and construction, strengthen their ideological and political cultivation, temper their will, improve their mental outlook, keep a noble moral character, pursue a wholesome lifestyle, and train themselves in the sterling integrity of a Communist.

Fifthly, the work of combating corruption and building a clean government should be done in a coordinated way. Party committees and governments at all levels and all localities and departments must act in concert so as to form a powerful resultant of forces to combat corruption and build a clean government. All methods and means should be fully used to improve the effects of education and punishment and control and supervision to prevent and control corruption in the sectors where corruption is easily bred, in line with each and everyone's scope of duties and nature of work. In this way, a situation will be created in which all departments plunge into action, together with the coordination of all sectors and the employment of all means, to prevent and tackle corruption at its roots from all directions and facets.

Party committees at different levels should persist in the principle of "grasping two links at the same time and attaching



sufficient importance to both links," strengthen unified leadership and firmly carry out the Party Central Committee's policies and work plans on combating corruption and building a clean government. To meet the requirements of the Party Central Committee, each locality or department should investigate and inspect the corruption-related problems and solve them through the coordinated strength of all sectors and by grasping the essential points. Close attention should be paid to examination and supervision work in combating corruption, and no time should be lost to identify and solve the existing problems. The responsibility system for improving the Party's work style and building a clean government should be seriously carried out, with the main leaders of the leading group assuming overall responsibility. The principle should be "he who is in charge of the work will take the responsibility" and at the same time the person shall guarantee to "take good care of his department and the staff members under his leadership." The higher level leadership shall be responsible for the work of the unit or department under its leadership. Each level shall be responsible for its work and do its work well. Responsibility has to be shouldered by the person who is in charge of the work. When a corruption case occurs in a department or unit, not only the person involved in the corruption, but also the leader who has been negligent shall be held responsible. Therefore, we should deepen our study of the characteristics and law governing the occurrence of corruption during development of the socialist market economy and the opening-up, so as to work out new effective methods and measures to promote the in-depth development of the work of fighting corruption and building a clean government.

A particular phenomenon should merit our attention. The major cases of corruption—some of them quite shocking—had been going on for years before they were discovered. As a result, they had caused great damages. In some places or departments,

gang corruption had existed for a long time, involving many people and a wide scope of operation. In addition, some cadres who had just been promoted or had undergone education on the "Three Emphases" were found to be involved in serious corruption. The causes of these problems are complicated, but one of the main reasons is that we did not do a solid and down-to-earth job. I talked about the problem of improving our work both at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee and the conference on economic work. The work style in the building of a clean government and the fight against corruption should also be further improved. The key is to firmly oppose and overcome formalism and bureaucratism, and lay a solid foundation for the fight against corruption and for a clean government through going deep into the realities of life, to the grassroots units and among the masses. Corrupt elements can not hide their traces all the time. The people have sharp eyes. If we do not do down-to-earth work and are dilatory in doing things or work perfunctorily or even present a false picture of peace and prosperity, we can never discover any problem. How to immerse oneself among the masses and depend on them, and how to evolve an effective mechanism whereby we can perceive, expose and curb corruptive practices are a major topic for future study in the deepening of the work of fighting corruption and building a clean government.

In 1999, when I came here to make a speech I pointed out that doing a good job of consolidating and strengthening Party discipline is an important task that should be grasped firmly and well in strengthening Party building in an overall way. Today, I would like again to stress this question. Without strict discipline it will be impossible for the Party to maintain its unity, advanced nature and purity, enhance the Party's cohesiveness and fighting capability and guarantee the realization of the Party's program, line and tasks. The strict enforcement of the Party's political,

organizational and economic work and mass work discipline should all be done well. Especially when it comes to the Party's political discipline, we should repeatedly stress the need to strictly enforce it. A Party member must act in unison with the Party Central Committee, and firmly carry out the Party's line, principles, policies and work plans. No objections shall be expressed openly, no mood of no-confidence shall be spread at random and no feigned compliance shall be allowed. Every Party member must enhance his sense of organization, take the overall interests of the Party and state into account, and safeguard political stability and unity. Ours is a big party with 63 million members. Without strict political discipline, it will fall into a state of disunity and collapse in the end. Strict political discipline is not only good for strengthening the building of the Party's work style and a clean government, but also favorable for us to deal firmly with all hazards that may crop up in the future. Cadres at all levels, especially senior cadres, must bear this point firmly in mind.

## SPEECH AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF DIRECTORS OF PUBLICITY DEPARTMENTS

*January 10, 2001*

While human society has entered the 21st century, our country has entered a new period of development, characterized by the all-round building of a well-to-do society and acceleration of the socialist modernization drive. The new situation and new tasks have posed higher requirements for the publicity and ideological work. Consequently, the publicity and ideological departments face heavier responsibilities.

Comrades on the publicity and ideological front have been working hard, and doing a great deal of effective work. It can be said that the publicity and ideological work has, since the 14th and 15th Party National Congress, achieved new experiences and opened up a new vista. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, the publicity and ideological front has been holding high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory. It has persevered in arming the people with scientific theories, guiding them with correct public opinions, shaping their outlook with noble ideas, inspiring them with good cultural works, striving to publicize the Party line, guiding principles and policies, and working hard to create a sound and healthy climate of public opinion and colorful cultural activities. This has been an important contribution to consolidating the guiding position of Marxism, enhancing the people's ideological and cultural qualities and promoting re-

form, development and stability. I would like, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, to express my sincere greetings to all comrades on the publicity and ideological front.

At present, the international situation on the whole continues to become more relaxed, with peace and development continuing to be the theme of the times. World political multi-polarization is developing amidst twists and turns. Economic globalization is growing and science and technology are advancing with each passing day. An international environment of a relatively long period of peace can be secured for the modernization drive of our country. After more than two decades of reform and development, the productivity of our country has stepped onto a new level, the socialist market economy system has been initially established, the national economy is developing toward a virtuous circle, and our country is enjoying political stability, ethnic unity and social progress.

At the same time, we must be soberly aware that there are still many new challenges and problems on our road ahead, whether internationally or domestically. Western hostile forces will not give up their political scheme of "Westernizing" and "disintegrating" our country. During the process of opening to the outside world, Western bourgeois political stands, values and lifestyles will invariably take the opportunity to make inroads into our country. The diversification of China's social and economic fabrics, organizational forms, material interests and ways of employment will also bring about diversification of people's ideological concepts, orientation of values and cultural life. Along with the development of the market economy, laws governing commodity exchange are likely to influence people's social and political lives and mental field, leading to such malpractice as sacrificing principle for profit, and trading power for money. This may result in the eroding of national and collective consciousness and the spirit of mutual assistance and dedication. All of these

have posed new tasks for us to strengthen and improve our publicity and ideological work, and bring about cultural and ethical progress.

In the face of a drastically changing international situation and intense international competition, we will not be able to make our country strong, rejuvenate our nation and realize socialist modernization by the middle of this century, unless all our Party members and all Chinese people are armed with a firm conviction, a powerful ideological belief, deep-rooted cohesiveness, resourceful creativeness and a persevering will to fight and take unified action. None of these can be independent of the publicity and ideological work. We must, as ever, maximize the important role of this work.

Here I wish to emphasize the following points with regard to the current publicity and ideological work.

Firstly, continuing to publicize the idea of seizing opportunities and accelerating development. Being able to seize opportunities and accelerate development is the key for a country and nation to win initiative and advantage. Looking at China's history before the 15th century, the country experienced great prosperity during the Han and Tang dynasties, and enjoyed a leading position in world economy and technology. After the 15th century, however, China's economy and technology began to fall behind. One important reason was that China lost some important opportunities and did not do its job well. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important thought, that development is the absolute need, is a summary of the law based on both positive and negative experiences in the process of development in China and other countries. We must adhere to this important thought. To seize opportunities and accelerate development is imperative to us politically, economically and culturally. The key to solving all issues in China lies in development. To solve the problems in people's thinking, to convince those who do not believe in socialism and strengthen people's

conviction and confidence in the future of socialism and our country also depend on development. The fact that the Central Committee placed special emphasis on persevering in development — when mapping out the development strategy for our country in the new century — was a major decision based precisely on this most fundamental and important truth. The entire Party and nation must seize the time, redouble our efforts and keep a firm grip on the central issue of economic development, concentrating on economic and social development, and continuing to strengthen our country's economic might, national defense capabilities and national cohesiveness.

The publicity and ideological front should carry out this important guiding thought of the Central Committee actively, thoroughly, accurately and in an in-depth manner, so as to provide strong ideological guarantee and popular support for seizing opportunities and accelerating development. This is the essence that the publicity and ideological front should hold on to, and also an important measure to judge and examine the effectiveness of the publicity and ideological work.

We must guide the majority of cadres and people to increase their sense of urgency for seizing opportunities and accelerating development, and increase their sense of rejuvenating China and their sense of responsibility to do their jobs well, thus contributing to a good beginning for China's development during the 10th Five-Year Plan period. We should focus on development through economic restructuring and by relying on reform, opening-up and scientific and technological progress with a view to improving the people's living standards and constantly pushing forward economic growth and social progress. We should publicize the Central Committee's demand for understanding the situation clearly, boosting confidence, stressing overall interests, keeping a firm grip on the key issues, working hard to achieve real results and making further progress. We should publicize the fa-

favorable opportunities in store for China's economic construction, and the various favorable conditions for accelerating development, and guide our cadres and people to correctly handle the new situation and new problems confronted by reform and construction. As reform continues to deepen and development continues to advance, the publicity and ideological front should redouble its efforts to unify people's thinking, deepen their understanding, provide positive guidance, dispel doubts and clear up perplexities. This will help people gain a clear understanding of the situation, heighten their spirits, build up their confidence, correctly handle relationships between reform, development and stability, correctly regulate all kinds of relations of interests during the process of reform, and conscientiously integrate their individual aspirations with the common ideals of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups in building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and integrate their individual efforts with the endeavors to realize China's socialist modernization.

Secondly, continuing to emphasize the central theme and keep the initiative. Emphasizing the central theme and keeping the initiative will help shape and develop a climate of positive public opinion throughout society, let scientific theories and correct ideology play their guiding role in social life, allow the majority of cadres and people to maintain a sound spirit and consolidate and develop the common ideological basis for the people of all ethnic groups in China to unite and work hard. This is a successful experience that we have gained in the publicity and ideological work under the new situation.

To adhere to the guiding position of Marxism and to continue to arm the entire Party and educate the people throughout the country with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory are the fundamental ideological foundation which ensures that the Party maintains strong unity and leads the people to strive together, and also for maintaining social and



political stability in China. Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasized that development is the absolute need, but he also emphasized that stability is an overriding consideration. Development is not independent of stability, but rather, it depends on stability as a guarantee. This is also an understanding derived from successes and failures at all times in all countries. Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked about political and social stability, and particularly emphasized stability in ideology. This is an important thought. Stability of a society depends on strong political leadership, economic development, a sound system and the rule of law. At the same time, ideological stability among all members of society is also an important condition. Apart from political and economic factors, ideological changes and chaos within the party in power and among the masses were another important cause for the disintegration of the Soviet Union, drastic changes in Eastern Europe and recent changes in the political situation in Yugoslavia. Both history and the present situation have demonstrated that a society will find it hard to maintain its social and political stability in the absence of a common ideological foundation and ideological stability built on such a foundation. Ours is a socialist country. If the ideological foundation of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory is undermined and if the common ideal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is shaken, there will be ideological chaos and social upheaval, which will bring disasters to the country and the nation. Therefore, adhering to the guiding position of Marxism and the common ideal for building socialism with Chinese characteristics holds a bearing on the destiny of the Party and state.

To adhere to Marxism as our guideline we must never fail in two fields of endeavor. One is to unswervingly consolidate and strengthen the position of Marxism as our guideline, and say no to pluralism where this guideline is concerned; and the other is to carry forward the scientific spirit of seeking truth from facts and

being brave in breaking new ground, and constantly enrich and develop Marxism by closely following changes in the situation and the development of practice. For us to persist in Marxism, the key lies in upholding the basic principles of Marxism and applying them in analyzing and studying the practice of today. Marxist theories on the relationship between productive forces and the relations of production and between economic base and superstructure, and Marxist theory on the law of social development and the Marxist thesis on dialectical materialism are basic principles we should persistently apply. In the meantime, we should pay attention to distinguishing basic Marxist principles from a certain doctrine or program of action that classical Marxist authors had proposed to address a specific situation or a particular struggle during their times. During the 153 years since the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, tremendous changes have taken place in the world. Marx and Engels lived until the latter half of the 19th century, and Lenin lived until the early 20th century. It was very difficult for them to foresee the development and changes in the present-day world. We cannot expect too much from them. Great developments are in store for science and technology and economy and culture in the future world, and our understanding of society and nature will continue to deepen. It is the law of history for latecomers to make progress on the basis of what their predecessors have accomplished. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping were good at developing and perfecting their own theories in light of actual conditions. What they demonstrated was the scientific spirit and attitude of Marxism. With a view to our new practice, we must apply basic Marxist principles to interpret the new situation and solve new problems, and never cease to enhance the persuasive and combat effectiveness of Marxist theories.

At the Central Conference on Ideological and Political Work held in June last year, I proposed that thorough studies be made

of four major issues, namely the historical process of the development of capitalism, the historical process of the development of socialism, the impact of the practice of China's socialist reform on people's minds, and the influence of the current international environment and political struggle. These major ideological and theoretical issues, which are of concern for our cadres and people, deserve in-depth study as major theoretical topics. Everyday life, too, presents major questions that call for scientific and convincing answers. All in all we should, through our studies and publicity work, help people fortify their faith in Marxism and socialism, and enhance their confidence in the reform and opening-up and the modernization drive, as well as their trust in the Party and government.

To consolidate and develop the theoretical ground for common struggle of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups, we must firmly keep public opinion work under our leadership and take the initiative in our hands. Public opinion reflects the image of a country and the mental outlook of a society. The guidance to public opinion is a major aspect of the effort to strengthen Party leadership. The robust development of all types of mass media, the information network in particular, is playing an increasing role and exerting a growing impact on modern society, and that is why they call for strengthened guidance. The press is the mouthpiece of the Party and the people, and should, therefore, publicize the spirit of the central authorities in an accurate, clear-cut and vivid way, and reflect the will of the people promptly, fully and faithfully. We should, as always, pursue the publicity work by positive example, and persist in the principle of adapting it to the need of maintaining unity and political stability. It should boost public morale, disseminate patriotic, collectivist and socialist ideas in a deep-going way, better publicize exemplary work and deeds, provide guidance over "hot-spots," give play to the public's supervisory role, support the good and ward off the evil, boost

morale, and encourage people to work hard and make progress. It is necessary to further improve the style of work and the style of writing, so that whatever we are publicizing tallies with the reality of society and meets the needs of the masses. We should also continue to enhance the appeal of our publicity work and enhance its capacity to guide public opinion. We should attach due importance to opinion-making and publicity by using the Internet. In general principle we should actively develop the Internet, make full use of it, tighten up its management, maximize what is good and minimize what is bad, tap our strengths, take the initiative in our hands, constantly increase the influence and combat-effectiveness of our Internet publicity work, and turn it into a new sector in the ideological and political work of the Party and state, and a new channel for our foreign publicity work.

Playing a fundamental role in consolidating the cohesiveness of the public and in spurring on people throughout the country to unite as one and work hard, the Party's ideological and political work and the work to promote socialist culture and ethics are of cardinal importance and should be strengthened continuously. They shall never be slackened or weakened to the slightest degree. To engage in this field of work, we should strive to heighten our sense of the times, make sure it is always to the point, make it more effective, and always take initiative in our hands. We should persevere in the Party's basic theory and line as our guideline, and strive to cultivate and carry forward socialist ideology and morals that are commensurate with socio-economic development, by focusing on fostering the common ideal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and a correct outlook on the world, life and values, persisting in efforts to inherit fine traditions and disseminate the ethos of the times, and respecting lawful individual rights while urging every citizen to shoulder his or her responsibilities for society, attaching due importance to coordi-

nating efficiency and social equality, and fostering the organic link between the requirements of the advanced nature of the Party and the requirements of the Party's extensive representation. This is an important and arduous task. The entire Party membership and comrades fighting on all fronts should work together on it, and those on the publicity and ideological front should work all the more indefatigably for it. All ideological and cultural fields, and all products catering to people's mental and cultural needs should do the best they can to publicize scientific theories, popularize healthy social trends, advocate scientific spirit, and continuously increase the ideological and moral attainments and scientific and cultural knowledge of the entire nation.

Thirdly, studying and publicizing the requirements of the "Three Represents" in a deep-going way. During my inspection tour of Guangdong in February last year, I pointed out that our Party could be always vibrant with vitality only by measuring up to what the "Three Represents" requires of us. Since then, this point has been widely studied and discussed among members of the Party, with some results achieved and a consensus reached. We have much work to do regarding how to deepen our study of the requirements of the "Three Represents," and to elucidate and publicize them from the perspective of integrating theory with practice, in close connection with changes in both domestic and world situations, the development of productive forces and the profound changes that have taken place in the economic structure in China, the demand of the populace for bettering their material and cultural wellbeings, and the major changes in the ranks of Party members who are cadres.

Commemorating the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, and publicizing and carrying out education in the "Three Represents" in a deep-going way throughout the Party is a major task for the entire Party in the initial year of the new century. It is also a major task for the publicity

and ideological front. We should have a broad vision with which to observe and fathom the trend of development of world economy, politics and culture and the great practice of contemporary China, and do the best job possible in studying, publicizing and implementing the requirements of the "Three Represents." This will help enhance the Party's leadership and ruling level, fortify the Party's ability to resist corruption and its erosion and withstand risks, let Party members and cadres conscientiously put their minds and acts under the guidance of the requirements of the "Three Represents," and enable our Party to be more vigorous, more united and more combat-effective.

Efforts to study and publicize the "Three Represents" and educate people in it should be unified. The key to this lies in paying due attention to reality and striving for actual results, while generalities should be avoided. We should carry forward the Party's fine style of linking theory with practice, and be bold in exploration and practical in getting things done. We should also find scientific answers to some major theoretical questions concerning the Party and the development of the state, on the basis of deepening our studies and investigations. At the same time, we should press ahead with our efforts to solve outstanding problems that affect reform, development and stability as well as outstanding problems in Party building, so that our Party can better tackle the major historical task of leading the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Fourthly, vigorously publicizing and promoting, among the general public, the spirit of fighting unremittingly for the accomplishment of socialist modernization. To build socialism the Chinese way is a magnificent cause, a cause that bristles with hardships and is imbued with creativity. A great cause calls for, and gives rise to, a noble spirit, and the noble spirit provides the spiritual backing and impetus for the great cause. A nation will have no future if it lacks a staunch spirit. We materialists stress

the decisive role of material production in social development, but, at the same time, we also give full credit to the motivating role of spiritual activity of people in the process of transforming the objective world. Imbued with revolutionary spirit, the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people worked out one miracle after another in various historical periods of revolution, construction and reform. Shortly after the founding of New China, Chairman Mao called on the entire Party membership to preserve the energy, revolutionary verve and 'fighting-tooth-and-nail' spirit they had displayed during revolutionary wars, and to carry on the revolutionary work through to the end. After adoption of the policy of reform and opening-up, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly urged comrades of the whole Party to carry forward five kinds of revolutionary spirit, namely the spirit of revolution and exerting one's utmost in struggle, the spirit of strict discipline and self-sacrifice, the spirit of selflessness and putting others' interests above one's own, the spirit of subduing all enemies and difficulties, and the spirit of upholding revolutionary optimism and surmounting every difficulty to win victory. The great spirit of the War to Resist US Aggression and Aid Korea [1950-1953], the spirit of those who successfully launched China's first atom bomb, hydrogen bomb and satellite, the spirit of the Chinese people in combating floods, and the "64-character pioneering spirit" are all actual embodiments of the spirit of unremitting struggle of the Chinese nation. In the face of the new century, new situation and new tasks, we need, more than ever, to vigorously publicize and carry forward the spirit of striving unswervingly for the attainment of socialist modernization throughout the entire Party and society.

Firstly, publicize and promote the spirit of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts. This is the essence of Marxism and the core spirit of our unremitting struggle. Emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts form a unity: Without

emancipation of the mind, we cannot possibly be practical and realistic; and we can never really emancipate our minds without being practical and realistic. We should adhere to the Marxist perception of history, practice and development, adhere to the principle that practice is the only criterion for testing truth, and persevere in studying new situations, solving new problems, acquiring new knowledge and opening up new realms.

Secondly, publicize and promote the spirit of keeping abreast of the times and being bold in innovation. We must always stand in the forefront of development of the times and persistently promote our cause. Being isolated from the outside world, keeping a narrow view, sticking to old ways, and ignoring the trend of world development will result in backwardness. We should observe the world in a broad Marxist view, enrich ourselves with the most advanced knowledge of the contemporary era, avoid bookishness and dogmatism, keep abreast of the times, and persistently promote innovations in theory, system, and science and technology.

Thirdly, publicize and promote the spirit of indomitability and advancing in the face of difficulties. Our journey forward will not be smooth. There is no effort without pain, and no pain without potential new development. To succeed in our modernization drive, we need a steel will to struggle tenaciously against hardships, and a heroic spirit to be persistent and dauntless in achieving our aims. Members of the whole Party and all Chinese people should make unremitting efforts at self-improvement and exert themselves to make our country strong and prosperous. They should, once becoming rich, think of its source and of how to make further progress, and keep on scaling new heights in their noble cause.

Fourthly, publicize and promote the spirit of hard struggle and realism. Hard struggle is necessary for successful work; while indulging in a life of pleasure leads to ruin. We should carry



forward the Party's fine traditions and make it a common practice of the whole Party and society to build up the country and run all our undertakings through hard work and frugality. Solid work brings a nation prosperity, and idle talk endangers a nation. We should strongly advocate the principles of speaking the truth, doing practical things, seeking practical results and being conscientious in work; and we should fight against bad practices, such as misuse of the privilege of office, showy postures and formalism.

Fifthly, publicize and promote the spirit of seeking no personal fame or wealth, and of selfless devotion. A Communist should be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, and always keep the people and the Party's cause in mind. With dedication and high responsibility, we should keep ourselves upright, just and incorruptible, do our work conscientiously and be extremely responsible to the Party and the people. We should adopt a correct attitude toward ourselves, toward our comrades, toward the Party and toward the masses. By studying more and having fewer social activities, and thinking more about what we can contribute and less about our personal gains and losses, we should strive to become noble-minded, pure and moral persons, free of vulgar interests and being of value to the people.

In short, we should keep arming all Party members and all Chinese people with these spirits of persistent endeavoring day in day out, and year in year out, through the combined efforts of the publicity, ideological and other fronts, until these spirits become the conscious pursuit of all, and a great spiritual force motivating our efforts to seize opportunities for speeding up development and realizing socialist modernization and the revitalization of the Chinese nation.

As the Party's Central Committee has reiterated, to unite the efforts of all Chinese people in advancing the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must firmly

establish a common ideal, belief and ideological prop. This is not only the demand for promoting our cause and strengthening people's unity, but also the demand for realizing the nation's lasting political stability. Although I have mentioned this question above, I would like to emphasize it here.

To a country, a nation and a political party, it is extremely important to firmly establish and constantly keep a positive and progressive mind. With a large population of 1.2 billion and 56 ethnic groups, China is not developed in economy, education and culture. It takes prolonged and persistent efforts to enable all Chinese people to keep the common ideal and strong ideological prop.

Since Communists are atheists and China is a socialist country, the spiritual core of the entire society cannot be the ideologies and values of feudalism or capitalism, nor can it be any religion. We should adhere to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, and ideologies of patriotism, collectivism and socialism as the strong ideological prop for uniting the whole Party and people and establishing the common ideal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The key of the question is that we must instill Marxist theories and the concept and moral requirements of building socialism with Chinese characteristics into all Party members, cadres and Chinese people to become their conscious thinking and behavioral standard. This task is painstaking and arduous, and not easy to undertake. With the progress of reform and economic development, groups of people with distinctive differences have emerged in Chinese society, including Party members, cadres and the masses; the highly educated and those with little or no education; employees from state-owned enterprises and those from non-public enterprises; atheists as opposed to theists; and people with different religious faiths, and so on. They are different in economic status, living environment, ideology, education and psychological characteris-

tics. Our ideological and publicity work cannot produce good effects if we just use repetitive and empty preaching instead of adopting special methods based on analyses of specific conditions and people.

Thus our publicity and education work is faced with two important questions. Firstly, we must try to integrate the uniformity of the publicity and teaching of Marxist theories and the ideology of building socialism the Chinese way with the variety of the characteristics and demands of different social groups. Secondly, we must make efforts to integrate the theories of publicity and teaching of ideals and ideology with the people's everyday work and life. In other words, no effort in arming the people with theories, doing political and ideological work and carrying out moral education should be separated from the reality of China's economic and social development. Work in these fields should be diversified, lively and interesting to the people, responsive to the people's problems in ideology and knowledge, and play the role as an ideological prop in people's work and struggle.

Here I'd like to remind every comrade of a question. In the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and developing a socialist market economy, we should persistently improve the socialist legal system and run the country by the rule of law. Meanwhile, we should also persistently improve the socialist ethics education and run the country by the rule of virtue. The rule of law and the rule of virtue always complement and promote each other. Neither is dispensable, or should be over-emphasized to the neglect of the other. The rule of law belongs to political building, or political culture, while the rule of virtue belongs to ideological building, or spiritual culture. Though belonging to different categories, they are equally important in status and function. We must closely integrate legal system building with moral education, and the rule of law with the rule of virtue. Comrades working on the publicity and ideological front should

also integrate the two in their publicity and educational work.

Now 80 years will soon have elapsed since the founding of our Party, and over 50 years since the birth of New China. We have done a lot of work in publicizing Marxism and establishing socialist ideal and belief in both the Party and society, and have achieved great results. Then, why do Marxist theories and socialist ideal, belief and morality have little effect on some people? Why have absurd fallacies, such as "Falun Gong," been able to have a strong impact on some people and even a few senior intellectuals and cadres? Why have some Western capitalist theories and corruptive ideologies, culture and lifestyles had strong attraction for some people? The many-facet reasons include both international and domestic factors, historical and contemporary factors, and those involving material and technological developments and spiritual and cultural domains. Comprehensive analysis is required. The existence of these problems shows that it takes a long time to solve problems in ideological, political and mental fields. We must make persistent efforts, not expecting to solve them once and for all overnight. I hope all of you will join efforts in studying the problems, summarizing experience and filling up deficiencies; mobilize forces in all aspects, from families to schools and the whole society; make full use of all channels of publicity and education; keep searching for more effective means and measures; and, through the salutary influence of education, do a better, more careful and solid job in strengthening the socialist ideal and belief, and establishing an ideological prop among the entire Party and people.

Now China faces a good situation, but all Party members, especially senior cadres in the Party, should not sit back and relax. We must remain sober-minded and see the conspicuous problems and various challenges facing us, redouble our efforts and speed up our work. As long as the whole Party and people are closely united in both thought and action, unswervingly carry out the

Party's line, principles and policies, and persistently promote the reform and opening-up and the socialist modernization drive, we will be able to stand firm in any difficult situation.

The publicity and ideological front and related departments are very important. The publicity and ideological work involves the entire Party. It not only concerns the overall interests of reform, development and stability, but also our cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. A qualified Marxist statesman should be good at doing the publicity and ideological work. Party committees at all levels should persist in "grasping two links at the same time and attaching sufficient importance to both links," earnestly strengthen leadership over the publicity and ideological work, and make full use of this political advantage of our Party. We should care for and cherish the publicity and ideological workers who are doing hard work all year round, and we should create conditions for them to display their intelligence and wisdom, so that they will do a better job in serving the people, socialism and our work in the whole Party and the whole country.

I hope that comrades on the publicity and ideological front will follow the leadership of the Party Central Committee, hold high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory, implement the spirit of the 15th Party National Congress and the Fifth Plenary Session of the 15th Party Central Committee, unite as one, work hard, and, with the new century as a new starting point, exert efforts to enhance the publicity and ideological work to a new level.

## FULFIL THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE “THREE REPRESENTS” IN BUILDING GRASSROOTS PARTY ORGANIZATIONS\*

*February 27, 2001*

In the face of a new situation in the new century, our smooth progress in reform, development and all other undertakings depends on our Party, on its cohesive power and combat capability, and on its level of leadership and government.

In the new century, the international situation is undergoing tremendous changes, and our domestic reform and construction tasks are heavy and arduous. On the one hand, we have rare opportunities and favorable conditions for speeding up development, while on the other hand, we are faced with many new circumstances, new contradictions and new difficulties. In our journey forward, we may encounter all kinds of risks. Under such complicated conditions, we must do a good job in Party building in order to keep China’s socialist modernization drive on the correct course.

I have talked much about this question. What is most essential is to fulfill the requirements of the “Three Represents” in the Party’s ideological, organizational and work style building in line with the requirements of the new situation and tasks, so as to

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\*Part of a speech delivered by Jiang Zemin during his inspection tour in Hainan Province.

keep our Party's vigor and vitality and let the Party remain as the strong leading core in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

At present, we have much work to do in strengthening and improving Party building. We should strengthen research in major theoretical and practical questions that need to be resolved, carefully summarize experience, get hold of conspicuous problems, and work out practical measures to solve them without delay.

During this tour, I held a special forum in Sanya on how to strengthen and improve Party building. Some comrades addressed the meeting, and their speeches were so good that all comrades present found them inspiring. All the comrades addressing the forum said that leading cadres should have a good work style to really implement the Party's line, principles and policies and to lead the people to open up new vistas in reform and construction. In my view, it is a very important question in strengthening and improving Party building in the new historical period, which must arouse all Party members' great attention.

The Party's work style bears on the image and combat-effectiveness of the Party. To complete the task of the modernization drive and to always live up to the principle of serving the people wholeheartedly, all Party members, especially leading cadres at all levels, must have a good work style. Otherwise, the correct line will not be implemented, and the Party's work will be seriously affected. In the process of reform, opening-up and the development of a socialist market economy, strengthening the building of the Party's work style holds great significance. This is a point that all Party members must clearly understand and implement in their work.

To strengthen the building of the Party's work style in the new historical period, we must fulfil the requirements of the "Three Represents," persistently carry forward the Party's fine traditions and work style, and better develop the Party's work

style of seeking truth from facts, integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses, unfolding criticism and self-criticism, striving to be modest and prudent and guarding against arrogance and rashness. We should carefully summarize historical and fresh experiences in strengthening the building of the Party's work style. In accordance with the new situation and new tasks, we should grasp conspicuous problems in the Party members' ways of thinking, working, leading, learning and living, and raise the work style building to a new level by earnestly resolving these problems through the joint efforts of all Party members.

Here I'm stressing a question, which is: To strengthen and improve Party building in the new historical period, we must pay much attention to strengthening the Party's organizational building at the grassroots level. A weak base will cause a mountain to collapse. Party organizations at the grassroots level are an important base of the Party's leadership and government, of the Party's entire work, and of the socialist state's political power. It is very dangerous to have a weak Party organization at the grassroots level that lacks combat-effectiveness and cohesive power. Party committees at all levels should attach much importance to the organizational building at the grassroots level, which should by no means be neglected. Improving the Party's organizational building at the grassroots level is an arduous job which produces little so-called "marked achievement." But that can be no excuse for neglecting the work or not taking it seriously. At present, we have encountered many new circumstances and new problems in the Party's organizational building at the grassroots level, which require immediate study and settlement.

We should further strengthen the Party's organizational building in enterprises, centering on enterprise reform and development. We should solve the problem of weakness and laxness in some grassroots Party organizations in rural areas, and turn these or-



ganizations into the leading core of all rural organizations and in all kinds of rural work. We should further promote the Party's organizational building in urban communities. We should waste no time in setting up Party organizations and carry out Party activities in non-public enterprises to strengthen the Party's ties with employees of those enterprises. In a word, when Party organizations at the grassroots level are strengthened and the ties between the Party and the people become closer, we can do a better job in our work in various fields.

To improve the work style among the grassroots cadres is an important point in strengthening the organizational building at the grassroots level. Standing on the forefront of the reform and opening-up drive, the Party's grassroots cadres have frequent contacts with the masses. Their work style directly bears on the implementation of the Party's line, principles and policies, and also on the Party's image among the masses. Party committees at all levels must strengthen the effort to improve the work style among grassroots cadres. Grassroots cadres must persistently carry on the Party's fine traditions and work style, closely rely on the masses of people, and lead the masses in creating a happy life on the road of reform and opening-up.

The development of the Party and people's cause requires grassroots cadres to adhere to the spirit of seeking truth from facts and the down-to-earth work style. We must keep in close touch with the masses and social realities, learn about the people's wishes and listen carefully to the masses' voices. Realizing and protecting the people's basic interests must be the basic point in the process of implementing the Party's line, principles and policies. We must work in a down-to-earth manner, and strive hard to achieve practical results by allaying the people's worries and solving their problems. The criterion for our achievements in work should be whether our work has brought the people more material benefits. We must firmly oppose and overcome formal-

ism and bureaucracy of various types, seek no false reputation, refrain from boasting and exaggeration, forge close ties between the Party and the people and win the people's support and trust with real achievements in our work.

In recent years, Hainan Province has sent large groups of cadres to the grassroots level and organized working groups for "strengthening the implementation work at the grassroots level" to help solve various problems at the grassroots level. This has not only helped get practical things done at the grassroots level, but also served to temper cadres, especially young ones, and improved the work style of governmental institutions. This practice deserves recommendation.

Grassroots cadres have been working hard, frequently encountering difficulties and problems. Party committees at all levels should be concerned with and support their work. Meanwhile, they should help grassroots cadres continuously raise their ideological and political levels and improve their capability. As long as the contingent of grassroots cadres is strengthened, our Party will certainly do a better job in leading the people to make new and greater achievements in the new century.

According to a decision of the central authorities, starting from last winter and this spring, a "Three Represents" study and education campaign has been launched in government departments at the county level, in village- and town-level leading groups, and among grassroots cadres. This is an important groundwork of our Party in the new century to resolve the issues regarding agriculture, rural areas and farmers. It is also a big event that bears on the overall situation of reform, development and stability. This campaign should be targeted at improving the overall quality of grassroots cadres in rural areas, at solving the conspicuous problems that exist in rural areas, and at safeguarding and developing farmers' fundamental interests. The campaign should also closely integrate study and education with the im-

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provement of our work in rural areas. We should strengthen our leadership and specific guidance of the campaign, timely summarize experience, earnestly solve the problems we encounter and, in accordance with the central authorities' plan, strive to produce practical results.

SPEECH AT THE RALLY IN CELEBRATION OF  
THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

*July 1, 2001*

**Comrades and Friends,**

We gather here today at this grand rally to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China together with the people of all ethnic groups across the country, and look to the bright future of the development of China and the rest of the world along with all people on earth who love peace and pursue progress.

The Communist Party of China had only some 50 members at its birth 80 years ago and what it faced was a calamity-ridden old China. But today, 80 years later, our Party has become a big party that has been in power for more than 50 years and has more than 64 million members and what the Chinese people see is a prosperous socialist motherland. This tremendous change is a historic miracle in the development of the Chinese nation.

Reviewing the course of struggle of the Party and the people in the last century, we feel exultant and infinitely proud. Looking into the great journey of the Party and the people ahead in the new century, we are filled with strength and confidence that we are bound to win.

## I. ACHIEVEMENTS AND BASIC EXPERIENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA IN THE 80-YEAR STRUGGLE

Invariably, the people have kept exploring their road of advance amidst the movement of social contradictions. They have also continued, in the practice of historical activities and by making comparisons, to seek, reveal and develop the truth that guides their advance.

Eighty years ago, the Communist Party of China was founded amidst the torrential anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle of the people of all ethnic groups of China and in the tempestuous movement of the proletarian revolution in the world. This was the inevitable result of the development of social contradictions and deepening struggle of the people in modern China.

After 1840, the invasion by Western powers gradually reduced China to the status of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society and subjected the Chinese people to two-fold repression by imperialism and feudalism. The national crisis and social crisis were unprecedentedly grave. From the Opium Wars, through the Movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the 1898 Reform Movement and the Yihetuan Movement, the Chinese people carried out dauntless struggles, and numerous people with lofty ideals were trying strenuously to explore a road to salvaging the country and the nation. All the attempts ended in failure one after another although each time they helped promote progress in China under given historical conditions. The 1911 Revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, which overthrew the autocratic monarchy that had ruled China for several thousand years, was of great significance in promoting China's social progress. Yet, it did not succeed in altering the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nature of the Chinese society and the miserable fate of the Chinese people.

Facts show that the self-improvement movements and re-

formism, the old peasant wars and the democratic revolution led by the revolutionaries of the bourgeoisie that did not touch the foundation of feudalism or other solutions that copied Western capitalism could not accomplish the mission of saving the nation from subjugation and ensuring its survival and the historical tasks against imperialism and feudalism. China was then looking forward to a new social force that could find advanced theories leading to a path of salvaging the country and the nation.

It so happened that in 1917 and 1919, two major events took place in Russia and China, that is, the October Revolution of Russia and the May 4th Movement of China. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought the advanced theory of Marxism-Leninism to China. Starting from the May 4th Movement, the Chinese working class began to cut a striking figure as an advanced social force in the country. At the same time, a number of advanced intellectuals held high the banner of democracy and science and opened up a path for disseminating new ideas and new theories in China. In 1921, the Communist Party of China emerged just as the times required in the process of applying Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese workers' movement.

From then on, the great historical mission of leading the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary struggle, winning national independence and people's liberation and invigorating the Chinese nation fell upon the shoulders of the Communist Party of China. The Chinese revolution thus entered a brand-new period of development.

From the Opium War (1840-1842) to the founding of the Communist Party of China, and from the founding of the Party to the present, China has experienced two completely different periods of 80 years. In the first 80-year period, the feudal rulers surrendered the country's sovereign rights under humiliating terms, the society was thrown into wars and chaos, the country became impoverished and weak and the people lived in hunger and cold.

In the second 80-year period, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have got unprecedentedly united and organized, overcome numerous difficulties and won one victory after another in their revolutionary struggle. Since the founding of New China, the economy and society have developed rapidly; the country has become increasingly prosperous; the people's social status, living standards and cultural and educational level have risen markedly. Through the comparison of the two periods, the Chinese people and all the patriotic forces in China have come to realize that it is precisely the leadership of the Communist Party of China that has enabled the country to materialize the great historical transformation. China has thus come out of the most miserable plight and is now heading for a bright future. Without the Communist Party, there would have been no New China. With the Communist Party, China has put on an entirely new look. This is the fundamental and most important conclusion drawn by the Chinese people from their long years of struggle.

The eventful days and glorious achievements of the 80 years of struggle in which our Party led the people presented a spectacular and colorful panorama before the people.

**We fulfilled the task of the new-democratic revolution and attained national independence and the liberation of the people.** We carried out the Northern Expedition (1926-1927), the Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927-1937), the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression (1937-1945) and China's War of Liberation (1946-1949). We defeated the Japanese militarist aggression, overthrew the Kuomintang reactionary rule and founded the People's Republic of China. The Chinese have since stood up, and the development of the Chinese nation has since ushered in a new era.

**We have established a socialist system and realized the most extensive and most profound social transformation in**

**Chinese history.** We have creatively materialized the transformation from new democracy to socialism and established the basic system of socialism in an all-round way, thus ushering in a socialist society in this big oriental country with a population of a quarter of the world's total. This is a big leap forward in China's social change and historical progress, and also serves as a powerful support and impetus to the cause of socialism in the world.

**We initiated the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and found a correct road to the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.** The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China marked the beginning of a new period of development for the cause of socialism in China. On the basis of building socialism over the years and summing up both the internal and external historical experience and making hard exploratory efforts, we introduced new policies of reform and opening to the outside world and formulated the basic theory, line and program of our Party in the primary stage of socialism. In face of serious setbacks to world socialism and drastic changes in the domestic and foreign situations, our Party stood rock-firm in midstream. Socialism in China has displayed its vigor and vitality.

**We have established a state power of the people's democratic dictatorship, with the Chinese people being masters of their own destiny.** China is an ancient civilization of more than five thousand years. However, it is only after our Party came to power that the people became real masters of their country, their society and their own destiny. This represented a fundamental change in the social and political status of the Chinese people. It marked China's realization of a great leap from centuries-old feudalistic autocracy to people's democracy.

**We have built an independent and fairly complete national economic system, with our economic strength and**



**aggregate national strength enhanced markedly.** It has taken us just a little more than half a century to put an end to the old China's backward state of poverty and ignorance and also set up a complete modern industrial system with all necessary sectors. The annual gross domestic product (GDP) has increased by 57 times since the founding of the People's Republic. The strength of our economy, national defense and science and technology has grown visibly. Our country has edged into the advanced ranks in the world in many areas such as industry, agriculture, national defense, science and technology. The 1.2 billion-plus Chinese people have not only got enough to eat and wear but in general secured a relatively comfortable life.

**We have consistently developed socialist culture, and the cultural life of the Chinese people is getting richer and more colorful.** Upholding Marxism as the guiding ideology, we have educated the people in patriotism, collectivism and socialism and done much to promote socialist ethical and cultural progress. We have persistently carried forward the fine cultures of all ethnic groups of the country and actively absorbed what is advanced in other civilizations in order to make our socialist culture increasingly flourish. The ideological and ethical standards and the educational, scientific and cultural qualities of the people have kept improving, displaying to the world a new mental outlook of the Chinese nation.

**We have put an end once for all to the disunity in the old China and attained a high degree of national unification and unparalleled unity of all ethnic groups.** We have abrogated the unequal treaties imposed on China by Western powers and all the privileges of imperialism in the country. The feudal separatist rule has gone forever on this land of China. The 56 ethnic groups share the same lot and have forged a socialist ethnic relationship featuring equality, unity and mutual assistance. All political parties and people's organizations unite as one, help each

other and share weal and woe. All socialist laborers, patriots endorsing socialism and patriots supporting national reunification have formed the broadest possible patriotic united front for the reunification and prosperity of the motherland. The successful return of Hong Kong and Macao to the motherland has fulfilled the long-cherished wishes of the whole nation. The exchanges between compatriots on the two sides of the Taiwan Straits have been increasing. The question of Taiwan will be ultimately resolved and the national reunification achieved.

**We have forged a people's army under the absolute leadership of the Party and built a strong national defense.** We started a revolutionary course of encircling the cities from the rural areas and seizing state power by armed force. With the people's army as the backbone, we relied on the people and armed them. We persisted in educating the officers and men in the Party's theory and program and defeated the well-equipped ferocious domestic and foreign enemies in the prolonged revolutionary wars. The People's Liberation Army has always upheld the purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly. It has played a major role in consolidating national defense, resisting aggression, safeguarding the socialist system and peaceful work of the people and taking part in the country's socialist construction. Our national defense has constantly been reinforced and steady progress has been made in the drive to build a revolutionary, modern and regular army. The People's Liberation Army led by our Party is a staunch pillar of the people's democratic dictatorship, a great wall of steel in defense of the motherland and an important force in socialist construction.

**We have adhered to an independent foreign policy of peace and made important contributions to the lofty cause of world peace and development.** We have put an end once for all to the history of diplomacy of humiliation in modern China and effectively safeguarded state sovereignty, security and national

dignity. We have actively initiated and safeguarded the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, resolutely opposed the hegemonies and power politics with the strong domineering over the weak. We have upheld principle and justice, striving to let justice prevail and safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of the vast number of developing countries, and promoted the establishment of a just and reasonable new international political and economic order. The international standing and influence of socialist China are growing with each passing day.

Facts have fully proved that the Communist Party of China is indeed a great, glorious and correct Marxist political party and the force at the core that leads the Chinese people in the incessant efforts to break new ground.

The outstanding achievements in China's revolution, construction and reform are the results of the concerted endeavor of the people of all ethnic groups of the country, the results of endless and unremitting efforts made in modern times by people with lofty ideals, and also the results of the selfless devotion of Chinese Communists of several generations.

We cherish dearly the memory of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun and other late proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who made great contributions to China's revolution, construction and reforms and to the founding, consolidation and development of the Communist Party of China. We cherish dearly the memory of the revolutionary martyrs who sacrificed their lives heroically for the sake of founding, defending and building New China. We cherish dearly the memory of all the pioneers who fought for the independence and liberation of the Chinese nation in modern times. The meritorious feats they performed for the motherland have gone down in history!

The people are the true makers of history. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I would

like to extend salute to the workers, peasants and intellectuals, all democratic parties, people's organizations and patriotic personages in all walks of life and to the People's Liberation Army, the armed police and officers and men of the public security forces throughout the country. My cordial greetings go to our compatriots in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, the Macao Special Administrative Region and Taiwan as well as all overseas Chinese and my heartfelt thanks to the people and friends in all the countries who live on good terms with us and care for and support China's revolution, construction and reforms!

The 80 years of the Communist Party of China are a period in which the Party has integrated Marxism-Leninism with China's practice in constant pursuit of truth and innovation. They are a period in which the Party has worked hard for the liberation of the nation, prosperity of the country and happiness of the people. They are also a period in which the Party has withstood endless tests and grown in strength in the course of accomplishing the historical missions.

**The 80-year practice tells us that it is imperative to persist in integrating the fundamental principles of Marxism with the specific situation in China, persist in taking scientific theories as the guide and unswervingly take our own road.** This is the most essential experience we have drawn from the summing up of our Party's history. Marxism is a powerful ideological weapon for understanding and transforming the world. It serves as a guide to action in our revolution, construction and reforms. Marxism is not a dogma. Only by being correctly applied and constantly developed in practice, does it exhibit great vitality. Guided by the collective leadership of the Party Central Committee of the first and second generations with Comrades Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping at the core respectively, our Party persisted in closely combining the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with China's realities. As a result, Mao Zedong Thought

and Deng Xiaoping Theory came into being. The two great theories constitute Chinese Marxism which embodies the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the fine philosophy of the Chinese nation and the practical experience of the Chinese Communists. It is exactly because we have had the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory that our Party has been able to lead the people in overcoming all hardships and setbacks and winning one victory after another. As the great crystallization of the practical experience and collective wisdom of the Party and people, Deng Xiaoping Theory is the best continuation and creative development of Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions. It has made major contributions to creating a completely new situation in China's cause of socialism. Holding high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory, all the comrades in the Party are continuing to study new situations and solve new problems, working to promote creatively and in an all-round manner the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. To uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in the new historical period, it is vital to use Deng Xiaoping Theory to observe the present-day world and contemporary China, sum up practical experience, come up with new theories and march forward in a pioneering spirit.

**The 80-year practice tells us that it is essential to always rely firmly on the people, work sincerely for their interests and draw inexhaustible strength from them on the road of advance.** Flesh-and-blood ties with the people are a fundamental guarantee for overcoming difficulties and risks and making continuous success in our cause. We should never change the stand of sharing a common lot with the people, forget the purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, and give up the conviction of historical materialism that the people are the real heroes. The Party must always represent the will and interests of the people,

which should be the point of departure and objective of all the work we do. It must always rely on the wisdom and strength of the people, which should be the basic line of work in carrying forward our cause.

**The 80-year practice also teaches us that we must always consciously strengthen and improve Party building, continuously enhance the creativity, rallying power and combat capability of the Party, and always maintain its vigor and vitality.** The key to the success in handling China's affairs well lies in our Party. We must continue to strengthen Party building in light of the development of the situation and in connection with the Party's central tasks. We must be good at summing up experience, uphold the truth, correct mistakes and be modest and prudent. We must have the courage to face up to the problems existing in the ranks of Party members and cadres and resolve them by relying on all Party members and the people. This is where the vigor and vitality of the Party lies. We must continue to press ahead with the new great project of all-round Party building, focusing on the basic issue of what kind of a party to build and how to build it under the new historical conditions so as to address the two major historic subjects of enhancing the Party's ability of exercising state power and art of leadership and resisting corruption and warding off risks.

Reviewing the course of struggle and the basic experience over the past 80 years and looking ahead to the arduous tasks and bright future in the new century, our Party should continue to stand in the forefront of the times and lead the people in marching toward victory. In a word, the Party must always represent the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people in China (hereinafter referred to as the "Three Represents"—Tr.).

## II. CORRECTLY UNDERSTAND AND COMPREHENSIVELY FULFILL THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE "THREE REPRESENTS"

In the new century, the great historical tasks for our Party are to continue with the modernization drive, accomplish the great cause of national reunification, safeguard world peace and promote common development. In face of the profound changes in the domestic and international situations, our Party should follow closely the progressive trends of the world and unite and lead the people of all ethnic groups of the country in seizing opportunities and taking up challenges and accomplishing the three major historical tasks successfully. To this end, we must unswervingly fulfil the requirements of the "Three Represents." The "Three Represents" are the foundation for building the Party, the cornerstone for its exercise of state power and a source of its strength. They are also the fundamental requirements for us to push Party building in an all-round way in the new century, constantly bring forth new ideas in theories, institutions and science and technology, and win fresh victories in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

**In order to always represent the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, it is necessary to bring the Party's theory, line, program, principles, policies and all endeavors of work into line with the law governing the development of the productive forces, give expression to what is required in promoting the release and development of social productive forces, especially in the development of advanced productive forces so that the living standards of the people improve steadily through the development of the productive forces.**

The productive forces are the most dynamic and revolutionary factor. They are the ultimate decisive force of social development.

The contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure constitute the basic social contradiction. The movement of this basic contradiction determines the direction of the changes in the nature of society and the direction of social, economic, political and cultural development. The fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism lies in the difference between their relations of production and superstructures. The establishment and constant improvement of the socialist system has opened up a broad road to the release and development of our country's social productive forces. All relations of production and superstructures, irrespective of their nature, develop with the development of the productive forces. If they fail to keep up with the requirement of the development of the productive forces and thus become obstacles to the development of the productive forces and social progress, readjustments and changes are sure to take place.

We must have a profound understanding of the development trend and requirements of our country's social productive forces, focus on economic development and formulate and implement a correct line, principles and policies and take effective steps to promote the constant development of the advanced productive forces. Only by doing so can we really ensure that our Party always stand in the forefront of the times and maintain its advanced nature.

As the vanguard of the working class, our Party emerged in the historical arena as the representative of China's advanced productive forces at its very inception. The purpose of the new-democratic revolution led by our Party was to revoke the privileges of imperialists in China, eliminate exploitation and oppression by the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, change the comprador and feudal relations of production and the rotten political superstructure built on such an economic base,



put in place a new political superstructure based on the people's democratic dictatorship and smash the shackles that fettered the productive forces. After the founding of New China, we carried out the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and the capitalist industry and commerce in order to establish the socialist relations of production, and, on that economic base, bring the socialist superstructure to perfection so as to further release and expand the productive forces. It is for the same purpose that we have since the Third<sup>1</sup> Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee implemented the reform and opening-up policies to adjust and reform the part of the socialist relations of production that is incompatible with the demand of the development of the productive forces, and that of the socialist superstructure that is incompatible with the economic base. Over the past twenty-plus years, we have, through bold explorations and practice, pushed forward reforms in the economic and political structures and other areas, which has greatly released and developed the country's social productive forces, bringing about tremendous changes in the national economic development and social progress.

The fundamental task of socialism is to develop the productive forces, increase the overall national strength of our socialist country and improve the people's living standards so as to reflect the superiority of socialism over capitalism. In all historical stages of the socialist society, the socialist system needs to improve and develop itself through reforms in response to the demand of the economic and social development. This is the only way to make the socialist system viable and dynamic. All comrades in the Party should firmly uphold the basic concepts about the socialist reform and development and conscientiously participate in them.

The development of human society is a historical process in which the advanced productive forces replace the backward ones. Socialist modernization must be built on the developed produc-

tive forces. The purpose of our efforts for modernization is, in the final analysis, to ensure that our productive forces be developed through reforms and development. All comrades in the Party, no matter what posts they are in, should check and review their work regularly to see whether it conforms to the requirements of the development of the advanced productive forces. If it does, keep working like that. If it does not, correct it where necessary. Only by doing so can the Communists give full expression to their advanced nature and to the spirit of the times.

Man is the most decisive factor in the productive forces. The Chinese working class, including intellectuals, is the basic force for the expansion of the advanced productive forces in China. The peasant class and other laboring people, closely united with the working class, constitute an important force for the development of the country's social productive forces. To raise the ideological and ethical standards and scientific and cultural levels of the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other laboring people and those of the entire population, upgrade their labor skills, increase their capacity for innovations and give full scope to their enthusiasm, initiative and creativity — these should remain the tasks of primary importance that our Party should perform in representing the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces.

Science and technology are the primary productive forces. They are a crystallization and a principal hallmark of the advanced productive forces. The rapid progress in science and technology has given a powerful shove-ahead to the productive forces of the world and the economic and social development of humanity. The future development of science and technology will produce new great leap-forwards. We must be sensitive to this objective trend. We must give full play to the superiority of China's socialist system on the one hand and master, apply and develop advanced science and technology on the other. We must

vigorously promote progress in science and technology and innovation and use advanced science and technology to transform and uplift the national economy so as to achieve a leapfrog expansion of our productive forces. This, too, is an important duty our Party should perform in representing the requirements of the development of the productive forces.

Although we have made tremendous achievements in socialist modernization, the productive forces have generally remained underdeveloped in China which is still at the primary stage of socialism with a large population, a weak foundation and uneven economic and cultural development. To release and develop our productive forces will remain our central task for a long period of time to come. We must develop the advanced productive forces without letup. There still exist some backward modes of production that do not meet the requirements of the development of the advanced productive forces and those of the times. We should neither repel them summarily and unrealistically, nor be content with and protect them. Instead, we should base ourselves on the reality and create conditions for transforming, improving and upgrading these backward modes and, through long-time efforts, gradually make them advanced and viable.

We must, under the guidance of the Party's basic theories, basic line and basic program, stick to and improve the basic economic system with the public ownership playing a dominant role and all forms of ownerships developing side by side; the socialist market system; the diversified distribution system with distribution according to work as the main form; the opening-up program; the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance; the people's congress system and multi-party cooperation and political consultation led by the Communist Party and the system of regional autonomy of ethnic minorities. We should at the same time actively and steadily promote the reform of the political structure

to further expand socialist democracy, run the country according to law and build a socialist state under the rule of law. We will make unremitting efforts to constantly improve the socialist relations of production and superstructure and open up a broader thoroughfare for the release and development of the productive forces.

To ensure that our Party forever represent the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture, it is imperative that the Party's theories, line, program, principles, policies and all its work should orient toward modernization, the world and the future, reflect the requirements of developing a national, scientific and popular socialist culture, serve to upgrade the ideological and ethical standards and scientific and cultural levels of the whole nation and provide spiritual and intellectual support for the economic development and social progress.

Socialist society is one of all-round development and progress. The socialist modernization cause features a mutually supplementary and coordinated development of both material and spiritual civilizations. All comrades in the Party must have a comprehensive mastery of the dialectical relationship between the two civilizations and energetically promote socialist spiritual civilization while advancing material civilization. In contemporary China, to develop an advanced culture means to develop a socialist culture with distinctive Chinese characteristics and build socialist spiritual civilization.

We should have a firm grip on the development trend and requirements of China's advanced culture. We must never deviate from the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory. We should base ourselves on the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, have our eyes on the frontline of the world science and culture, and develop a healthy, progressive, rich and colorful socialist culture

with Chinese styles and characteristics to meet the growing spiritual and cultural needs of the people, and guide people to arming themselves with correct thinking and ideas so as to improve their mental outlook. That is also the fundamental expression and requirement for our Party to remain in the forefront of the times and maintain its advanced nature.

The kind of cultural orientation a political party follows and the kind of culture it promotes constitute its ideological and spiritual banner. Over the past 80 years, our Party has held high the banner of China's advanced culture in its march forward, worked hard to build and carry forward the new culture that reflects the requirements of revolution, development and reform, and cleaned up the old decadent and dying culture which was left over from the old society or infiltrated into China from abroad. As a result, the cadres and masses have been emancipated and greatly encouraged ideologically and mentally, and the Party and the people have a correct guiding ideology and a common ideal which have a great rallying force and reflect unity of will.

The fundamental task of developing a socialist culture is to turn people from generation to generation into citizens with lofty ideals, moral integrity, better education and a good sense of discipline. We should persevere in arming the people with scientific theories, guiding them with correct public opinions, shaping their outlook with noble ideas, and inspiring them with good cultural works. We must uphold and consolidate the status of Marxism as a guiding ideology, help people acquire a correct world outlook, philosophy of life and values, strengthen their belief in Marxism and socialism, build up their confidence in the reform, opening-up and modernization drive, increase their trust in the Party and the Government, and instill into people's mind such ideas as self-reliance, competition, efficiency, democracy, the legal system, and the pioneering and innovative spirit. We should continue to implement the strategy of invigorating the country

through science and education, make education available to more people, improve the quality of education and the educational level of the whole country, and make greater efforts to develop the scientific and cultural undertakings. We should double our efforts for a publicity campaign on scientific knowledge, scientific approaches, scientific thinking and scientific spirit. A vital principle we must follow in developing China's advanced culture is to emphasize the central theme of the socialist culture, persevere in serving the people and socialism, and let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. We should master and develop all kinds of modern means of communication and promote the spreading of the advanced culture.

To promote the socialist ideological and ethical standards constitutes an essential component of and a key link in developing China's advanced culture. We must realize that we would lose the common objective of struggle and reject the accepted code of conduct if we only value material gains and money without thinking of ideals and moral standards. We should combine the rule of law with the rule of virtue in order to lay a lofty ideological and ethical foundation for a good public order and a healthy environment. We should advocate patriotism, collectivism and socialism among all people, combat and resist money worship, hedonism, ultra-egoism and other decadent ideas, enhance the Chinese people's national self-esteem, self-confidence, and the sense of pride, and inspire them to work unremittingly for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

The socialist culture has become dominant in China. Because of the past and present reasons, however, there still exist some backward cultural phenomena in China such as superstition, ignorance, decadence and vulgarity, or even decadent cultural phenomena that corrode people's mind and jeopardize the socialist cause. We should try to eliminate backward culture, prevent and resolutely resist the corrosion by the decadent culture and

erroneous ideas, and gradually reduce and remove the soil breeding the culture and ideas, through better policies, systems, education and management, and by changing prevailing customs and habits.

In developing the socialist culture, we must carry on and develop all the fine cultures, fully reflect the spirit of the times and creativity, and have the world perspective in a bid to enhance our inspiring capacity. We must inherit and develop the fine cultural traditions of the Chinese nation, the revolutionary cultural traditions the Party and the people have nurtured since the May 4th Movement (1919), and all the advanced civilization achievements mankind has ever created. With regard to the rich cultural legacies left over from China's history of several thousand years, we should discard the dross, keep the essence, and carry forward and develop it in the spirit of the times in order to make the past serve the present. At the same time, we must, in light of the new practices and requirements of the times and to satisfy people's needs for spiritual and cultural life, promote cultural innovations, flourish the advanced culture and get hundreds of millions of people closely around the great banner of the socialist culture with Chinese characteristics.

**To ensure that our Party always represent the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, our Party must, in all its work, theories, line, program, principles and policies, always take the fundamental interests of the people as the starting point and purpose, bring into full play the people's enthusiasm, initiative and creativity, and ensure the people continued tangible economic, political and cultural benefits on the basis of steady social development and progress.**

Our Party serves the people heart and soul, runs the Party for the public good and holds office for the people. This is the fundamental difference between our Party and all political parties of

the exploiting classes. We must at all times respect both the law of social development and the people's status as the principal part in history, encourage efforts both for lofty ideals and for the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, and stress both accomplishing the Party's tasks and serving the people's interests.

All the endeavors our Party has made over the past 80 years are, in the final analysis, for the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. During the revolutionary wartime, our Party called on all its members to fight bravely, fear no sacrifice, and advance wave upon wave for the victory of revolution. After New China was founded, the Party exhorted all its members to remain modest and prudent, guard against conceit and impetuosity, and forever carry forward the hard-working revolutionary spirit. In the new historical era, the Party demands that all its members withstand the test of reform, opening-up and being in power, and lead the people in working hard for the realization of socialist modernization. All this is aimed at materializing, safeguarding and developing the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people and furthermore enabling the Party to maintain its blood-and-flesh contacts with the people.

The overall interests of the people are always composed of specific interests of the people from different quarters. All of our policies, measures and work should correctly reflect the relationships of various interests and help properly handle them. We should take into consideration and look after the interests of the people from different social strata and circles. However, to satisfy the interests and demands of the overwhelming majority of the people is the most important and should be given top priority. This has always been vital to the overall interests of keeping the Party in power, the country's economic, political and cultural development, the unity among the people of different ethnic groups and social stability. The interests of the overwhelming



majority of the people are the vital and most decisive factor. This is a fundamental viewpoint of Marxism and leading organs and cadres at different levels must fully realize it and earnestly put it into practice.

Our Party has always adhered to the principle of putting the interests of the people above everything else. Apart from the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, the Party does not have any special interests of its own. All the Party's work must take the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people as the supreme criteria. All comrades in the Party should always uphold the basic viewpoint that they should do everything for the people and by relying on the people. We should adhere to the mass line of the Party by going down to the people at the grass-roots level to hear their views, reflect their will and pool their wisdom, so that all our policy decisions thus made and our work may conform to the reality and the demands of the masses. All cadres who are Party members must properly assume and exercise the power truly on behalf of the people, and in no way should they be allowed to abuse power for personal gains or form any vested interest groups. In the process of attaining the common prosperity of the people across the country, cadres who are Party members must correctly handle the relationships between becoming well-off early and late, and between individual prosperity and common prosperity. All leading Party cadres should be concerned about the country and the people before anything else; should be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy themselves; should support and help others first instead of only thinking about how to get rich themselves. The last thing they should do is to abuse power for unlawful interests. Leading cadres at all levels should always keep in mind the security and wellbeing of the people, show concern for their sufferings, and try hard to do useful and good things for them. Leading organs and leading cadres at all levels should pay particular attention

to those who have encountered temporary difficulties in their work and life, put their problems on the top of the agenda for special consideration and solution and make proper arrangements for their employment and daily life. Only by taking good care of and serving the masses well, can we maintain the blood-and-flesh links with the people and remain invincible.

**Representing the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, representing the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture and representing the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people are interrelated and mutually supportive. They thus constitute an integral whole.** To develop the advanced productive forces is a basic condition for developing an advanced culture and ensuring the people their fundamental interests. The people are the main force for creating the advanced productive forces and culture and the fundamental force for realizing their own interests. To ceaselessly develop the advanced productive forces and culture is, in the final analysis, aimed at meeting the growing material and cultural needs of the people and continuously realizing the fundamental interests of the people.

The requirements of the "Three Represents" are essential if our Party wishes to maintain its advanced nature and always remain the strong leading core in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. These requirements are consistent with the need of the Party to uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory, and adhere to its nature of being the vanguard of the working class and its purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly. All comrades in the Party must unswervingly and comprehensively implement the requirements of the "Three Represents" in every aspect of the Party building and in the entire process of the Party leading the people in the reform, opening-up and socialist modernization.

### III. STRENGTHEN AND IMPROVE THE PARTY BUILDING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE "THREE REPRESENTS"

To rally the 1.2 billion and more people behind the socialist modernization drive in a large and multi-ethnic developing country like China, it is a must to have the strong leadership of the Communist Party of China. Otherwise, the country will fall into a mess and break up. It will not only fail to realize its modernization but also sink into a chaotic abyss. This is a conclusion drawn by reviewing the modern history of China's development and after analyzing the experiences and lessons of many countries in their development course.

To uphold the Party's leadership calls for improving its leadership. We must follow the basic theory and line of the Party, and strengthen and improve Party building in an overall and profound manner and in accordance with the requirements of the "Three Represents." This will enable our Party always to be in the forefront of the times in the historical process in which profound changes are taking place in the international situation, to maintain its role as the mainstay of the people of the whole country in the historical process of facing up to all kinds of risks and tests at home and abroad, and to remain the strong leading core in the historical process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

After 80 years of development, great changes have taken place in membership, status, environment and tasks of the Party. Our Party has evolved from one that led the people in the fight for seizing the power nationwide to one that has led the people in exercising the state power and to a party in power for a long period of time. It has developed from one that led the national reconstruction under external blockade to one going for all-round reform and opening-up. The number of new Party mem-

bers has increased by a big margin, while cadres of a younger generation have been replacing the older ones, and a large number of young cadres have taken leading positions. This has injected new vitality in and given new challenges, as well, to the growth of the Party.

All comrades in the Party should proceed from the new realities and, in the spirit of reform, study and solve major theoretical and practical issues in Party building, so as to enable it to retain its progressiveness and purity, and be full of creativity, cohesiveness and fighting power.

**To meet the requirements of the "Three Represents," we must uphold the Party's ideological line of emancipating our minds and seeking truth from facts. We must carry forward and promote the truth-seeking, realistic and innovative spirit. We must go about all the work of the Party and the state creatively and keep enriching and developing Marxism in practice.**

Marxism is the fundamental guiding principle for the consolidation of the Party and the development of the country. It also constitutes the common theoretical foundation of the concerted efforts of the people of all ethnic groups. The fundamental tenets of Marxism must never be abandoned, otherwise we would get lost or come to failure in the pursuit of our cause due to a lack of a correct theoretical basis and ideological soul. That explains why we must always uphold the basic tenets of Marxism. In terms of theory, Marxism develops with the advance of the times. If we dogmatically cling to some individual theses and specific programs of action formulated for a special situation by authors of Marxist classics under the specific historical conditions in spite of the changes in historical conditions and present realities, we will have difficulty in forging ahead smoothly and we may even make mistakes because our thinking is divorced from reality. That is one reason why we have remained opposed to

dogmatism toward the theory of Marxism. Our Party made mistakes and even suffered serious setbacks in some historical periods. The most important cause for that was the fact that the guiding ideology of the Party was divorced from Chinese reality at the time. It was after our Party restored and upheld the ideological line of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts that the Party corrected its mistakes, overcame its setbacks and forged ahead triumphantly by relying on the strengths of itself and the people. The experience and lessons our Party has in this regard have been reviewed systematically in its *Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party* and *Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China*. These are something that we must never forget. All comrades in the Party must uphold the scientific principles and spirit of Marxism, put changes in the right perspective and sum up fresh experience that people have gained from practice, so as to constantly enrich and develop the theory of Marxism.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Comrades Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping were all shining examples of integrating theory with practice and of making theoretical innovations. Marx and Engels carried out extensive studies of the theoretical literature of their predecessors, critically assimilated their theoretical achievements and came up with their own theories far better than those of their predecessors. They had thus created a scientific thinking system for the liberation movement of the proletariat and mankind as a whole. Lenin shed light on the law concerning the imbalance in the economic and political development in the capitalist world. He came to the conclusion that the socialist revolution could succeed first in one or several countries and he led the October Revolution to victory. Integrating the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the specific conditions of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong originated the theory of the new-democratic revolution with which he guided

the Chinese revolution toward victory and led the Chinese people onto the road to socialism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping reviewed the negative and positive experience in the development of socialism in China and abroad, and formulated the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, which has ushered China into a new period of vigorous development of the socialist cause.

The history of Marxism fully shows that emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts are the powerful driving force behind great social progress. As social practice is a continuous process, we should keep renewing our ideas and be courageous in and good at making innovations in light of practical needs. We should take practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, subject ourselves to the guidance of the Party's basic theory, proceed from reality in everything we do and free ourselves on our own from outdated notions, practices and systems, from the erroneous and dogmatic interpretations of Marxism and from the shackles of subjectivism and metaphysics. We should adopt a scientific approach and make bold explorations in order that we think and act more in line with the objective reality, China's conditions in the primary stage of socialism, and the development of the times.

Our Party has a history of 80 years. It has had the great practice of creating and developing Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory. It has historical experience, both positive and negative and both Chinese and foreign, in developing socialism. We will be able to make fresh contributions to enriching and developing Marxism as long as we remain in the forefront of the times, base ourselves on new practice, try to understand the characteristics of the times, study major issues of immediate importance in accordance with the basic theory of Marxism, deepen our understanding of the laws governing the rule of the country by the Communist Party and the development of socialism and human society, and draw upon all scientific and new experience, thoughts and achievements.

To meet the requirements of the "Three Represents," we must uphold the Party's nature of being the vanguard of the working class and make sure it remain advanced. At the same time, in light of economic development and social progress, we must constantly consolidate the class foundation of the Party, expand its popular support and increase its social influence.

The Chinese working class is a product of China's social development, particularly the expansion of large-scale, socialized production since modern times. It has a strong sense of organization and discipline and is staunch and thoroughgoing in revolution. The Communist Party of China has identified itself as a political party of the Chinese working class ever since its founding and has remained the vanguard of the working class, which has laid a solid class foundation for maintaining its advanced nature.

With the development of reform, opening-up and modernization, the working class in China has expanded steadily. The qualities of the working class have improved markedly in terms of their political awareness, moral standards, and scientific, technical and educational level. It has become more progressive. All this has made the Party's class basis more solid. With intellectuals being part of the working class, the scientific, technical and educational level of the working class has been raised considerably. Now we have adopted the basic economic system under which public ownership plays a dominant role in the national economy while other forms of ownership develop side by side. We are shaping a socialist market economy and introducing strategic readjustments to the economic structure. Consequently some workers have changed their jobs. But this has not changed the status of the Chinese working class. On the contrary, this will serve to improve the overall quality of the working class and give play to its advantages as a group in the long run. The Chinese

working class has always been the basic force for promoting the advanced productive forces in China. Our Party must remain the vanguard of the working class and unswervingly and wholeheartedly rely on the working class.

The main criterion to judge the nature of a political party is its theory and program. If it is Marxist and represents the correct orientation of social development and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, the party is an advanced one and the vanguard of the working class. Our Party is a product of integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese workers' movement. The emergence of the working class is an essential condition for founding the Party. During the period of democratic revolution, given the social conditions then, most of our Party members came from peasants and other laborers, quite a few from intellectuals and some from other revolutionaries of non-laborers' background. But the theory and program of our Party were Marxist and represented the correct orientation of China's social development. Our Party attached great importance to building up the Party ideologically and persisted in educating and arming all Party members with Marxist theory. It required Party members to join the Party not just organizationally, but first of all ideologically. It gave them guidance as to how to achieve the Party's program and tasks. All these enabled the Party to keep its nature of being the vanguard of the working class.

Since China adopted the policy of reform and opening up, the composition of China's social strata has changed to some extent. There are, among others, entrepreneurs and technical personnel employed by scientific and technical enterprises of the non-public sector, managerial and technical staff employed by foreign-funded enterprises, the self-employed, private entrepreneurs, employees in intermediaries and free-lance professionals. Moreover, many people frequently move from one ownership, sector or place to another, changing their jobs or capacity from



time to time. This trend of developments will continue. Under the guidance of the Party's line, principles and policies, most of these people in the new social strata have contributed to the development of productive forces and other undertakings in the socialist society through honest labor and work or lawful business operations. They join workers, farmers, intellectuals, cadres and PLA officers and men in an effort to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. They, too, have made contributions to this cause.

To build socialism with Chinese characteristics is a great and arduous cause. It calls for the worthy people from all sectors who are loyal to the motherland and socialism to take action and lead other people in pushing forward this cause. The main criteria to admit a person into the Party are whether he or she works hard wholeheartedly for the implementation of the Party's line and program and meets the requirements for the Party membership. The basic components and backbone of the Party are those from workers, farmers, intellectuals, servicemen and cadres. At the same time, it is also necessary to accept those outstanding elements from other sectors of the society who have subscribed to the Party's program and Constitution, worked for the Party's line and program wholeheartedly, and proved to meet the requirements for the Party membership through a long period of tests. We should enhance the ethical standards and political awareness of our Party members through Party education. This will greatly increase the influence and cohesiveness of the Party in the society at large.

The theory on labor and labor value in a capitalist society advanced by authors of Marxist classics brings to light the operational features of the capitalist mode of production and its basic contradictions at that time. At present, we are putting in place a socialist market economy. But the conditions we are faced with are quite different from those the founders of Marxism faced and

studied. In light of the new conditions, we should make a thorough study of the theory on labor and labor value in a socialist society with a view to achieving a better understanding of this theory. It is our fundamental objective of building socialism to ensure our people their prosperity and wellbeing. With economic development, our people will live a better life and their personal property will increase gradually. In view of this, it is not advisable to judge a person's political orientation simply by whether he or she owns property or how much property he or she owns. But rather, we should judge him or her mainly by his or her political awareness, moral integrity and performance, by how he or she has acquired the property, and how it has been disposed of and used, and by his or her actual contribution to the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

**To meet the requirements of the "Three Represents," we must adhere to democratic centralism, establish and improve the scientific leadership system and working mechanism, give full scope to inner-Party democracy, resolutely safeguard the centralism and unity of the Party, and maintain and continue to enhance its vitality.**

Democratic centralism is our Party's fundamental system of organization and leadership. Our basic requirement and objectives of upholding and improving democratic centralism are to create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness in the Party.

It is imperative to promote inner-Party democracy and give full play to the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the Party members and Party organizations at all levels. This is an important guarantee for the success of the Party cause. We should take effective measures to ensure Party members their democratic rights, broaden channels for inner-Party democracy and increase their knowledge of and involvement in Party affairs. All major

issues in relation to the Party work must be addressed through discussions among Party members and after hearing their views fully. Effective mechanisms should be set up to make sure that all ideas and suggestions of Party members at the grass-roots level or in Party organizations at a lower level can promptly reach those at a higher level. The Party organizations at a higher level should fully enlist the views of Party members and Party organizations at a lower level so as to ensure that their decisions be made through a more scientific and democratic process. In accordance with the principles of collective leadership, democratic centralism, case-specific consultations, and decision through meetings, we should improve the internal deliberation and decision-making mechanism of Party committees, give play to the role of plenary sessions of Party committees, and improve the decision-making procedures of standing committees of Party committees. All the major policy decisions of a Party committee must be made through discussions by the committee and nobody should be allowed to have the final say alone. We should improve the system of division of work and individual responsibility under the collective leadership by Party committees for greater efficiency. Neither collective leadership nor individual responsibility should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. We should vigorously promote people's democracy through the development of inner-Party democracy.

We should strengthen and improve the leadership system of the Party and come up with better leadership and governance modalities in accordance with the principles of stressing the overall interests while coordinating those of all quarters concerned. The purpose is to ensure the role of Party committees as the core of leadership while giving full scope to the functions of the people's congresses, central and local governments, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), non-governmental organizations and others. Party committees should

strengthen their leadership over the people's congresses, governments, the CPPCC and non-governmental organizations through rational, standardized and institutionalized mechanisms. Meanwhile, the Party leading groups and Party members who hold leading positions in these institutions and organizations must implement, without any hesitation, the line, principles and policies of the Party and the decisions of Party committees while performing their duties in accordance with law. Leading officials at all levels must firmly put into practice the guiding principles and arrangements of the Party Central Committee.

All Party members should enhance their awareness of the principle of democratic centralism and implement the principle to the letter, and at the same time improve their ability to do so. It is important to learn leadership skills, ways and means that are called for in fulfilling the new tasks under the new situation, and combine the adherence to the Party's leadership with the promotion of people's democracy, performance of duties strictly in keeping with law and respect for objective law. Institution of better systems is vital as it bears on the overall and long-term interests and defies constant changes. It is essential to improve the systems underlying democratic centralism, and ameliorate the leadership systems and working mechanisms of the Party so as to provide institutional safeguards for the correct implementation of the principle of democratic centralism. We must resolutely resist the impact of Western political models such as the multi-party system or separation of powers among the executive, legislative and judicial branches. We should firmly avoid making arbitrary decisions and taking peremptory actions in violation of democratic centralism on the one hand, and weak and incompetent leadership on the other.

With progress in the reform, opening-up and development of a socialist market economy, the social fabrics, economic composition, forms of organization, means of employment, interests of

different sectors, and modalities of distribution have increasingly diversified. We should be sober-minded about this and pay attention to the trend. Otherwise, our country would be deprived of cohesiveness. Thus it is vital to uphold the centralized leadership and unity of the Party and the state and safeguard the authority of the Party Central Committee. The guiding principles, development goals, major policies, legal system and important work arrangements, among others, of the Party and the state must be consistent and centralized. No localities, departments and institutions should go their own way. The grass-roots organizations of the Party, which underpin the work of the Party and its effectiveness, should constantly work on their self-improvement in response to the new situation and new tasks.

**To meet the requirements of the "Three Represents," we should implement, in an all-round manner, the principle of fostering a contingent of more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent cadres and that of giving equal importance to both professional competence and political integrity. We should deepen the reform of personnel system so as to produce a contingent of high-caliber officials who are capable of assuming important responsibilities and withstanding the test of trials and tribulations.**

Cadres are a decisive factor, once a political line is decided upon. It is all the more important to bring forth leading officials who are more politically-minded and good at leading the Party and ruling the country and who pay attention to overall interests. A large number of high-caliber leading officials hold the key to the consolidation and development of China's socialism and its continued prosperity amidst the fierce international competition.

We should adhere to the principle of the Party assuming the responsibility for cadres' affairs, improve personnel management, accelerate the reform of personnel system and manage our hu-

man resources in a more scientific, democratic and systematic manner. We should make our human resources management more transparent and ensure people their access to information about cadre selection and appointment, and their right to participate in and monitor the process. In this regard, the principle of appointment and promotion through open and fair competition on the basis of merits should be upheld, and measures to this effect should be adopted so as to encourage officials to work harder and get them prepared for both promotion and demotion. We should improve the supervision of appointment and promotion of officials, and the system and methods for their performance assessment. Resolute measures should be taken to prevent and redress malpractice in the appointment and promotion of officials.

The training of young cadres is a strategic task that will ensure the long-term stability of the Party and the state. In order to assume leadership responsibilities, young officials must increase their understanding of Marxism, enhance their political integrity, and improve their capacity for serving the people. They must be good at making a correct judgment of the situation and the overall interests from a political perspective, and must know how to work under complicated conditions. Party committees at all levels should help and encourage young leaders to temper themselves in harsh conditions or in the forefront of important tasks, and make arrangements for this accordingly.

The advance of our times and development of our undertakings determine that the Party and the state need more and more talented people of various kinds. We must lose no time in training professionals of all kinds, providing them with incentives and giving full play to their capabilities. Further efforts should be made to create in the whole Party and society a favorable atmosphere where there is respect for knowledge and talent, and where outstanding people can easily come to the fore. Leading officials

should have the insight to spot talents, the resolve to use them, the passion to love them and the ways to attract them, and should know how to bring out the best in their subordinates and how to call people of talent to the service of the Party and the state. They should, with lofty ideals and spirit, guide and inspire various talented people to render meritorious service to the state and the people. At the same time, leading officials should care for and trust people of talent and do their best to create good working conditions for these people. It is necessary to expedite the establishment of an income distribution mechanism which is designed to keep the talented and bring out the best in them so as to put in place a system which guarantees that their rewards are commensurate with their endeavors and contributions. We should, through our work on all fronts, create a climate in which people of talent will come forward in large numbers.

**To meet the requirements of the “Three Represents,” we must adhere to the principle that the Party must handle Party affairs well and must enforce strict discipline. Party organizations at all levels must be strict with their Party members who are cadres in respect of requirements, education, administration and supervision and be firm in rooting out the negative phenomena and corruption existing within the Party.**

Adherence to this principle is an important guarantee for the maintenance of the Party's progressiveness and purity and for the consolidation of its status as the ruling party. Without good Party building, there will be no successful governance. So we must be strict in Party discipline. We should have a deeper understanding of the loss of political power by some Communist Parties in the world that had long been ruling parties and learn a lesson from them. The longer the Party is in power, the more necessary it is for the Party to strengthen self-improvement, and the stricter it should be with its members and cadres.

The principle of being strict with Party members must be implemented in Party building in ideological, political and organizational fields as well as work style and must be truly reflected in all the aspects of education, management and supervision of Party organizations at all levels, all the Party members and cadres. All the Party organizations and members should act in strict compliance with the Party Constitution and other regulations of the Party and observe Party discipline to the letter. Leading cadres at all levels should maintain a high degree of self-discipline, self-examination, self-caution and self-motivation, and should always attach importance to study, political awareness and integrity. They should often use criticism and self-criticism as a weapon in waging active ideological struggles and adhere to truth while rectifying mistakes. Party organizations at all levels should strengthen their capability of dissolving their own contradictions, face up to and settle existing problems and never avoid or whitewash them.

The Party's work style bears on the image of the Party, the trend of popular support and the survival of the Party. It is essential to strengthen in an all-round way the development of the Party's ideological style, study style, work style, leadership style and the cadres' life style. In light of the new realities, it is necessary to carry forward the Party's fine style, namely, integration of theory with practice, close link with the people and criticism and self-criticism. In the meantime, it is necessary to foster a new style on the basis of summing up new and practical experiences. All practices that run counter to the requirement of the development of the Party's cause or the interests of the people should be resolutely eliminated. At present, special attention should be paid to overcoming the state of lethargy and of seeking no progress, doing away with the grave alienation from the people and standing firmly against the unhealthy tendency of formalism and bureaucracy. Cadres at all levels must be results-oriented in their work at all times and, on all occasions, work creatively, think and



worry about what the people think and worry about, and work faithfully for the good of the people.

All comrades in the Party must fully realize that to combat corruption and build a clean government are vital for the survival of our Party. We must carry to the end the development of the Party's work style, the building of a clean government and the fight against corruption. In this connection, it is essential to have a profound understanding of the long-term, arduous and complex nature of the work against corruption. Not only is it necessary to be prepared for protracted battles, but also intensify our efforts to address the current issues. We should adhere to the integrated approach in combating corruption, addressing both its symptoms and root cause and build a solid protective dam ideologically against corruption and its erosion. At the same time, we should strive to remove the soil and conditions breeding corruption through creative institutional measures and work harder to prevent and address corruption at its root. The power in our hands is given by the people. Cadres at all levels are public servants of the people and must be subjected to the supervision by the people and the law. We should, through enhanced supervision within the Party, by the law and by the people, establish and improve mechanisms that will restrict and supervise the exercise of power in accordance with law. It is imperative to strengthen the supervision over leading cadres and ensure that they exercise their power appropriately. All the Party members, leading cadres in particular, must always be clean and honest and have a strong moral integrity. They must be able to withstand the test of reform, opening-up and being in power, as well as the test of power, money and sex temptation. They will by no means be allowed to abuse power for personal gains, take bribes or bend the law. Party organizations and leading cadres at all levels must take a clear stand to oppose corruption. All cases of corruption must be brought to light and all corrupt elements

brought to justice without tolerance or lenience. The Party is no safe haven for corrupt elements within the Party. We must win the people's confidence with tangible achievements in the building of the Party's style and of a clean government.

All in all, in view of the heavy historical responsibility upon our shoulder and given the impact of international and domestic complexities as well as the test of various risks, it is imperative to constantly strengthen and improve the Party building and temper all Party members into firm Communists. This will enable our Party to forever remain the vanguard of the Chinese working class and that of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation as well, faithfully represent the requirements of the development of China's advanced productive forces, the orientation of the development of China's advanced culture, and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, and serve as the leadership core for the Chinese socialist cause.

#### IV. CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR THE FULFILLMENT OF THE BASIC LINE AND HISTORIC MISSION OF THE PARTY

China has entered a new development stage of building a well-to-do society in the whole country and accelerating the socialist modernization drive. All comrades in the Party must be mindful of danger and stay prepared for adversities in times of peace, guard against conceit and impetuosity, continue to push for overall progress in reform, opening-up and the modernization drive and make vigorous efforts to roughly achieve socialist modernization by the middle of this century.

The program of a political party is a banner. In every historical stage, be it one of revolution, reconstruction or reform, our Party has never failed to have both a basic program for a given

stage, namely, the minimum program, and the maximum program of long-term objectives. We believe in the unity of the minimum and maximum programs.

We firmly believe in the basic Marxist tenet that human society will inevitably move toward communism. Communism can only be realized on the basis of a fully developed and highly advanced socialist society. In the communist society, there will be abundant material wealth, and people will have a very high realm of thought and be able to develop themselves freely and in an all-round way. It must be pointed out, though, that the realization of communism will be an extremely protracted historical process. In the past, our understanding of this issue was quite superficial and simplistic. As a result of so many years of practice, our understanding of the issue today is much more comprehensive and profound. We may make scientific predictions about the direction in which human society may evolve in the future. But as for how things will develop specifically, the answer to this question should come from practice. We must never deviate from the correct course of progress, but it is neither possible nor necessary to envisage or describe in great details the development course in the distant future. The past experience has fully proved that it will easily lead to fantastic illusion. This is something that everyone ought to know full well.

All comrades in the Party should set up a lofty communist ideal, fortify their conviction and spur themselves on by holding to high ideological and moral standards. More importantly, they should make unremitting efforts in a down-to-earth manner to realize the Party's basic program for the current stage and put their heart into each single piece of work now. To care about the immediate interests only while forgetting the lofty ideal will result in the loss of the direction of progress. But to talk big about the lofty ideal without doing any practical work will get one divorced from reality.

China is now in the primary stage of socialism and will remain so for a long time to come. This is the initial stage of the long historical process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Along with economic development and all-round social progress, the building of socialism in China will enter a higher stage of development when conditions are ripe. All comrades must unswervingly implement the Party's basic line for the primary stage of socialism, consistently concentrate on economic development, stick to the Four Cardinal Principles (adherence to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought – Tr.), press ahead with reform and opening-up, strive for the realization of the basic program of the Party for the present stage and constantly advance the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics into the future.

In keeping with the economic, political and cultural requirements of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, all comrades in the Party and all people in the country should strive to achieve the development goals set for the 10th Five-Year Plan. We should focus on development through economic restructuring and by relying on reform, opening-up and scientific and technological progress with a view to improving people's living standards and constantly pushing for economic growth and social progress. Efforts should be made to properly balance the relations among reform, development and stability, correctly understand and handle the contradictions among the people and always maintain social stability and unity.

All undertakings to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, and in fact, everything that we do should aim not just at meeting people's immediate material and cultural needs, but also at improving the qualities of the people or achieving their all-round development. This is the essential requirement of Marxism regarding the building of a new socialist society. We will con-

stantly advance the all-round development of human beings based on a higher level of the material and spiritual civilization of the socialist society.

Efforts must be made to enable all people across the country to lead a well-to-do life as soon as possible and to continue to uplift their living standards. The Party's policy of helping the people get prosperous must be adhered to. On the basis of economic growth, efforts should be made to increase income for urban and rural residents, constantly improve their living conditions, including food, clothing, housing, transport and daily necessities, improve the social security system, and medical and health facilities, with a view to bettering their life. When some people and some regions get rich first, others will be brought along and through this process, common prosperity of the entire population will be gradually achieved.

It is essential to give full play to the initiative and great creativity of the general public and ensure that they properly manage their affairs according to law and realize their aspirations and interests. It is necessary to continue to press ahead with the political restructuring, develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and ensure the full exercise by the people of their rights to democratic election, decision-making, administration and supervision.

Efforts should be made to upgrade the ideological and ethical standards of the entire people, improve their cultural and scientific levels and bring about an all-round development of their ideology and cultural life. We should conduct effective political education, develop education, science and technology, enliven socialist culture and ensure each and every individual full access to education and cultural achievements so as to enrich their spiritual ethos and diversify their cultural life.

It is necessary to enhance balance and harmony between man and nature so that people can work and live in a sound and beau-

tiful ecological environment. We will adhere to the strategy of sustainable development and correctly handle the relations between economic development on the one hand and population, resources and the environment on the other, improve the ecosystem and beautify the living environment, and improve public and social welfare facilities. We will try to pioneer a path of civilized development featuring a thriving economy, an affluent life and a sound eco-system.

To advance an all-round development of man is the precondition for and the basis of boosting economic and cultural development and improving the material life of the people, and vice versa. The more comprehensively people develop, the more material and cultural wealth they will create for society and the better their life will be. Conversely, the more adequate the material and cultural life is, the better man will achieve his all-round development. The development of social productive forces, the economy and culture is a historical process of gradual and endless progress. All-round human development, too, is a historical process of gradual and endless progress. The two processes should interact and help each other forward.

Given the new situation, we must continue, on the basis of economic development, to press ahead with the modernization of our national defense and armed forces, and build up defense capability with a view to safeguarding state security and national unity. It is essential to adhere to the fundamental principle of the Party's absolute leadership over the army. We should meet the general requirements of building armed forces that are "qualified politically and competent militarily and that have a fine style of work, strict discipline and adequate logistic support," and follow the military strategy for the new era as our overriding guideline. We should stress the quality of army-building and strengthen our armed forces by relying on science and technology and run the army according to law in an effort to build the People's Libera-

tion Army (PLA) into a strong, modern and revolutionary regular army. We should strengthen the building of national defense reserves, develop the science, technology and industry of national defense and improve the system of national defense mobilization. We should also continue to consolidate and reinforce the unity between the army and the government, and that between the army and the people.

Comrades and Friends,

Ever since its founding, the Chinese Communist Party has all along held high the great banner of patriotism and waged an epic struggle for the unity and rejuvenation of the country. Since New China came into being, the Chinese Communists of several generations have all made unremitting efforts toward the complete reunification of our motherland. Under the principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems," we have successfully resolved the questions of Hong Kong and Macao, both left over from history, and are working hard to seek an early solution to the question of Taiwan and to accomplish the great cause of national reunification. The status of Taiwan as a part of China shall in no way be allowed to change. The Chinese Communists are rock firm in their resolve to safeguard state sovereignty and territorial integrity. While we do have the greatest sincerity to work for a peaceful reunification, we cannot and will not undertake to renounce the use of force. We are fully capable of checking any attempt to split China by seeking Taiwan's "independence." It is the bounden duty of the Chinese Communists to end the state of separation between Taiwan and China's mainland and achieve the complete reunification of China. Here I appeal to all our compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits and to those overseas: Let's unite and fight against separatism and continue to bring forward the cross-Straits relations and the process of peaceful reunification of the motherland. The complete national reunification represents the aspirations of the people and is

a historical trend that no one and no force can stop.

Comrades and Friends,

The world needs peace. The people want cooperation. Nations aspire for development. Society seeks progress. This is the trend of our times. In the last century, mankind underwent the scourge of two world wars and endured the hardships of the Cold War and confrontation, thus paying a heavy price. Nobody in China or in any other country wishes to see any new hot war or cold war or turmoil break out in any part of the world, pursuit of neo-hegemonism and power politics by any country or group of countries and widening of the development gap between North and South or the gap between the rich and the poor. The people of China and the rest of the world all long for a lasting world peace and for a stable and peaceful life. They aspire for a new international political and economic order and for democracy in international relations. They yearn for common development and prosperity for all and are willing to work together for a better future.

Peace and development are the themes of our times. World multi-polarization and economic globalization are developing despite twists and turns. Science and technology are advancing rapidly. Competition in terms of overall national strength is becoming increasingly fierce. New and profound changes are taking place in the world alignment of forces and the distribution of interests. Up to now, both questions of peace and development remain to be resolved. The world we live in is still far from tranquil. Peace and development complement each other. World peace is the precondition for enhanced common development of all countries whereas such common development is an important basis for the preservation of world peace. The questions of peace and development are in essence the question of North and South. If developed countries can effectively support and assist developing countries in their economic and cultural development



under the principle of equality, fairness, reciprocity and mutual benefit and help the latter shake off poverty and backwardness as soon as possible, there will be an important foundation for achieving peace and development.

Along with all the peace- and freedom-loving people in the world, the Communist Party and people of China have always worked for the lofty cause of promoting world peace and development. In the world's great struggle against Fascism, in the sacred cause of the Asian, African and Latin American people fighting for national independence and liberation, and in the tireless efforts to promote the establishment of a fair and rational new international order, we have always stood on the side of justice and worked in unity with the people of all countries and all the progressive forces in the world.

In the new century, the Communist Party and Government of China stand ready to join hands with all countries and peoples who love peace and crave for development and progress so as to secure an international environment of lasting peace in a common endeavor to push forward the wheel of history toward the magnificent goal.

The purposes of China's foreign policy are to safeguard world peace and promote common development. We adhere to an independent foreign policy of peace. We have carried out friendly exchanges and mutually beneficial cooperation with all countries and treated one another as equals on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in a ceaseless effort to advance the cause of human progress. The Chinese Communist Party will, under the principles of independence, complete equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, conduct extensive exchanges and strengthen cooperation with all political parties and organizations in the world and further promote friendship between the peoples and development of relations between states.

We have all along maintained that countries should abide by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and the universally recognized basic norms governing international relations, that the affairs of a country should be decided by the government and people of that country and that matters in the world should be handled by the governments and people of all countries through consultations on the basis of equality. We oppose hegemonism and power politics of all forms. The international community needs to set up a new security concept with mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and collaboration at its core and work to create a peaceful international environment of long-term stability and security. Countries should step up their economic and technical exchanges and cooperation and gradually transform the inequitable and irrational international economic order so that all will win and coexist as a result of economic globalization.

Our world is diversified and colorful. The diversity of civilizations is the basic feature of human society and also the driving force behind the progress of human civilization. Respect should be given to the history, culture, social system and model of development of each individual country. Diversity of the world is a reality that should be recognized. Different civilizations and social systems should enjoy long-term coexistence and draw upon and benefit from each other in the process of competition and comparison and achieve common development while seeking common ground and shelving differences. We will continue to work with the people of all countries for a world of lasting peace and universal prosperity.

Comrades and Friends!

Every struggle that the Chinese people fought during the one hundred years from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century was for the sake of achieving independence of our country and liberation of our nation and putting an end to the history of national humiliation once and for all. This great historic cause has already

been accomplished. All endeavors by the Chinese people for the one hundred years from the mid-20th to the mid-21st century are for the purpose of making our motherland strong, the people prosperous and the nation immensely rejuvenated. Our Party has led the entire Chinese people in carrying forward this historic cause for fifty years and made tremendous progress, and it will successfully attain the objective through hard work in the coming fifty years.

The young people of all ethnic groups in China represent the future of our country and nation and the hope for prosperity and development of our cause. It calls for your efforts, young people, to accomplish the grand cause of socialist modernization and the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The Party and people have ardent expectations of you. It is hoped that you love your country and your people, have a high aim and a broad vision and give full play to your intelligence and wisdom on the broad arena of reform, opening-up and the modernization drive. You will demonstrate the value of your life and work hard to achieve feats that will live up to the expectations of the people and the times.

All that we have achieved has gone down in the annals of history. There is still a long way to go. The realization of truth is a process of continued progress, so is the changing of the world. We shall work unremittingly in pursuit of truth and fight for truth. Under no circumstances should comrades of the Party stand still and refuse to move forward, nor should they fear hardship and difficulties. All comrades must closely unite with the people of all ethnic groups in China and strive to build our great motherland into a strong, prosperous, democratic and culturally advanced modern socialist country so as to make new and even greater contributions to humanity.

Long live our great motherland!

Long live the great Chinese people!

Long live the great Communist Party of China!

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### 论“三个代表”

江泽民

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