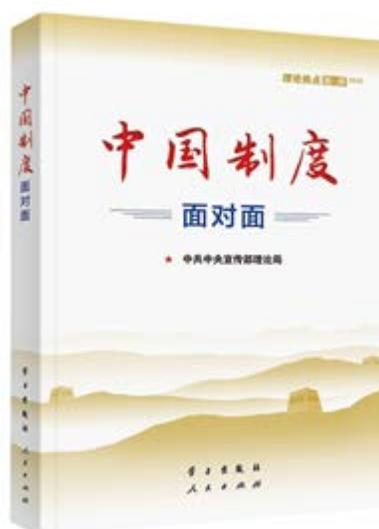




## **In Their Own Words:**

### **中国制度面对面 China's System Face to Face**



Theory Bureau of the Propaganda Department of the  
Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

Printed in the United States of America  
by the China Aerospace Studies Institute

To request additional copies, please direct inquiries to  
Director, China Aerospace Studies Institute,  
Air University, 55 Lemay Plaza, Montgomery, AL 36112

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**CASI would like to acknowledge the work and effort of George Flournoy, Taylor A. Lee, and the team at BluePath Labs.**

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The “In Their Own Words” series is dedicated to translations of Chinese documents in order to help non-Mandarin speaking audiences access and understand Chinese thinking. CASI would like to thank all of those involved in this effort, especially the CASI team at BluePath Labs.

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## **Translators’ Notes**

This translation of the original text aims to accurately capture the technical meanings, in both English and Chinese. This will ensure that the reader will not inadvertently draw the wrong substantive understanding based on inaccurate translations.

## China's System

### Face to Face

This book closely focuses on studying, propagating, and implementing the spirit of the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee and provides an in-depth explanation in simplified terms of major issues regarding upholding and improving the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and advancing the modernization of China's system and capacity for governance, from an authoritative, correct viewpoint, in a refreshing, simple style of writing with a vivid, lively format. This book can be used as important auxiliary reading material by the broad masses of cadres, and by young scholars to study theory and to carry out education on formal policy.

### An Explanation of the Publication

In order to deepen the study, propagation, and implementation of the spirit of the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and to assist people in better understanding various policy decisions and plans on upholding and improving the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and advancing the modernization of China's system and capacity for governance, we have conducted extensive research, and based on our findings have sorted out sixteen major issues which are of concern to cadres and the masses. We have organized the relevant Central departments, and experts, to write this piece of popular theory literature in the year 2020, "China's System Face to Face". This book takes as its guide Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, to closely connect with the realities of constructing the system of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, and closely connect with the ideological reality of cadres and the masses, to provide in-depth explanation in simplified terms, while striving to speak from an authoritative and correct viewpoint, in familiar, easily understood language, in a refreshing, simple style of writing with a vivid, lively format. This book can be used as important auxiliary reading material for cadres and the masses and young scholars to study theory and to carry out education on the current situation policy.

Theory Bureau of the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

July 2020

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## Chapter 1.

### A Grand Undertaking of a Thousand Autumns to Forge a Great System

How did the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics come about?

The Yangzi and Yellow Rivers race on without ceasing. In our vast land, time passes on. During 5,000 years, 180 years, 100 years, 70 years, 40 years, 8 years...as the wheel of time rolls forward, these points in history tell the story of the Chinese people's vicissitudes in life and the glory of their ordeal. General Secretary Xi Jinping, from a deep historical perspective, has clearly noted that, "the socialist state and legal systems with Chinese characteristics has been formed over a long period of practice and exploration, and marks a great achievement in the history of the civilization of human institutions." Generation after generation of Chinese Communist Party Members have struggled and explored continually for many years, working tirelessly to achieve the "Governance of China".

In the golden autumn of October 2019, there were many noteworthy achievements. The Party convened the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee in Beijing, and after review and deliberation adopted *The Decision of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee on Major Issues Concerning Upholding and Improving the System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics, and Advancing the Modernization of China's System and Capacity for Governance* (hereinafter abbreviated as "*The Decision*"), making way for a grand blueprint to advance construction of a state system and system of governance for a new era. Standing at a point where history and the future intersect, our people are moved by the arduous exploration involved in developing a system for China, have heartfelt praise for the breadth and depth of the Chinese system, and are extremely proud of the majestic power of the Chinese system.

#### I. Searching above and searching below Blowing on sand to find gold

"If you want to build a nation, you must investigate its systems." (Shang Jun, Warring States Period, Writings of Shang Jun, Chapter on Clearing Blockages (商君, 战国时期, 商君书, 开塞篇)). A system, simply put, refers to rules and standards of governance, economics and culture formed under certain historical conditions. The development of human society has shown that for any society or any nation to maintain long-term stability and order, it must have stable and mature systems and institutions. It may be said that universal governance is an ideal which people with lofty aspirations have tirelessly pursued since ancient times.

Illustration at the bottom of page two in the Chinese text:

A view showing the prosperous city of Dongjing (东京), capital of the Northern Song Dynasty.

The Chinese nation is a great nation of the world, which has created an unparalleled institutional civilization and became a model for many countries of the world to emulate. According to

historical records, the (tremendous) tribute sent to China during the Sui and Tang dynasties was unprecedented. “Heaven's nine doors reveal the palace and its courtyards; And the coats of many countries bow to the Pearl Crown”,<sup>1</sup> a spectacular scene to behold. As the world entered near-modern times, as Western society underwent an industrial revolution and systemic revolution of far-reaching consequences, Chinese society was still deeply immersed in the beautiful dream of the “Heavenly Kingdom” and was moving forward with the inertia of history. In 1795, George Macartney led an ambassadorial delegation from Great Britain to visit China. When confronted with the latest Western products and information of the West’s industrial revolution which they had brought with them, the Qianlong emperor sneered, calling them “strange technologies and specious crafts” and placed no importance on anything which had occurred in the West.

Illustration on page three: a sculpture at the 1895 (Jiawu) Sino-Japanese War Museum

In the vast flood of history, the Qing Dynasty’s dream was quickly destroyed. The small-scale agricultural economy which for such a long time had been self-sufficient, and the system of feudal despotism which had carried on for several thousand years, was clearly lagging behind the current of contemporary development, was not adaptable to industrialized large scale production, and were defeated when faced with “foreign guns and foreign cannon”. After 1840, the Western powers waged several wars of invasion against China. The decadence and backwardness of (China’s) system of government at the time, sealed the historical fate of the Chinese nation: “four hundred million shed tears of despair, where on Earth can we find our Motherland?” In the interest of rescuing our people from danger and propping up China as it was about to collapse, certain forward thinking Chinese pointed out that we had to “learn the superior technology of the barbarians (foreigners) in order to subjugate them.” However, the Beiyang Fleet’s crushing defeat in the 1895 war with Japan deeply shocked and awakened the Chinese people. China’s defeat on the surface appeared to be caused by China’s inferior technology. However, the root cause of China’s defeat was its inferior system. Accordingly, China embarked on a road of systemic reform and exploration, experimenting in succession with a constitutional monarchy, a parliamentary system, a multi-party system, a presidential system, and various other schemes. However, every one of them met with difficulties, and ultimately failed.

The victory of Russia’s October Revolution enabled socialism to evolve from a scientific theory into an institutional reality. This enabled the Chinese people who had been wandering in the dark with no plan to discover a new system to choose. However, the establishment of this type of advanced system in China necessitated that it be led by an advanced political force. This mission has historically fallen the Chinese Communist Party. Commencing from the date on which it was established, the Chinese Communist Party resolutely without deviation sought to establish a socialist system. Over long years of revolutionary practice, our Party local governance actively explored how to establish a social system suited to China’s national circumstances in the revolutionary bases under its governance. Whether the “Mutual Aid and Cooperation Movement”

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. “The main door of the imperial palace opens, and the officials of all nations enter to pay homage to the emperor” (九天阊阖开宫殿，万国衣冠拜冕旒), A famous line in a poem called “In Reply to Officer Jia’s Poem on Attending Morning Court at the Palace of Great Illumination” (和贾舍人早朝大明宫之作) written by Wang Wei, in 758 during the Tang dynasty.

or the “Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Congress System”, the “Three-thirds System” or the “Bean Selection Method”.....these early practices contained factors and positions on value found in socialist systems, and accumulated valuable experience for a new type of state system.

**Knowledge Link** (box at the bottom of page four of the Chinese text)

#### The Three-thirds System

The Three-thirds system was a system implemented by the Chinese Communist Party to establish democratic governance at its anti-Japanese base areas (during the War of Resistance Against Japan). With respect to organizations holding political authority, and agencies representing public opinion, membership in such organizations was divided among Communist Party members representing the working class and poor farmers, non-partisan leftist progressives representing the masses of petty bourgeois, and moderates representing middle bourgeois and enlightened gentry, each group respectively comprising one third of the membership in such organizations. The successful practice of this system had a dynamic influence on establishing an anti-Japanese national united front, and forming opposition to the one-party dictatorship of the Guomindang (the Nationalist Party). Preliminary study of multi-party cooperation and a system for a political consultation under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party was also initiated under the Three-thirds system.

The birth of a new China and the establishment of a basic socialist system set up the “Four Beams and Eight Pillars” of the state system and institutions, with respect to state system, form of government, and various other aspects. The (National) People’s Congress system, the multiparty cooperative and political consultative system under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the ethnic regional autonomy system, the public ownership system, and a system of labor insurance...comprehensive construction of the edifice of the socialist system. Naturally, because socialism had not been established for long in China, this vast country of the East, our system unavoidably had certain problems and deficiencies. Restricted by historical conditions at the time, we were unable to immediately discover and eliminate problems which existed in the system, and such comprehensive mistakes as the “Cultural Revolution” also occurred, which seriously damaged the system. In 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in summarizing the lessons of the Cultural Revolution, noted, “Issues regarding systems of leadership and systems of organization have even more to do with fundamental quality, comprehensiveness, stability, and long-term viability. “ “If systems (institutions) are good, they can prevent bad people from wantonly running amok. If systems (institutions) are not good, they can prevent good people from fully doing good deeds, and may even cause them to go in the opposite direction.”

**Knowledge Link** (box at the top of page five of the Chinese text)

The Bean Selection Method

The Bean Selection Method was a form of political participation implemented in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region. Under this system, farmers would use beans to cast votes for the candidates they liked. This addressed the fact that at the time, most of the voters were illiterate. At the time that votes were made, candidates would sit in a row with their backs to the voters. An empty bowl was placed behind each candidate's back. Villagers eighteen years of age or older, after receiving the beans, would place the beans in the bowls of candidates whom they favored. Final selection of candidates was determined based on the number of beans in the bowls. This picture shows villagers placing beans in the bowls of the candidates.

After initiating reforms and opening to the outside world, our Party based on summarizing its positive and negative experiences in system construction, integrated the “generality” of a system of socialism with the “particularity” of China’s national circumstances. Certain features were broken with while others were established, a thorough overhaul was carried out, to form a socialist system with Chinese characteristics. This system resolutely upheld and consolidated efficacious elements from the past, especially fundamental systems related to the basic nature of socialism. For example, reestablishing the Party’s ideological line, putting forward upholding the Four Cardinal Principles (of Deng Xiaoping), upholding and improving a system for the (National) People’s Congress, upholding democratic centralism, upholding the Party’s absolute leadership of the people’s army, etc., to ensure that China’s socialism consistently followed the correct direction moving forward. Deep-cutting reforms were also made to institutional mechanisms which could not be adapted to the development of social productive forces. From (the transition from) a planned commodity economy to establishing and improving a system for a socialist market economy, from reforming the systems for leading the Party and the state, to establishing a system of grassroots autonomy, from reform of the system governing science and technology, to reform of the system governing cultural affairs....these “Chinese characteristics” greatly invigorated the vitality of China’s socialist system.

After the 18<sup>th</sup> Session of the National People’s Congress, profound changes occurred in China’s domestic and external environment, and new requirements were raised for systemic reforms. Compared to the past, construction of systems for a new era is even more focused on resolving deep-set institutional issues, with greater demands for systematic, comprehensive, and coordinated reforms, and even heavier tasks with respect to establishing rules and regulations and constructing institutions. In November 2013, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenary Session of the 18<sup>th</sup> CCP Central Committee adopted *The Decision of the Central Committee on Major Issues Concerning Comprehensive Deeping of Reform*; in October 2019, the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the CCP at the Party’s 19<sup>th</sup> Central

Committee adopted *The Decision of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee on Major Issues Concerning Upholding and Improving the System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Advancing the Modernization of China's System and Capacity for Governance*. These two Plenary Sessions were united in their purpose, and constituted “the first and second chapters” for construction of systems for a new era. “The first chapter” comprehensively advanced reform in all areas, clarifying in writing the tasks involved and focal points in construction of systems. “The second chapter” systematically sorted out, integrated, and refined various aspects of the Party’s and the state’s systems, while describing the grand blueprint for upholding and improving the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and providing strong systemic safeguards for achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

“The right path in life is (beset with) vicissitudes.” The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics did not fall from the sky, and was not produced by imaginary conjecture, but was formed by repeated exploration from theory to practice, after undergoing countless hardships and difficulties. When examined from a broad historical perspective, the time from the Opium Wars which caused China’s several thousand year-old feudal system to “totter on the brink of collapse”, to the maturation and finalization of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics by the middle of this century, can be generally divided into two phases. Taking the birth of the new China as a starting point, the first phase involves taking socialism as a point of orientation, a point of return after a century of searching. The second phase is a century-old revival of socialism based on China’s national conditions and highlighting Chinese characteristics.

In retrospect, the establishment of China and creation of systems in the modern era has been an arduous process, in which the Chinese people have struggled to pursue, tirelessly explored, and passed down the fight from generation to generation. They have felt bewildered as if they had run out of hope. They have been embittered by numerous attempts and failures. They have learned lessons from copying (other systems). They have been overjoyed by the successful results of their explorations. They have composed a majestic saga of their awakening from the slumber of complacency, of their exploration in times of tribulation, and their innovation amidst perseverance.

## **II. A profound heritage      Get rid of the old and bring in the new**

“Riding the Spring wind, my horse gallops quickly, and I view all the flowers of Chang’an in a single day” (a famous line from the poem *After Passing the Imperial Examination* (登科后) by the Tang (唐代) poet Meng Jiao (孟郊).) “In the morning you’re a peasant in the fields, in the evening, you’re entering the emperor’s palace (the palace of the Son of Heaven).” (A famous line from the Yuan Dynasty play *The Story of the Lute* (琵琶记), by Gao Ming (高明).) “Ten years as an unknown scholar that no one asks about; as soon as I achieve fame, the whole world knows who I am.” (Also, a famous line from the Yuan Dynasty play, *The Story of the Lute* (琵琶记), by Gao Ming (高明)). These lines of poetry which are known by everyone, vividly portray the experience of countless obscure scholars in ancient China whose fates were changed when they passed the Imperial examinations. The imperial examination system began in the Sui and Tang Dynasties and continued for over 1,300 years, intimately connecting a life of book learning to prepare for examinations, and entering government service to serve as an official. This system broke the monopoly over privilege inherited from generation to generation in aristocratic

families, and opened the way for talented persons from the lower classes to participate in government. This had a significant effect on the operation of the ancient feudal system in China. During the same period, various countries in Europe when appointing officials relied on a hereditary system for nobility and aristocracy, or imperial appointment, or a system of individual patronage, or a spoils system among political factions, which easily result in hardening of class lines, monopolization of power, and other malpractices. The imperial examination system subsequently spread to Europe, was highly favored and praised by Western countries after the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and was then copied and borrowed, to become the direct source of today's Western civil service system. The Englishman, (Robert) Engles, who had lived in China, exclaimed in amazement that the imperial examination system was a great institutional invention, comparable to ancient China's invention of paper-making technology, the compass, and gun powder.

**Knowledge Link** (box at the top of page nine of the Chinese text)

Systems for appointing officials throughout European history

Aristocratic inheritance system: titles of kings and aristocrats, official positions, and territories are often passed down by inheritance based on bloodlines, in succession from one generation to the next.

Imperial appointment by the ruler: the ruler appoints and confers property on large and small vassals. Each vassal can appoint their own officials to serve under them.

Individual patronage: Those in power show favoritism in appointing persons to official posts, exchange personal gifts with their appointees, and bestow favors on relatives and friends.

Spoils system: A political party which emerges victorious in political competition will use important administrative positions as a form of compensation to be distributed among key members of its party.

“A nation's rise has its reasons”(from “Making Decisions” (策断) by Su Shi (苏轼) of the Song (宋) Dynasty). Over several thousand years of China's historical evolution, a wealth of ideas have been produced and developed with respect to state systems and governance. The Rites of Zhou (周礼) and the Zhou (Dynasty) system (周制) were formed before 1,000 BC, and “governed the country, stabilized the nation, brought order to people's lives, and benefited posterity.” They effectively safeguarded the Zhou Dynasty's 800 years of “continuous rule”. From the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods to the unification of China under the Qin Dynasty, a relatively comprehensive feudal system was built over several centuries, to form comprehensive systems and institutions for imperial succession, centralized state power, officials, code of ethics, and land which influenced the course of China's history for over 2,000 years. In the words of Comrade Mao Zedong: “The Qin system of governance was followed for one hundred generations.”

“Understand the origins, consider the direction to be taken.” The construction of any nation’s system is intimately connected to the country’s historical heritage and cultural soil. Digging deep into a country’s history can enable us to discover the origins of many systems which exist today.

For example, the idea that “ The whole nation shares the same customs, edicts are unitary throughout the domain.” (六合同风，九州共贯) (Biography of Wang Ji (王吉传), in History of the Han Dynasty (汉书)).

**Knowledge Link** (Top of page ten in the Chinese text)

Famous people and famous sayings in ancient China advocating people-centered ideology:

“The Sage has no invariable mind of his own; he takes the interests of the people as his own.”  
Laozi

“The people are primary, next comes the nation; the ruler is least important.” Mencius

“The ruler is the heart of the people; the people are the body of the ruler.” Dong Zhongshu

“The common people support the nation; I have never heard of the nation supporting the people.”  
Wang Anshi

“I serve as an official for the domain, not for the ruler. I work for all the people, not for one family.” Huang Zongxi

After the Qin and Han Dynasties, China became a nation where “The domain is divided into prefectures and counties and laws are unified.” (Biography of Qin Shihuang (秦始皇本纪) in Records of the Grand Historian (史记) by Sima Qian (司马迁)). Irrespective of dynastic succession, the basic framework of the national system of governance continued, becoming a type of “super-stable structure”. With respect to the written language, beginning from the Qin Dynasty’s decision to “standardize the dimensions of vehicles and the writing system” (Book of Rites (礼记), Doctrine of the Mean (中庸) and Records of the Grand Historian (史记), Biography of Qin Shihuang (秦始皇本纪)), over thousands of years although Chinese people in different regions of China have widely varying accents, nonetheless their written language is the same. This has become a cultural bond and psychological basis for safeguarding national unity and advancing national identity. Even during times when China was torn apart by war and political power was divided, this became the strongest expression of people at that time towards unification of the country: “At Jianwai (剑外) (in Sichuan) it is abruptly announced that we have retaken Henan and Hebei (Jibei) (蓟北) . Upon hearing this, my clothes are streaked with my tears.” (From the

poem “Hearing the News that Our National Army Has Recovered Henan and Hebei” (闻官军收河南河北) by the Tang Dynasty poet Du Fu (杜甫).) “On the day that the imperial armies take the central plains in the north, when you worship at the family altar, don’t forget to tell your father.” (From the poem “To My Sons” (示儿) by the Song Dynasty poet Lu You (陆游).

For example, people-based ideology, represented by the saying, “The people are the root of the nation, when the root is strong the nation is at peace.” (The Book of History (尚书), Song of the Five Brothers (五子之歌)). In ancient China, the common people were the source of clothing and food for the ruling class. They were the fundamental foundation which supported the operation of the country. The ruling class, after witnessing numerous peasant revolts, also became aware of the power of the people, and realized the truth of the statement, “Water can carry a boat, but can also overturn it.” (水能载舟亦能覆舟) (This is quoted from the Chapter on Ai Gong (哀公) in Xunzi (荀子)). Accordingly, since ancient times, our concept of national governance states that “The people are primary, while the ruler is least important.” (民贵君轻) (This concept is found in the works of Mengzi (孟子), in the statement “The people are primary, next comes the nation; the ruler is least important.” (民为贵，社稷次之，君为轻) Mengzi (孟子), Part Two of the Chapter on Dedication (尽心下)) and “he who wins the hearts of the people wins the world.” (得民心者得天下) (This statement is a paraphrasing of a passage in Mengzi which reads “If you want to rule a nation, and obtain the domain, there is a way: if you win the people over, you can obtain the domain. If you want to win the people over, you must win their hearts: then you can win the people over.” Mengzi (孟子), Part One of the Chapter on Lilou (离娄上).)

For example, the system of etiquette and propriety under which “Morality and ethics are supplemented by application of punishments (advocated by Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒) of the Han Dynasty (汉代)); and “Enlightened ethics is accompanied by cautious use of penalties.” (Book of History, Proclamation to Kang (尚书, 康诰) Ancient Chinese took “propriety, justice, integrity and (a sense of) shame” as the four moral pillars of the nation, which were embedded in every aspect of social life. The Book of Guanzi (管子) pointed out that “If the four moral pillars are not implemented in society, the nation will perish.” This statement emphasizes the vital importance of “propriety, justice, integrity, and shame” to the continuing existence and development of the nation. After the Sui and Tang Dynasties, dynasty after dynasty all established a Board of Rites which specifically administered a national system of rules and laws, sacrificial ceremonies, the imperial examination system, selection of scholars, and other such affairs. This system had an important effect on safeguarding feudal propriety and laws, and stabilizing society and people’s thinking.

For example, there was an inspection system under which “The emperor’s representatives conduct inspections and rectify discipline.” As early as the Western Zhou period, the official post of “Fangbo” was established, to conduct inspection and oversight of all the vassal lords who served under the emperor. During the reign of the Martial (Wu) Emperor in the Han Dynasty, a system of regional inspectors was established, to exercise supervision and control of prefectures and counties. After the Sui and Tang, investigating censors were established to take charge of supervising all

officials, conduct inspection tours of prefectures and counties, and handle other such matters. During the Ming and Qing periods, the duties of the Office of Inspectorate of the Eight Prefectures primarily involved conducting inspection tours of all the provinces and assessing administrative duties performed by officials. The inspection system in China's feudal society was rather mature and complete, with inspectors exercising great authority. "When imperial inspectors go on inspection, the earth shakes and the mountains shiver." "When the inspector from the Office of Inspectorate of Eight Prefectures conducts an inspection tour, he holds the precious sword of the state in his hand, and commands respect for his authority." Everyone is familiar with the ironclad impartiality and sense of justice of Di Renjie, Bao Zheng, Hai Rui, and other such imperial inspectors and uncorruptible officials who punished evil and praised good. Their stories are wonderful tales which have been passed down to the present time.

"A bright mirror can reflect a (person's) image, and we can understand the present from events of the (ancient) past." Over the endless course of Chinese history, our ancient people in their wisdom created inexhaustible political resources which can serve as an important mirror in improving today's national system and system of governance.

(Bottom of page eleven in the Chinese text)

Pictures of Di Renjie, Bao Zheng, and Hai Rui

### **III. Succession in an ongoing lineage Revitalization (of ideas)**

During the end of the 1980's and the beginning of the 1990's, changes occurred in the international situation, especially with respect to the collapse of the Soviet Union, and rapid changes in Eastern Europe. At this time, world socialist activities hit a low, and certain people outside China speculated that "socialism has fallen"; "communism is finished". In China, there were also certain people who asked the question "How long can the red flag continue to fly?" . Faced with this situation of "Dark clouds over the city threaten it with the verge of destruction", Comrade Deng Xiaoping resolutely noted that we should not believe that Marxism will disappear and is useless, or has failed. How can that possibly be? We are full of confidence in the future of socialism. The past thirty years have gone by quickly. Today, as we review this time in our history, we can clearly see that, having undergone the baptism of the times, the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics not only continues to hold steady, but is being held even higher. Scientific socialism has given new life to China, and the superiority of the socialist system has been fully manifested in China.

The publication in 1516 of Utopia, a book by the Englishman Thomas Moore, marks the birth of socialism. From imagination to science, from theory to practice, from one country to many countries, socialism has performed a living historical drama in a succession of ups and downs, successes and failures. Marx and Engels had envisioned many scenarios for a socialist system, however, most of them were merely concepts and theoretical constructs and were not actually put into practice. The Soviet Union, as the first socialist country in the history of humankind, gained much experience exploring the construction of many types of systems. However, later on it

gradually became rigid and finally in the midst of reforms changed its colors, and deviated from the right direction, right up until the death of the Communist Party and the nation.

(Illustration at the bottom of page 12 in the Chinese text):

An image of Utopia, written by Thomas Moore.

The Chinese people's choice of socialism was a historical necessity. However, how to construct socialism, fully bring the advantages of the socialist system into play, and enable the nation to develop more quickly, is a completely new subject. For over seventy years since the establishment of New China, our Party has led the people to integrate the basic principles of scientific socialism with the specific realities of China's situation to forge a unique path of institutional exploration.

“A tall building is built from the ground up”. We have started our path of exploration of systems as a country which suffers from insufficiently developed social productivity. The socialist system, as a relatively high-end form of institution, in most situations is the inevitable product of capitalism which has developed to a certain phase and is built on the foundation of a highly developed economic culture. However, in reality, construction of a system of socialism has first been achieved in countries with backward economic cultures. In the early years after the establishment of New China, China was one of the poorest and most backward nations in the world, and had a very weak economic foundation. The quickest and most fundamental way to extricate itself from poverty was to vigorously free up (liberate) and develop its productivity. During more than seventy years, our Party has placed great importance on construction of the economy, and has steadfastly committed itself to economic development, created a miracle in the history of human economic development, and fully display the superiority of the socialist system.

(Illustration at the middle of page 13 in the Chinese text)

Daqing Oilfield Lion's Oath Campaign Meeting on April 29, 1960

“One hundred ships brave the current and a thousand sails race in the wind”. (A line from “Qin Yuan Chun, Changsha”(沁园春，长沙) a poem by Mao Zedong.) We have explored the path to (developing) systems in China in a nation where there is unequal (regional) economic development. The essential purpose of socialism is to eliminate polarization and ultimately achieve common prosperity. China has a large land mass, with differences between regions with respect to natural endowment and foundations for development, along with great differences between urban and rural areas. “Neat, uniform development, hand in hand” among regions is unrealistic and impossible. During 40 years of reform and opening-up to the outside world, our Party has correctly handled the relationship between fairness and efficiency, and has adopted a strategy of unbalanced development, encouraging some regions and some people to get rich first, so that those who first become wealthy can later help others to become wealthy, to gradually achieve common prosperity. By establishing special economic zones and opening cities along seacoasts, borders, rivers, and major routes to the world, along with advancing policies to stimulate enterprises in rural areas and townships and the private business economy, the eastern part of China has been given priority for development. During these years, our nation has continuously increased the enlargement and strengthening of transfer payments and programs to eliminate poverty, to advance development of areas with relatively underdeveloped productivity.

“Arouse the millions of workers and peasants”. We are pursuing ways of exploring systems in a country with a huge population. Data from China’s National Bureau of Statistics indicates that as at the end of 2019, China’s total population had surpassed 1.4 billion people. The realization of modernization in a country with such a huge population is unprecedented in human history. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the Netherlands rose to power, its population was in the millions. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century when Great Britain rose to power, its population was in the tens of millions. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the United States rose to power, its population was in the hundreds of millions. How can the construction of socialism be integrated with the specific needs of a huge country with a population of over one billion people, and transform population pressure into development power, is a tremendous challenge. Our Party, relying on its strong ability to organize and mobilize, unites and leads the great masses of people to bond together in a boundless effort to build socialism.

(Top of page 14 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

China’s system is well nourished, with red (Communist) roots, sprouts of integrity and luxuriant leaves. It is a towering tree in humankind’s history of institutions.

The origins of our system are found in the long-term practices of the Chinese people. It is the most grounded, resilient, and vigorous model for a “hard-core“ system.

China’s system transforms the “conceptual map” of scientific socialism into the “blueprint for construction” of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

This system is not a traditional system of “ingesting ancient practices without digesting them” and it is not a Western system of “cutting the feet to fit the shoes (forcing something to fit, regardless of specific conditions)”. It is also not “mechanically copying” designed for a system of classical writers.

Today we must search for the sources of socialism with Chinese characteristics with the objective of moving towards a better tomorrow.

“Clouds in disarray swept by swiftly, yet composure is still maintained” (a line from “Inscription on a photo taken by Comrade Li Jin of the Cave of the Immortals on Mount Lu” a poem by Mao Zedong, written in 1961). We are exploring the road to our system in a turbulent international environment. Looking back over the past century of development in the history of world socialism, even as the powers of capitalism and socialism have ebbed and flowed, generally speaking, there has been no fundamental change in the international structure where “capitalism prevails and socialism is weak”. “Three hundred sixty days a year, the knife of the wind and the sword of the frost bear down severely.” (A line from the poem, “Ode to Interred Flowers” (葬花词) in Dream of the Red Chamber (红楼梦) (one of China’s four great classical novels (四大名著), written in the Qing Dynasty (清代) by Cao Xueqin (曹雪芹)). Socialist China from its establishment to its development has existed for many years in a harsh international environment. It may be said that socialist China has fought to exist amidst hardships and sought to develop under

pressure. Facing blockade and containment from capitalism, we have consistently maintained independence and autonomy, practiced self-reliance, struggled arduously, and unwaveringly followed our own path. “No matter how the wind may blow and the waves may billow, we will remain stable and secure in our fishing boat” (from the fourth speech given by Mao Zedong at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the 8<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party). During the contest between the two social systems (of capitalism and communism) over the course of many years, we have not only survived but have developed and grown stronger, step by step.

(At the bottom of page fifteen of the Chinese text)

### **Authoritative Voices**

#### **A Great Creation in the History of Human Institutional Civilization**

**He Yiting** (Executive Vice President (Dean) in charge of daily affairs at the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee’s Central Party School (National School of Administration):

“In the aftermath of our Party’s unification and leadership of the Chinese people in overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and China’s system of governance, is a completely new state system and system of governance constructed to safeguard the self-determination of our hundreds of millions of people, which creatively utilizes the Marxist theory of state, and deeply summarizes domestic, foreign, positive and negative experiences, in the midst of ongoing exploration, implementation, reform and innovation.”

#### **IV. The sea can absorb a hundred rivers Incorporating diverse concepts**

“Stones from other mountains can be used to carve jade”. (A line from the poem “Cry of the Crane” in the Lesser Odes of the Book of Songs (诗经, 小雅, 鹤鸣)). When we look at the history of human civilization, we can see that it is impossible for any civilization to develop in self-isolation, and that it is necessary to learn from and absorb the outstanding achievements of other civilizations to develop and improve ourselves. Looking at ancient China, we can see that the broadminded views of the Tang Dynasty emperor who stated, “From ancient times, only China and its traditions have been valued, while the traditions of the Yi and Di (barbarians) have been despised. Only I, the emperor, love both Chinese and “barbarian” as one.” (Quote attributed to Li Shimin (李世民) the Taizong Emperor of the Tang Dynasty (唐太宗) in Chapter Four on the Tang Dynasty in the Comprehensive Mirror to Assist Governance (资治通鉴, 唐纪四) published during the Song Dynasty in 1084 AD) set the stage for the Tang Dynasty to flourish. The narrow-minded outlook of the Qing dynasty as expressed in the statement “Our country has a plentitude of products. There

is nothing which we lack. All along we have had no need to rely on foreign goods to compensate for any deficiency” (Quoted from a letter written by the Qianlong Emperor of the Qing Dynasty (清代乾隆皇帝) to King George III of Great Britain) resulted in the Qing Dynasty falling behind and being victimized (by foreign powers). The underlying point is apparent and requires no explanation.

Building socialism on the foundation of a relatively underdeveloped economic culture, does not allow for copying, and does not allow for us to imagine that a “mountain which has flown to us” will save us. (A reference to “the mountain which has flown to us” (飞来峰) can be found in the Story of the Living Buddha Jigong (济公活佛传). The mountain is located next to Lingyin Temple (灵隐寺) in Zhejiang Province and according to legend was put there by the Living Buddha Jigong.) We must begin with the conditions faced by our own country and must start from reality. We must uphold autonomy and putting our own needs first, while absorbing and drawing lessons from the achievements of other civilizations to develop ourselves. The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is based on China’s particular circumstances and oriented towards the world, and by nature, is naturally endowed with openness and inclusivity. It is adept at learning from and utilizing the civilizational achievements of other countries around the world, including capitalist countries, to continuously develop and improve itself while incorporating the best features of others.

First, we will begin our discussion with learning from the successful experiences of socialist countries. In the early years after the establishment of the New China, due to our lack of experience in socialist revolution and construction, we took the Soviet Union as our teacher and followed the path of the Soviet people. At that time, it was said that “The Soviet Union’s today is our tomorrow (the Soviet Union’s present is our future).” “The Soviet Union is a model for us learn from.” By learning from and utilizing the Soviet Union’s experience, we completed the socialist transformation in a short time, established a socialist system, launched large scale construction, and consolidated a newly created people’s government.

Now we will talk about learning from the beneficial achievements of capitalist countries. In the several centuries since the Industrial Revolution, certain capitalist countries in the west have accumulated a wealth of experience in economics, science & technology, and other areas, to attain many achievements in the development of their civilization. Among these achievements, many cannot be exclusively classified as capitalist, but are achievements shared by all human civilization. These achievements are also useful to socialism. After implementing reform and opening-up to the world, our country developed a socialist market economy, and utilized certain advanced methods employed by Western countries. From introducing modern production lines to implementing a system of professional managers, from establishing capital markets to reforming the stock shareholding system, from iterations of communications systems to development of the Internet...these “foreign goods” after being introduced, digested, absorbed and developed with innovations, have “set down roots and sprouted tendrils” and “spread copious branches with luxuriant foliage” in the great tide (of development) of our country’s socialist market economy, to effectively advance the leapfrog development of China’s economy.

(Picture at the bottom of page seventeen in the Chinese text)

Foreign-made advanced production system imported for use by Yinle Carbonated Beverage Factory, Shenzhen during the 1980's in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

(Picture at the bottom of page seventeen in the Chinese text)

The first securities exchange in mainland China was established in 1990.

Lenin once said that the construction of socialism was like climbing an unexplored mountain which had never been traversed by humans. The socialist system with Chinese characteristics has been hard-earned. It has been inherited down through the long history of the Chinese nation. It has been sought out during severe difficulties since near-modern times. It has been created through our Party's continuous struggle of almost a century. This process has been incomparably difficult, but the rewards have been incomparably glorious. In achieving the grand undertaking of a thousand autumns, the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, through the tireless efforts of generation after generation of Chinese Communists, the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, which has shined through the annals of history, will be surely be carried forward.

(Bottom of page 18 in the Chinese text)

**For in-depth reading**

*The Decision of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Major Issues Concerning Upholding and Improving the System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Advancing the Modernization of China's System and Capacity for Governance*

*Xi Jinping: An Explanation of The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Major Issues Concerning Upholding and Improving the System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Advancing the Modernization of China's System and Capacity for Governance*

Published in the People's Daily on November 6,2019

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## **Chapter 2.**

### **Enjoying the Sight of a Thousand Waves of Rice & Beans Swaying in the Wind**

Why is the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics good?

At the beginning of 2020, a novel coronavirus pneumonia pandemic (COVID 19) abruptly broke out and ravaged across China. This pandemic was a major public health emergency with the fastest rate of spread, the greatest range of infection, and the most difficulties with respect to prevention and control which had ever been encountered since the founding of New China. The Party Center, with Xi Jinping at the core, took charge of overall planning, made decisive decisions, upheld the safety and health of the people as the number one priority, and united all members of the Party, the military, and China's ethnic groups nationwide, to be of one mind and devote all their efforts to dealing with the situation, while racing against time in the fight against the disease, to resolutely emerge victorious in the people's fight to prevent and control the pandemic, the overall war and the blockade fight (against the pandemic). From the Wuhan lockdown to nationwide preventative measures at all localities, from tens of thousands of medical personnel fighting against the current to rush to the rescue in nineteen provinces providing corresponding support, from making every effort to control the spread of the pandemic to maintaining safety and stability without disrupting overall prevention and control of the pandemic and economic and social development, from guarding against the spread of the pandemic in China after entering from outside the country, to duly performing the work of normalizing pandemic prevention and control.....the tremendous power of this great campaign dispelled the haze of sickness, and the superiority of the Chinese system thus manifested amazed the people of the world.

(Photograph at the bottom of page nineteen of the Chinese text)

Medical workers assembled in front of a sports stadium holding a banner which reads, "We must achieve victory in our fight against the coronavirus. Fight on, Wuhan! Fight on, China!"

Secretary General Xi Jinping has noted that "Prevention and control work has been effective, once again demonstrating the outstanding advantages of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics." The pandemic serves as a mirror which highlights the superiority or inferiority of the system. Compared to the low efficiency of certain Western countries in combating the pandemic, and their powerlessness to cope with it, the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics has strong political leadership capabilities, and social appeal, along with the ability to organize masses of people and the power to allocate resources. On May 6, 2020, a Singaporean polling agency stated that a public opinion poll on evaluating performance during the pandemic conducted in twenty-three countries and regions worldwide revealed that China was rated at the top of the list with a score of 85, while most major countries in the West were on the average given less than the average global score (45). When assessing whether a system is superior or not, it is critical to examine how it actually performs when faced with a national crisis and evaluate it based on the efficacy of its governance. Having undergone 70 years of development, the governance advantages and capabilities of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, not only can be thoroughly explained in theory but can also be fully proven in practice.

## **I. What is good about the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics?**

Not so long ago the system of Western capitalism was touted as the standard, while “looking to the West”, and “learning from the West” was the only road to be selected by many developing countries. “Modernization means Westernization” and “The West’s system of liberal democracy is the end of history” basically became forgone conclusions. However, at present, the Western system of capitalism is plagued with disease, continuously troubled. The countries of Europe and the Americas are frequently beset with chaos, while certain of the West’s adherents in succession fall into “democracy traps” and “development traps”. Unlike the “chaos of the West”, China has created a world miracle economic development and social stability. The Chinese system has shown its strong superiority and efficiency, whether in peaceful times or in times of crisis. Many countries in succession are now “looking East”, searching for the code of the system of “Chinese governance”, hoping that they will find a good solution to resolve their own problems.

Historical materialism believes that contradictory activities among productive forces and production relations, and economic foundations and superstructures, propel human society to develop from a low level to a high level. Systems are superstructures which must adapt to the conditions of economic foundations and suit the requirements for development of social productivity. Ultimately, the reason why the socialist system is superior to the capitalist system is because it can better satisfy the demands placed on the system by increasingly developed socialized mass production, and represents the direction of development the advanced social productive forces are taking in the world today. We often say that the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is a good system and that its fundamental benefit is expressed in the above statement.

(Bottom of page twenty of the Chinese text)

Photograph of the National Independence Day Parade held in Tian’anmen Square, Beijing

The 4<sup>th</sup> plenary session of the Party’s 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, based on the overall situation for development of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and systematically summarized the significant advantages of China’s system in thirteen areas. This was a general refinement of its theoretical aspects and also an in-depth summary of its vivid practices, which reflected the personal experiences of hundreds of millions of people.

For example, this is a good system guided by scientific theory. The road followed determines destiny. When following a certain road, for how to avoid following the wrong road, the key is to have scientific guidance of ideological theory. The most fundamental reason why socialist China, in the midst of reform and construction, has been able to innovate in the midst of difficulties and overcome obstacles, moving from one victory to another victory, is because it has been correctly guided by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the important thought of the Three Represents, the Scientific Outlook on Development, and Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era is the Marxism of contemporary China, Marxism for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In the new era, it is the banner which leads the thought of the whole Party and all the people of the nation and the soul of their spirit. This Thought closely focuses on achieving the lofty objective of realizing the China Dream, the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation,

connecting the well-being of the Chinese people, the mission of the Party, and the future of the nation, and seeking happiness for the people, pursuing the rejuvenation of the nation, and seeking world harmony, becoming a strong ideological weapon guiding all development and progress in modern China.

(Bottom of page twenty-one of the Chinese text)

A photograph of two pamphlets:

An Outline for Studying Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era

Published by the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

Thirty Lectures on Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era

Published by the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

(All of page twenty-two of the Chinese text)

### **Knowledge Link**

Thirteen Outstanding Advantages of a Socialist System with Chinese Characteristics

The outstanding advantage of upholding the Party's centralized and unified leadership, upholding the Party's scientific theory, maintaining political stability, and ensuring that the nation consistently advances in the direction of socialism;

The outstanding advantage of upholding the people as masters of the country, developing people's democracy, maintaining close ties with the masses, and closely relying on the people to push forward national development;

The outstanding advantage of upholding comprehensive governance of the country according to law, construction of a country governed under socialist law, conscientiously safeguarding social fairness, justice and the rights of the people;

The outstanding advantage of upholding a coordinated national response, mobilizing initiative in all areas, and concentrating strength to achieve great undertakings;

The outstanding advantage of upholding the equality of every ethnic group under the law, forging a sense of community among the Chinese nation, achieving shared unity and struggle, and developing shared prosperity;

The outstanding advantage of upholding shared economic development, with public ownership as the mainstay, alongside multiple types of ownership, and compensation for each according to his contribution as the mainstay, coexisting with multiple types of allocation, to organically integrate the socialist system with the market economy, while tirelessly liberating and developing social productivity;

The outstanding advantage of upholding shared ideals and beliefs, values, and moral concepts, advancing China's outstanding traditional culture, revolutionary culture, and advanced socialist culture, and to advance the close unity of all people, in mind and in spirit;

The outstanding advantage of upholding the development of an ideology centered on the people, continuously safeguarding and improving the people's livelihood, increasing the people's happiness to achieve common prosperity;

The outstanding advantage of upholding reform and innovation, keeping step with the times, being adept at self-improvement and self-development, to enable society to continuously be filled with vitality;

The outstanding advantage of upholding the employment of persons who are both virtuous and capable, choosing and appointing such individuals to positions, gathering together exceptionally talented persons from all over the nation, and putting them to good use, and developing even more talented individuals;

The outstanding advantage of upholding the Party's command of the military, ensuring that the people's armed forces are absolutely loyal to the Party and the people, to forcefully safeguard the nation's sovereignty, security, and development interests.

The outstanding advantage of upholding "One Country, Two Systems", to maintain the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao, and to advance peaceful (re)unification of the Motherland;

The outstanding advantage of upholding the unification of independence and autonomy with opening-up to the world, and actively participating in global governance, to continuously contribute to the building of a (global) community of shared future.

For example, this is a good system with strong Party leadership. Party leadership is the most essential feature of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It is precisely the naturally coexisting relationship between a Marxist political party and scientific socialism which determines that as long as the Party leadership is upheld, socialism will not change color and will not change course.

(Top of page twenty-three of the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

XI JINPING The Governance of China is an authoritative work which comprehensively and systematically reflects Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

Volumes I, II, and III of XI JINPING The Governance of China include reports, addresses, conversations, speeches, directives, comments, congratulatory telegrams, and congratulatory letters by Xi Jinping, during the period from the conclusion of the Party's 18<sup>th</sup> National Congress to January 13, 2020, to comprehensively and systematically reflect Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese characteristics for a New Era. The illustration shows the Chinese and English editions of Volume III of XI JINPING, The Governance of China.

(Top of page twenty-four of the Chinese text)

## **How Foreigners View China (老外看中国)<sup>2</sup>:**

Important foreign governmental figures give high praise to China's efficiency and experience in combatting the pandemic.

Secretary-General of the United Nations, Antonio Guterres: COVID 19 is a massive challenge. Under such complex circumstances it is always quite difficult to quickly find a solution. China's response was strong and made a deep impression on people. China expended great effort in combatting the pandemic.

President of the International Olympic Committee, Thomas Bach: I want to express my full support, highest appreciation, and utmost respect for the great effort being made by the Chinese people. Chinese people are actively combatting the pandemic in an orderly manner. Chairman Xi Jinping has personally taken command to organize this effort, which gives us greater confidence.

Secretary-General of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Vladimir Norov: The Chinese government has taken decisive, strong measures, especially with respect to openly and transparently publishing information on the pandemic. This not only demonstrates the high level of responsibility taken by the Chinese government for the lives and health of people, but also its important contribution to the development of regional and world public health undertakings. I believe that the industrious, courageous, wise, and strong Chinese people will certainly be able to win the fight to contain, prevent and control the pandemic in the shortest time.

President of Venezuela, Nicolas Maduro: The Chinese (government) has taken innovative measures to deal with the pandemic and has made a huge effort to safeguard the people, which demonstrates the superiority of the Chinese system. I believe that China will most certainly achieve victory!

President of Algeria, Abdelmadjid Tebboune: The Chinese government has exerted a tremendous effort in combatting the pandemic, making a dynamic contribution to safeguarding international and regional public health safety.

Looking at the developmental history of socialist countries, if Party leadership is upheld and strengthened, socialism will be able firmly established in the country. If Party leadership by the Party is weakened or abandoned, socialism will change its colors. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong stated, "A revolutionary party is the guide of the masses, and no revolution ever succeeds when the party leads them astray." (Mao Zedong, *An Analysis of Different Classes in Chinese Society*, December 1, 1925) Party leadership not only ensures the correct direction of a nation's

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<sup>2</sup> Translator's note: the term used for foreigners in the Chinese text is "lao wai" (老外) not "waiguoren" (外国人). The term "laowai" ("old foreigner") may have disrespectful overtones, and is a popular reference to foreigners. Some may argue that in certain contexts, such terms are innocent, or even endearing when used in humor to refer to friends. However, they may have negative connotations.

development but also ensures that the road followed, guidelines, and policies are consistent, “drawing (following) the blue print to the end”. On the other hand, with political parties in Western countries it’s “After you sing your song, I’ll be coming on stage.”(你方唱罢，我登场) (This line is found in the Dream of the Red Chamber (红楼梦) by Cao Xueqin (曹雪芹) of the Qing Dynasty). Most of these parties only consider what they will do during their term in office, while being incapable of making long-term plans. Even if they formulate long-term policies, they will be overturned by the party which takes office following their term, just like “flipping pancakes”, forcing them to start all over again.

(Bottom of page twenty-five in the Chinese text) **Live Broadcast**

Photographs of Huoshenshan and Leishenshan Hospitals (in Wuhan, China)

After the outbreak of the COVID 19 pandemic, in the interest of alleviating the difficult problem of insufficient medical resources, the central government decided to construct the Huoshenshan and Leishenshan Hospitals, hospitals specializing in fighting COVID 19, in the city of Wuhan, where the pandemic was most serious. Completion of site selection, planning and construction of each hospital only took 10 days and 14 days, respectively.

This demonstration of “Chinese speed” shocked the world. Such “hardcore” capabilities primarily result from the strong leadership of the Party Center. Construction teams from 16 provinces participated, with safeguards for coordinating the shipment of medical resources and medical equipment from various locations (to the hospital sites). This is a concentrated demonstration of the system’s advantages in concentrating strength to engage in great undertakings.

For example, this is a good system which takes the people as its center. All of China’s systems and institutions such as the people’s congress(es), the regional ethnic autonomy system, the system of community-level self-governance, the basic economic system, the system for safeguarding cultural rights and interests, the system for safeguarding the livelihood of the people, and the system of social governance all clearly express the noble ideal that the people are first above all else. This is fundamentally different from capitalist countries where in name there is “ownership by the people, governance by the people, and enjoyment of benefits by the people”, but in actuality, “money and capital are central (to everything)”. To give an example, no matter where a fire occurs in our country, the firefighters will race to the site immediately thereafter and spare no expense in putting out the fire.

(Bottom of page twenty-six in the Chinese text) **Live Broadcast**

Two photographs illustrating the digging of Dazhushan Tunnel.

The captions to the photographs read, respectively:

“The most difficult tunnel to dig in the world.”

Dazhushan tunnel has been successfully dug from end to end.

Dazhushan Tunnel is a tunnel on Darui railroad. The tunnel has a total length of 14.5 kilometers, with a complex, multi-varied geological composition. Construction of the tunnel was extremely troublesome and encountered many technical difficulties. The tunnel was dubbed “The world’s most difficult tunnel to dig.” Construction began in 2008 and continued for 12 years of difficult work. Digging of the tunnel from end to end was completed on April 28, 2020. After the tunnel was opened, a train could pass through it in only seven minutes, while the laborers expended their efforts over a long period of time to finish its construction. The building of the Dazhushan tunnel illustrates how the Chinese people rise to meet difficulties with a tenacious spirit, while demonstrating the advantage of China’s system in its ability to concentrate strength to engage in large undertakings. The pictures show the site of the construction and the celebration after the tunnel had been bored through from end to end, respectively. (The banner in the picture on the right reads “The Smooth Completion of Dazhushan Tunnel by China Railway First Bureau, Darui Railroad.”)

However, in capitalist countries, this is not the case. In 2019, when wildfires raged in the state of California in the United States, firefighters responded by “first rescuing people who paid fees (for their services)”, and prioritized protection of the homes of the wealthy. Residents who had not paid fees to fire fighters could only watch the fire in dismay as it burned their property to ashes before their very eyes. Such a devastating conflagration was like a purgatory on earth which in its flames etched out the real face of capitalism’s cruelty.

For example, ours is a good system which concentrates its strength to engage in great undertakings. The Three Gorges Project involved the resettling of 1.3 million people in a period of over 18 years. Several decades of lifting people out of poverty went by as if it were just one day. The digging of a tunnel took over ten years. The South-to-North Water Diversion Project (which diverted water from South China to North China) spans half of China.....The huge amount of resources and strength required to coordinate such projects is unimaginable. Other countries would find it extremely difficult to accomplish such tasks. It should be especially noted that the outstanding advantage of our system was concentratedly demonstrated during the fight against the COVID 19 pandemic. We upheld a coordinated national response, united leadership, and unitary course of action to mobilize the power of the whole nation and concentrate superior resources to form a powerful integrated force to achieve victory over the pandemic. In China, the Party provides oversight of the entire situation, coordinates the role of each player, and thus possesses exceptional integrative power, with strong mobilization and highly efficient execution capabilities. A system of public ownership occupies the key position, and is thus able to fully mobilize all types of resources. Upholding a system of democratic centralism is a fundamental principle of our organization and system of leadership, to thus ensure that all the Party follows the Center, local (governments) follow the overall situation, etc. All of these ensure that all members of the Party and all members of society are able to unite as one mind, moving in the same direction towards a common goal.

(Top of page twenty-seven in the Chinese text) **Live Broadcast**

Beidou Navigation System’s “Closing Star” Is Launched Successfully  
(The photograph shows the launch of the rocket.)

On June 23, 2020 at 9:43 am, China used a Long March No. 3 B carrier rocket to successfully launch the Beidou Navigation System's 55<sup>th</sup> satellite from China's Xichang Satellite Launch Center. This was the final satellite in Beidou-3's (the third phase) global network. This signifies that the deployment of Beidou-3's global satellite navigation system constellation has been fully completed. It will provide all-time, in all-weather, high precision positioning, navigation, timing and other services to customers around the globe.

(Top of page twenty-eight in the Chinese text) **Special Focus:**

Selected students are a vital reserve force for cadres who serve as Party and government leaders

The term "selected students" refers to outstanding students recruited from universities by organization departments at the provincial level. They directly go to work at local grassroots Party and government departments. They undergo important training as candidates to later serve as Party and government leading cadres. This system at its earliest can be traced to the 1960's in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with a history of over fifty years up until the present, under which a total of 300,000 selected students have been chosen. The system of recruiting "selected students" has become an important means by which persons are developed and trained to become highly competent cadres. The photograph shows a "selected student" participating in pandemic prevention and control work.

For example, this is a good system which is adept at collecting talented people to serve in various undertakings. In China, selection of competent cadres and various types of talent and skilled individuals is not for the private interest of the Party or for any faction. It is done to serve the public, and throughout the nation, to appoint only those who possess the requisite qualities to serve, thus effectively avoiding interparty conflicts, biased interests, and other such maladies which plague Western nations. Cadres at every level of government are selected through a stringent process and must undergo a long period of political cultivation and experiential training. On average, from the time they enter their position until the time that they become a ministerial level leading cadre, it takes a cadre at least 23 years to stand out from the rest among a group of over seven million cadres. However, in certain Western countries, a person with not even one day of experience working in government can unexpectedly, with great pomp and circumstance, be elected president, and award certain government positions as a token of gratitude to certain individuals who have invested in his or her political aspirations. This is substantially different from China's system of "governance by virtuous and capable individuals".

Institutional advantages are the greatest advantages a nation has. Competition among nations is, on the surface, a rivalry between who is stronger or weaker in the areas of economy, science and technology, or the military, but, at a deeper level, is a competition regarding the advantages and disadvantages of their respective systems. The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is guided by Marxism and rooted in China's great land. It is deeply founded on Chinese culture and

is a system which is enthusiastically supported by the people, a system with vibrant vitality and tremendous advantages.

## **II. The institutional code of the “Two Great Miracles”**

The great land of Beijing and Hebei: the phoenix has spread its wings. In September 2019, Beijing Daxing International Airport, the airport with the largest stand-alone terminal in the world, officially commenced operations. This modern airport was built in only five years, with a construction area of approximately 1.4 million square meters at an investment of 80 billion Renminbi. The airport has the capacity to handle as many as 100 million visits by air travelers. It has set records as the best in many categories in the history of world architecture, attracting widespread attention both inside and outside China.

(Page 29 in the Chinese text) Photograph of Beijing Daxing International Airport

The Guardian, a British newspaper, announced that Beijing Daxing International Airport was at the top of the list among the “New Seven Wonders of the World”. America’s CNN also proclaimed that this new airport was the most exciting architectural structure of 2019 in the world.

The astonishing beauty of Beijing Daxing International Airport is a microcosm of the achievements attained in New China’s development, and highlights the great power and practical results under the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. For more than seventy years, the Party has led the people in upholding and developing the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, continuously bringing the superiority and efficiency of the system into play, and in the vast land with an area of over 9.6 million square kilometers create a miracle among humans which has shined through the annals of history.

A so-called miracle is something which is extremely extraordinary and quite difficult to accomplish. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party’s 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee summed up the great achievements of New China in over seventy years of development as the “Two Great Miracles,” namely, “the miracle of rapid economic development and the miracle of long term social stability (which are) rarely witnessed in the world.” The creation of these two great miracles is the necessary outcome of the Party leading the people in their long-term tireless struggle and the necessary outcome of fully bringing into play the outstanding advantages of China’s state system and system of governance.

The development miracle “shook heaven and earth.” Before the establishment of New China, China’s industries were in tatters and penniless, with an extremely weak economic foundation. At that time, China’s “per capita steel output was only sufficient to make one sickle.” The nation could not manufacture even one automobile, airplane, tank, or tractor. Now, China’s freeways rank number one in the world in traffic mileage (vehicle travel), with highspeed rail operations mileage exceeding two thirds of the world’s total. China holds over one third of the patents necessary for the 5G standard. In the short span of a little over seventy years, China through its own efforts has risen from destitution to become a nation which is overtaking the world, from times of underdevelopment to catching up with the times, and then to leading the times, having gone through a process of industrialization which took the developed nations several centuries. China

has built the world's most complete industrial system, jumping to the rank of second largest economy in the world, and became the world's number one power in manufacturing, the number one power in trade in goods, and the number one power holding the most foreign exchange reserves. In 2019, China's GDP reached 99.1 trillion Renminbi, with per capita GDP climbing to ten thousand US dollars, with a continuous long-term rate of contribution to world economic growth of approximately thirty percent.

(Bottom of page thirty in the Chinese text)

### **China by the Numbers**

China's "Rank as Number One in the World" in 2019

China's manufacturing industry has all the industrial categories listed by the United Nations industrial classification, with annual commodity imports and exports totaling 31,550,500,000,000 (thirty-one trillion five hundred fifty billion five hundred million) Renminbi, and foreign exchange reserves of 3.1079 trillion US dollars, ranking first in the world for both.

China's highspeed rail operations mileage exceeds 35,000 kilometers, and freeway mileage exceeds 140,000 kilometers to rank China number one in the world in both categories.

Nationwide grain production totaled 660,000,000 (six hundred sixty million) tons, making China the number one power in the world in production of grain.

Annual applications for domestic and international patents numbered 4,380,000, with patent rights received for 2,592,000 patents. 58,990 applications were submitted for PCT (Patent Cooperation Treaty) patents, with China ranking number one in all categories.

(Top of page 31 in the Chinese text)

### **Live Broadcast**

China's 2020 Mount Everest peak survey mountaineering team successfully scales the mountain peak.

On May 27, 2020 at exactly 11 a.m. the eight members of China's 2020 Mount Everest peak survey mountaineering team successfully scaled the peak called "the top of the world", Mount Everest, to survey its altitude. 2020 marks the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first time that China successfully scaled the peak of Mount Everest from the northern slope., and the 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first time that precise measurements were taken and announced for Mount Everest's altitude. The launching of this Mount Everest peak survey has great significance.

(Top of page 32 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

Faced with the superior advantages demonstrated by China's system in combatting the pandemic, although certain personages in the West verbally "diss" China (translator's note: the slang word "diss" in English is printed in the original Chinese text), in their hearts they had no choice but to say "I must admit that you are right." ("I服了 You", as it appears in the original Chinese text).

The people hold the key to evaluating whether a nation's system is good or bad, superior or inferior. Let the facts speak for themselves.

There is a boat called "the same boat we share, braving wind and rain together"; there is a state of mind called, "one mind uniting millions"; there is a city called "the stronghold of united aspirations"; this is the power of China which can overcome any obstacle.

Abundant wisdom, a multitude of advantages, numerous noteworthy achievements: China's system is "Awesome!"

Over its historical experience, China's system has gradually matured, day by day. Domestically, the system strengthens the nation and enriches the people, while advancing harmony among nations outside China, as the brightest star among the stary sky of human civilization.

What has propelled China's economic to soar to such heights? Some people attribute it to "comparative advantages" such as the demographic dividend, natural resources, and environmental capacity. However, these factors can only bring growth for a time and cannot support long-term, rapid development of China's economy. It is the formidable power of the system which plays a fundamental role in this process. The household contract responsibility system implemented among rural areas is an excellent example of this. The land is still the land, and the people are still the people. Reforms have stimulated the vitality of institutional mechanisms, resulting in substantial increases in production and efficiency. Although certain individuals in the West have no choice but to admit the objective fact of China's development, they are unwilling to admit the role of the system in this development. In fact, we have integrated basic principles of socialism with beneficial elements of capitalism, not only providing powerful guidance to the overall development of our economy but also emphasizing freeing up the dynamics and potential in economic development, to ensure that China's economic train rapidly moves forward along the right track.

The miracle of our stability is the "envy of the world". At present, China has a stable and orderly society. The people live peacefully and are happy in their work. Data from the relevant United Nations organizations show that less than one murder occurs per 100,000 population in China, which is lower than Germany, the U.K., Australia, Canada, the United States, and other Western developed countries, with China's murder rate being extremely low among the major countries of the world. In the world today, filled with frequent interconnected international chaos, regional conflict, continuing instability, terrorist attacks, and individual acts of extremism, it can be said that China, as a large developing country with 1.4 billion people and a vast territory, is unique in

its ability to maintain overall stability while undergoing rapid transformation and development. On the other hand, certain countries boast that their people have “freedom from fear”, while, in reality, what their citizens have is freedom amidst fear.

What maintains long-term social stability? In China, there is a strong leadership system with a top-down organizational system, a social governance network which extends horizontally from side to side and vertically from top to bottom has been built to ensure that the overall situation for the whole society is stable and controllable. China also has scientific and sound mechanisms for coordination of interests, resolving contradictions, voicing demands, participating in decision making, and managing emergencies. These mechanisms can promptly and effectively eliminate unstable and unsafe factors, and discover and resolve emerging problems, to “be able to perceive minute details“ (from Mengzi (孟子 ), Part One of the Chapter on Lianghui Wang (梁惠王上 )) and “take precautions to prevent disasters before they occur” (from the text of the 64<sup>th</sup> hexagram in the Book of Changes (易经, 既济卦)).

When evaluating the viability, the efficacy, and genuine usefulness of a system, putting it into practice is the best proof. When faced with the great achievements China has attained, more and more people in the world, even certain individuals with a biased outlook, must confess that China’s system does have unique advantages.

(Box at the bottom of page thirty-three in the Chinese text)

#### **Online Questions and Answers**

Question: What is freedom from fear?

Answer: The concept of “freedom from fear” was put forth during World War Two in a speech by U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt. He believed that the objective of democratic political development was to enable people to have “freedom from fear.” However, over the past seventy years, the development of Western democracies has not brought people the security they want. Certain countries which have emulated Western democratic systems are not the only ones to find that they have not obtained “freedom from fear.” Even people in Western countries are unable to safeguard their security. This pandemic which has raged across Europe and the Americas fully proves this point.

### **III. Strengthen (self-)confidence in the Chinese system**

From the beginning of 2019, a program on ideological and political theory, “China Now” has been broadcast on Dragon TV. It enjoys countless numbers of fans, has attracted widespread attention and has had good reviews. The program takes a broad international viewpoint and uses popular language to express its ideas, utilizing a “lecture + reality show” approach to not only give the audience a view of China which is objective, three-dimensional, and real, but also discuss in-depth the systemic factors spurring China’s development. Audiences which have viewed this program have been moved by the splendid narratives on China which have been presented one after another and have become infected with the strong self-confidence in our system conveyed by such stories.

(Bottom of page 34 in the Chinese text) Photograph of an on-site filming of the program “This is China”.

(Top of page 35 in the Chinese text) **Special Focus:**

Returning to China to develop their careers has become the number one choice of many Chinese students who study abroad.

During recent years, more and more Chinese students who study abroad return to China after graduation to develop their careers. They choose to find employment and start businesses in China, becoming an important force in the undertaking to develop the system of Socialism with Chinese characteristics for a New Era. In December 2019, the Ministry of Education published the “2019 Report on Chinese Students Who Study Abroad and Return to China to Work”, which indicated that close to eighty percent of students who studied abroad chose to return to China to pursue their careers. The photograph shows a job fair for students who have studied abroad and returned to China.

Confidence in our system, simply stated, means recognizing, upholding, and protecting our nation’s social system. Among the “Four Matters of Confidence”, confidence in our system is more substantive, more expressive, and more resolute. It may be said that confidence in our system is a concentrated embodiment of confidence in our path, confidence in our theory, and confidence in our culture, and is a strong underlying force and powerful support for strengthening the “Four Matters of Confidence”. Self-confidence is often “easy under favorable circumstances, and difficult under adverse circumstances.” (Quoted from the Qing Dynasty poet Zhao Yi (赵翼) (1727-1814)). Today, our emphasis on confidence in the system is in response to the problem that certain persons still lack confidence in the system, and always feel that the moon shines brighter in Western countries, and need “calcium supplementation” ideologically and spiritually. Especially at the present time, under circumstances where the power of socialism is weak when compared to the power of capitalism, it is extremely important and very urgent that confidence in our system is strengthened in relation to the direction of the our path, our future, and our destiny.

Propaganda and education (to) strengthen identity. Education and propagation of our system is like planting seeds in people’s hearts. Such education must be accumulated over time and exert an imperceptible influence. We must use a multitude of effective approaches to guide all members of the Party and society to fully understand the substantive features and superiority of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, to understand the historical achievements attained through the construction of China’s state system and national system of governance, to understand the valuable experience and basic principles underlying the formation of this system, so as to conscientiously strengthen our sense of identity and self-confidence. Education and propagation of the system must be upheld over a long period of time, because success is achieved over the long term, and must be integrated into the system for educating and training cadres. Such education must be carried out throughout the entire national education process, and be reflected in the daily

lives of the masses of the people, to genuinely internalize self-confidence in the system and externalize it in action.

Tell the story well to increase understanding. “Although the wine is fragrant, it is (hidden) in a deep lane” (derived from a Chinese folk saying, this means that good things must be marketed and propagated to enable people to discover them.) More than seven hundred years ago, there was negligible activity between East and West. The travelogue written by the Italian Marco Polo placed a prosperous and powerful China in front of the Europeans. This book was like a key for Europeans which opened the door to the mysterious East and exerted an important influence on how Westerners viewed the East.

(Bottom of page 36 in the Chinese text) **Special Focus:**

The “Understanding China” Conference has become an important platform for telling China’s story well.

Since 2013, the Understanding China Conference has successfully been held four times. It is one of the most influential platforms for enabling the world to understand China’s development strategy and advancing mutual understanding between China and foreign countries. From October 26-October 27, 2019, the fourth Understanding China Conference was convened in Guangzhou, with its theme being “Starting Again with a New Round of Economic Globalization and China’s Reforms and Opening to the World.” Approximately 600 politicians, strategists, theorists, and industry leaders from around the world assembled at the Conference, for in-depth research, discussion and exchange.

(Top of page 37 in the Chinese text) **Authoritative Voices**

Redouble efforts to cherish the advantages of our system, and comprehensively uphold them.

Tang Fangyu (Vice Director of the General Office of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party): The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and national system of governance have outstanding advantages, which are comprehensive and quite profound. They are substantive embodiments of the essential features of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and represent an integration by several generations of Chinese Communist Party members of Marxism’s basic principles with China’s concrete realities, the crystallization of tireless exploration and struggle in the midst of governing the nation, deeply founded in theory and supported by practice. They are the fundamentals upon which we firmly consolidate our confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must redouble our efforts to cherish them and to comprehensively uphold them.

In today’s world where international interaction is increasing day by day, telling China’s story well is vitally important to building our national image and strengthening our influence. Currently, in the international arena, China to a certain degree still suffers from the issue of “being in the right but not speaking out, speaking out but not spreading the message, and spreading the message but having no effect.” To change such circumstances in which China plays a passive role, it is most

important to employ the appropriate methods, to seek common ground while reserving differences, to assimilate others and eliminate differences, to adapt to the habits of the target audience, to innovate means of dissemination, to become adept at using “outside mouths” (foreign entities) to speak for us, to vividly tell China’s story well, to portray a truer face of China, to enable the world to better understand the basic concepts and characteristic advantages of China’s system.

Clarify matters and get to the bottom of things to discern between truth and falsehood. During the past several years, there have been some persons in the international community did not have a good understanding of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Some of them also misunderstood and misread the system, even to the point of purposely misrepresenting and maligning it. Some people said that the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is “capitalist socialism”, while others directly called it “state capitalism” or “new bureaucratic capitalism”. These erroneous arguments are attempts to confuse people’s thinking and undermine confidence in our system among the vast masses of cadres and the masses. We must clearly raise our flag to refute such erroneous viewpoints, clearly discern between truth and falsehood, and eliminate impurity to draw fresh water (eliminate vice and exalt virtue). Elucidating the principled nature, uniqueness, scientific nature, and rationality of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is beneficial to furthering the full expression of the outstanding advantages and vigorous vitality of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

“ Confident of life spanning two centuries, I dare to swim (pursue the fulfilment of ambitions) for three thousand *li*”. (These two lines are from a poem titled (Seven Ancient Reflections, Fragments of a Poem (七古残句) written in the winter of 1916 by Mao Zedong. The allusion in the second line (which in Chinese reads 会当水击三千里 is from Zhuangzi (庄子) in the chapter titled “Free and Easy Wandering” (逍遥游) ) and was incorporated by Mao Zedong in his poem.) China’s system, carrying forward the past into the future, shining brightly, must launch a magnificent voyage to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Casting its eyes on the world, China’s highly charismatic system, will add brilliance to the treasure house of humankind’s institutional civilization.

(Box at the bottom of page 38 in the Chinese text)

**For in-depth reading**

Xi Jinping *Upholding, Improving and Developing the Socialist State and Legal Systems with Chinese Characteristics*, published in Issue 23 of *Qiushi Magazine*, 2019.

*China's Actions in Combatting the COVID 19 Pandemic*, released by the State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, published in the People's Daily, on June 8, 2020.

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### **Chapter 3.** **A Mainstay Appears in Turbulent Seas**

Why are the Party's Leadership System and Institutions Given Top Priority?

On January 7, 2020 the Standing Committee of the Politburo of Chinese Communist Party Central Committee convened a meeting at Zhongnanhai to hear Party group work reports from the National People's Congress Standing Committee, the State Council, the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), the Supreme People's Court, and the Supreme People's Procuratorate. They also heard the work report of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, and set explicit requirements for work during the upcoming year. Such institutional arrangements began in 2015, have been implemented six times, are extremely important in safeguarding the authority of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the centralized unified leadership of the Party, and play an important role as a model for the whole Party. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee earmarked the various systems for resolutely safeguarding of the authority of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the centralized and unified leadership as important content of Party leadership system and institutions, and an emphasized resolutely upholding and improving such institutions, to provide powerful guarantees for ensuring that all Party members, ideologically, politically, and in their actions, maintain a high degree of consistency with the Party Center with Comrade Xi Jinping as the core.

(Bottom of page 39 in the Chinese text) Photograph of the main entrance to Zhongnanhai.

Party, government, military, society, and education, east, west, south, and north – the Party leads all. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is the most essential feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the greatest advantage of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The Party's system of leadership is China's fundamental leadership system. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> CCP Central Committee gave top priority to upholding and improving the Party's system of leadership, highlighted the dominant position of the Party's system of leadership, and grasped the key points and crucial importance of state governance. These are the fundamental political requirements for the construction of China's state system and system of governance for a new era, and the fundamental systemic guarantees to ensure that socialism with Chinese characteristics consistently advances on the correct path.

#### **I. Stars rally 'round the moon A miraculous pillar of stability**

During the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century, three important workers' movements, the famous armed rebellions by Lyonnais silk workers known as the Canut revolts, Chartism in the UK, and the Silesian Weavers Uprising of 1845 in Germany, signified the appearance of the proletarian class as an independent political power on the stage of history. However, due to a lack of advanced leadership power and a lack of noble social ideals, these spontaneous workers' movements ultimately failed.

In 1848, the Communist Manifesto, co-authored by two young men, took the world by storm. The first Marxist political party, The Communist League, had its own plan of action, and socialism was transformed from a beautiful concept in people's imaginations into a scientific revolutionary

movement. From this point on, the twin brothers of Marxist political parties and scientific socialism accompanied one another in the turbulent tides of world socialist movements, sharing good fortune and misfortune.

(Picture at the bottom of page 40 in the Chinese text)  
Marx and Engels during their youth.

China's revolution achieved victory under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. This determined that China would inevitably walk the socialist road. Surging forward on the waves of a great journey of more than seventy years, the Party has led the people in taking their first difficult steps to courageously break out of their isolation and rigidity, to maintain their strength and protect themselves when undergoing severe tests, to forge ahead in the great struggle...the Chinese Communist Party has been intimately tied to the development and progress of modern China, and to the vigorous vitality of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It may be said that the Chinese Communist Party's rule over China is a great blessing for China, the Chinese people, and the Chinese nation.

Only with a far-sighted leader can the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics always fly high in the breeze. Our banner determines our direction; our road determines our destiny. After the establishment of New China, at every important historical juncture, our Party has held the banner of socialism high, to ensure that our red genes are passed down from generation to generation.

(Pictures in the middle of page 41 in the Chinese text)

A site on Xingye Road in Shanghai where conferences were held by the Chinese Communist Party.

A red boat on Nanhu (Lake) in Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province

After our newly born political power had just been established, opinions in our society differed as to what type of social system China should select. Nonetheless, our Party resolutely believed that China must become a socialist nation. Embarking on the new era, reform has become widely accepted. However, there is still debate over where reforms should be made and what should be reformed. Our Party has stated its position quite clearly on these issues. Whether it be revitalizing the domestic economy or opening to the outside world, both must be undertaken in accordance with socialist principles. If this precondition is not met, reform may change direction, and transformation may change color. It is precisely our orientation under the Party's banner which ensures the perpetuity of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the ongoing vitality of our fundamental undertaking.

(Bottom of page 42 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

Marxist political parties enabled the ideals of scientific socialism to become a reality, which enabled the Communist movement to become an unstoppable tide in the course of history.

Without the Communist Party there would be no new China. Without the Party's leadership, the nation would not have a new face and the people would not have a new life.

In such a large country as ours, only the Chinese Communist Party has the prestige and the ability to assume leadership. This is the institutional code for "Chinese governance".

Even a family of a thousand people can only have one master. The nation has numerous affairs, and the central (government) is the key.

Only through self-renewal and self-transcendence can we shoulder the great responsibility for rejuvenating the (Chinese) nation, and perpetually maintain our vitality.

Only with indomitable "revolutionaries" can the ship of socialism with Chinese characteristics conquer the waves and advance forward. Socialism is a completely new undertaking. This ship of socialism with Chinese characteristics is navigating uncharted waters. Ahead are many whirlpools, hidden reefs, and dangerous shoals, which must be continuously explored and broken-through. Our Party is a great, fearless revolutionary party, which dares to lead a great social revolution while continuously advancing its own great self-revolution, time after time relying on self-revolution to solve its own problems and rectify its mistakes, to enable the Party to perpetually advance in the forefront of the times. It is precisely because our Party has a distinctly revolutionary character that it is able to break down the barriers of ideological and conceptual fetters and interests which have become rigid, and advance the socialist revolution in the spirit of reform and innovation, to enable the "China" ship to navigate deep waters, traverse hidden reefs, and pass over dangerous shoals, to smoothly pass through the majestic yet treacherous channels of our times.

(Bottom of page 44 in the Chinese text)

Picture depicting the scene at the announcement of the establishment of the Paris Commune

The edifice of socialism with Chinese characteristics can only rise majestically with a mainstay of united minds and pooled our strength. The Chinese Communist Party has over 91 million members, leading a great socialist nation with a population of over 1.4 billion people. Uniting and leading all members of the Party, all the nation, and all the people to move as one in action, and to move forward with great steps, and smoothly advance the advancement of socialism with Chinese characteristics cannot be done without a strong leadership core. Especially following the deep development of the socialist market economy and opening to the outside world, it is easy for all types of ideas and actions to arise among members of the Party and society, which makes

the common foundation of the unified struggle shared by the whole Party and all the people of China vulnerable to erosion and elimination. In such a big country as ours, only by fully bringing into play the role of the Party in overseeing the whole situation, and coordinating the roles of various parties, can we achieve unity of will and action, advancing forward with steady steps towards the objective of our struggle, the modernization of socialism.

The Chinese Communist Party engages in revolution, undertakes construction, and implements reforms, all with the interests of the people at heart, to enable the people to lead fulfilling lives. Our Party has never mentioned the pursuit of our interests. Other than the interests of the people, we have no special interests of our own. This is fundamentally different from how political parties in the West represent specific interest groups. The strengthening of the Party's comprehensive leadership is determined by the nature and objectives of the Party and is not a power struggle. Moreover, it is also not authoritarian centralization. The Party's objective is to better rule for the people and rely on the people in ruling them, and duly achieve, safeguard and develop the fundamental interests of the greatest number of people. Only under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party can a happy life for the Chinese people be stably achieved, and can the China Dream, the great rejuvenation of the Chinese people, be achieved at an early date.

## **II. Various affairs are found everywhere. The Central (Government) is the key.**

*Xiangqi* or “Chinese chess” is an ancient game of intellect which in its earliest form existed over 3,000 years ago, having continuously been loved by people. *Xiangqi*'s allure lies in the subtle ways in which its pieces can be arranged on the board and the orderliness of moves made when mounting an offense or defense, the calculated strategies of the generals sit in their tents, with elephants and advisers arrayed on either side, chariots, horses, and cannon each playing their respective roles, and foot soldiers courageously advancing forward.

Ruling a country is like a game of chess. The Party Center is like the general, acting as the mastermind and central axis of the whole board in the game, vitally important in making the right moves for the whole Party and the whole nation in this “grand chess game”. Resolutely safeguarding the authority and centralized and unified leadership of the Party Center is a major principle which any mature Marxist political party must consistently uphold and is the scientific conclusion arrived at by our Party after deeply assessing the lessons of historical experience.

Since their inception, Marxist political parties have faced the serious problem of safeguarding their authority and centralized and unified leadership. During the time of the First International, Marx and Engels severely criticized Bakunin's advocacy of anti-authoritarianism and anarchism. On March 18, 1871, the workers of Paris started an uprising to overthrow the reactionary rule of the bourgeois class and establish the first proletarian government in human history. However, the Paris Commune only existed for 72 days before it was jointly strangled by reactionary forces. Why did the Paris Commune fail after only existing for such a short time? There were many reasons for this, of which the most important was the failure to organize a unified leadership core. At the time, whenever the Committee of the Paris Commune convened, a provisional recommendation system was implemented which stipulated that each committee member could use his/her power to issue

orders, which resulted in revolutionary power losing its rigor and becoming confused, with each person doing as they liked, ultimately causing the destruction of the Commune's political power. Afterwards, Engels clearly pointed out that, "The Paris Commune perished because it lacked centralization and authority."

Lenin, during his leadership of the Russian Revolution, also faced a similar test. After Russia's first Marxist political party, the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), was established, serious differences erupted within the RSDLP regarding the question of its central leadership organization. The Menshevik faction advocated polycentric leadership, with two or more central leadership organizations leading all the activities of the RSDLP. On this issue, the Bolsheviks represented by Lenin, engaged in a bitter struggle to the end with the Mensheviks, and stated that it was absolutely imperative to resolutely safeguard the authority of the Central Committee. "People whose paths differ cannot work together" (a saying found in the Analects of Confucius, Chapter on Weilinggong).

**Knowledge Link** (At the bottom of page 45 in the Chinese text)

**Bolsheviks and Mensheviks**

Bolshevik is a transliteration of the Russian word for "majority", while Menshevik is a transliteration of the Russian word for "minority". In 1903, at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the RSDLP, Marxists led by Vladimir Lenin encountered serious differences with Julius Martov and others over the formulation of Party Rules. During the selection of members of the Party's central leadership organization, Lenin's supporters received the majority of the votes, and were called Bolsheviks, while Martov's supporters received a minority of the votes, and were called Mensheviks. Afterwards, a split occurred in the directions respectively taken by the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. A fundamental difference between them was that the Bolsheviks advocated upholding a dictatorship of the proletariat, and safeguarding the centralized leadership and authority of the Party's central committee, while the Mensheviks advocated allowing all those who wanted to join the Party to become members, with no requirement for Party members to be highly centralized or organized.

This (difference in approaches to leadership) ultimately became a major factor in the split between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. After a long period of struggle, the Bolsheviks internally gradually established and strengthened the authority of the central leadership organization, to ensure that the decisions of the party's central committee would be unconditionally executed. It was precisely because of such strong political guarantees that afterwards during the October Revolution, revolutionary troops and Worker's Red Guards, under the leadership of Lenin and other leaders, were able to rush like a tide into the Winter Palace, overthrow the provisional government of the bourgeoisie, and establish the Soviet government, to give birth to the world's first socialist country. History is always filled with such drama. Over seventy years later, it was precisely because the Soviet communists voluntarily relinquished the leadership of their party, weakening the authority of their party center, that this great party and great country collapsed and fell apart overnight. This is what is meant by the saying, "Raised up by Xiao He, cast down by Xiao He (one's success and failure are due to the same factor)."

A history of the Chinese Communist Party is a history of the formation and safeguarding of the authority and centralized, unified leadership of the Party Center. In the early years after the establishment of the CCP, the absence of a mature Party Center caused the work of the Party to suffer several setbacks, even to the point that the Party seemed to be “at the end of its rope.” At that critical time when the survival of the revolution was threatened, the Zunyi Conference confirmed Comrade Mao Zedong’s position as leader of the Red Army and the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, and the Party began to form a strong leadership core. Comrade Mao Zedong once made a vivid comparison: “If you break open a peach, how many cores does it have? It has only one core.” It is precisely under the strong leadership of the Party Center that the Chinese revolution has been able to advance step by step towards victory, and the great undertaking of constructing Chinese socialism and undertaking reforms has been able to continuously be pushed forward. Even with the occurrence of ten years of civil strife like the “Cultural Revolution”, the Party Center was at the helm charting our course, and our Party and national undertaking was not fundamentally shaken, and the ship of socialist China continued to strive forward amidst twists and turns.

“The majestic mountains must have a dominant peak.” (a famous line written in an essay by Han Yu of the Tang Dynasty.) Since the 18<sup>th</sup> National People’s Congress, in the face of serious and complex domestic and international situations, the fundamental reason why the Party has been able to overcome a series of risks and challenges, push forward the Party and the nation’s undertakings to attain historical achievements and implement historical reforms, and advance comprehensive, significant enhancement of China’s international influence, ability to inspire, and power to shape events, is because the Party has resolutely safeguarded General Secretary Xi Jinping as the core of the Party Center and his position as the core of the whole Party, and resolutely safeguarded the authority and centralized, unified leadership of the Party Center. Everyone who experiences or witnesses the new era has deep feelings about this, and from the bottom of their hearts feel incomparably proud of such a leader of a great Party leader and leader of a great power.

(Top of page 48 in the Chinese text)

**Authoritative Voices**

**The Modernization of China’s System (of Governance) Must Advance Under the Leadership of the Party**

Shi Taifeng (Party Committee Secretary of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Director of the Standing Committee of the People’s Congress of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region): A state’s system (of governance) and capacity for governance are centralized embodiments of a state’s system and its execution capabilities. The state system (of governance) forms a system which administers the nation. National governance capacity is the ability to use the state system to administer various affairs in society. The state system (of governance) forms a complex system composed of many subsystems. The core of this system is the Chinese Communist Party. The modernization of a state’s system (of governance) must be carried forward under the leadership of the Party.

### III. Pervading everything Thoroughly following through

“A sharp sword hangs high, clearly differentiating those who are loyal from those who are sycophants.” Starting from the middle of May, 2020, fifteen inspection teams of the 5<sup>th</sup> Round of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee inspections launched routine inspections of Party organizations at thirty-five central and state institution work units, and carried out comprehensive “political physical examination”. Central government and national agencies have the greatest proximity to the Party’s Central Committee, having the most direct access in providing services to the Party’s Central Committee. They are the first line of formation in implementing “The Two Safeguards” (resolutely safeguarding General Secretary Xi Jinping as the core of the Party Center, as the person holding the core position throughout all the Party, and resolutely safeguarding the authority and centralized unified leadership of the Party Center). They occupy the central hub in the framework of the Party and the state’s political structure and organizational system, in a vitally important position. This round of inspections focused on these “national enterprises” and “national brands”, with the objective being to urge these central units to consolidate their political positions and resolutely carry out their missions and duties, to ensure that the Party Center’s decrees are carried out without obstruction and executed without fail.

In China, comprehensive leadership by the Party is not an abstraction but a concrete reality which involves every area of state governance in every aspect and at every phase, embodied in activities at every level in every type of organization. Establishing and improving various systems under which the Party leads all work is the most fundamental thing to duly implementing comprehensive, systematic, complete leadership under the Party, to provide oversight over the entire situation, and to coordinate various Party leadership systems. Only by having rigid restrictions under the system can we ensure that the Party’s position and the people’s will are effectively carried out, and ensure the thorough implementation of the Party’s theory, line, principles and policies.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party’s 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee summarized past successful experiences and effective methods, and based on upholding and improving Party leadership system and institutions, clarified system arrangements in six areas: establish a system under which we never forget our original intentions and always remember our mission; improve and consolidate a system for safeguarding the authority and centralized, unified leadership of the Party Center; improve the system of comprehensive leadership under the Party; improve various systems of governing for the people and relying on the people; improve the system for enhancing the Party’s governance capacity and standards of leadership; and improve a system for comprehensive strict governance of the Party. Only by comprehensive, thorough implementation of these system requirements can this fundamental characteristic, leadership under the Party, be duly reflected, and this greatest advantage duly exert its effect.

(Bottom of page 49 in the Chinese text) Photographs illustrating the many means used by various work units in different localities to launch educational activities with the theme of “Never Forget Our Original Intentions and Always Remember Our Mission” (不忘初心, 牢记使命)

(Top of page 50 in the Chinese text) **Special Focus:**

Jiayang in Sichuan builds strong instructor teams for the work of building the Party in the Two New Types of Organizations

To further strengthen Party leadership of new economic organizations and new social organizations, and continuously expand Party organizational coverage and work coverage, in recent years Jiayang Municipality in Sichuan Province has taken many types of measures to build a strong Party-building instructor teams and provide strong support from talented individuals to enhance “Two New Types of Organizations” Party-building work. This picture shows a mobilization meeting held in Jiayang Municipality for instructors involved in the work of building the Party in new economic organizations and new social organizations.

With a focus on consolidating the Party’s fundamental position, the Plenary Session proposed establishing a system under which we “Never Forget Our Intentions and Always Remember Our Mission”, and improving various systems of governing for the people and relying on the people. Working for the happiness of the Chinese people and working for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is the original intent of the Party and the perpetual aspiration of the Party. Our original intent and our mission reflect lofty ideals and beliefs. They are the unwavering spiritual pursuit of Chinese communists, which under the requirements of the system must deeply take root in the hearts of the vast masses of Party cadres, to fortify the foundation of ideology. From June to November 2019, two groups of educational activities with the theme “Never Forget Our Intentions and Always Remember Our Mission” were launched by the Party, and achieved clear results, which for the most part raised ideological levels among all Party members. To consolidate the results of this themed education, special system arrangements were made in *The Decision* to advance the normalization and long-term efficiency of education. The people are the greatest power which supports our Party’s government. Serving the people is internal, not (just) outer appearance. To resolve difficulties faced by the people is to share the burden of the Party’s tribulations. *The Decision* ensures the dominant position of the people through improving the system, fully mobilizes the people’s enthusiasm, initiative, and innovation in state governance, and relies on the people to create a great historical undertaking.

With respect to safeguarding the unified authority of the Party, the Plenary Session proposed improving various systems for upholding, and safeguarding the authority and centralized, unified leadership of the Party Center, and improving the system for comprehensive leadership of the entire Party. In recent years, our Party has in turn formulated or amended the *Several Regulations of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee on Strengthening and Safeguarding the Centralized, Unified Leadership of the Party Center*, the *Regulations of the Chinese Communist Party on Filing Reports and Requestings Instructions on Major Matters*, and other such internal Party regulations, to ensure that Party leadership full covers the system, and to ensure that the centralized, unified leadership of the Party Center is even stronger and more powerful.

(Bottom of page 51 of the Chinese text) **Knowledge Link**

Democratic Centralism

The concept of democratic centralism was first clearly proposed by Lenin and was later enriched and developed during socialist practice. It is a fundamental organizational principle and system of leadership of our Party. It basically means the integration of centralization based on democracy with democracy under a centralized command. The Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party sets forth six basic principles for democratic centralism: individual Party members are obedient to the Party organization, with the minority being obedient to the majority; subordinate organizations are obedient to their superior organizations; all organizations in the Party and all Party members are obedient to the Party's National People's Congress and the Central Committee; the Party's leading agencies of all levels, with the exception of representative agencies which they appoint and Party organizations within non-Party organizations, shall all be created through an election process; the Party's highest leadership organ is the National People's Congress and the Central Committee which it generates; high level organizations in the Party must frequently hear the opinions of subordinate organizations and Party members and the masses, and solve the problems they raise in a timely manner; committees at every level of the Party shall implement a system which integrates centralized leadership with individual work responsibilities; the Party prohibits any form of personality cult.

This Plenary Session reiterated that the whole Party should be pushed forward to strengthen of the “Four Consciousnesses” (political consciousness, overall consciousness, core consciousness, and alignment consciousness) and uphold the “Four Matters of Confidence” (confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics), achieve the “Two Safeguards” (resolutely safeguarding General Secretary Xi Jinping as the core of the Party Center, as the person holding the core position throughout the entire Party, and resolutely safeguarding the authority and centralized unified leadership of the Party Center), consciously in our thinking, in our governance, and in our actions maintain a high degree of consistency with the Party Center which has Xi Jinping as its core, and resolutely implement safeguarding General Secretary Xi Jinping as the core of the Party Center and the core position of the entire Party. At the same time, the Plenary Session made plans for an improving the system of leadership under the Party Center with respect to major work and improving the system for safeguarding centralized and unified organization of the Party, to provide powerful systemic guarantees for strengthening the authority and centralized unified leadership of the Party Center.

Focusing on maintaining the advanced nature and purity of the Party, the entire Plenary Session proposed the improvement of the system for enhancing the Party's governance capacity and leadership standards, and improving the system for comprehensive strict governance of the Party. Our Party leads such a large country, which requires outstanding skills, along with being excellent ourselves. *The Decision* set forth capacity requirements for three areas: the entire Party, Party organizations at various levels, and leading cadres at various levels, while also making system arrangements for strengthening administration of the Party by the Party and comprehensive strict governance of the Party. Upholding the system of democratic centralism, this fundamental organizational principle, was earmarked for special emphasis. Upholding leadership by the Party does not mean that we do not want democracy. Rather, it means that we want to closely integrate democracy and centralism, to improve the development of democracy within the Party, and

implement the relevant system for correct centralization, to enhance the Party's ability to determine its direction, plan the overall situation, formulate government policy, and advance reform.

“Our boundless, sacred land, now inundated with fierce waves, awaits rescue. The vast land of China, who can support her in braving the current?” (famous lines written by Zhou Enlai in the autumn of 1915, lamenting China's fate). The Chinese Communist Party has weathered almost one century and lead an ancient people out of the depths of history. It has traversed a path of bitterness and glory, moving from weakness to strength and prosperity, and is now advancing with great steps on the road to the rejuvenation of our nation. It must assume a responsibility which no one else can assume, to complete this sacred mission bestowed by history and by the times.

(Top of page 53 in the Chinese text) **For in-depth reading**

Xi Jinping at the 21<sup>st</sup> Collective Study Session of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee emphasizes the need to do an effective job of thoroughly implementing the Party's organizational line for a new era, and continuously build the Party even stronger and more powerful. Published in the People's Daily on July 1, 2020.

Xi Jinping: Lecture at the Conference Summarizing the Educational Campaign based on the theme ““Never Forget Our Original Intentions and Always Remember Our Mission” (不忘初心, 牢记使命)

Published in Issue 13 of *Qiushi* Magazine, 2020

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## Chapter 4.

### Everyone in Our Sacred Land Embodies the Sages Shun and Yao

How can the people become masters of the country through our system?

In the first month of summer, grasses and trees flourish, and our sacred land radiates new life. From May 21 to May 28, 2020, the long-awaited National People's Congress and the China Political Consultative Congress convened in Beijing. Affected by the COVID 19 pandemic, these two Congresses set a twenty-three year precedent because they were convened after a delay of more than two months, which destined them to have extraordinary significance. In eight days, notwithstanding the shortened length of the two Congresses and their tight daily schedules, representatives and committee members upheld high standards in performing their duties and conscientiously shouldering their responsibilities, to carefully review and discuss government working reports and working reports from the People's Supreme Court and the People's Supreme Procuratorate, recommendations were actively made with respect to overall planning and advancement of the normalization of pandemic prevention and control and economic and social development, compiling the 14<sup>th</sup> 5 Year Plan and achieving the target of decisively winning the battle to lift people out of poverty, along with other issues. This fully expressed the important role played in the system of state governance by the (National) People's Congress system, and the system of multiparty cooperation led by the Chinese Communist Party and political consultation. The national Two Sessions (the National People's Congress and the China Political Consultative Congress) are important events in our country's political life, while also functioning as windows through which the world can observe China. The convening of the national Two Sessions sent an important message to the international community that China had effectively controlled the pandemic, and also reflected the Party's and the nation's resolute strength of political will in their commitment to safeguarding the rights of the people as masters of the country under any circumstances.

“One's name and fame are not created by Heaven. They must be substantiated by reality.” (A quote from Wang Fuzhi (1619-1692) in his Records of Thoughts and Questions (Siwenlu (思问录)). The establishment of New China has enabled the Chinese people to rise up and stand on their own two feet, and in a political context to become masters of their nation and their society. How can the people truly become masters of the country? Our Party has integrated Marxist political theory with the substantive reality of China's circumstances, to create and form a complete set of multilevel, comprehensive system arrangements to most realistically, most broadly, and most effectively achieve the political objectives and lofty aspirations of the people in becoming masters of the country.

(Bottom of page 54 in the Chinese text) The illustration is a photograph of the 13<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress convened in the Great Hall of the People. The banner reads “The 3<sup>rd</sup> session of the 13<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China”

(Bottom of page 55 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

The special nature of the Two Sessions Extraordinary meaning

With the whole world still faced with serious circumstances in fighting the pandemic, the national Two Sessions were held in Beijing from May 21-28, 2020 against the background of China's major strategic achievements in preventing and controlling the pandemic.

The four photographs portray the National People's Congress. The words on the wall on the right in the photograph in the lower right-hand corner of the page read "3<sup>rd</sup> Session of the 13<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress, Representatives Corridor". (Translator's note: the 3<sup>rd</sup> Session of the 13<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress was scheduled for March 5, 2020, but was delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and was held from May 22-May 28, 2020.)

(Bottom of page 56 in the Chinese text)

### **Knowledge Link**

The Enlightenment thinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau's representative work *The Social Contract*

The main viewpoint in *The Social Contract* is that humanity desires to survive; however, individuals are weak. Only in a society with government can there be greater guarantees for individual rights, happiness, and property. The feasible method for accomplishing this is to come together to form a unified body, a state. State sovereign rights are vested in the people. The government is merely the people's entrusted party, and the enforcer of laws. The people and the government have a contractual arrangement in which the people are the consignor, and the government is the consignee. Rousseau's thought had a certain progressive significance in the fight against feudal autocracy. However, it overlooked the fact that democracy must be based on production relationships and class relationships, and thus was only an idealistic assumption.

## I. Taking people's democracy as our life(blood)

Democracy is a political ideal tirelessly pursued by humankind. Its original concept necessitates implementation of majority rule. In the history of human political civilization, the replacement of feudal autocracy by bourgeois democracy was a huge step forward. However, this type of democracy was established on a foundation of unequal economic relations, and essentially represented the interests of those who held capital. Accordingly, it embodied the exclusive rights of this small group of bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels once deeply criticized the falseness and restrictive nature of capitalist democracy and believed that political systems in future societies must be established with the people as subject, and must be products of the people themselves.

A fundamental difference between the people's democracy and Western capitalist democracy is that the former is the life(blood) of socialism, the bright banner consistently raised high by the Chinese Communist Party. It truly expresses the people as masters of the country, enabling the great majority of people who comprise the nation's population to truly become the masters of their nation and enjoy full democratic rights safeguarded by the state system. Accordingly, socialist democracy is the most extensive, most realistic, and most practical form of democracy

which safeguards the fundamental rights and interests of the people, representing the direction in which human political civilization is developing.

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**Special Focus:**

Shen Jilan, the only representative to the National People's Congress to have been elected to serve at 13 National People's Congresses

Shen Jilan has in succession participated in 53 sessions of the National People's Congress, from the 1<sup>st</sup> National People's Congress until the 13<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress. She is the only representative to have successively been elected to serve at 13 National People's Congresses. In 2019 she was awarded the "Order of the Republic". She is an ordinary woman who has always lived in a rural village, engaged in farm work all her life. She has never changed her status as a farmer, which has enabled her to fully represent the interests of her group when participating in political activities and discussing political issues, and reflect what is on their minds, their aspirations, and what they hope for. This role is different from that of a professional legislative representative in the West. Shen Jilan, as a person who has personally experienced and witnessed the (National) People's Congress system, vividly embodies the progress which has been made in the development of the people's interests as masters of the country, and demonstrates the superior nature of socialist democratic governance.

Then, what is the basic connotation of people's democracy? The Party and the state implementing people's democracy means ensuring that the state system, the political system, and the entirety of other state governance activities fully embody the requirement that the people be the masters of the country. The People's Republic of China is led by the working class. It is a socialist country under a people's democratic dictatorship based on an alliance between workers and farmers. All the powers of the state belong to the people. The organs through which the people exercise the powers of the state are the National People's Congress and local People's Congresses at each level. Laws, statutes, and policies formulated and implemented by the state are all able to fully embody the will of the people. Various aspects of state governance activities and work all uphold the people as their center, and guarantee that valuing the people as the highest priority is implemented throughout all state governance activities and social activities. China being a socialist country, all political system arrangements are made to enable people to enjoy the most extensive and fullest democratic rights.

(Pictures from top to bottom on the left side of page 58 in the Chinese text)

Legislative Hearing (The words on the screen in the photograph are too small to be discerned clearly: Beijing Municipal....)

Televised Inquiries about Government (The backdrop reads: televised inquiries about government, invite the people to review the answers; central floor panel reads: televised inquiries about government; words on the left panel read: the people raise questions about government; the panel on the right reads: the government's answers)

Government Affairs Open House Day (The banner in the picture reads: Shenyang Municipal Public Security Bureau “May 15 Government Affairs Open House Day” Consultation Event)

How is people’s democracy expressed through a system? From the viewpoint of bourgeois thinkers, people according to social contract transfer certain rights which are uniformly exercised by a government which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie. However, China’s people’s democracy is fundamentally different from this. The people are the masters of the country and the society, and hold and exercise power. Construction and operation of all political systems revolve around their execution by the people. Whether it is the system for the (National) People’s Congress or the multi-party cooperative and political consultative system under the leadership of the Party, no matter if it is the regional system or the system of community-level self-governance, all of them are institutional arrangements to ensure that the people administer affairs of state, economic and cultural undertakings, and social affairs, to consistently maintain the main concept that the people are the center.

How do the people participate in political life? China’s constitution clearly stipulates that a citizen of the People’s Republic of China who is eighteen years of age or older, regardless of their nationality, ethnicity, gender, profession, family background, religious beliefs, level of education, financial condition, or period of residence, has the right to vote and the right to run for election; notwithstanding such persons who have been divested of their political rights according to law. People’s groups may also express their opinions and recommendations through hearings, television and Internet inquiries about government, government affairs open house events, leadership hotlines, oversight and reporting, opinion solicitation, and other such methods. For example, from October 31 to November 29, 2019, public opinion was openly solicited regarding the *Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Minors (Amended Draft)* and the *Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (Amended Draft)*, which ultimately resulted in a total of approximately 47,000 people submitting a total of over 57,000 opinions, of which opinions from minors constituted almost half. Many of these opinions were taken into consideration and adopted, to enable the further improvement of these two laws which concern the healthy growth of juveniles.

Without democracy, there would be no socialism, socialist modernization, or great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The more socialism develops, the more democracy also develops. On the way forward, we must resolutely without deviation follow the road of socialist political advancement with Chinese characteristics. We must resolutely without deviation uphold and improve a system under which the people are the masters of the country and develop a people’s democracy which is even more extensive, even fuller, and even sounder.

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(Photograph on the left) Community residents vote in an election.

(Photograph on the right) Villagers count votes in an election.

(Top of page 60 in the Chinese text)

**Authoritative Voices**

Consultative democracy in China has roots, origins, and vitality

Shu Qiming (Former Vice Secretary of the 13<sup>th</sup> National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress): Socialist consultative democracy originates from concepts of world community, inclusivity, and seeking common ground while reserving differences along with other outstanding elements of political culture. It originates from actual processes arising during China's political development after near-modern times. It originates from the long-term practices of the Chinese Communist Party in leading the people to carry out revolution, construction, and reform. It originates from the great innovations in political system(s) jointly achieved by various political parties, groups, nationalities, social classes, and individuals from all walks of life, after the establishment of New China (the PRC). It originates from continuous innovations made in China's political system(s) since the implementation of reforms and opening to the outside world. It has a deep cultural basis, basis in theory, basis in practice, and basis in systems. From this it may be seen that consultative democracy is rooted in the soil of Chinese society and has roots, origins, and vitality in China.

## II. Many advantages of democracy exist throughout the whole process

In November 1989, when the Berlin Wall with a length of over 150 kilometers was taken down, the Western world cheered and said that the event was a victory for Western style democracy and freedom. There were even people in the West who bragged that socialism's destiny was about to end, and that the system of Western democracy had reached its pinnacle in history, to become the ultimate model of governance among humankind's political systems.

More than thirty years have passed, and today as people remember this historical event, they see a situation which is quite different from what people in the West had anticipated. Western style democracy has not advanced triumphantly and has not become a magic potion to rescue the world from its dilemmas. On the contrary, it has become a source of disaster that has wreaked havoc in the world. By comparison, socialist democracy as represented by China due to its high efficiency, breadth, authenticity, and other distinctive features, has in the 21<sup>st</sup> century become the most dazzling star cluster among the stary sky of human political civilization.

(Top of page 61) **Live Broadcast**

### **US "Floyd incident" protest activities continue, escalate and spread**

On May 25, 2020 U.S. local time, an act of violence committed by a white police officer in Minnesota while enforcing the law resulted in the death of George Floyd, an African-American man. This incident triggered large scale protests which spread to over 200 cities in America, which in many places escalated into violent disturbances, vandalism, looting, and burning. Many Western countries including the U.K., Canada, Germany, France, and Italy were affected by this, with protests erupting in succession in these countries. The photograph on the left shows

American people protesting in front of the United States Capitol, and the photograph on the right shows a group of protesters burning a flag in front of a local police station.

Immediately after the conclusion of the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, when General Secretary Xi Jinping was on an inspection tour of the Hongqiao Sub-district Gubei Municipal Residents' Center in Changning District, Shanghai, he cordially talked with residential representatives who were participating in a consultation meeting for soliciting opinions and recommendations on draft laws. He particularly emphasized that "people's democracy is a type of democracy which involves a complete process. All major legislative policies are based on a process and are generated by scientific and democratic decision-making after democratic deliberation." This important judgment speaks of the essential characteristics of China's people as masters of the country, and highlights the outstanding advantages of socialist democracy.

The complete process for democratic elections is as follows. Representatives to the National People's Congress are selected as spokespersons for the people's will through a process of election level by level, progressing from the lowest level to the highest level. Let us take the representatives to the 13<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress as an example. Based on direct elections at the county and township level, and indirect elections at the provincial and municipal level, from December 2017 to January 2018, 2,980 representatives to the National People's Congress were elected from 35 electoral units. China now has five levels of National People's Congress representatives, numbering over 2,620,000, of which there are over 1,880,000 at the village level, and over 590,000 at the county level, which account for 94 percent of the total number of representatives. All of them are elected under a system of one vote per person. The democratic and extensive nature of this process goes without saying.

The complete process for democratic consultation is as follows. The real meaning of people's democracy is that if an issue arises it can be discussed. Democratic consultation runs through the entire process of political consultation, democratic oversight and participation in government, and forms the greatest common factor throughout society. Focusing on major issues concerning various aspects of economic and social development, through consultations with the political parties, consultations with the (National) People's Congress, consultations with the government, consultations with the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), consultations with people's groups, consultations held at the grassroots level, and consultations with social organizations, etc., we will freely air of views and brainstorm to collect insight and ideas from all viewpoints, to form a powerful cooperative force which drives social development.

The complete process for democratic policy-making is as follows. In China, any major policy decision which concerns the overall situation undergoes a thorough democratic process and is made after soliciting opinions and recommendations from all sides to the greatest extent possible. The creation of *The Decision* at the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee is an excellent example of this. Prior to drafting the document, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee solicited 109 opinions and recommendations from various localities and departments. During the drafting of the document, opinions were solicited in writing or during meetings on numerous occasions. 118 opinions with feedback and 10 speech statements were received, with a

total of 1,948 proposed amendments to the document, many of which played an important role in amending and improving *The Decision*. During the time that the Plenary Session convened and after its conclusion, the Document Drafting Group studied and considered the opinions submitted by the representatives at the Session, making every effort to enable *The Decision* to express the will of the entire Party to the fullest extent possible.

The entire process involved in democratic administration is illustrated as follows. China's laws stipulate that all kinds of grassroots organizations must use certain means to organize their members to participate in democratic administration. In Party and government bodies, enterprise and public institution work units, and other social organizations, labor unions regularly organize and convene workers' congresses, to study and discuss important matters which affect the interests of workers and staff. (Urban) communities and rural areas also convene residents' congresses and villagers' congresses to decide and manage public affairs and public interest undertakings within the scope of their jurisdictions. In China it may be said that no matter what your profession is, no matter where you live, you have opportunities and channels to participate in managing the state and the society. The statement "Everyone is in charge" is by no means an empty statement.

The entire process involved in democratic oversight is as follows. Democratic oversight refers to the people employing the powers invested in them by the Constitution to engage in oversight of state agencies and public employees at all levels of government, to correct various types of illegal behavior. Such oversight is divided into internal oversight by the ruling party, inter-party oversight by other parties, oversight by (National) People's Congress representatives, oversight by public opinion, oversight by individuals, etc. Over a long period of development, China has formed a comprehensive system of oversight of the state and the Party, and has woven a tightly knit "Sky-net" of oversight, to ensure that oversight completely covers all processes without any loopholes to enable power to be exercised transparently in the light of day.

China in its socialist democratic practices ensures the unity of procedural democracy, resultant democracy, formal democracy, substantive democracy, direct democracy and indirect democracy in all procedures involved in democratic elections, democratic consultations, democratic policy decision-making, democratic administration and democratic oversight, to avoid the false democracy of Western countries where "the people are only awakened at the time they vote, and after voting enter a period of dormancy", with "state power controlled by a minority composed of elites", "where political parties take turns sharing their ill-gotten benefits".

(Photographs at the top of page 63 in the Chinese text) General meeting of employees and staff; meeting of community residents' representatives; villagers council.

(Box on page 64 of the Chinese text) **Hot comments online:**

"Democracy" is synonymous with the "the will of the people". "Democracy" resonates with "feelings of the people". Under socialist democracy the people are truly the masters of the country.

Chinese style democracy "follows procedures" and also "produces effective results". It is a form of democracy which can be put into practice, is highly efficient, and really gets the job done.

There is no form of democracy in the world which works for everyone under all circumstances in all locations. It is essential that democracy is compatible with the specific conditions of a given country, conforms to the people's wishes, and is in touch with the common people. Consultative democracy to the greatest extent possible embodies the spirit of democracy, to create a new progressive mode of democracy for humankind. Western democracy calls itself democracy's guide and advisor, but it has not only poorly instructed its students but has further led people astray. Furthermore, it is incapable of managing its own situation well and has produced much chaos.

### **III. A sound democratic political system**

At the end of September 1949, riding on the easy victory of the People's Liberation Army, the 1<sup>st</sup> Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress (CPPCC) was ceremoniously convened to discuss the great undertaking of establishing a New China. This represented the turning of a new page in China's political system. From this point onwards, with over more than 70 years of exploration, as our practice of democracy continuously deepened, a complete, efficiently implemented set of socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics political systems and institutions was formed.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee deeply summarized the experiences and results of China's democratic political construction. It set forth many hard and practical measures to further improve the system of the (National) People's Congress, the political party system, the unified front, the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and the system of community-level self-governance, thus providing firm, substantial institutional safeguards for the people to be the masters of the country.

With respect to fundamental systems, upholding and improving the (National) People's Congress system is proposed. The (National) People's Congress system is an important organizational component of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and is a fundamental political system arrangement that adheres to organic unity of the Party's leadership, the people as masters of the country, and governance according to law. It is a good system suited to China's circumstances and realities, embodies the characteristics of a socialist state, safeguards the people as the masters of the country, and safeguards the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Administrative, supervisory, judicial, and inspection agencies are all created by the National People's Congress. All of them report to the National People's Congress and are subject to supervision by the National People's Congress. Precisely as Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Our chairmanship and premiership are creations of the National People's Congress. They must obey the National People's Congress and must not "escape from the grasp of Maitreya Buddha" (i.e., exceed their authority and bounds). ("Escape from the grasp of Maitreya Buddha" refers to a story in the classic Chinese novel Journey to the West by the Ming Dynasty novelist Wu Chengen, in which Sun Wukong, a monkey endowed with supernatural powers, attempts and fails to escape Maitreya Buddha's grasp). This Plenary Session has raised clear requirements for creating an improved system of oversight of "one government, one commission and two organs" (i.e. the people's governments, supervisory commissions, the people's courts and people's procuratorates), improving mechanisms for representatives liaison, suitably increasing the number of grassroots

representatives to (the National) People's Congress, and strengthening the building of local people's congresses and their standing committees, to enable the (National) People's Congress to get a better grip on the "scepter of power" on behalf of the people.

With respect to basic systems, upholding and improving the system for multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CCP, the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and the system of community-level self-governance is proposed. In the political life of the country, these three systems play a basic role in coordinating relations among political parties, resolving ethnic issues, and advancing direct democracy among grassroots groups. Practice has proven that these are institutional creations that suit China's national circumstances, have unique advantages, and are powerfully effective. This Plenary Session proposed many new measures for improving the system under which the central committees of democratic parties directly propose recommendations to the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, along with measures for supporting and assisting accelerated development of ethnic regions, and expanding channels through which the masses of people can express their opinions and make recommendations, which further consolidate the foundation of democratic government.

**Knowledge Link** (Box at the top of page 66 of the Chinese text)

National People's Congress Oversight of "One Government, One Commission, Two Judiciary Organs"

"One Government" refers to the People's Government, "One Commission" refers to the (National) Supervisory Commission, and the "Two Judiciary Organs" refer to the People's Court and People's Procuratorate. In China, government administrative agencies, supervisory agencies, judicial agencies, and inspection agencies, are all created by the National People's Congress (NPC) through its power as a national government agency, report to the NPC, and are subject to NPC oversight. National agencies engage in activities in accordance with principle of democratic centralism. From this it can be determined that the relationship between the NPC and "One Government, One Commission, Two Judiciary Organs" is a relationship which involves decision-making and execution, supervision and being subject to supervision, and consistent coordination in developing work.

With respect to important systems, the NPC proposed that our Patriotic United Front be consolidated and developed to the greatest possible extent. The United Front is a magic weapon which helps the Party to achieve victory in its undertakings. The work of the United Front for the new era is to raise the flag of patriotism and socialism high, to firmly grasp the issue of great unity and oneness, to find the greatest common factor and draw the widest concentric circle. In plain language, United Front means bringing more and more people into our circle, while progressively reducing the number of our enemies. It is precisely because we have this magic weapon to win us victory that we could overthrow the decadent rule of the Northern Warlords, drive off the Japanese invaders, and defeat the Guomindang reactionaries. This treasure enabled us to unite all the ethnic groups of our nation to live in harmony with mutual care, to work with a common purpose, and achieve continuous victory in our revolution, our construction, and our reform. This Plenary Session has focused on structuring of the work of the Great United Front, and created a series of

strategic plans, emphasizing promoting harmony in political party relations, ethnic relations, religious relations, class relations, and relations between our compatriots in China and abroad, jointly devoting efforts to achieve the great undertaking of national rejuvenation.

“Crouching tigers and coiling dragons, the present defeats the past. The heavens and earth are overturned, heroic and impassioned.” (Lines of a poem by Mao Zedong, “Seven Character Verse, On the Occupation of Nanjing by the People’s Liberation Army”, written by Mao Zedong to commemorate the liberation of Nanjing on April 23, 1949.) In May 1949, on the verge of the eruption of a completely new society, the famous historian, Chen Yuan, exclaimed in emotion, “This is the advent of all new things, everything belongs to the people.” “Now we can witness a society that is truly of the people, a new society which has never before existed in history.” With an historical mission which made hundreds of millions of Chinese people masters of their own country, the Chinese system of democratic government has walked a glorious path in history and must continue onwards from this new point in history to bloom with even more beautiful flowers of democracy.

(Top of page 68 in the Chinese text)

**For in-depth reading**

*Xi Jinping: Speech Given at the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee’s Consultative Working Meeting and in Commemoration of the 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Establishment of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), published in the People’s Daily on September 21, 2019*

*Xi Jinping: Talk Given at the Commemoration of the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Establishment of the National People’s Congress, published in Issue 18 of Qiushi Magazine*

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## Chapter 5.

### Relying on Important Tools to Govern and Stabilize the Nation

How can a system of socialist rule of law<sup>3</sup> with Chinese characteristics safeguard impartiality and justice?

On May 28, 2020, the Civil Code of the People's Republic of China, the passage of which had been long awaited by all, was voted into law, officially effective from January 1, 2021. This law, the first to be named a "civil code" since the establishment of New China (the PRC), took several generations to compile, and included seven chapters of official text on general rules, property rights, contracts, personality rights, marriage and family, inheritance, and tort liability, along with bylaws, for a total of 1,260 entries, covering all aspects of the rights and interests of every individual from birth to death. It was called an "Encyclopedia of Social Life". It may be said that the birth of the Civil Code could be likened to stringing scattered pearls into a beautiful necklace. It was a great achievement for building China's socialist governance for a new era, a milestone on the journey to rule of law in China.

(Photograph at the bottom of page 69 in the Chinese text: gavel and base; the inscription on the gavel reads "Jiangsu Province People's Court")

"Law is the foundation of governance" (from Xun Zi (3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE) Chapter on the Way of the Ruler ("法者，治之端也" 荀子，君道篇)). Governance by law is the direction which the development of humankind's institutional civilization is taking, the basic means of governing modern nations. Over the past 70-plus years, since the promulgation of the Marriage Law, to the formation of laws and regulations numbering more than 20,000, from an emphasis on strict execution of the law, to building government governed by rule of law, from establishing the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme Procuratorate, to establishing an impartial, highly efficient, and authoritative judicial system, from the movement to popularize law in the early days after New China (the PRC) was born, to building a society governed by rule of law.....the magnificent picture of a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics continues to be painted, while governance of China by rule of law advances forward with broad steps, heralded by the trumpet of a new era.

#### I. Rule of law construction has achieved remarkable results

Judges, in people's eyes, are mostly persons who sit solemnly in a court of law, holding a gavel to keep order and stop arguments. On the contrary, there is a certain group of judges who must often leave the court building to carry our national emblem to hold court outside. On high mountains

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<sup>3</sup> Note: the Chinese term here (法治) is often translated (by the Communist Party) as "rule of law"; however, it should be noted that this (and the general usage of "rule of law" by the Communist Party) usage of "rule of law" differs from the standard Western interpretations of the phrase and often more closely resembles (and is translated here in some cases as) "rule by law" or "rule/governance according to law" in meaning. Another Chinese term (依法) most directly means (and is usually translated here as) "according to law" but is sometimes translated (by the Communist Party) as "rule of law."

and in canyons or ravines, on snowy plateaus and in grasslands, in fields and on the edges of fields, on islands and in fishing villages, you can see their silhouetted figures, upholding justice. The national emblem behind these grassroots judges manifests the solemnity and impartiality of rule of law and reflects the steady progress and effectiveness achieved under China's construction of governance by law.

Pictures on the bottom of page 70 in the Chinese text: (Judges) carrying the national emblem on their backs on the way to hold court.

(Top of page 71 in the Chinese text) **Authoritative Voices**

**Governance by law is an important mainstay of the state system of governance and governance capacity**

Yuan Shuhong (Party Organization Secretary and Vice Minister, Ministry of Justice)

Practice demonstrates that only by placing the work of the Party and state on the track of governance by law, enabling all aspects of systems to be more scientific, more mature, more stable, and more perfect, achieving systemized, standardized and proceduralized governance of various Party, state and social affairs, and being adept at utilizing institutions and rule of law to govern the state, can (we) ultimately be able to achieve a system of state governance and modernization of governance capacity.

In the early years after New China (the PRC) was initially established, we first abolished the old system of law under the Guomindang and started from zero to build a new system of law under socialism. We have had to the foundation for construction of a system of law. We also learned bitter lessons from not having an organized rule of law. We experienced rapid development in building governance according to law. We were also faced with difficulties when carrying out breakthroughs (of ice) in judicial reforms. A system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics is improving day by day through exploration and comprehensive state governance according to law is advancing with resounding progress in practice.

The legal system has been formed. Legislation is the “first working procedure” in the construction of the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. It is the precondition for comprehensive state governance according to law. After a long period of hard effort, China has formed a Chinese socialist system of laws led by the Constitution, with the law at its core, and administrative and local statutes as important components. Currently, China has over 270 laws, over 700 administrative statutes, and over 12,000 local statutes, which basically embody laws which can be relied on in every aspect and in all areas.

Government by law is being steadily advanced. Administrative agencies are important subjects responsible for enforcement of the law. In China, enforcement matters for approximately 80 percent of laws, 90 percent of local statutes, and almost all administrative statutes are carried out by administrative agencies. The effectiveness of government enforcement is related to whether governance by law can really be implemented. At present, the objectives and tasks set forth under the *Implementation Outline for Building a Law-based Government (2015-2020)* have basically

been achieved. A good image of strict impartiality with clean and efficient governance has been established for all levels of government.

The reform of the judicial system highlights justice. Justice is the special activity of handling cases, according to law, by the people's courts and the people's procuratorates which are a core link in administering the law. In over seventy years, the judicial system has kept pace with New China, and is improving day by day. Notably, since the Party's 18<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress, reform of the judicial system has entered the fast lane. Judicial agencies have received effective safeguards which enable them to independently exercise their powers impartially according to law. The criminal litigation system which is centered on trial has undergone reforms which have produced clear results. Accused persons were exonerated in cases where there had been unjust and false charges. Judicial openness has enabled justice to be achieved in ways which are visible. Data openly published by the China Judgment Document Network (<https://wenshu.court.gov.cn/>) indicates that as at the end of June 2020, the total number of documents published on the website exceeded 95 million, with over 45 billion visits to the website.

The concept of governance by law has taken hold in people's minds. "The Story of Qiu Ju", "The Accused Uncle Shan Gang", "Court in the Sun"... These renowned movie and television works with governance by law as their theme are footnotes of an era of ongoing strengthening of awareness of rule by law among the entire society. The authority of the law originates from the sincere beliefs of the people. Since 1986, China has launched an education program for comprehensive popularization of knowledge of the law, carrying out seven five-year plans in a row to popularize knowledge of the law. Knowledge of the law with constitutional law as its core has been widely popularized. Management standards based on rule of law have gradually increased among various undertakings. There has been a clear strengthening of awareness among the entire society concerning respect for the law, learning the law, compliance with the law, and application of the law.

The edifice of New China's rule of law has been built on the foundations of the ruins of the old legal system and accumulated practices of rule of man. It has passed through a period filled with difficulty and the influence of its achievements are deep and far reaching. Over the past 70 years under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, China has made historical leaps from "rule of man" to a "legal system", to "rule of law". This has achieved a fundamental transformation of the way that Chinese people have governed China over the past several thousand years.

## **II. Resolutely following the road of rule of law**

In the history of the development of humankind's political civilization, the law has played an irreplaceable role in bringing peace and stability to a country. Due to differences in history, culture, region, customs, and ideology, the world has developed different legal systems. Those with significant influence include China's legal system, continental Europe's legal system, the Anglo-American legal system, the Islamic legal system, India's legal system, etc. After the Soviet Union was formed, China and a group of other socialist countries were established, with the world being divided into two large camps, the socialist legal system, and the capitalist legal system.

Rule of law is an important component of the superstructure of society and has distinctive ideological attributes. In sharp contrast to the rule of law under capitalism, which emphasizes the inviolable sanctity of private property, with separation of powers for checks and balances, rule of law under socialism is based on an economic foundation of public ownership and consistently represents the fundamental rights and interests of the greatest number of people. It is an important safeguard for achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat and consolidating and developing a system of socialism. Due to differences in the thought which guides them, their respective economic foundations, the principles under which they are organized, and the persons whom they serve, etc., rule of law under socialism and rule of law under capitalism are intrinsically two different modes of rule by law.

The kind of road of rule by law taken by a country must correspond to its history, culture, traditions, and national conditions. China's unique tradition of rule of law, uniquely specific conditions, and unique realities have determined that China must take its own road in building rule of law. The road of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics is a completely new road of rule of law along which the Chinese Communist Party is leading all the people of our nation, upholds Marxism as its guide, grounds itself in China's national circumstances, and takes elements from both inside and outside China, and explores and opens-up through practice.

Be rooted in practice and engage in arduous exploration. "For the nation, observe (popular) customs, establish laws, and there is order. Find the root cause of the country's matters to suitably address the situation." (from the Writings of Shang Yang, Chapter Six, Assessing the Terrain (商鞅书, 算地第六) by Shang Yang (390-338 BCE) , a political philosopher who lived in China during the Warring States Period.) The right road of rule of law cannot be copied from a book, given by others, or based on imagination. One can only depend on oneself to find it. On the road of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, many principles and achievements of rule of law originate from the practical creations, which are major system designs in conformance with China's national circumstances and which solve China's problems.

**Knowledge Link** (box at the top of page 74 of the Chinese text)

### China's Legal System

China's legal system refers to China's feudal law, developed in ancient China from the Warring States Period through the Qing Dynasty over a period of 2,000 years to form a clear chain of evolution with distinct features, marked by the following characteristics: its theoretical basis was Confucian thought; it safeguarded feudal ethics and acknowledged family rules and regulations; the emperor was consistently the central figure who established and adjudicated laws; officials and aristocrats enjoyed special privileges under the law. All laws were interconnected, with administrative organs also adjudicating the law. China's legal system not only deeply influenced government in ancient China, but also spread widely to countries which neighbored China, and for a relatively long period of time was at the forefront of the world's legal civilization, while considered to be one of the world's five major legal systems, along with the legal system of the European continent, the legal system of Anglo-American law, the legal system of Islamic law, and the legal system of India.

For example, upholding the Party's comprehensive leadership is a distinctive feature of the road of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. In China, the law is an expression of the unity of the Party's positions and the people's will. The Party leads the people in formulating the Constitution and the laws, while also leading them in complying with and carrying out the Constitution and the laws. The Party itself must conduct activities within the scope of the Constitution and the laws: this is an expression of the Party's leadership power. For another example, in recent years the e-commerce law and the amended wildlife protection law were promulgated by China to adapt to the requirements of economic and social development. It may be said that this road concentratedly reflects the practice and experience accrued in over seventy years of rule of law construction, a concrete embodiment of the development of all types of Party and state undertakings in the domain of law.

(Bottom of page 75 in the Chinese text) **Online Questions and Answers**

Question: How can we differentiate between “legal system” and “rule of law”?<sup>4</sup>

These are two concepts which are interconnected but at the same time different.

“legal system ” is an abbreviation of legal system (a system of laws) and falls under the scope of systems. “rule of law” is an abbreviation of governance by law, which is a principle and means for governing a state, as opposed to “rule of man”. The two of them are interconnected in that a legal system is the basis and precondition for governance by law. Governance by law requires a comprehensive legal system. Governance by law is the foothold and culmination of a system of laws. The development of a legal system must ultimately achieve governance by law.

The road of China's governance by law started from nothing to develop into something. It has emerged from the wilderness with no existing experience as a reference. It is extremely important that we learn from the beneficial results achieved by other nations in their governance by law. In the early years after New China (the PRC) was established, the establishment of China's judicial agencies and the formulation of China's major laws, such as the Constitution, Marriage Law, Land Law, and Criminal Law, were done based on the example set by the Soviet Union. This enabled China to construct a legal framework within a relatively short period of time. After reform and opening to the outside world, following a huge expansion in economic and social activity, we learned from and referred to Western countries' experiences involving the law in economics and other domains, enriched and developed theory and practice in the construction of China's governance by law, and provided safeguards under governance by law for promotion of a socialist market economy. Precisely by drawing on the essential features of rule of law in other countries that enabled the construction of China's rule of law to access an unending stream of wisdom and edification.

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<sup>4</sup> Note: in Chinese, the two terms (法制 and 法治) are homophones and partial homonyms.

(Top of page 76 in the Chinese text) **Knowledge Link**

### **Sayings on governance by law**

“Law is the lifeline of the people, and the root of governance.” - Shang Yang (390-338 BCE), a Legalist political philosopher of the Warring States period. 法律，在它支配着地球上

“Laws are a tool of governance. They cannot treat the source of purity or turbidity.” - Sima Qian (Born 145 BCE) , a famous historian of the Han Dynasty and author of the Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji 史记).

“Laws are established above; then customs are formed below.” Su Zhe (1039-1112)

“The basic premise of the law is to enable citizens to enjoy happiness to the utmost.” – Plato (428/427 or 424/423 – 348/347 BCE), Athenian philosopher of ancient Greece.

“In all the states of created beings capable of laws, where there is no law, there is no freedom.” – John Locke (1632-1704) English philosopher

“Law, inasmuch as it governs all the inhabitants of the earth, is human reason.” Montesquieu (1689-1755), French philosopher

“A tree a thousand feet tall plants its roots deep in fertile soil” (from the Book of Documents, the Song of the Five Masters” 尚书，五子之歌). During China’s history of several millennia, although the governance of China has been deeply rooted in rule of man, nonetheless, our ancestors early on began to explore the significant issue of how to handle human nature. A famous saying of Han Feizi (280-233 BCE) reads, “A country is not always strong, and is not always weak. If people in a country uphold the law diligently, the country will be strong. If people in a country do not diligently uphold the law, the country will be weak.” During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Period, China had its own written code. After the Qin Dynasty unified China, laws and regulations were formulated which covered legislative, administrative, and civil affairs, among other areas. It may be said that “The Qin had a set of legal norms.” During the Han and Tang dynasties, China had already formed a comparatively comprehensive code of laws. This held especially true for the (Interpretation of) Tang Codes (唐法疏义) which exerted an important influence as a model body of law emulated by countries bordering China. China’s ancient legal system contains precious resources which have richly endowed the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics.

“The law pacifies all under Heaven. Ethics nourish human hearts.” (Quoted from a talk given by Xi Jinping at the 37<sup>th</sup> Group Study Meeting of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee on December 9, 2016, presided over by General Secretary Xi Jinping). Upholding the integration of governance of the state according to law with virtuous governance of the state is a distinct characteristic of the road of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. The law is ethics in its written form, and ethics is an inner law. The law and ethics both serve to

regulate social behavior, adjust social relationships, and safeguard social order. Both have their places and their functions in state governance. During our practice of socialist rule of law, on the one hand we adhere to governance by law, and on the other hand we adhere to governance by ethics, fully implement the role played by governance by law in safeguarding ethics, use governance by law to solve problems which stand out in the dominion of ethics. At the same time, the role of ethics in supporting governance by law is strengthened, the requirements of ethics are fully implemented in constructing governance by law, and a good situation in which the law and ethics complement each other and both governance by law and ethics are further manifested.

Of the tens of thousands of roads which may be travelled, the first one is efficacious. Looking at ancient and modern times, China and foreign countries, there is no road of governance by law which has been proven to be accurate in suiting the needs of all the world's nations. There is no optimal model and no standard version of governance by law. There are only choices which are suited to oneself. The road of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics is a necessary choice which is mindful of its origins, takes in external elements, and is oriented towards the future. It is the only correct road for governance by law in China, a road which must be resolutely followed without deviation.

#### **IV. Advancing rule of law in China**

Since the Party's 18<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress, over 500 laws and regulations have been formulated and amended. Over 100 measures have been enacted to reform the judicial system. Entering a new era, construction of governance by law is on fast forward, and a China governed by law has become a resonant trumpet resounding throughout our great land.

Heaven and earth are illuminated, filled with righteousness. China under governance by law sallies forth again. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, from the lofty perspective of the long-term peace and stability of the Party and the nation, implemented a top-level design for "upholding and improving a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, to enhance the Party's rule of the country according to law, and ability to govern according to law." Clear requirements were raised concerning comprehensively advancing governance of the country according to law under the system. Constructing a China governed by law involves jointly advancing upholding governance of the nation according to law, ruling according to law and administration according to law. This involves upholding integrated construction of governance of the nation according to law, government according to law, and a society governed by law, accelerating the formation of a complete "Five Great Systems" (the Five Great Systems are: a comprehensive system of standardized laws; a highly effective system for implementing governance by law; a system of stringent oversight of governance by law; a system of powerful safeguards for governance by law; and a comprehensive system of internal rules and regulations for the Party.), and continuously improve standards for scientific transformation, standardization, and systematization in the construction of governance under law.

The Constitution is the root. China's existing Constitution, the "Constitution of 1982", was promulgated and enacted in December 1982. The Constitution is a nation's fundamental law and

occupies the highest position among laws, with the greatest legal authority and the greatest legal power. All laws are formulated based on the Constitution and cannot contradict the Constitution. All organizations and individuals must comply with the Constitution. They may not surpass or contravene the Constitution. With respect to improving systems and mechanisms to safeguard the comprehensive implementation of the Constitution, this Plenary Session stressed the necessity of enhancing implementation and oversight of the Constitution, safeguarding the unity, sanctity, and authority of the state's system of law, to enable the revocation and rectification of all normative documents which contravene the Constitution and the law, and to necessarily prosecute all actions which contravene the Constitution and the law.

(Top of page 78 of the Chinese text) **Online Questions and Answers**

Question: What are the “Five Great Systems”?

Answer: A system of standardized laws; a system for implementing governance by law; a system of oversight of governance by law; a system of safeguards for governance by law; and a system of internal rules and regulations for the Party.

Legislation is first and foremost. Good laws are a precondition for good governance. Legislation is “the very first kilometer“ in governance by rule of law. At present, China’s legal system has basically been formed, and the issue of having laws to follow has been solved on the whole. The next step will emphasize the key issue of enhancing the quality and efficacy of legislation, improving systems and mechanisms for legislation, deeply advancing scientific legislation, democratic legislation, and legislation according to law, improve the structure of the work involved in legislation, with establishment, amendment, abrogation, and interpretation of legislation occurring simultaneously, and make efforts to enable our laws to stand on their own and be workable. At the same time, following in-depth expansion of social practices, there must be ongoing enhancement of important areas of legislation, especially with respect to acceleration of the construction of a system of laws which may be applied to areas outside China’s legal domain, to enable legislation to adapt to requirements for all aspects of the nation’s development.

Implementation must be fair. (The ancient Chinese dictionary) “Discussing Writing and Explaining Characters” written in the Han Dynasty gives the following definition of “law (法)” “It is as smooth as water. The word is derived from the character for water.” This means that something which is not biased or prejudicial is what we refer to as law. Fairness is the lifeline of governance by law. It is a ruler for measuring the people’s perception of the construction of governance by law. General Secretary Xi Jinping has pointed out that, “Impartial adjudication is the final line of defense for safeguarding fairness and justice in the society.” We must thoroughly implement the values of impartiality and justice throughout the process and in every aspect of the construction of a system of governance by law. We must make efforts to enable the people to feel that impartiality and justice are embodied in every legal system, every enforcement regulation, and in every adjudicated case. We must uphold strict enforcement of the law and require compliance with the law. Enforcement of the law must be stringent, and contravention of the law must be

prosecuted. Regulate discretionary enforcement of the law, Guard against the appearance of “selective enforcement of the law” and “biased enforcement of the law”. Deepen reform of the integrated set of features in the judicial system. Improve the trial system and procuratorial system. Comprehensively implement a system of judicial responsibility. Improve a system for (administration of) attorneys. Ensure the impartiality, high efficacy, and authority of justice. Let the sunlight of impartiality and justice shine on the hearts of the people.

Oversight is vital. All persons are equal under the law. Marx once said, “Judges answer to no other authority than that of the law.” Administrative authorities, supervisory authorities, judicial authorities, and procuratorial organs, as departments which carry out the law, are not subject to interference from any other factors, and are thus able to independently exercise impartial judgment according to law. During recent years, various locations have for the most part established a series of systemic regulations to prevent interference in impartial adjudication. Such regulations draw a “red line” to prevent cadres in leadership positions and persons working in judicial agencies from contravening the law to interfere with and influence judicial activities, thus effectively preventing the “use of relationships”, “saying hello” and other means to interfere with specific cases. The whole society must strengthen its awareness of governance by law. This is especially true with regard to Party and state bodies at all levels and leading cadres. Such persons should take the lead to respect the law, study the law, abide by the law, and apply the law. We must put an end to our notion of privilege which tells us to “let other people abide by the law, while we ourselves enter through the back door and engage in improper practices.” We must consciously allow ourselves to be supervised.

(Bottom of page seventy-nine of the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Advancing Awareness of the Law Regarding the Pandemic at an Enterprise in Zhoushan, Zhejiang Province

In March 2020, the political and legal departments of Zhoushan Municipal Government in Zhejiang Province went deep into returning to work and returning to production, and announced the *Opinion on Further Strengthening Border Health and Quarantine Work and Administering Punishment According to Law for Crimes Involving Contraventions of the Law Which Harm Border Health and Quarantine Efforts* jointly promulgated by the Supreme People’s Court, the Supreme People’s Procuratorate, the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of Justice, and General Administration of Customs, to guide enterprises in duly implementing their subjective responsibilities, to make every effort to duly carry out work related to prevention and control of the pandemic, to ensure that no errors would occur in preventing the pandemic, returning to work and resuming production activities. The photograph shows the municipal police propagating awareness of the law regarding pandemic prevention among workers at a ship building facility.

(Bottom of page 80 of the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

## Changzhi in Shanxi Province Launches A Week of Multifaceted Activities to Propagate Constitution Day

On the 6<sup>th</sup> National Constitution Day, Changzhi Municipality in Shanxi Province based on the theme of “Advancing the Spirit of the Constitution, and Advancing the National System of Governance and Modernization of Governance Capabilities”, deepened awareness of constitutional law among the masses and created an excellent social environment for advocating and safeguarding constitutional law by establishing a platform for legal consultation services, creating bulletin boards on governance by law, and distributing materials to propagate knowledge of the law. The photograph shows workers distributing materials on propagating the law to the masses.

### **Hot comments online:**

Governance by law constitutes a huge system under which legislation, enforcement, justice, and compliance with the law must be powerfully integrated to support China’s edifice of governance by law.

The nation becoming wealthy and powerful relies on the escort of governance by law. Economic development must be endowed with functions which rely on governance by law. The happiness of the people depends on protection under governance by law.

Whether the road of governance by law taken by a nation is correct or not can primarily be seen from whether such a road is able to solve that nation’s problems.

Governance by law may be likened to a scale which measures fairly, which measures truth and untruth, the crooked and the straight. Governance by law may be likened to a mirror of justice, which reflects the light of the universe.

Impartiality and justice may arrive late. However, they shall never remain absent.  
In a China under governance by law, impartiality and justice shall be achieved.

In 1776 BCE, the following words of humanity’s first written law, Hammurabi’s Code, were inscribed on a stone column: “Let the light of justice illuminate this great land, extinguish all sin and evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak.” After the passage of over three thousand years, although the provisions of this law have lost their power, nonetheless, the spirit of governance by law which they embody continues to be held in high esteem by people up until the present time. The system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics bears the beautiful aspirations of hundreds of millions of people for impartiality and justice, as it continues to write a new chapter on the road to a strong nation governed by law.

(Top of page 82 in the Chinese text)

**For in-depth reading**

*The 3<sup>rd</sup> Session of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee's Committee on Comprehensively Governing China According to Law Presided Over and Convened by Xi Jinping Stresses Comprehensive Enhancement of Prevention and Control (of the Pandemic) (and) Governance Capabilities According to Law, to Provide Powerful Safeguards Under Rule of Law for Preventing and Controlling the Pandemic* Published in the People's Daily on February 6, 2020

*Xi Jinping: Fully Recognize the Great Importance of Promulgating and Enacting the Civil Code, Provide Better Safeguards for the Lawful Rights and Interests of the People According to Law,* Published in Issue 12 of *Qiushi*, 2020

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## Chapter 6.

### High Efficiency and Coordination Gives People Greater Convenience

How can the government administration system under socialism with Chinese characteristics be optimized?

In October 1949, when the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government of China was established, 35 agencies were set up. To adapt to the requirements of socialist construction, government institutions were later reformed six times. As of 1981, the number of departments organized under the State Council had grown to 52, along with 48 other working departments, to reach the highest point since the establishment of the PRC. In the more than 40 years since reform and opening to the outside world, with deepening development of the socialist market economy and opening to foreign countries, China has successively undertaken 8 reforms of government institutions. As of 2018, departments organized under the State Council had been adjusted to 26, along with other working departments to 14. It may be said that the pace of reform of the administrative system resonates with progress made in the development of the undertaking. The government's duty and mission are closely tied to the prosperity and strength of the nation.

(Photograph at the bottom of page 83 in the Chinese text)

State Council offices; in the foreground is a stone with the motto "Serve the People" inscribed on it.

In contemporary China, the government is the hub for governance of the state, the executive authority among state authorities, charged with the important duties of advancing economic and social development, administering social affairs, and serving the people. Building the government administrative system under socialism with Chinese characteristics is an important component of advancing a system of national governance and modernizing governance capabilities. The *Decision* adopted at the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, based on better executing policy decisions and plans of the Party and state, set forth clear requirements for upholding and improving the government administrative system under socialism with Chinese characteristics. It provided substantial systemic safeguards for building a service-oriented government with which the people would be satisfied.

#### I. Exploring Chinese-style administration

From ancient times to the present, governments have played an extremely important role in the political activities of nations. In ancient China generation after generation and dynasty after dynasty of government and bureaucratic systems existed to serve imperial rule. Whether it be the "Three Lords and Nine Ministers" (三公九卿) of the Qin and Han Dynasties, the "Three Departments and Six Ministries" (三省六部) of the Sui and Tang Dynasties, the "Two Offices and Three Bureaus" (二府三司) and "One Department and Two Ministries" (一省两院) of the Song

and Yuan Dynasties, or the government cabinet system (内阁制) of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, all of them were established as tools for centralizing power to safeguard the feudal system and feudal order. Just as Sima Qian declared in his work *The Records of the Grand Historian*, “All matters under Heaven, be they great or small, are decided by the ruler on high.”

Starting from modern times, governments in Western countries, as important organizational forms for political parties and governments, have always represented and safeguarded the rights and interests of the bourgeoisie, no matter how the controlling power in government has shifted among different political parties. Presidents, premiers, prime ministers, and other political heads, although they belong to different forms of government in their respective countries, have all acted as spokespersons for political parties which represent the bourgeoisie. Faced with this political phenomenon, Engels made the profound observations that “They take turns holding political power, to use the filthiest means to achieve the filthiest objectives” and “On the surface, these people appear to be serving on behalf of the people. However, in reality they are engaged in dominating and preying on the people.”

Governments in socialist countries are constructed under the guidance of Marxist national doctrine. The difference between such governments and governments in the past is that such governments do not exist to benefit a minority of individuals, but exist to safeguard the interests of the vast majority of people. New China’s people’s government from the date of its inception, under the leadership of the Party, has taken serving the people and advancing national development as the pursuit and objective which it tirelessly strives to achieve.

According to Marxism’s viewpoint, the government as a part of the superstructure is determined by economic foundation. As the economy continuously develops, society continuously progresses, and the life of the people continuously improves, the superstructure must be continuously reformed to adapt to new requirements. This is a universal law for the development of human society. In a certain respect, an economic foundation is like the climate, while the political system is the same as clothing. More clothing or less clothing is worn in response to changes in temperature of the climate. In the more than 70 years since the establishment of New China (the PRC), based on the developmental requirements and characteristics of different periods, the people’s government has continuously reformed and adjusted its functional positioning and internal structure, to enable its administrative system to better adapt to economic and social development.

In the early years after the establishment of New China (PRC) the nation’s primary tasks were to recover the national economy as quickly as possible, consolidate the new people’s government, and launch socialist construction on a large scale. At that time, the construction and adjustment of China’s administrative system basically revolved around this important task. Beginning from the initial operation of 35 departments under the Government Administration Council of the Central People’s Government, to the official establishment of the State Council in 1954, and the streamlining of agencies and delegation of power which occurred in 1956...China’s administrative system started from zero, while continuing to develop with the advancement of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. During this period, China’s administrative system was primarily established to adapt to a planned economy, while playing an active role in the recovery and stabilization of the national economy. However, problems still remained with respect to lack

of division between government and enterprises, and excessive, overly detailed administration. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, from the 1950's to the 1970's, for the machine industry sector alone, there were seven to eight ministries and commissions. Later the ten years of civil unrest ("the ten years of civil unrest" is a euphemism for the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) ) occurred, which greatly damaged China's administrative system, and even caused it to remain paralyzed for a time.

After the end of the "Cultural Revolution", government agencies underwent large-scale restoration and reconstruction. However, this was also accompanied by problems such as bloated institutions and low efficiency. Comrade Deng Xiaoping stated that streamlining institutions involved a revolution, and if this revolution failed to occur, it would be impossible to win the approval of the people. From this point on, the primary task of China's administrative reform was to adapt to requirements arising from shifts of the Party and nation's work focus, the development of a socialist market economy, and the continual deepening of all types of work. During recent years, China's administrative system has undergone further reform, to cause a major change to occur in the role played by the government, involving a gradual transformation from being a "multipurpose government" to being a "service-oriented government". All aspects of administrative functions are continuously being optimized and gradually standardized to achieve a major transformation of the system of government functions. Economic and social development has brought about the ongoing emergence of certain new industries, new industry formats, and new sectors. China's administrative system is undergoing reforms which revolve around such phenomena to adapt to the rapid development of social production capabilities.

"The world moves on and times change, reform should be carried out accordingly." (From Master Lu's Spring and Autumn Annals (吕氏春秋) completed in 241 BCE) . Since the Party's 18<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress, to adapt to the requirements of advancing a national system of governance and modernization of governance capabilities, China's reform of the administrative system has developed in depth. In particular, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee made a decision to deepen reforms of the Party and state organizations, which was carried out centered on four aspects: improving and a system of upholding overall Party overall leadership, optimizing establishment of government agencies and configuration of their functions, coordinating reforms of Party, government and military group organizations, and reasonable dispensation in establishing local organizations. There was also drastic reform of government functions and structures, which was systematic, comprehensive restructuring. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, in accordance with more maturation and finalized objectives, made plans with respect to the basic direction to be taken and major tasks to be implemented in the reform of the administrative system. Judging from the initial efficacy of the results of reform of the administrative system, a system of state governance with clear duties and responsibilities according to law is being formed.

Looking back over the past seventy or more years, the government administration system under socialism with Chinese characteristics is a Chinese-style style of administration rooted in China's basic political framework, formed to adapt to the requirements of social and economic development. It is effective because it can fully reflect the will of the Party and the will of the people, can adjust the relationships between the government and the market, the government and

society, and the central government and local governments, to energize the economy and society and bring about orderly development.

(Top of page 85 in the Chinese text)

### **Online Questions and Answers**

Question: Why is it that Western countries which have bourgeoisie governments do not have the same titles for their heads of state?

Answer: Western countries are all countries in which the bourgeoisie occupies the ruling position. However, due to their respective histories, cultures, political traditions and other such factors, differences exist in the forms of political organization they have chosen. The two basic forms of government in these countries are the democratic republic and the constitutional monarchy. Democratic republics are also divided into presidential systems and parliamentary systems. Constitutional monarchies are also divided into parliamentary systems and dual systems. Heads of state in democratic republics are mostly called presidents or premiers. Heads of state in constitutional monarchies are mostly called prime ministers.

(Top of page 86 in the Chinese text) **Knowledge Link**

The well-known policy of “better troops and simplified administration” enacted during the time of the War of Resistance Against Japan

At the beginning of 1941, the Japanese puppet government in China began a large-scale campaign of cruelly “wiping out” resistance, which resulted in a significant reduction in the size of our bases of resistance to the Japanese invasion, and extreme fiscal and economic difficulties. To solve this problem, our Party implemented a program of “better troops and simplified administration” at our bases, compressing and merging Party, government, military, and civilian leadership organizations, reducing the number of administrative staff in organizations and non-combatant personnel among troops. Such staff was transferred to grassroots groups and military units at the company level. This policy was first implemented in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region and then expanded to include all base areas. This policy was basically discontinued by the end of 1943. This policy played an important role in enabling (us) to successfully pass through a difficult period, enhance the fighting capabilities of our troops and achieve sustainable development of our bases.

(Photograph at the bottom of page 86)

On October 21, 1949, the Finance and Economics Commission of the Government Administration Council of the Central People’s Government was established.

## II. Establishing service-oriented government

Loosening restrictions on enterprises, assisting innovation, escorting impartiality...since the Party's 18<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress, extensive and deep reforms with regard to streamlining government, delegation of authority, supervision innovation and optimization of services have shaken our great land. Bold and decisive measures have been taken at the national level to advance this reform, by greatly reducing the items required in administrative review and approval procedures, thoroughly doing away with review and approval for non-administrative permits and decisively eliminating all types of extraordinary certification, and to the fullest extent reducing the time required for an enterprise to open for business. Local governments explore using methods suited to local circumstances, such as "making one trip at the most", "one official seal on a document for when filing for application and approval", "application and approval without in-person processing", "online departmental services", etc. , to create many good experiences and good methods. This integrated reform of the administration system from top to bottom realizes a wonderful transformation of government organizations and operating mechanisms, spurring economic and social forces, and enabling sources for the creation of wealth to flow freely.

Bottom of page 88 in the Chinese text)

### **Knowledge Link**

The delegation, supervision, and services reform

The "delegation, supervision, service" reform is an abbreviation for simplifying government and delegating authority, integrating delegation of authority with supervision, and optimizing services. It is an important means by which China in recent years has deepened reform of the administrative system. "Delegation" refers to simplifying government and delegating authority to lower barriers to entry. "Supervision" refers to supervision innovation and advancing fair competition. "Service" refers to highly efficient service, to create a convenient environment. This reform measure plays an important role as a catalyst in advancing transformation of government functions at a deep level and stimulating market vitality.

According to statistics, in 2019, 23,770,000 entities were newly registered on the market. On the average, more than 40 entities came into being every minute. Year-round cumulative new increases in reduction of taxes and fees exceeded 2.3 trillion Renminbi, which greatly alleviated corporate burden. 131 items were published on the negative list for market access (list of items denied market access). The reduction ratio reached thirteen percent, while restrictions were relaxed on sectors enterprise (can) enter. Such data concentratedly reflects the huge dividends reaped when governments at every level decisively opened the doors to the power of the market, a beautiful scorecard for the construction of a service-oriented government to the satisfaction of the people.

Service-oriented government, compared to conventionally administered government, in simple language, means a modern political governance model with the objective of serving the people, serving the market, and serving society, while shouldering relevant responsibilities and duties. Establishment of a service-oriented government is an important indicator of modern state

governance, and is a basic direction being taken in China's reform of the administrative system. During these past few years, focusing on this direction, we have continued to advance reform of the administrative system, prompting government at all levels to accelerate their transformation into service-oriented government agencies, and have accumulated valuable experience. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee comprehensively summarized the successful practices implemented in the reform of our administrative system, setting up comprehensive systemic arrangements for establishing a service-oriented government to the satisfaction of the people.

Moving from "completely taking charge" towards "selectively shouldering and delegating responsibilities", great efforts have been made to accelerate the transformation of government functions. Establishing a service-oriented government demands that we correctly handle relationships between the government and the market, and government and society, and clarify the boundaries of government duties and responsibilities. Nothing should be missing among duties and responsibilities to be handled by the government, while relevant duties and responsibilities should be delegated to the market and society. The government should not overstep its bounds and meddle in affairs which should be delegated. This Plenary Session has proposed the optimization of our system of government duties and responsibilities, improving government functions with respect to adjustment of the economy, supervision of markets, administration of society, public services, and ecological and environmental protection, and clearly set the direction to be taken in transforming government functions. Figuratively speaking, the government must duly function as the "navigator" of the national economy, the "head referee" of market order, the "guardian spirit" of harmony and stability, the "provider" of public services, and the "protector" of a beautiful China.

Move from "physical restructuring" towards "chemical reaction", to continuously boost the efficiency of government structures. From February 2018 to July 2019, in a period of more than a year, deep reforms in Party and national organizations were comprehensively carried out and pushed forward.

(Bottom of page 90 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Zhejiang Province has deeply advanced the practice of "making one trip at the most" when seeking government services

During recent years, Zhejiang Province in its promotion of the reform of government services, has clearly set the objective of "making one trip at most" in its reform and provision of government services, which entails innovation in service modes through "accepting applications at one window, integration of services, and completion of processing at one time." This enables enterprises and the masses to "make one trip at most" when handling matters at government offices.

(Top of page 91 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus**

Shanghai’s “one stop online services platform” establishes a “public review” system.

Since the beginning of August 2019, Shanghai’s comprehensive government services platform “One Stop Online Services“ has officially established a “public review system”, to enable enterprises and the masses to evaluate offline physical service windows, online service web portals, mobile terminals, “12345” municipal service hotlines, self-service terminals, and various other government services channels. As one of the first pilot provinces and municipalities, Shanghai, by establishing a “public review system” for government services, truly enabled enterprises and the masses to oversee, advance, and benefit from the reform.

The State Council primarily consists of 23 departments, of which 8 ministerial level and 7 deputy ministerial level departments have been eliminated. Local governments at all locations have also carried out large-scale adjustments and mergers. The intensity, breadth, and depth of these reforms is unprecedented. At present, these reforms have already achieved “physical restructuring” by merging offices, reassigning personnel, and listing organizations. It is also necessary to continue optimization of government organizational structures, to cause them to undergo rebirth through a “chemical reaction”, to enable government organizations to establish organizational institutions which are more scientific, with greater optimization of functions and greater coordination of powers and responsibilities, and form a highly efficient organizational system.

From “extensive management” to moving towards “high quality service”, effort should be made to increase government work standards. An important indicator of modern government is the transformation of government functions from administrative to service-oriented functions. In recent years with considerable advances being made in the establishment of service-oriented government, an awareness of providing service to the public is continuously increasing among administrative agencies at all levels of government. There has been a decrease in phenomenon such as difficulty in accessing government agencies, brusque attitudes towards the public among government personnel, and difficulties in getting things done. There has been a significant increase in capacity based on big data, cloud computing, AI (artificial intelligence) and other new Internet methods which increase government service standards. Such problems as “information islands”, “data stovepiping”, “connecting wall stacks”, and other such problems are now being unraveled. However, it will take some time before the people’s higher expectations are met. At the end of 2019, the General Office of the State Council issued *The Opinion on Establishing a System for Evaluating Government Services to Increase Government Service Standards*, with the objective of fully utilizing public reviews as an incentive mechanism and driving ongoing increases in government service standards.

(Top of page 92 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

The National Government Affairs Service Platform Makes Its Debut Online.

(National Insignia) National Integrated Online Government Services Platform (Trial Run)

National Government Services Platform

[www.gjzfw.gov.cn](http://www.gjzfw.gov.cn)

China government web; Unobstructed Surfing; User Guide; Sign in; Register;

Home Page; State Council Departmental Services Window; Local Government Services Window; Individual Affairs; Entity Affairs; Public Services;

(Background picture: Tiananmen Gate Tower at the Forbidden City on Tiananmen Square)

Uniform identity authentication; uniform licensing services; uniform formalities services; complaints and suggestions regarding uniform government services; uniform system for submitting reviews; uniform user services; uniform search services;

User guide; my services; I want to file a complaint; I want to correct a mistake; mobile services; mobile terminal; close this window;

Latest services: Foreign transcripts and degrees; certification at...; 2020 postponement of exams or .... ; Nationwide 12315 Internet platform; Nationwide administrative areas information inquiries; Nationwide public resources exchange platform; Higher education transcript certification; Higher education transcript certificate inquiries; Covid 19 virus pandemic prevention and control with respect to Chinese living abroad, Chinese...;

In 2019, the National Government Affairs Service Platform went completely online in a trial run to advance “one stop online services, and online services accessed from remote locations” in government services nationwide. The platform as the hub of government services nationwide is able to support one stop online services, convergence of data and information, achieve exchanges and sharing, and strengthen dynamic supervision, and solve outstanding issues such as cross-regional, cross-departmental and cross-level difficulty in sharing information in government services, difficulty in coordinating work, and deficiencies in basic support. At present, the platform has connected 31 provinces, areas, and municipalities, along with Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, and government services platforms for over 40 departments under the State Council, while providing access to over three million government service items and a large number of popular public services at local government departments.

### **III. Bringing the Two Initiatives into Play**

The relationship between the central government and local governments has been a political topic discussed since ancient times. If the relationship between these two is handled well, the country can enjoy long term peace, stability, prosperity, and development. If not handled well, the country may be plagued with internal unrest and even fall apart, or lose its vitality and go into decline.

China’s ancient feudal rule which lasted for over two thousand years was primarily led by a centralized state power. The spilt up of the nation during several periods of Chinese history was related to excessive power in the hands of local authorities. The rulers of the Yuan Ming and Qing dynasties learned this historical lesson and continuously strengthened centralized state power and ensured that the country enjoyed a millennium of unity. Such highly centralized power reached a peak during the time of the Ming and Qing dynasties, greatly deterred local autonomy, while newly emerging productivity factors appearing in society were nipped in the bud. This resulted in decadent feudal rule continuing for another several hundred years, which figured as an important factor in China’s falling behind the West after near-modern times. Viewing history from the perspective of the rise and fall, success and failure of China’s feudal dynasties, within the ruling structure of “one family governing and passing down all under heaven”, regardless of which dynasty might replace another, the distribution of power between the central government and local

authorities entailed a relationship of opposites in a “zero sum game”, in an enigmatic knot which could never be untied.

At the bottom of page 93 in the Chinese text)

**Authoritative Voices**

“The Two Initiatives” must play an even greater role in the new era.

Lou Yangsheng (Party Committee Secretary of Shanxi Province, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People’s Congress): Socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era. (We should) better satisfy the people’s increasing expectations for a good life, focus our efforts on solving the problems of uneven development and underdevelopment, and effectively meet the challenge of dealing with various major risks. Newer and greater demands have been raised with respect to bringing into play the dynamic forces of the central and governments, and improving the system of political governance institutions.

After the establishment of socialist China, our Party believes that under the socialist system, the central government and local governments exercise power on behalf of the people, represent the people’s interests, and do not have their own special interests. For this reason, the central and local governments in their relationship are essentially consistent, unified, mutually complementary, and bring out the best in each other. However, China is a large nation with its own special circumstances. China has a large population, vast territory, one province which is larger than certain countries, and very uneven development among various localities. When issuing orders how can uniformity be ensured while also mobilizing local governments to take the initiative? This has consistently been a major problem faced by our administrative system under socialism with Chinese characteristics. Comrade Mao Zedong in *On the Ten Major Relationships* pointed out that “Our country is so big, our population is so large, and our situation is so complex; it is much better to have the two initiatives of the central government and local government, as opposed to only one initiative.”

In the more than 70 years since the establishment of New China, our Party has consistently given top priority in state governance to the effective handling of relations between the central and local governments, taking care to safeguard national unity and the authority of the central government, while investing local governments with even greater autonomy, to enable the two initiatives to fully come into play. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, from the historical perspective of long-term development of socialism with Chinese characteristics, set rigid requirements to clarify the relationship between the powers and responsibilities of the central and local governments under the system, and made an effort to construct a work system from the central to the local which clearly delineates powers and responsibilities, operates smoothly and is filled with vitality. In duly implementing the spirit of the entire Plenary Session, the relationship between unity and diversity must be scientifically grasped, our political position must be increased, we must overcome selfish departmentalism, and form lively and spirited circumstances under

which there is unity of purpose between superiors and subordinates, and parties join forces to do great things.

Top left hand corner of page 94 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

Government cannot do anything unless it is authorized by law, markets can do anything that is not prohibited by law.

In the past it was difficult to gain entry, people treated you brusquely, and it was difficult to get matters handled. At present, tasks are actually accomplished, matters are actually handled, and results are actually achieved.

The government “taking action” does not mean that the government handles all affairs. The government’s “inaction” does not mean that the government does nothing.

In economic and social activities, the government cannot be the “athlete” who takes the field to kick the ball. The government must duly play the role of the “referee” who enforces the rules and safeguards order.

The central government in its relationship with local governments must “practice restraint and non-interference accordingly,” and must not fall into a vicious circle in which “death comes when restraint is enforced and chaos reigns when non-interference is practiced.”

In the division of power, strengthen the central government’s administration of macro affairs, safeguard national unity under the rule of law, uniformity under government decrees, and uniformity of the market. Suitably enhance the power of the central government to protect intellectual property rights, old age insurance, inter-regional protection of the ecology and the environment, and various other types of powers. Decrease and standardize powers shared by the central government and local governments. At the same time, invest local governments with more autonomy and support local governments in working creatively. Standardize vertical administrative systems and local hierarchical management systems. Form an administrative system with consistent powers and responsibilities.

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**Knowledge Link**

State Tax and Local Tax

State tax is an abbreviation for taxes collected by the central government, which is primarily responsible for collecting central government taxes, and taxes shared by the central

government and local governments; local tax is an abbreviation for taxes collected by local governments, which are primarily responsible for collecting local taxes. In China, establishment of state tax and local tax as separate entities originated from the reform of the tax sharing system in 1994, with the objective of clarifying the relationship between the financial authority of the state and the local governments, while strengthening the state's macro regulatory capacity. For more than twenty years, the tax sharing system has played an important role in regulating the two dynamic forces of the state and the local governments. However, issues have arisen concerning the excessive cost of collection and uneven enforcement of the law. In March 2018, the tax collection and administration system once again underwent reform, with the official merging of state tax and local tax, and the implementation of a dual leadership administrative system primarily under the State Taxation Administration, in conjunction with provincial (regional, and municipal) people's governments.

In the distribution of fiscal authority, optimize the separation of powers and fiscal authority among governments, establish a fiscal relationship between the central and local governments with clearly defined powers and responsibilities, coordinate financial resources and balance among regions. Form a stable system under which authority, expenditure responsibilities, and financial resources correspond at various levels of government. Based on the principles of the tax sharing system, take taxes suitable for local income and allocate it to local governments to provide financial resource safeguards at various levels of government for exercising authority and expenditure responsibilities .

Government administration should focus on what the people want. On October 1, 1949, Comrade Mao Zedong on the Tiananmen Gate Tower at Tiananmen Square, solemnly declared, "The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is hereby established today!" From that day forward, the People's Government has upheld the concept of the people first down through the years, deeply putting into practice "reforms which respond to the needs of the people" in a spirit of self-reform and with performance worthy of the times, with the heart of a public servant, shouldering our mission.

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**For in-depth reading**

*Important Speech Given by Central Committee General Secretary Xi Jinping at a Politburo Meeting of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee held in Beijing.*

Published in the People's Daily on March 1, 2018

*Xi Jinping at a Meeting Summarizing the Deepening of the Reform of the Party and State Organizations Emphasized the Consolidation of Achievements in the Reform of the Party and State Organizations While Advancing the Modernization of China's System and Capacity for Governance.*

Published in the People's Daily on July 6, 2019

## Chapter 7.

### **The System for Governing Society and Benefitting the People (the Economy)**

What major developments are there in the basic socialist economic system?

Around 1960, Comrade Mao Zedong, when reading the Soviet Union's "Political Economics Textbook", stated that the socialist economy was not yet mature, and was still developing; at present, it would be extremely difficult to write a textbook on mature socialist political economics. 60 years have passed since then. Socialist China has not only attained unprecedented achievements in its development but has also written a shining textbook on socialist political economy with Chinese characteristics to reflect China's unique creativity and major breakthroughs in building an economic system.

What is called a basic economic system refers to the basic system and regulations which reflect a nation's production relations, and occupies a fundamental position in a nation's entire economic system and institutions. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, based on its in-depth summary of China's experience in constructing a socialist economy, established the basic socialist economic system based on "allocation to each according to his contribution, co-existing with multiple types of allocation" and a "socialist market economy system", together with "the dominant role of collective ownership, co-existing with joint economic development with multiple types of ownership". This major theoretical innovation reflected our Party's understanding of the rules governing the construction of a socialist economy has reached a new height, and is a great creation combining the basic principles of Marxism with the realities of China's fundamental circumstances and development during its initial phase of socialism. This is an original contribution to Marxist political economy.

#### **I. What developments are in the basic economic system?**

Economic activities, in brief, are all material resource activities which involve human production, distribution, exchange and consumption, and which play a fundamental role in humankind's survival and development. Marx and Engels' vision of the society of the future, based on their analysis and evaluation of the capitalist economic system, believed that socialized mass production and private ownership of the means of production were opposed to one another in an irreconcilable contradiction. This contradiction could only be resolved by eliminating the capitalist system. Based on this, their predictive description stated that the three basic features of socialism were social ownership, planned adjustments, and allocation to each according to his contribution.

The Soviet Union, as the first socialist country, was the earliest practitioner of Marxist economic theory. During the initial phase, they implemented many beneficial exploratory measures combined with their own reality. For example, wartime communism policies, new economic policies, etc., which played a positive role in consolidating the newly formed Soviet regime and developing a socialist economy. However, they gradually became rigid, and mechanically summed up socialism as "public ownership + planned economy + allocation to each according to his contribution", forming a highly centralized economic system, causing the Soviet socialist economy

to gradually lose its vitality, whereby it experienced slow growth or no growth at all for a long period of time. After the Second World War, the Soviet Union for a time was the world's second largest economy, second only to the United States. However, afterwards it was outstripped by Japan. The rigidity of its economic system became a major factor leading to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

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**Knowledge Link**

War Communism Policy and New Economic Policy

War Communism Policy is also called “Military Communism”. It is an economic policy implemented by Soviet Russia during the period of military intervention by imperialist forces and the outbreak of Russia’s civil war. The policy primarily implemented supply systems in urban areas, and nationalized small and medium enterprises. In the villages a system of surplus grain collection was implemented, under which surplus grains other than grain rations and seeds were sold to the state at extremely low prices. After the fighting stopped, War Communism Policy was no longer suitable to meet the needs of the situation. In March 1921, Soviet Russia began to carry out a new economic policy to transition to socialism, under which a fixed grain tax took the place of the surplus grain collection system. Permission was given to freely buy and sell agricultural products, with a partial restoration of the private economy, and changing from a system of general voluntary labor to allocation to each according to his contribution. This policy very quickly helped Soviet Russia to resolve its economic difficulties and political crisis and advance the recovery and development of the national economy, until this policy was discontinued in 1928.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, we quickly completed socialist reconstruction and established a basic economic system of socialist public ownership, with allocation to each according to his contribution being implemented in terms of allocation. The economic system used a planned economy, which enabled construction of the socialist economy to achieve outstanding results within a short period of time. However, we have not completely figured out how to develop socialism, or which type of economic system we should implement in a country such as China, a large Eastern country with an underdeveloped economic culture. In practice, the one-sided pursuit of “large in size and collective in nature (communes), egalitarianism, mandatory planned production resulted in the slow growth of social productivity over the long term and people’s living standards improving at a slowed pace.

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**Knowledge Link**

Large in Size and Collective in Nature

“Large in Size and Collective in Nature” is an abbreviation of the features of the People’s Commune Movement launched by China in the late 1950’s during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. What is referred to as “large” means “large scale”, taking cooperatives which originally contained one or two hundred households and merging them into People’s Communes consisting of four or

five thousand, or even ten or twenty thousand households. Generally, one township would have one People's Commune. What is referred to as "collective" means the degree of collective ownership was high, with all property turned over to the commune, uniformly accounted for and allocated within the entire commune, seeking to achieve the highest degree of purity in economic content and allocation methods. This practice of "everyone eating from the same big pot" directly led to egalitarianism, and inhibited farmers' initiative to produce, which resulted in adverse consequences for agricultural production..

Reform and opening-up (to the world) suddenly came overnight like a spring wind, blowing ripples on the pond of the economic system. From Xiaogang Village's breaking the ice with the "household responsibility system" (system which allowed individuals to take responsibility for agricultural production activities) to the robust development of the individual and private business economy, from "Sunday engineers" to the ration ticket being relegated to the history museum, from "principally being a planned economy supplemented by market regulation" to establishing reform objectives of a socialist market economic system...

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The first photograph shows the red inked names, fingerprints (and chops) of eighteen farmers from Xiaogang Village imprinted on a document which marked the advent of the "household responsibility system" (photograph on the left)

The second photograph shows the first self-employed business license issued in the People's Republic of China (issued by Wenzhou Municipal Administration of Industry and Commerce on November 30, 1979, to Zhang Huamei, domiciled at 83 Jiefangbeilu, for a business at the same address. Type of business: small department store; method of operation: retail.)

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### **Special Focus:**

#### **Sunday Engineer**

"Sunday Engineer" is a descriptive name given to scientific and technical staff who utilized their free time after work to take on part-time employment during the initial phase of reform and opening-up (to the outside world.) At that time, enterprises in townships in southern Jiangsu Province were flourishing but lacked professional staff who were adept at technology and operating equipment. Accordingly, they hired skilled persons from factories and scientific research organizations in Shanghai, Nanjing, and other cities, to lead production and operations. "Sunday engineers" utilized their free time during holidays and after work to provide intellectual support and technical services to the private economy and various enterprises, subject to them fulfilling their responsibilities at their fulltime jobs, and not harming the technological and

economic interests of the state and their work units. The photograph shows “Sunday engineers” debugging instruments.

These systemic reform measures based on socialism’s initial phase freed up and developed social productivity and facilitated the rapid rise of China’s economy. This also made us realize that “the purer the better” did not necessarily apply to the socialist ownership system and allocation methods. Planning and markets were only a means. Our economic system had to be rooted in the actualities of China’s development.

Since the Party’s 18<sup>th</sup> National People’s Congress, based on changes in major contradictions in Chinese society, we have further deepened our understanding of the socialist economic system and have implemented many major system reforms with far reaching effects. For example, the reform of the “separation of the three rights” (i.e., ownership rights, contract rights, and management rights) with regards to rural land, based on the household contract responsibility system’s resolution of what the West has termed ‘the tragedy of the commons’, separated management rights from contract management rights to achieve separation of the three rights: ownership rights, contract rights, and operating rights. This enabled the circulation of idle land, meets the needs of modern agriculture in scale operations development, while providing a completely new alternative in world land systems. Another example is the transformation of the market from a “fundamental role” to a “decisive role” in of resource allocation, while better utilizing the role of government, to enable the “visible hand” and the “invisible hand” to exercise their respective duties and work cooperatively, thus achieving a significant breakthrough in understanding the relationship between the government and the market. It may be said that the major innovations set forth at the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party’s 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee are a crystallization of the wisdom accumulated by the Party in leading the people in continuous exploration and deep practice in economic construction.

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### **Knowledge Link**

The tragedy of the commons

“The tragedy of the commons” is a concept in Western economics: in an open pasture, each sheepherder hopes to optimize his own gain, although he clearly understands that this will deteriorate the pasture. Nonetheless, disregarding the pasture’s tolerance capacity, he continues to increase the number of sheep in his herd, which ultimately leads to the deterioration of the pasture and damages everyone’s interests. This is the tragedy. As a metaphorical concept, it believes that under the conditions of the state ownership system it is difficult to resolve the contradiction between individual interests and state interests.

Looking back on the process of forming China’s basic economic system over the past seventy or more years, the textbook of socialist political economy with Chinese characteristics is not simply a mechanical application of the “master edition” of Marx and Engels, neither is it a copy and paste

“reproduction” of the Soviet model. Furthermore, it is not a forced-fit template of Western capitalism. Rather, it is a “new edition” created by combining the basic principles of socialism with the actualities of China’s development. It contributes a Chinese solution to the rich development of the socialist economic system.

## **II. The basic economic system must be upheld**

In recent years, “mixed reform” has become a hot term in China’s economic sector. It is an abbreviation for mixed ownership reform, with its objective being to advance cross-holding of shares and mutual integration of various types of capital, such as state-owned capital, collective capital, and non-public capital, to enable different types of capital to overcome their respective shortcomings by drawing on one another’s advantages and jointly develop, advance the optimal deployment of the means of production, and strengthen the vitality and efficiency of the national economy. Under the basic framework of socialism with public ownership as the mainstay, actively developing a mixed ownership economy is a concrete manifestation of upholding “the two unwaverings” under the new situation, and constitutes a major innovation in the way China implements its basic economic system.

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### **Special Focus:**

CNSIC shares become a new sample of “mixed reform”

In 2019, China National Salt Industry Company Limited (“CNSIC”) chose to completely marketize through a public capital increase on the China Beijing Equity Exchange. Based on the standards of “corresponding values, collaborative strategies, and guaranteed strengths”, CNSIC successfully attracted 13 strategic investors, who invested a total of 3.06 billion RMB in CNSIC. This “mixed reform” held significant meaning in further freeing up the vitality of the salt industry market, and accelerating the advancement of the formation of a structure for the industry. The photograph shows the signing ceremony of CNSIC’s “mixed reform” capital increase project.

The basic economic system is a summation of the dominant production relations in a country, which must adapt to the country’s stage of development. For many years we have taken an economy of public ownership as the mainstay and joint development of multiple forms of ownership as our basic economic system. Based on this, this Plenary Session has established a socialist market economic system incorporating allocation for each according to his contribution as the mainstay, coexisting with multiple types of allocation, as China’s basic economic system. This is an important innovation and development in Xi Jinping Thought on Socialist Economy with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

These three basic economic systems are interconnected, mutually supportive, and mutually facilitating, are long-term and stable, play a role in regulating the direction, and have a decisive effect on the nature of the economic system and the pattern of economic development. They are like three fulcrums which jointly support the main framework of the socialist economy. To advance

of economic reform and development in the new era, socialism's basic economic system must be upheld and improved, a path for the system to follow in the construction of a modern economic system must be provided.

Both of “the two unwaverings” are indispensable. The relationship between the public sector economy and the non-public sector economy is not one of mutual cannibalism but is one in which both parties are inseparable from one other. It is a cooperative, symbiotic relationship in which each party is present inside the other. During recent years, the Party Central Committee and the State Council have unwaveringly consolidated and developed the public sector economy, and have unwaveringly encouraged, supported, and guided the development of the non-public sector economy, continuously stimulating the vitality of various market players. In the public sector economy, the “1+N” file system has been introduced to reform state-owned enterprises, whereby “1” refers to *the Guiding Opinion on Deepening the Reform of State-owned Enterprises*, and “N” refers to multiple relevant supporting documents, which provide policy safeguards for enhancing the strength and competitiveness of state-owned enterprises. In the non-public economy, a forum(s) has been held for private enterprises, and the *Opinion on Creating a Better Development Environment to Support the Reform and Development of Private Enterprises* has been issued, which stimulated the prosperity and development of the private economy. The *Decision* promulgated by this Plenary Session has further systematized the “the two unwavering parties” institutional regulations, laying the systemic foundation for the improvement of China's ownership structure.

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### **Knowledge Link**

The Private Economy's “Five, Six, Seven, Eight, Nine”

The private economy has become an indispensable force in pushing forward China's economic development. The private economy accounts for over 50 percent of taxes, over 60 percent of domestic GDP, over 70 percent of technological innovation achievements, over 80 percent of urban labor employment, and over 90 percent of the number of enterprises.

“The two allocation methods” exist simultaneously. During the initial phase of socialism, compensation for each according to his contribution has been the basic principle, while also permitting and encouraging the participation and allocation of other factors of production such as capital, land, intellectual resources, technology, and management, to achieve an organic unity which is efficient and impartial. This Plenary Session additionally listed “data” as a factor of production, reflecting the outstanding multiplier effect of data in increasing production efficiency and the extreme importance of the data economy in leading the development of emerging industries. In addition, the Plenary Session made clear plans for utilizing the regulatory role of redistribution, standardizing income distribution order, and enlarging the middle income group, to “apportion the cake” at the same time that “the big cake” was being made, to enable the people to share the achievements of reform and development.

“Two hands of allocation” complement one another. Under market economy conditions, a fundamental problem of economic activity is how to effectively allocating resources. In this situation two means are primarily effective: one is the market, which is called “the invisible hand”; the other is the government, which is called “the visible hand”. The relationship between these two hands has always been a key problem of the market economy. Western countries have grappled with this issue for several centuries but have still not found a very satisfactory solution. Classical liberalism, Keynesian doctrine, and Neoliberalism, have taken turns on center stage, but none of them have fundamentally solved the problem. The combination of a socialist system and a market economy is an outstanding innovation, never spoken of by classical Marxist writers. Western economists also believed such innovation to be impossible. However, we have quite satisfactorily combined the “invisible hand” with the “visible hand”, to achieve a major breakthrough in our understanding of the relationship between the government and the market, specifically, enabling the hand of the market to fully display its ability to promote resource allocation to achieve the greatest benefit and the greatest efficiency, while also enabling the hand of the government to be flexible at will, without being absent or exceeding the boundaries of its functions. This Plenary Session clearly proposed the construction of a market system with high standards, and, in a broader area and at a deeper level, pointed out the direction to be taken in advancing the reform of the socialist market economy system.

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#### **Knowledge Link**

##### Classic Liberalism, Keynesianism, and Neoliberalism

Classical liberalism originated during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, advocating a laissez faire economic policy with minimal government management. It is often considered to be an ideology generated to suit the development of capitalism. Its chief proponent was Adam Smith. Keynesianism which arose during the 1930’s in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the aftermath of the Great Depression, advocated that the government must strengthen its intervention in the economy and social life, to maintain a dynamic balance between supply and demand. Its chief proponent was John Maynard Keynes. Neoliberalism which took the historical stage during the 1970’s in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was resolutely opposed to government intervention in the economy, and valued market fundamentalism, pursuing absolute marketization, freedom, and privatization. Its chief proponents included Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman, and Robert Emerson Lucas, Jr.

### **III. Assessing the current economic situation from a dialectical viewpoint**

The stock market is the economy’s “barometer” and “weathervane”. Trends in economic activity are reflected in the stock market. Affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, in the first quarter of 2020, capital markets worldwide encountered setbacks. European and US stock markets showed a decline of almost 40 percent, even to the point where certain countries’ stock markets experienced circuit-breaker cessation of trading four times in succession in a short period of time, an event rarely witnessed before in history, which stunned people around the world. In contrast, China’s

stock market, although also experiencing fluctuation, nonetheless generally remained stable, demonstrating strong resilience and risk resistance capacity, and was held up by certain international finance professionals as a future “haven” for the world’s capital. Underlying the stability of China’s stock market was strong support given by the basic trend of the Chinese economy’s stability and long-term improvement.

(At the bottom of page 107 in the Chinese text)

**The Voice of Authority**

No Changes Have Occurred in the Long-term Positive Fundamentals of China’s Economy

Wang Yiming (Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference National Committee Member, former Vice Director of the State Council Development Research Center) : The outbreak of the Covid 19 pandemic had a tremendous impact on China’s economy and the world economy. The impact of the pandemic on China’s economy has been short term, and in stages. No changes have fundamentally occurred in the long-term positive fundamentals of China’s economy. Firstly, China is still undergoing industrialization and urbanization, and has an even stronger capacity for repairing itself. Secondly, China has the advantage of having a massive large-scale economy, with an impact resistance capacity which is stronger than that of other economies. Thirdly, through fighting the pandemic, we have further united all of China’s people to overcome difficulties, and be united as one in their resolve and confidence to build our nation.

Objectively speaking, the pandemic had an obvious impact on economic activity. Given the spread of the pandemic worldwide, the world economy fell into a deep recession, with a drastic shrinkage of international trade and investment, obstructed circulation in industrial and supply chains, and turmoil in major commodities markets. With regard to China, the pandemic unavoidably had a significant impact on the economy and society and restricted economic activity. In terms of total demand, from January to February 2020, there was a considerable drop in China’s consumption and investments, with an average drop of more than 20 percent. Under the influence of the pandemic overseas, foreign trade exports dropped 15.9 percent, with slight weakening of the growth-stimulating “troika” (investment, consumption and exports). In terms of total supply, tertiary industries were affected to varying degrees. Service industries such as transportation, tourism, hospitality and catering, entertainment and culture, commerce and exhibitions, were impacted the most. During the pandemic, 78 percent of enterprises in the catering industry suffered loss of revenue exceeding 100 percent. According to the initial calculations of the National Bureau of Statistics, in the first quarter of 2020, GDP was 20.6504 trillion Renminbi, a 6.8 percent decrease year on year from the same period in 2019. It should be said that under the influence of the pandemic, the downward pressure on China’s economy has continued to increase, creating difficulties and challenges for completing the task of achieving this year’s economic and social development objectives.

However, taking everything into account, China’s economic and social situation remained stable, and the long-term fundamentals and internal upward trend of the economy have not changed. The

impact of the pandemic on China's economy is short term, external, and generally can be controlled. This evaluation has been made based on scientific and ample factual evidence.

(Photographs on page 108 in the Chinese text)

Foreign trade enterprise in Dongguan Municipality, Guangdong Province, engaged in expediting completion of an order from overseas.

One hot pot restaurant resumes business to serve customers in Chengdu Municipality, Sichuan Province.

Workers on the production line assemble automobiles at Beijing Automotive Group Company, Limited, Beijing Municipality.

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### **Special Focus**

Construction of Hainan Free Trade Port Is Fully Underway

On June 1, 2020, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the State Council issued *The Overall Plan for the Construction of Hainan Free Trade Port*, which signified that construction of Hainan Free Trade Port was fully underway.

Hainan Free Trade Port is a bright banner and important open door in the construction of free trade pilot zones and free trade ports with Chinese characteristics throughout Hainan Island, created to lead China step by step and in phases into the new era of opening to the outside world. This is an important strategic policy formulated by the Party Center to address the overall domestic and international situation, based on in-depth study, comprehensive consideration, and scientific planning. The photograph shows travelers standing in line to pick up goods after Hainan implemented the new policy for off-shore duty-free purchase of goods on July 1, 2020.

China's economy has substantial resources and a strong capacity for withstanding impacts. After more than seventy years, especially since developments which have occurred after reforms and opening to the world, China's economy has grown to become a "Big Mac", supersized with sufficient tenacity. At present, China's GDP is approaching 100 trillion Renminbi which based on average annual exchange rate conversion, accounts for over 16 percent of the global economy, with foreign exchange reserves ranking number one for fourteen years continuously. China is the world's leading manufacturing power, and is the only country listed in all industry categories by the United Nations under its industry classification system. China ranks number one in the world with over 220 types of industrial products produced. The scale of China's economy and the completeness of the range of its manufactured products makes it difficult for shocks originating outside China to shake the trend towards long-term economic development and further provides sufficient "ammunition" for combating and controlling the pandemic.

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**Hot comments online:**

The system of ownership, method of allocation, and economic system are like three pillars which constitute the overall framework of China's basic economic system.

Socialism's economic system has no ready-made road which it can follow and has no golden rule by which it must abide. Socialism can only undertake exploration in the midst of practice, and forge a path of blood as it overcomes obstacles.

This pandemic has had a certain effect on China's economy. However, it has failed to fundamentally inflict serious injury and has merely caused temporary superficial pain.

When (you) cannot proceed any further, change will be made; after (you) make a change, (you) will find the way. When (you) find the way, (you) can persist for a long time (from the Yijing or Book of Changes, Copula, Part Two). This is the wisdom of China's traditional culture and is the way China transforms crisis into opportunity.

Western countries have practiced market economics for several centuries, however, as yet have not clarified the relationship between the government and the market, and are always indecisively moving from one solution to another.

China has ample economic potential, with great room for maneuver. China is currently in the midst of simultaneous development of new industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernizing, all at the same time. Every year, large numbers of rural residents migrate to the city to set up households, and the middle-income group continues to expand. Satisfying the people's ever-increasing requirements for a beautiful life and resolving issues concerning uneven development and underdevelopment give rise to demands which are comprehensive, immense, and persistent. China has a consumer market of over 1.4 billion people with a high domestic savings rate and a wealth of human resources, harboring huge consumption, innovation, and entrepreneurial potential, providing formidable power for continued economic growth.

China's economy is highly regulated, with a multiplicity of policy tools. China under the resolute leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, has implemented a socialist market economy, which has been able to combine the advantages of the socialist system and the vitality of the market economy, with a continual optimization of this combination, to enable the government and the market to effectively play their roles. Faced with the pandemic, China's macro regulatory policies have ample room and means for implementation. The financial and monetary system are highly resilient when combating risk, with sufficient policy tools which can effectively hedge against the shock of the pandemic and downward pressure on the economy.

Accordingly, the fundamentals of China's long-term improvement are jointly determined by a multiplicity of factors, such as China's economic base, development potential, institutional mechanisms, and macro policies, and is a basic pattern which has long term effects. Short-term factors like the impact of the pandemic will not cause any changes to occur in this pattern. The real situation shows that as prevention and control of the pandemic becomes normalized, China's

economic recovery is gaining momentum and is gradually returning to a trajectory of normal development.

#### **IV. How can China’s economy transform crisis into opportunity?**

Difficult environments inevitably give rise to new things. During the pandemic, many traditional economic industries were seriously affected, however this also induced the birth of certain newly emerging economic industrial formats. “Quick placing of orders” and “officials live streaming sales of products” were the hot trend on viewers’ screens, while “fingertip trading” and “cloud sales” became common practices. The “stay-at-home economy” and “nighttime economy” rapidly developed, while “construction of new infrastructure” and “new (ways of) consumption” led the trend.....these new economic modes which people could barely keep up with flourished in the face of adversity to become a touch of bright color during the period of the pandemic, while providing new growth points for China’s economic development.

General Secretary Xi Jinping has pointed out that: “Crisis and opportunity always co-exist. Overcoming crisis creates opportunity.”

(Photographs at the bottom of page 111 in the Chinese text)

CCTV women hold live charity broadcasts to assist Hubei Province

Local leadership cadres go online to sell local specialty products.

All things develop in the context of contradictory unified opposites, with spiral-shaped development occurring as the contradiction is resolved. The developmental history of humankind shows time and again that there are challenges existing in favorable circumstances, and opportunities within adversities. Challenges and adversities can under certain conditions change into one another. The key is to fully utilize subjective initiative and deftly grasp timely opportunities, actively create conditions, and facilitate matters to develop in a positive, progressive direction.

Covid 19 presented us with a crisis and with a great challenge. We only need to maintain confidence and courage in the face of difficulty, convert the pressure we felt into power, deftly turn crisis into opportunity, methodically resume work and normal living, duly perform the work of the “six stabilities” (ensuring stability in employment, financial operations, foreign trade, foreign investment, domestic investment, and expectations), comprehensively implement the tasks of the “six safeguards” (safeguarding job security, basic living needs, operations of market entities, food and energy security, stable industrial and supply chains, and the normal functioning of grassroots level government agencies), intensify policy adjustments, and fully free up China’s great development potential and powerful kinetic energy, to be able to tackle our target task of successfully waging the decisive battle of lifting people out of poverty on schedule, and comprehensively construct a prosperous society.

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**Special Focus:**

Construction of new infrastructure creates an economic new blue ocean

“*Xinjjian*” is an abbreviation for “construction of new forms of infrastructure”, as opposed to the construction of conventional infrastructure such as railroads, highways, and airports. Construction of new infrastructure involves construction in multiple sectors such as 5G networks, data centers, artificial intelligence, etc., and is an important support for future economic development. According to the calculations of the relevant agencies, in 2020 the scale of China’s 5G investment approached three hundred billion Renminbi, while the scale of investment in data centers was approximately one hundred billion Renminbi. The scale of investment in artificial intelligence exceeded thirty-five billion Renminbi. The picture shows a China Telecom 5G Station at Jimingsi in Nanjing Municipality, Jiangsu Province

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**Online Questions and Answers**

Question: What are the “six stabilities” and the “six safeguards”?

Answer: The “six stabilities” refer to ensuring stability in employment, financial operations, foreign trade, foreign investment, domestic investment, and expectations. The “six safeguards” refer to safeguarding job security, basic living needs, operations of market entities, food and energy security, stable industrial and supply chains, and the normal functioning of grassroots level government agencies.

Transform crisis into opportunity. “Opportunity” comes from strong industries. Industries are the backbone of the economy and support the entire body of the national economy. Currently, China’s enterprises have basically resumed work and resumed production. The next important step is to duly implement the relevant safeguards and supporting policies, uphold supply-side structural reforms as our principal line of action, and actively advance economic transformation and industrial upgrades. We must intensify scientific and technological innovation, and actively develop emerging industries such as smart manufacturing, online shopping, medical care and health, etc. We must promote the accelerated development of biomedicine, medical equipment, 5G networks, the Industrial Internet, etc., and elevate China’s position in the global industrial chain and value chain.

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**Special Focus:**

The “nighttime economy” expands new spaces in consumption

The so-called “nighttime economy” refers to a consumer economy operating at night where urban residents and tourists are the subjects and shopping, leisure, culture, and health and fitness are the primary forms of economic activity. According to statistics from the relevant agencies, at present 60% of China’s consumer activities occur at night. They have currently become an important new engine for increasing the vitality of urban life and driving economic

development. The photograph shows the exceptionally bustling Drum Tower night market in Kaifeng, Henan Province.

Transform crisis into opportunity. “Opportunity” comes from expanding domestic demand. Over the past several months, quite a few localities have issued consumer coupons to their local residents. Utilizing methods which combine government leadership with commercial sales promotion activities, the recovery of consumption has been stimulated, with very evident results. Effective measures must be taken to free up suppressed, frozen consumer demand as quickly as possible, to nurture and grow new consumption and upgraded spawned during prevention and control of the pandemic, and to enable consumption of physical goods and consumption of services to recover. Accelerate construction of infrastructure under construction, newly started infrastructure, and new forms of infrastructure. Strengthen safeguards for such key factors as utilization of labor, utilization of land, and capital. Optimize investment structures, pay attention to mobilizing the enthusiasm of private investment, and utilize the role that effective investment plays in driving the economy.

Transform crisis into opportunity. Opportunity comes from stabilizing foreign trade. At present, the pandemic is still spreading in many countries throughout the world, and the world’s economy will worsen. China, under circumstances where foreign trade pressures still exist, faces even greater challenges. We must sufficiently and duly utilize compliant foreign trade policy tools, develop diverse international markets, stabilize international market share, and stabilize basic foreign trade. China holds an important position in the global industrial chain, and must safeguard the smooth operation of its foreign trade industrial chain supply chain, making every effort to protect the safety of the global industrial chain. (China will) implement policies which facilitate free trade and investment, continue to optimize the business environment, and strengthen the confidence of foreign businesses in long-term investment and operations in China.

(Bottom of page 114 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

The “stay-at-home” economy has become a new economic growth point during the pandemic.

“Stay-at-home economy” refers to a new type of economy spawned from staying at home. During the outbreak of the COVID 19 pandemic, online purchasing, food and beverage to go delivery, fresh produce & meat delivery, online education, remote health care, and other “stay-at-home economy” services grew in the face of adversity and rapidly developed to become significant bright spots of economic development. Data from the National Bureau of Statistics showed that nationwide online retail sales of physical goods from January to February 2020 reached 1.1233 trillion Renminbi, accounting for 21.5 percent of total retail sales of social consumer goods. The pictures shows delivery personnel delivering goods to a centralized collection point in a residential community.

(Top of page 115 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

China's tourism market enjoyed a stable recovery during the May 1<sup>st</sup> holiday

According to statistics from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the People's Republic of China, from May 1 to May 5, 2020, nationwide domestic tourist trips totaled one hundred fifteen million times, realizing domestic tourism income of forty-seven billion five hundred sixty million Renminbi. The tourism market basically recovered to fifty percent of the level for the same period in 2019. Under the normalization of pandemic prevention and control measures, resumption of work in the tourism industry made new progress, while the tourism market and consumer confidence showed signs of picking up.

Transform crisis into opportunity. Opportunity comes from the power of activation. Micro entities are the cells of the market economy. China currently has reached hundreds of millions of various kinds of market entities. They have ample vitality, as the “signal lights” of economic prosperity and the “engines” of economic growth. In May 2020, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the State Council issued the *Opinion on Accelerating the Improvement of the Socialist Market Economic System in the New Era*, setting forth clear requirements for stimulating the vitality of the micro-economy. We must focus on improving the property rights system and market allocation of factors, comprehensively deepen reform of the economic system, accelerate the improvement of the socialist market economic system, construct a high-standard market system, achieve effective property rights incentives, free flow of factors, flexible price response, impartial and orderly competition, and survival of the fittest among enterprises. Intensify support of the private economy, labor intensive industry, and small, medium, and micro enterprises. Fully develop the enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity of entrepreneurs. Stimulate their enthusiasm and energy for getting things done and starting businesses.

“Withstanding innumerable trials and tribulations I remain strong, no matter how the wind may blow from the north, south, east or west” (line from a poem written by Zheng Xie (1693-1765) a famous calligrapher and painter of the Qing Dynasty and one of the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou). China's economy is not a small pond but is a vast, great ocean, with the broad capacity to absorb one hundred rivers, and tremendous power to drive out the bad and usher in the good. We have reason to believe that under the brilliant light of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, the surging tide and waves of the vast sea of China's economy must break through the obstruction of steep barriers and rush out, to race towards broader, more magnificent ocean waters.

(Bottom of page 116 in the Chinese text)

**For In-depth Reading**

Xi Jinping: *Speech Given at the Meeting on Overall Planning for Advancing the Prevention and Control of the COVID 19 Pandemic and for Work Deployment in Economic and Social Development*

Published in the People's Daily on February 24, 2020

National Bureau of Statistics: *2019 Statistical Bulletin on the National Economy and Social Development in the People's Republic of China*

Published in the People's Daily on February 29, 2020

*Opinion of the State Council of the People's Republic of China on Accelerating the Improvement of the Socialist Market Economic System in the New Era*

People's Publishing House, 2020 Edition

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Code

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## Chapter 8.

### How can integrity be maintained with innovation in an advanced socialist cultural system?

Fight the pandemic through “art”. Warm people’s hearts with “culture”. From the newly added program on fighting the pandemic added to the annual Gala Spring Festival Event broadcast on the eve of the Spring Festival (Chinese new year), to special Lantern Festival program(s) on combatting the pandemic, from the song “Firmly Believe Love Will Win”, to “Wuhan Child”, from the documentary “China’s Medicine Combatting the Pandemic”, to “In Wuhan”, from the short video “All Our Nation’s Delicacies Are Rooting for Spicy Hot Dry Noodles (a famous Wuhan dish)” to “University Flowers Send Their Blessings to the Cherry Blossoms of Wuhan University” .....program after program which deeply moved people’s hearts, and song after song which touched their souls, movie after movie which inspired and encouraged people, gave them limitless confidence and strength. During the time that China was combatting the COVID 19 pandemic, it was not only the entertainment world which supported our fight. Social science theory, news and publications, external propaganda and other fronts also actively mobilized to tell the story with their pens, record it on film, and transmit it with their microphones, uniting the hearts of all the people in a tremendous spiritual force to overcome current difficulties, lending their strongest voice to advanced socialist culture for the new era.

(Bottom of page 117)

The picture shows the 2020 Gala Spring Festival Event broadcast on the eve of the Spring Festival.

(Top of page 118 in the Chinese text)

#### **Live Broadcast**

Online benefit performance of Believe in the Future.

Online benefit performance of “Believe in the Future”

In May 2020, the large-scale online benefit performance of “Believe in the Future” was released and simultaneously broadcast over the entire Internet, with the theme of “fighting anxiety and returning to a normal life” to encourage all professions and all industries to resume work and resume production, calling for people to believe in the future, eliminate anxiety, and reinvest in a new life. Over one hundred musicians participated in this benefit performance, which was viewed over four hundred million times online.

Culture is the soul of a nation and of a nation. The prosperity and thriving of a culture is inseparable from innovation and improvement of the system. Since the Party’s 19th National Congress, a series of institutions in the cultural sector have been successively established and improved. From the promulgation of the *Regulations on the Propaganda Work of the Communist Party*, to the issuance

of the *Outline for Constructing and Implementing Civic Morality in the New Era*, and the *Outline for Implementing Patriotic Education in the New Era*, to the new arrangements made for the cultural system at the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee, a system and institutions of “four crossbeams and eight pillars” have been constructed, laying a more solid systemic foundation for promoting integrity with innovation in advanced socialist culture and building a strong nation of socialist culture.

### I. **Consolidating the basis for laying a solid foundation**

Engels once pointed out that “A nation which wants to stand on the highest peak of science cannot do without theoretical thinking for one moment.” Ideology is culture’s core and soul, a banner and a lighthouse for leading a nation and its people to continuously advance. The European Renaissance which occurred from the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, on the surface was a movement to restore classical culture and art, but was actually an ideological liberation movement in which the newly emerging bourgeoisie opposed feudalism. The New Culture movement which occurred in China in the 20<sup>th</sup> century around the 1920’s, by promoting democracy, opposing dictatorship, promoting science, and opposing superstition and blind obedience, facilitated an intellectual awakening among Chinese people, especially among intellectuals, created the conditions for the dissemination of Marxism in China, and mentally prepared the people for the birth of the Chinese Communist Party. These examples all illustrate that each great stride forward by human civilization is led and predicated by an ideological breakthrough.

However intense the surging tides of history are, however vigorous and profound the power of truth will be. Marxism, born in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was like a majestic red sun rising up, dispersing the layers of darkness of the old world, to illuminate humankind’s far-reaching avenues to an ideal society. Marxism deeply reveals the universal laws governing the natural world, human society, and ideological development.

(Lower right-hand section of page 119)

#### **Hot comments online:**

The light of faith is never extinguished. The tinder which lights the fire of truth is passed down from generation to generation.

If everyone practices core values, the greatest common factor can be formed and the greatest concentric circle drawn.

If public opinion is light and refreshing, it will benefit the people. If public opinion is rife with rumors and bad news, this will harm the people.

Make cultural relics “come to life”, make culture “flourish”, make civilization “beautiful”.

Traditional culture is the roots, planted deep in fertile soil, revolutionary culture is the firm trunk, and advanced culture is the branches sprouting an abundance of leaves. The great tree of Chinese culture lives on without end, ever green for ten thousand years.

It is a scientific theory and a people's theory, a practical theory, and an open theory which is continuously developing. It is a pinnacle in the history of human thought. Over 170 years have passed, and even though tremendous and profound changes have occurred in the world, nonetheless, from the grand historical perspective of five hundred years of world socialism, we are still in the historical era clearly indicated by Marxism. Over the passage of time, we have come to progressively realize the timeless value and limitless power of Marxism which transcends time and space.

Upholding Marxism as the guide, is the correct conclusion drawn by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people during their long period of exploration. China's recent and modern history, the history of the Chinese Communist Party, and the history of the development of New China (the PRC) all demonstrate that it is precisely because we have Marxism that we have been able to find the correct road for changing the cruel fate of China's past society and achieve victory for China's revolution, construction, and reform, to welcome the bright prospect of China's rejuvenation. Marxism early on was closely tied to the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, and the destiny of the Chinese nation, and has become our fundamental guiding ideology for establishing the Party and establishing the nation, invigorating the Party, and strengthening the country. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19th Central Committee clarified that upholding Marxism as the guiding ideology is the fundamental system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and for ideological principles required that Marxism serve as a rigid constraint at the institutional level, and more resolutely and powerfully ensure that Marxism's guiding position be implemented in all aspects of ideological work and in all areas.

(Picture in the lower left-hand corner of page 120 in the Chinese text) China's early Marxist, Chen Wangdao, translating The Communist Manifesto.
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“The dragon robe (the robe of the emperor) has nine emblems (has a complex design); one need only take hold of the collar [i.e. grasp the key thing to accomplish your task]. “龙袞九章，但挈一领 (a line from “Answer to Magistrate Chen Youming's Letter” (复陈佑铭太守书) by Zeng Guofan (曾国藩) (1811-1872) a famous official of the Qing Dynasty). Ideology involves many types of work. Upholding Marxism's guiding position resembles a red thread running through all work and all activities in the construction of socialist culture. Regardless of whether we are armed with theory or propagate news, regardless of whether we are engaged in literary creation and production, or cultural system reform, regardless of whether we are creating a spiritual civilization, or building and administering the Internet, all such activities must resolutely adhere to Marxism as their “mainstay”, and closely focus on this fundamental system in their development and advancement, vigorously propagate scientific theories, spread advanced culture, promote mainstream values, and ensure that China's cultural construction consistently follows the correct direction as it advances forward.

(Pictures at the top of page 121 in the Chinese text)

(Left side) Central Radio and Television Station program “Ordinary Language Close to People’s Feelings” featuring passages cited by Xi Jinping.

(Right side) Hunan Broadcasting System (HBS) program “Study Conference for the New Era”

Xi Jinping’s Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for the New Era is the latest achievement in Marxism with Chinese characteristics. It is contemporary Chinese Marxism, Marxism for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In upholding Marxism’s position as the guiding ideology, the first task is to use Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for the New Era to arm the entire Party, educate the people, and to consolidate the ideological foundation of the entire Party and all the nation’s people in unity and struggle. In recent years, outstanding results have been achieved in the study, propagation and implementation of the Party’s innovative theory. Authoritative treatises such as Xi Jinping’s *The Governance of China*, and *An Outline for the Study of Xi Jinping’s Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for the New Era*, have been published in succession. A series of television programs on theory such as Ordinary Language Close to People’s Feelings and Study Conference for the New Era have been widely acclaimed, while the Party’s innovative theory has progressively become deeply rooted in the minds of the people. In this vast territory of over 9.6 million square kilometers, over 91 million Party members, and over 1.4 billion Chinese people have increasingly come to realize that in contemporary China, only this ideology, and no other ideology, can lead the Chinese nation in the great task of rejuvenation, and can lead the people to create a more beautiful life.

## **II. Mainstream values nurture people**

In the intense struggle to combat the COVID19 pandemic, many heroic and moving advanced models and touching deeds have emerged. Health care workers white coated and clad in protective gear fought in the face of adversity; Party members and cadres charged ahead and strove tenaciously; the people’s own army mobilized upon receiving their orders; public security cadres, police, and community workers worked non-stop at their jobs night and day; volunteers labored with sincere dedication and did not shy away from difficulties; the people, united in their purpose, watched over and assisted one another....although these heroes fighting the pandemic served in different positions, their glorious images moved us in the same way. Their practical actions demonstrated China’s strength and China’s spirit, highlight the feelings of the Chinese nation for their homeland, working with one purpose in times of difficulty, braving the wind and rain together, in a moving exposition of the true meaning of socialism’s core values.

(Bottom of page 122)

A large picture of a heart which contains images of doctors, soldiers, police, community workers, ordinary citizens, and construction workers in their various roles combatting the pandemic.

The slogan at the bottom of the heart in the picture reads, “All the people are of one heart and one mind”.

(Top of page 123)

**Special Focus**

Inner Mongolia’s Ejin Banner uses Red cultural resources to educate Party members & cadres

In recent years, Ejin Banner in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region has fully utilized local, abundant Red cultural resources in ideological education on ideals and beliefs for Party members, to build a base for Party education. Education is developed by such means as classroom instruction and onsite investigation, to increase the ideological awareness of the great masses of Party members and cadres. The picture shows the Spirit of Space Navigation Party Education Base at Ejin Banner.

As a type of social awareness, values are a concentrated reflection of economic, political, and cultural circumstances in a certain society, conceptual standards for identifying things and distinguishing right from wrong. Core values occupy a central position and play a leading role in the value system of a country. This may be likened to the “pillar which stabilizes the sea” (a reference to the golden rod of Sun Wukong, the monkey king with supernatural powers in the Chinese classical novel *Journey to the West*; i.e., a key element which can stabilize circumstances, which determines cultural content and substance). This may also be likened to a navigating instrument which guides the direction and path taken in cultural construction.

Whether any culture can be established and grow strong is fundamentally determined by the vitality and power to lead of its core values’. The uniqueness and historical continuity of Chinese culture fundamentally comes from the maintenance and cohesion of its ancient core values. Ancient Chinese many years ago proposed that “propriety, justice, integrity and (a sense of) shame are the four principles for guiding a nation.” Afterwards, succeeding generations of Confucians absorbed and combined these concepts to gradually form a value system having as its principal content the “three cardinal examples (the ruler guides the minister, the father guides the son, and the husband guides the wife) and five constant principles (kindness, justice, propriety, wisdom, and integrity). This value system became an important spiritual factor in maintaining stability in China’s feudal society for over 2,000 years.

Socialist core values are a concentrated embodiment of the spirit of contemporary China, the essence of advanced socialist culture. From prosperity (and strength), democracy, civility and harmony at the national level to freedom, equality, justice, and governance by law in society, to patriotism, professional dedication, integrity, and friendship at the individual level, all of these represent the developmental direction and bright outlook of socialism with Chinese characteristics. All of them are value objectives pursued with determination by China’s sons and daughters on the

road to pursuing and fulfilling dreams. We must in accordance with the arrangements made by the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee firmly uphold a system of cultural construction guided by socialist core values. We must focus our energies and strengthen our foundation to better build the Chinese spirit, Chinese values, and Chinese power.

(Top of page 125 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

One hundred forums on core values

“One hundred forums on core values” invited experts and scholars, along with model practitioners of core values, to widely propagate contemporary China’s values and cultural self-confidence, to promote the transformation of socialist core values from cognitive identification into persistent practice, to embody the requirements for thorough integration through detailed, small, and actual implementation, to obtain favorable results and social response, and to create an important brand in the construction of socialist core values. The picture shows the 100<sup>th</sup> session of “One hundred forums on core values” at Beijing’s Capital Library.

Revolutionary ideals are higher than the heavens. Ideals and beliefs are like a “master switch”, the source of power for development of undertakings by the Party and the nation. During the respective eras of revolution, construction and reform, the most fundamental reason why Chinese Communists had such righteous, inviolable commitment to “placing no importance on being beheaded, as long as their doctrine was true”, such lofty sentiments as “daring to order the sun and moon to change heaven”, and such fearlessness to “blaze trails when faced with mountains, and build bridges when encountering water”, came from the inspiration and motivation provided by their ideals and beliefs. In the new era, undertaking great struggles which have many new historical features, we must also depend on our ideals and beliefs to focus our boundless power. The fortification of beliefs must be constructed in the minds of the people. This necessitates a cumulative process over days and months for a long period of time (to) promote the normalization and systematization of education in ideals and beliefs.

Entering (into) laws and regulations is the key. For any type of values to be firmly established throughout society, ideological education is of course important and legal norms are also indispensable. Only by requiring the assimilation of socialist core value requirements through legal norms, and their practice under rule of law, will the law be able to correspond to the moral will of all the people, comply with social public order and good customs, and truly be believed in and respected by the people. In recent years, the Party and the state have issued in succession such documents as the *Guiding Opinion on Further Assimilating Socialist Core Values into Building the Rule of Law*, and the *Plan for Legislation and Amendment of Laws to Assimilate Socialist Core Values into Building the Rule of Law*, to push forward expedited assimilation of socialist core values by the laws and regulations, striving over the next 5 to 10 years to push forward the comprehensive assimilation of socialist core values by legal institutions under socialism with

Chinese characteristics, to make all the people, through “soft requirements” and “hard restrictions,” truly internalize such values in their minds and externalize them in their actions.

Set rules and norms of good faith. Honesty and trustworthiness are basic requirements for civic morality, as well as being important standards for measuring a society’s degree of civility. China since ancient times has had a tradition which values acting in good faith. “Setting an example of keeping your word”; “One promise is worth one thousand taels of gold”; “A promise made cannot be rescinded”...such proverbs are familiar to all of us and have been passed down as beautiful references to upholding virtue and maintaining trustworthiness. To promote the building of good faith we must rely on the power of ethics, and must further rely on institutional safeguards. During recent years, China has prioritized improving the system and has focused on constructing long-term mechanisms for building [social] credit,<sup>5</sup> comprehensively building a credit system which covers all of society, promoting interconnection of credit information throughout the country, enabling creditworthy individuals to enjoy multiple benefits while persons who are not credit worthy will find it difficult to move even one step. This system will foster good social practices based on the saying “To have credit is glorious, to have bad credit is shameful.” Starting from the year 2013, China implemented a system under which information was made public on lists of people subject to enforcement due to bad credit. “Deadbeats” were not only exposed on large screen monitors on the street but were also prohibited from taking high speed trains and airplanes and lodging at star-ranked hotels, in addition to being barred from other consumer activities, making them negative examples of persons guilty of breach of faith.

### **III. Guiding public opinion to arrive at a consensus**

The pandemic was fierce and raging, affecting the minds of hundreds of millions of people. In the struggle to combat the COVID 19 pandemic, China Central Television’s (CCTV) program “News 1+1” was repeatedly viewed by enthusiastic audiences, becoming a “big traffic” item which provided positive guidance to public opinion on the pandemic. From live broadcasts with academician Zhong Nanshan who gave the warning that the virus could be transmitted from person to person, to interviews with Wuhan’s principal leaders on the situation surrounding public treatment, from paying attention to changes in the data on the pandemic to analyzing the daily situation regarding the pandemic, from focusing on asymptomatic spreaders, to tracking pandemic developments overseas.....this program directly got to the truth of the matter, and responded to concerns voiced by the masses of viewers, to play a positive role in guiding public opinion on the pandemic.

Throughout the fight against the pandemic, various levels and types of media rose to the occasion, working actively to provide in-depth coverage of major central government policies and plans, and accurately report information on the pandemic. The media vividly reported on touching incidents

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<sup>5</sup> Credit here encompasses not just financial activity but a whole range of fields, hence it being referred to elsewhere (by the Chinese government and others) as “social credit” (社会行用).

involving persons on the front lines, while widely popularizing knowledge on how to guard against the pandemic, and providing timely responses on issues of concern to the public, and duly telling the story of China's fight against the pandemic.....resonating on the same frequency online and offline, interconnecting the domestic and the international, covering both large events and small events, to effectively strengthen people's confidence, warm people's hearts, and bring people's hearts and minds together as one, while creating an excellent public opinion environment for victory in the war of resistance to prevent and control the pandemic.

(Pictures on the right, middle of page 127)

(Top picture)

CCTV's News 1+1 online interview with academician Zhong Nanshan on January 20, 2020.

(Bottom picture)

State Council Information Office news conference reporting on the work of preventing and controlling the pandemic

News and public opinion<sup>6</sup> has always been an important force in affecting the development of society. Good public opinion can become instruments for propelling development, barometers of public opinion, adhesives for social cohesion, and weathervanes of morality. Bad public opinion can become "potions which confuse and mislead" the people, "instruments which divide" society, "imperceptible weapons" which kill people, and "catalysts" which foment disruption and disorder. Duly performing the Party's news and public opinion work concerns our banner and the road we follow, concerns thoroughly implementing Party theory, line, principles and policies, concerns smoothly advancing the Party's and the nation's various undertakings, concerns the cohesion and centripetal force of the entire Party and of people of all the nationalities in our country, and concerns the future and destiny of the Party and the nation.

In today's era the constant evolution of information technology, the fissured development of the Internet and data technology accelerates restructuring of the media landscape and public opinion ecology, and pushes ongoing evolution of forms of propagation, and the continuous appearance of new media, new channels, new applications, and new platforms, present new challenges to news and public opinion work. Currently, China's netizens [internet users] already number nine hundred four million (904,000,000), with eight hundred ninety-seven million (897,000,000) netizens who own mobile phones, over 1.1 billion (1,100,000,000) users of WeChat who are active every month, while TikTok and Kuaishou have four hundred million and three hundred million daily active users, respectively. To adapt to new trends and new technologies, we must devote our efforts to innovating various systems for news and public opinion work, improving and upholding mechanisms for guiding public opinion in the right direction, to provide powerful support for the fundamental task of further strengthening mainstream thought and opinion, and upholding the "the two consolidations" (consolidating the position of Marxism as the guiding ideology and

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<sup>6</sup> This includes the management and guidance of such by (Party-managed) media.

consolidating the shared ideological foundation of the Party and all the nation's people in unity and struggle).

(Bottom of page 128 in the Chinese text)

### **Authoritative Voices**

News & public opinion and the security of political power are closely related.

Yu Wen: Currently, we are going through a key period in achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Certain anti-Chinese forces view China's development and growth as a threat, and are intensifying their efforts to encircle, contain, and infiltrate China, making the utmost effort in their fight with us to win public opinion and win the hearts of the people. It may be said that news & public opinion work is at the forefront of ideological struggle.

Whether or not we can win the battle of news & public opinion directly affects the security of state power and political security.

Duly grasp Party principles in the Party's role as "the positioning star" (guiding public opinion). The Party in control of propaganda and the Party in control of the media are basic principles of Marxist views on journalism. All media must express their position, transmit their ideas, and influence people, and all have their ideological attributes. China is a socialist country led by the Chinese Communist Party. Regardless of what developments occur in a certain era, regardless of what changes occur in the media landscape, the iron principle of the nature of the Party absolutely must not change. As soon as the tool of public opinion is not held in the hands of the Party and the people, the direction of public opinion cannot be guided in accordance with the will and the interests of the Party and the people, which will result in unimaginable harm and turmoil. In Western countries all media are in the hands of monopolistic capitalist groups, controlled by capital, which makes it impossible for them to become objective, impartial "social utilities". Media sponsored by China's Party and government must be surnamed [i.e. work for] the Party, be closely held in the Party's hands, and be the mouthpiece of the Party and the people. All Party media must uphold the unity of the attributes of the Party and the attributes of the people, fully embody the will of the Party, and reflect the position of the Party, and spread the Party's voice even more, even farther, and even deeper into the minds of the people.

Build online and offline "concentric circles". Media convergence is an important way to connect online and offline public opinion venues. In recent years, various major media have in succession grabbed positions on the Internet to secure market share. "Mobile first" has become the consensus; the "central kitchen [clearinghouse]" has received excellent reviews; "broadcast arrays" are increasing day by day; "hot products" repeatedly fill the computer screen.....from "joining together" to "merging together", conventional media and newly emerging media are gradually merging into one entity, combining as one. An outstanding example is the creation of the "Study to Strengthen the Nation" learning platform which has over one hundred eighty-one million (181,000,000) users, with the daily number of hits reaching eight hundred thirty million (830,000,000), profoundly changing the ecology of online public opinion. To enable the Internet,

which is the biggest variable, to become the greatest increment for development of the cause, it is extremely important that usage and governance standards for the Internet are increased, the requirements of “the two alls” are comprehensively implemented, and the existence of two standards, “two public opinion fields” are absolutely not permitted. We must under no circumstances permit the existence of “special zones of journalism” and “enclaves of public opinion”.

Occupy “a commanding height” in public opinion struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong once said, “Who is like a fine pen? Three thousand Mausers in the hands of elite troops” (lines from the poem “The Immortal at the River Written for Comrade Ding Ling” (临江仙 给丁玲同志) by Mao Zedong, written in 1936). Carrying out public opinion struggle is highly important for mastering leadership and initiative in the work of guiding public opinion. Faced with the current international public opinion landscape, to admit weakness or defeat is to be tongue-tied, while using the wrong words invites excoriation. We must dare to struggle and be adept at struggling. We must overwhelm the enemy in the power of our position and on ethics. During the COVID 19 pandemic, certain countries attempted to tarnish China’s reputation and made every effort to place the blame on China for their own country’s poor situation in combatting pandemic, using China as a scapegoat. Under the banner of the Party’s leadership, we launched the struggle to win public opinion, and based on reason and evidence refuted the accusations of our detractors and uncovered their lies, and exposed their contemptible actions and ugly faces to the people of the world.

(Top of page 129 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

County-level media convergence center

County-level media convergence centers integrate radio and television, newspaper, new media, and other resources, combining them into an comprehensive media platform which includes media services, Party building services, political affairs services, public services, and value-added services. This was first initiated in 2018 by constructing 600 county-level media convergence centers nationwide. At present full nationwide coverage has basically been achieved. The picture shows the unveiling ceremony at Weiyuan County Media Convergence Center in Sichuan Province.

(Bottom of page 130 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

The “Study to Strengthen the Nation” Learning Platform

The “Study to Strengthen the Nation” learning platform is an important means of strengthening the use of theory as a weapon and advancing widespread study throughout the entire Party. On

January 1, 2019, this platform went online nationwide, and was composed of a PC app and mobile phone app.

The PC app has 17 modules with over 180 first level columns, while the mobile app has 38 channels, aggregating many learning resources such as free images, audio recordings, and video recordings, to make it the most comprehensive integrated information platform for learning, propagating, and implementing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.

(Top of page 131 in the Chinese text)

### **Online Questions and Answers**

Question: What are “the two alls”?

Answer: The “two alls” are important principles which implement the principle of the Party administering the media in the new media sector, i.e., all news (&) information services, communications platforms which belong to the media and have the capacity to mobilize public opinion will fall under the scope of this administration. All news (&) information services, related businesses and employees are subject to access management, so that no matter where news and public opinion may extend, the principle and system of the Party administering the media will be there to cover it, to ensure that all levels and all types of media are established under the Party’s leadership.

#### **IV. A thriving culture enriches the heart**

In 2019, the library in Jiaxing Municipality, Zhejiang Province, was a hot spot. With only had 158 employees, it held 5,000 activities in one year, averaging 13 activities per day, with visits to the library totaling over four million, creating a cultural phenomenon which amazed people, to become the most popular local library in China. During recent years, Jiaxing Library has actively explored new service modes, and has established a system which incorporates the head library and local branches to integrate the urban and rural areas, dynamically innovating activity content and form, to enable this old library with a history of one hundred years to be renewed with vitality to become a cultural garden for the people of Jiaxing, creating a beautiful business card in China’s system of public cultural services.

The “Jiaxing Library Phenomena” is a snapshot of China’s flourishing cultural development. Since the Party’s 19<sup>th</sup> National Congress, China has achieved significant results in equalizing basic public cultural services, with continuous improvement of public cultural service facilities. At the end of 2019, there were a total of 3,196 public libraries nationwide, and 5,132 museums, among which many were quite popular, to the extent that on holidays admission tickets were in short supply. The cultural industry is developing rapidly. The cultural market is becoming increasingly profitable. Currently, China ranks number one in the world in annual production of television programs and books and ranks number two in the world in annual production of movies.

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## Photographs

(On the left) Jiaxing Library holds activities to popularize science.

(On the right) The Jiaxing Mobile Library in Zhejiang Province delivers books to a community.

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### **Special Focus:**

#### Centers for Cultural Practice in the New Era

Centers for Cultural Practice in the New Era focus on uniting and guiding the masses, utilizing culture to enlighten and transform customs and practices, at the county, township (street), and administrative village (community) levels, using volunteer services as the basic mode, to create operating mechanisms for urban and rural area public cultural service institutions, working mechanisms to enable culture, science, and hygiene to be brought to rural areas, and mechanisms for guiding the creation of activities to promote spiritual civilization among the masses; mobilizing the power of various parties, integrating various resources, and innovating new modes and means; and mobilizing and incentivizing the masses in rural areas to actively engage in the construction of a modern socialist society. The picture shows the inauguration of folk music performances by a social group organized by the Center for Cultural Practice in the New Era in Xiuning County, Anhui Province.

However, we must also see that building culture in China is still plagued by the problems of imbalance and deficiency, which are disproportionate to China's position as one of the world's great nations. The current situation still cannot catch up with the increasing demands of the Chinese people for a better spiritual and cultural life. Following the continuous rise of the people's material living standards, people's spiritual and cultural needs are becoming progressively stronger. More and more people want to have a richer, higher quality cultural life. In the past, it was a question of "having or not having". Now it is a question of "satisfactory or unsatisfactory". Cultural construction also requires the advancement of high-quality development. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19th Central Committee, in compliance with the developmental requirements of this era and the people's expectations, proposed improving the system for safeguarding the people's cultural rights and interests and establishing and improving institutional mechanisms for creating and producing culture which prioritizes social benefits and unifies social and economic benefits, to provide top-down design and a government policy basis for systemic acceleration of the development of cultural undertakings and the culture industry.

Culture creates exquisite products. From "Nezha" to "My People, My Country", from "A Little Reunion" to "Joy of Life", from paying for online learning to online Spring Festival Gala, from the Forbidden City's China chic to Dunhuang cultural creations...during the past several years, Chinese cultural creative products have appeared in succession, magnificent and wonderful, enabling people to thoroughly enjoy a cultural feast. Cultural products are mediums which reflect

the spirit of the times. Cultural creations enjoy a broad stage. Promoting cultural prosperity fundamentally requires upholding work orientation centered on the people, improving guidance incentive mechanisms for creating, producing, and disseminating cultural products, cultivating a passion for living, vigorously engaging in writing, reflecting the feelings of the people, and releasing even more literary and artistic creations which possess power, virtue, and warmth, to display the beauty of our spirit in this great era.

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**Special Focus:**

Loudspeakers in the village broadcast system prove invincible in propagating information on prevention and control of the pandemic.

Broadcasts resounding in village after village are an important part of grassroots public cultural services, playing an important role in the propagation of government policy, popularization of science, education in the law, cultural life, and other such activities in rural districts. During the time of this pandemic, loudspeakers in village broadcasts utilized down-to-earth “shouting”, and even used well-loved mediums such as rhythmic clapper talk, the “Three Character Classic”, and rhymed verse to broadly popularize knowledge on control and prevention of the virus, thus becoming a “hard-core” force in strengthening prevention and control of the pandemic in rural areas.

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**Special Focus**

Beijing’s brick-and-mortar stores test the waters with takeaway book sales

Starting in March 2020, 105 brick-and-mortar bookstores in Beijing, including Page One, Beijing Book Building, and Bell Book Club took their battle to the Meituan takeaway platform, to enable people to order books in the same way that they order meals, to enjoy book delivery services which deliver books to purchasers in as fast as 30 minutes. The picture shows warehouse staff packing books for delivery.

Cultural services have safeguards. Safeguarding the people’s cultural rights and interests is an important obligation to be carried out under socialism with Chinese characteristics and is an important duty of the Party and the government. During recent years, China has made great efforts to develop public interest cultural enterprises, deeply advance public digital cultural projects, radio and television access in every village, environmentally friendly introduction of computers to China’s western regions, cinema shows in villages, rural book rooms, and other important cultural programs to benefit the people. We have achieved our objective of establishing county level cultural halls and libraries, township level integrated cultural stations, and cultural event rooms in administrative villages, to basically resolve the problems which made it difficult for people in underdeveloped areas to watch a live dramatic performance, see a movie, and listen to or watch

radio and television broadcasts. This Plenary Session for the first time proposed to improve the system for safeguarding the people’s cultural rights and interests, with the objective of enabling the further institutionalization of public cultural services, to better ensure that the people can share the fruits of cultural development.

Cultural enterprises reap a double harvest. Cultural products are a special type of commodity. In addition to characteristics possessed by most commodities, cultural products also have ideological attributes, which embody value orientation and moral judgement. An outstanding film or television work may give people inspiration. A magnificent stage arts performance may thrill people. A beautiful song may give people encouragement. A moving short story may give people strength.

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**Special Focus:**

The 33<sup>rd</sup> Beijing Book Order Fair is held.

From January 9 to January 11, 2020, the 33<sup>rd</sup> Beijing Book Order Fair was held at the China International Exhibition Center. Almost four hundred thousand types of books were featured at the Fair in which 768 work units participated with over 200 cultural activities held, attracting 96,000 visitors who came to view the Fair and purchase books. The picture shows the crowded, bustling scene on the opening day of the Fair.

Many works such as “Desire”, “Foreign Girl”, and “Ordinary World” have deeply touched people’s hearts, and have influenced and inspired people, to become vivid portrayals reflecting the spirit and social outlook of the times. A good cultural product should prioritize the benefit it brings to society, while also unifying social benefit with economic benefit. It must pass the test of the market, further weather the test of history and stand up to the test of the people. This Plenary Session made important institutional arrangements for the development of the culture industry, established and improved institutional mechanisms for cultural creation and production which prioritize social benefits and unify social benefits with economic benefits, to better ensure that the right direction is taken in the development of the culture industry and assist the release of even more high-quality cultural products.

Great winds blow strong and great tides surge. The flame of civilization has been continuously burning since ancient times. The river of civilization flows on ceaselessly. Supported by the rich accumulation of 5,000 years of Chinese culture, riding on the mighty east wind of systemic innovation, advanced socialist culture will certainly be able to write a new chapter in its development, welcoming a new high tide of cultural construction to enable China’s culture to shine even more brightly.

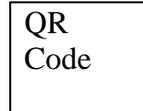
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**For in-depth reading**

Xi Jinping: *Uphold Cultural Self-confidence, Build a Strong Nation with Socialist Culture*, published in Issue 12 of *Qiushi Magazine*, 2019

*Outline for Implementing Patriotic Education in the New Era*, People's Publishing House, 2019 edition

*Outline for Implementing the Construction of Civic Virtue in the New Era*. People's Publishing House, 2019 edition



Scan

## Chapter 9 Our Sole Aspiration is to Feed and Clothe All Our People Well

How can a system to safeguard people's livelihood benefit all the people?

Moderate prosperity is a social ideal which the Chinese people have assiduously sought to achieve for the past several thousand years, an expression of people's yearning and longing for a beautiful life. Our Party uses the term "moderate prosperity" to elucidate "modernization with Chinese characteristics", leading the people in making the epoch leap from poverty and underdevelopment to prosperity and strength. As history's indicator points to the year 2020 in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, China is comprehensively building a moderately prosperous society to benefit 1.4 billion people, and our first centennial goal is about to be successfully achieved. This is a new milestone in the history of the Chinese people and in the history of humankind's social progress, a great victory for the system to safeguard people's livelihood under socialism with Chinese characteristics.

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A township somewhere in China

The people's livelihood is the foundation of happiness and the root of harmony. Enabling the common people to lead good lives is the unwavering objective of our Party's struggle and is an important feature which differentiates the socialist system from all other past systems. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, in compliance with the people's new yearning for a better life, proposed to uphold and improve the overall plan for the system to safeguard the livelihood of urban and rural residents, to provide important guarantees at a higher level for strengthening the people's sense of gain and sense of happiness.

### I. "Chinese Wisdom" with safeguards for the people's livelihood

In the initial period after the establishment of New China (the PRC) many areas of society which had been neglected were awaiting development. China was extremely poor, and the people lived an unbearably difficult and bitter life struggling to survive while fighting hunger and cold. China's system of safeguards for the people's livelihood started from a base of "zero", developing gradually in scope and size, from cities and towns to rural areas, from serving special groups to covering all of society, developing step by step until the present day, weaving the largest safety net in the world for safeguarding people's livelihood. After several decades, China has basically solved the problem of safeguarding the livelihood of one fifth of the world's population. This is a unique achievement among developing countries, which is even hard to imagine among developed countries, and is a rare achievement in the history of the world's development of social security.

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Photograph on the left: Young students growing up healthy.

Photograph in the middle: Senior citizens enjoying their old age.

Photograph on the right: Happy and blissful family of four.

From the historic leap in the standards for safeguarding the people's livelihood in China, we can experience this at a personal level. From 1949-2019 average life expectancy in China rose from 35 years to 77.3 years, while the level of education rose from an illiteracy rate of 80 percent or more to an average of 10.7 years of education for the working-age population. The average floor space of housing for urban residents rose from 8.3 square meters to 39 square meters... China's standards for safeguarding the people's livelihood continue to rise, with hundreds of millions of Chinese people enjoying a life of unprecedented happiness.

“Every move of the common people affects our feelings”. Everything that our Party and our government undertakes is done to enable the people to enjoy a prosperous and happy life. However, China currently as a whole is still a developing country, with a large population base: even a large total capacity when divided by over 1.4 billion people becomes a small number. The gap in disparate development among urban and rural areas, and [between] regions still exists, while there are practical realities which are factors that inhibit solutions to the problem of the people's livelihood. China, based on its own national circumstances, has upheld the people as the center of its development ideology, while fully absorbing the experiences and lessons learned from foreign systems of social security, combining the requirements of the people's livelihood with China's stage of development, to form a feasible, effective system of safeguards for the people's livelihood.

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### **Authoritative Voices**

Trying our best and working according to our capacity are the major principles of upholding and improving the system of safeguards for the people's livelihood

Zhang Jinan (Party Group Secretary and Minister, Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security [MOHRSS]): When upholding and improving the system of safeguards for the people's livelihood we must safeguard and improve the people's livelihood in development. On the foundation of “baking a big cake” we must make every effort to “duly apportion the cake”, beginning with those things which can be done subject to the realities of existing conditions. We should not engage in undertakings which exceed our stage of development and financial capacity. We must not hesitate to move forward and must not be parsimonious in our efforts. We must not be over ambitious and must not spend over budget (use funds earmarked for future use). We must engage in one undertaking at a time, working year after year, making unremitting efforts to advance the sustainable development of safeguards for the people's livelihood.

We must try our best and work according to our capacity to uphold and improve the major principles of the system of safeguards for the people's livelihood.

Zhang Jinan (Party Organization Secretary and Minister, Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security (MOHRSS): When upholding and improving the system of safeguards for the people's livelihood we must safeguard and improve the people's livelihood as the system develops. Based on "baking a big cake" we must make every effort to "duly apportion the cake", beginning with those things which can be done subject to the realities of existing conditions. We should not engage in undertakings which exceed our stage of development and financial capacity. We must not hesitate to move forward and must not underfund (be parsimonious in) our efforts. We must not be over ambitious and must not spend over budget (use funds earmarked for future use). We must engage in one undertaking at a time, working year after year, making unremitting efforts to advance the sustainable development of safeguards for the people's livelihood.

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**Special Focus**

Chongqing Municipality, Jiulongpo District's shanty town undergoes reconstruction to open the door to happiness

During recent years, Chongqing's Jiulongpo District has undertaken the reconstruction of its urban shanty town as a focal point in powerfully advancing the actual improvement of the people's livelihood, to enable even more residents to have the opportunity to build their dream of a happy home. The picture shows a newly reconstructed residential community in the district.

We must try our best and work according to our capacity. Economic development and improvement of the people's livelihood are like two sides of the same coin. At all times safeguards for the people's livelihood must be subject to economic development, and economic development must have the people's livelihood as its objective. The two of them are mutually complementary, and neither one may be emphasized at the expense of the other. In implementing China's safeguards for the people's livelihood, we have scientifically come to understand the relationship of the reciprocal influence and mutual advancement between the people's livelihood and economic development, and their and achieve a beneficial cycle of economic development accompanied by improvements in the people's livelihood. On the one hand we must try our best to understand the issues of what benefits are of greatest concern, are most direct, and are most real for the people, and address these issues one by one to increase the people's happiness to the greatest extent possible; on the other hand, we must work according to our capacity, upholding a realistic approach and gradually raising the standard for the people's livelihood in accordance with economic development and financial conditions, while avoiding the bad outcomes caused by excessive welfare expenditures in certain countries.

We must comprehensively make such benefits available while at the same time setting a bottom line. The system of safeguards for the people's livelihood is an institutional arrangement to benefit all the people, subject to socialist conditions. After prolonged effort, China has established the

world's largest social security net, including retirement, health care, education, housing, and other benefits, with basic old age pension coverage for 967 million people and basic health coverage for over 1.35 billion people. The enrollment rate for compulsory education is almost 100 percent. Coverage has basically been achieved in all areas which should be covered. China has also focused on aiding and assisting underprivileged groups, by providing minimum subsistence subsidies to underprivileged groups in urban areas, and waging the war of resistance to lift impoverished populations in rural areas out of poverty, to steadily achieve "elimination of the two worries" (worrying about food and worrying about clothing) and the realization of the "three guarantees" (compulsory education, basic medical care, and housing security), and sets a baseline for the people's livelihood safety net.

We must have both overall planning and measures suited to local conditions. China has a vast territory and a large population base. The circumstances with respect to economic and social development in various regions are not entirely the same. Whether it be old age pensions or healthcare security, minimum subsistence security standards or assistance and support for destitute persons, implementing free compulsory education or establishing the housing fund system, all of them focus on strengthening both the top-level design and the overall plan. Each locality, based on duly implementing national unified requirements, may also formulate relevant policies which are suited to that locality's actual circumstances. For example, in 2019 Beijing's per capita GDP was 164,220 Renminbi, while the minimum subsistence security standard for a family was 1,100 Renminbi monthly per capita. In Gansu, per capita GDP was 32,995 Renminbi, while the guiding standard for urban subsistence allowance was 524 Renminbi monthly per capita.

Both government-led and multi-party participation.. "Although heaven and earth are vast, the common people are the root of the nation." (From History of the Jin, Records of Emperor Xuan (Sima Yi), Restrictions, written by Fang Xuanling of the Tang Dynasty (晋书, 宣帝纪制约, 房玄龄等人著.) (宣帝即司马懿) . In socialist China, regardless of the time and regardless of the circumstances, the guidance of the Party and the government is necessary to resolve the issue of the people's livelihood and compensate for shortcomings in their livelihood. During the past several years, following the substantial rise of China's economic power, we have implemented even more "hard-core" policies to improve the people's livelihood, allocating even more fiscal funds to increase (social) security levels, to enable all the people to benefit from the achievements of reform and development even more, and with greater impartiality. At the same time, (we) focus on mobilizing forces at all levels of society, encourage various enterprises, social organizations, and individuals to actively participate in the undertaking of the people's livelihood, to satisfy the multi-level and diversified needs of the masses.

These effective methods for improving the people's livelihood are a summary of the valuable experience accumulated by China through long-term practice, reference, and comparison, and are unique approaches created by a large developing socialist country to resolve the problem of the people's livelihood. The scientific methods which it incorporates and the great achievements which it has attained exhibit the superior advantages of China's system for safeguarding the people's livelihood, which has increasingly attracted the world's attention and recognition.

## II. The “China Miracle” of lifting people from poverty and reducing poverty

Poverty is the greatest weak point in social development. Lifting people out of poverty and reducing poverty are important ways to compensate for shortcomings in safeguards for the people’s livelihood. When observing if a nation’s security net for the people’s livelihood is firm and tightly knit, a key indicator is the frequency of the incidence of poverty, and the depth and efficiency of poverty alleviation. China’s continuous increase in the level of safeguards for the people’s livelihood is inseparable from unremittingly lifting people out of poverty and alleviating poverty.

Since the establishment of New China (the PRC), especially after reform and opening to the outside world, our Party has led the people in a persistent war on poverty, implementing large scale development actions to lift people out of poverty, which have resulted in a significant decrease in the number of persons who are poor, a significant rise in the standard of living for poor people, and fundamental changes occurring in the features of poverty-stricken areas. Since the Party’s 18<sup>th</sup> National Congress, China has resolutely fought the fight against poverty, and has continued to increase investment in the fight to lift people out of poverty, continuously conquering bastions of poverty to historically resolve the problem of absolute poverty by the end of 2020. China has become the country in the world which has alleviated poverty for the greatest number of people. China is the world leader in achieving the United Nations Millennium development goals, an achievement worthy of honorable mention in the history of the development of the Chinese people, and worthy of recording in the annals of the history of humankind’s social development.

Looking back on over 70 years of developmental history in alleviating poverty in New China (PRC), through the beneficial interaction of economic development and poverty alleviation, we have successfully developed a road with Chinese characteristics for lifting people out of poverty. In view of China’s huge achievement in poverty alleviation, the 73<sup>rd</sup> United Nations assembly passed a resolution based on China’s experience in alleviating poverty, to construct a basic policy framework for dealing with the problem of eliminating rural poverty, proposing new ideas for implementing a sustainable development agenda in 2030. The Secretary General of the United Nations Antonio Guterres expressed that an accurate overall strategy for lifting people out of poverty is the only way to assist poor people and achieve the grand objective of setting the agenda for sustainable development in 2030. China’s experience can provide a beneficial reference for other developing countries.

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### **Knowledge Link**

The United Nations Millennium development goals

The United Nations Millennium development goals are an action plan agreed on at the Millennium Summit of the United Nations held in September 2000. The plan was committed to

reducing worldwide poverty by one half before the year 2015 (calculated according to 1990 levels), with the objective of eliminating extreme poverty and hunger, reducing child mortality rates, popularizing primary education, advancing gender equality and empowerment of women, improving maternal health care, while combatting AIDS, malaria, and other diseases, to ensure environmental sustainability, and advance the development of worldwide cooperation. Through the efforts of each country, this objective was successfully achieved in 2015.

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**Special Focus:**

Yunnan's nine "directly transitioned nationalities" and nationalities with relatively small populations alleviate poverty among the whole group.

Since 2015, under Yunnan Province's existing standards, cumulatively over six million persons among the rural poor population have been lifted out of poverty. with an average annual reduction of poverty for 1.2 million persons or more. The incidence of poverty has dropped from 17.09 percent at the end of 2014 to 1.32 percent at the end of 2019. In addition to the Nu, and Lisu, the nine "directly transitioned nationalities", namely, the Derong, Jinuo, De'ang, Achang , Bulang, Pumi, Jingpo, Wa, and Lahu nationalities, and nationalities with relatively small populations, have alleviated poverty among the whole group. The incidence of poverty among the nine "directly transitioned nationalities" and among nationalities with relatively small populations has dropped to 2.41 percent for the entire province. The picture shows members of the De'ang nationality in the Dehong Dai and Jingbo Nationalities Autonomous Prefecture in Mang Municipality, Yunnan Province, who have happily moved into a new residence.

Why does the world give such importance to China? In the final analysis, it is because China has submitted a report card on poverty relief which is number one in the world.

The massive size of this program is unparalleled. Since initiating reforms and opening to the world, based on the World Bank international poverty standard of USD\$1.9 per person per day, over 800 million impoverished persons among China's population have been lifted out of poverty, accounting for over 70 percent of persons worldwide during the same period who have been lifted out of poverty, and exceeding the total population of the 44 countries of Europe. Since the Party's 18<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, the Party has led the people in implementing an accurate strategy for lifting people out of poverty, while for seven years continuously the number of persons lifted out of poverty each year has exceeded 10 million, with a 90 million person decrease in the number of rural poor. Upon completion of this fight to alleviate poverty, approximately 100 million persons will have been lifted out of poverty, with the complete elimination of poverty in 832 impoverished counties, and the resolution of regional overall poverty. It may be said that the massive scale of this program to lift people out of poverty, which has never been witnessed before in China's history and is also unprecedented in other countries, is a marvelous achievement in the history of the world's alleviation of poverty.

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**Special Focus:**

The villagers of the “cliff village” in Zhaojue County, Sichuan Province, say goodbye to “sky ladder” and begin a new life.

On May 12, 2020, Atulie'er village in Zhi'eremo township in Zhaojue County, Sichuan Province, welcomed a “day of great celebration”, with 84 households which had been accurately lifted out of poverty changing their places of residence to lift them out of poverty, moving to the county seat into new homes with staircases. In their well-known “cliff village”, villagers when entering or leaving the village, always had to climb an 800 meter “sky ladder” along the steep walls of a cliff, which was extremely dangerous. Today, under the care of the Party and the government, the villagers of the “cliff village” have come down from the big mountain to move to a better life in their new residences, to live a new life as residents of the town. The picture on the left shows a villager from the village climbing “sky ladder” to return home. The picture on the right shows the villagers moving into their new residences.

The speed of the process is unprecedented. From the perspective of the history of humankind's development, large scale poverty relief inevitably follows industrialization and modernization. The industrialization of Western developed countries took several centuries, and it also took several centuries to alleviate large scale poverty. At the present time, absolute poverty has still not been fully eliminated. However, China, in the short span of several decades, has completed the process of poverty alleviation through rapid modernization, relying on the Party and the government's forceful advancement of the war to alleviate poverty, which took Western developed countries several centuries to complete. The people's life is about to make an historical leap from a life of poverty to a life of having enough to eat and wear, to moderate prosperity in all respects.

High quality is obvious to all. Quality is vital to alleviating poverty. In the absence of quality, leaving poverty behind is false poverty relief, or falsified elimination of poverty. In China's fight to alleviate poverty, quality requirements and measures for poverty relief are found throughout the process. Our poverty relief ideology has changed from “irrigation by flooding” to using precision poverty relief to truly achieve a clear base, accurate targets, and good results. The method we use combines poverty relief through funding with poverty relief through industry, poverty relief through education, and poverty relief through culture, transforming a simple “blood transfusion” to one which emphasizes “haemopoiesis” (creating new blood). Safeguards to ensure the quality of poverty relief strictly follow poverty relief standards and procedures, while strengthening normalized supervision and guidance, to ensure that relief from actual poverty occurs and that poverty relief is actually achieved. When consolidating the achievements of poverty relief, we must establish long-term effective mechanisms for resolving relative poverty, to prevent people who have been freed from poverty from going back to being poor. Through solid poverty alleviation, basic production and living conditions in impoverished areas have significantly improved, while income levels of impoverished groups have greatly increased. Quality standards have significantly increased for the “two worries (food and clothing)” and overall solutions have been found for outstanding problems related to the “three guarantees (compulsory education, basic medical care, and housing security)”. Poor people have benefitted the most from these substantial

results, which most vividly embody how poverty relief has stood the test of history and the test of the people.

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**Special Focus:**

With a flourish of the pen, the question of lifting the poor out of poverty is answered in Xinjiang's Gobi Desert.

The main theatre of war (in the fight against poverty) in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is in four local autonomous prefectures in southern Xinjiang:

Kashgar, Hotan, Aksu, and Kizilsu Kyrgyz. Development of industry is the main way to stabilize poverty alleviation. Every means is utilized to open channels of employment for poor people. The bugle call to charge was sounded to win the final victory, with the objective of lifting the remaining 165,000 impoverished individuals out of poverty, eliminating poverty in 560 poor villages, and lifting 10 impoverished counties out of poverty, north and south of Tianshan. The picture shows farmers sorting walnuts at a professional cooperative in Hotan County, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

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**Special Focus:**

The Maonan nationality in Huanjiang, Guangxi Province shakes off poverty to live a moderately prosperous life.

In May 2020, the Maonan Nationality Autonomous County in Guangxi Zhuangzu Autonomous Region left the ranks of impoverished counties. In the context of the overall situation nationwide for lifting the Maonan nationality out of poverty, all the members of the Maonan nationality have left poverty behind. The Maonan Nationality is one of China's 28 nationalities which have a relatively small population. Approximately 70 percent of the Maonan population nationwide lives in Huanjiang County. General Secretary Xi Jinping issued important instructions on the Maonan nationality being completely lifted out of poverty, in which he hoped that his Maonan compatriots would utilize being lifted out of poverty as a new starting point for racing towards a more beautiful life, making persistent efforts, and continuing to struggle, to make the coming days brighter and brighter. The picture shows local people of the Maonan nationality recommending and introducing a specialty agricultural product.

The advantages of the system have been fully demonstrated. The unprecedented achievements attained by China in alleviating poverty are fundamentally due to the Chinese Communist Party's leadership and the superior advantages of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We have the Party's strong leadership, and through the formulation of lines, principles, and policies which are scientific and effective, we ensure that lifting people out of poverty and poverty relief work consistently follow the correct direction advancing forward. We have a complete work(ing)

system, scientifically regulated and effectively operated, upholding central overall planning, with overall responsibility at the provincial level, effective implementation at the municipal and county level, and compaction of responsibilities at all levels, to ensure that all tasks are duly implemented. We have the capacity to organize and mobilize to concentrate power to carry out large undertakings, and maximize mobilization of social forces at all levels to declare war on poverty. According to statistics, since the Party's 18<sup>th</sup> National Congress, a total of 255,000 village resident teams, over 2,900,000 Party and government offices at the county level and above, along with cadres from state-owned enterprises and public institutions, have been serving on the front lines to lift people out of poverty, lead the masses to overrun bastion after bastion of poverty, build safeguards to prevent a return to poverty, and write the most moving story of lifting people out of poverty in the new era.

At present, the fight to alleviate poverty has reached the final phase, which at the very most will last another six months [note: this was published in summer 2020] and will pass very quickly. "From simple beginnings, an undertaking must ultimately grow immense in the future." (from Zhuangzi The Inner Chapters, Section on The Human World) (庄子 内篇 人间世). The closer we get to the finish, the more we must grit our teeth. We must not loosen our grip or be less diligent in any way. We must not be in the least bit careless or negligent. We must have the tenacious will to keep fighting until we achieve victory. We must press on to the finish, and take advantage of the situation with courage, overcome the effects of the COVID 19 pandemic, achieve complete victory in the fight to lift people out of poverty, and resolutely accomplish this noble historical undertaking which is of great importance to the Chinese nation and to humankind.

### **III. "China Plan" for increasing people's happiness**

Over 60% of rural villages now have sanitary toilets, with an increase of 13,520,000 people in the employed population of cities and towns, over 1.3 billion people hold social security cards, while over 17,000 kindergartens have been rectified and reformed. The personal income tax threshold has been raised, while the price of many pharmaceuticals frequently used by the common people has dropped. Increased network speed and reduced network fees have enabled faster surfing of the Internet. In 2019 the successive issuance of "big gift packages" for the people's livelihood further strengthened the people's sense of benefit, reflecting the unremitting efforts of our Party to increase the people's quality of life.

Improvement of the people's livelihood has no end, there are only continuous starting points. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, based on satisfying the people's higher expectations for a better life, grasped the relevant painful and difficult aspects of issues intimately related to the vital interests of the common people, to uphold and improve various aspects of the system of safeguards for the people's livelihood, a further refine the state's basic institutional system for public services, enabling all the people to share the dividends of economic and social development.

Refine employment promotion mechanisms. Employment affects the livelihoods of hundreds of millions of people and is an extremely important issue. During the current and future period, total employment pressure in China still exists, with structural contradictions increasing day by day, with a continuous increase in new influencing factors. In 2020, the population of newly employed persons in China's cities and towns will exceed 14 million persons, while students graduating from college will number 8.74 million to reach a peak value for recent years. The effects of the COVID19 pandemic have especially caused certain enterprises to experience difficulties in production and operations, while the employment situation is becoming even more severe. To achieve more adequate and higher quality employment, we must vigorously implement policies which prioritize employment, and especially improve employment support systems for key groups, increasing employment assistance for college graduates, poor laborers, and workers laid off due to overcapacity, while duly providing employment guidance services to migrant workers in cities, to enable the root of the people's livelihood to be planted more deeply and stand with greater stability.

(Bottom of page 150 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Recruiting workers “point to point” at their doorstep in Li County, Hunan Province

To assist poor families to find employment as soon as possible, and help free them from poverty, in March 2020, Li County in Hunan Province held a “point to point” special recruitment event, to enable enterprises offering employment to make onsite contact with impoverished members of the labor force. The picture shows job candidates filling out “Recruitment Registration Forms”.

(Top right-hand section of page 151 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

No matter how small it is, anything multiplied by 1.4 billion is also a big thing.

No matter how big the base number, anything divided by 1.4 billion will become quite small.

The people's livelihood is connected to the people's hearts. When the people have something to say, the Party and government will do something about it.

The signs of a moderately prosperous society are reflected by one's compatriots. Whether or not something is comprehensive can fundamentally be seen at the bottom line.

Step into moderate prosperity to fulfill the visionary dream of a millennia. Alleviate poverty to benefit hundreds of millions of people.

Take care of work one item at a time and go step by step: then you will have an ideal life.

Good days do not fall from the sky. A happy life is beckoning to you. Strive to create a wonderful life.

Build an educational system for all the people. Education is the root for fundamental projects important for the coming long-term. Education is the foundation of the people's livelihood. Educational system arrangements affect innumerable households. Currently, China's educational development remains imbalanced and insufficient. The "ability to go to school" has been achieved, however the issue of "receiving good schooling" still needs to be resolved urgently. The people's expectations for fairness and quality in education have still not been satisfied. The Plenary Session proposed overall objectives for upholding and improving the educational system, to build an educational system which will serve all the people with lifelong learning. To achieve this overall objective, we must duly implement an educational system which satisfies the people, advance the integrated development of compulsory education in urban and rural areas, and strengthen mechanisms for safeguarding preschool education, special education, and universal high school-level education, while improving mechanisms for overall and coordinated development of vocational education, technical education, higher education and continuing education. At the same time, we must focus on building a learning society, developing the advantages of online education and artificial intelligence, innovate educational modes and ways of learning, to accelerate the development of more open and flexible educational systems oriented to individuals, and suited to their personal requirements.

Improve the social security system. Social security is the "safety net" of the people's livelihood, the "stabilizing agent" of society, and the "control valve" for development. In recent years, China's social security undertaking has rapidly developed. However, the quality and sustainability of the social security system still needs to be improved. The Plenary Session proposed that the social security system should be improved to cover all the people, emphasizing that even more persons should be covered by social security, that a national basic old-age insurance plan should be implemented, and that a unified medical insurance system for urban and rural residents along with an insurance system to cover serious illnesses be comprehensively established, and striving to achieve full coverage for all statutory personnel. In addition, the Plenary Session raised a series of specific requirements for accelerating the implementation of the settlement system for social security transfer and continuation and seeking medical treatment at a location outside one's own locality, building a multi-level social security system, and accelerating the construction of a housing system with multi-agent suppliers, multichannel guarantees, and both housing purchase and renting options, to indicate the direction to be taken for establishing a social security system with higher standards.

Strengthen safeguards for health in China. The people's health levels are a barometer of a modern nation's development status. The significant improvement in people's material living standards in China has caused people to have increasingly greater concern and higher expectations for their personal health. The COVID 19 pandemic put China's public health system to the test and exposed quite a few problems and shortcomings which urgently need to be resolved and improved. General Party Secretary Xi Jinping has pointed out, "In the absence of health for all the people, overall moderate prosperity cannot exist." The Plenary Session proposed strengthening and improving institutional safeguards for the people's health levels, and making clear, specific arrangements for

improving national health policy, deepening reform of the medical and health system, and optimizing the birth policy, to provide all-round institutional support for a healthy China.

(Picture at the bottom of page 152 in the Chinese text)

The people's health comes first.

“The people work too hard; they should enjoy some comfort. Benefit the people to bring peace to all.” (lines from the poem “The People’s Labor”, in the Great Poems section of the Book of Songs (民亦劳止，汔可小康，惠此中国，以绥四方) (诗经 大雅 民劳). A moderately prosperous society, this beautiful ideal running throughout the millennium, the surging centennial goal, is like the morning sun dawning in the East, emerging with all its splendor. The people of China have never experienced anything like today, enjoying abundance and prosperity in the stability of their happy livelihood, basking to their heart’s content in the sunlight of their good lives.

(Bottom of page 153 of the Chinese text)

**For in-depth reading**

Xi Jinping: *Speech at the Symposium on the Decisive Battle and Decisive Fight Against Poverty*. People’s Publishing House 2020 Edition

Xi Jinping Presides Over A Symposium of Experts and Scholars, Emphasizing the Construction of a Strong Public Health System to Provide Strong Guarantees for Safeguarding People’s Health. People’s Daily, June 3, 2020

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## Chapter 10

### Working Together with Hearts United to Build a Dream of Peace

How can a jointly-built, jointly-governed, jointly-shared system of social governance be built?

The forces of darkness are like a malignant tumor, greatly endangering social stability and seriously eroding the people's sense of security. Starting from January 2018, a struggle dedicated to cracking down on crime swept across the entire country for a period of three years, launching a thundering, hard-hitting, powerful offensive to root out all evil, causing the forces of darkness to have nowhere to hide. By the end of April 2020, a total of 3,120 underworld organizations and 9,888 criminal groups involved in evil activities had been eliminated nationwide according to law, while a number of difficult and complicated major cases such as the case of Sun Xiaoguo and the "case of the corpse buried on the playground" had been investigated and prosecuted according to law, to strike hard at the forces of darkness, eliminate a scourge which had been plaguing the people, and gratify the people's wishes. The struggle dedicated to cracking down on crime was like an immense east wind which swept away filth, to make the universe clean and peaceful, brimming with righteousness, eliminating stumbling blocks to strengthening social governance and advancing social harmony and stability in the new era.

The effectiveness of social governance concerns the people's ability to live in peace and enjoy their work, with social stability and order. The jointly established, jointly governed and jointly shared social governance system has been formed by our Party over a long period of exploration, and is a scientific system which has been demonstrated through practice to be in accordance with China's national conditions, the people's will, and the laws of social governance. It is one of the important systems which the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Central Committee proposed be vigorously improved and upheld. Only by deeply understanding and implementing the essentials and important tasks of this system can a new ideology and new pattern of social governance be formed to construct a social governance community in which everyone is responsible, and everyone does their duty, in a community which is shared by everyone, to build a safe and sound China at an even higher level.

#### **I. A new way of reasoning to resolve contradictions.**

Fengqiao is a bridge, a concentric bridge that links the heart of the Party with the hearts of the people, a safe and sound bridge leading to harmony and tranquility. Fengqiao is not merely a bridge. It is a monument to grassroots governance in the New China (the PRC). Over the past several decades, the "Fengqiao Experience" in Fengqiao Town, Zhuji City, Zhejiang Province has developed as it was passed down and innovated in development, from "mobilizing and relying on the masses, adhering to the principle that contradictions should not be turned over to a higher authority but should be resolved at the local level" to "contradictions are not turned over to a higher authority, safety is maintained with no mishaps, and service is not lacking", growing from a shining example of grassroots governance to become a classic on victory for social governance in the new

era, providing valuable experience on the correct handling of contradictions among the people under the new situation.

(Bottom of page 155 in the Chinese text)

Fengqiao Town in Zhuji City, Zhejiang Province, has become a model of grassroots governance. (The sign on the wall reads “Fengqiao Town Joint Mediation Center”.)

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### **Authoritative Voices**

Every field of national governance involves issues concerning the correct handling contradictions among the people.

Chen Yixin (Secretary General of the CPC Central Political and Legal Affairs Commission): Improving effective mechanisms for correctly handling contradictions among the people under the new situation is not only an important part of improving the social governance system, but also concerns improving institutional mechanisms in other fields of national governance. This is not only an important safeguard for increasing social governance capacity but is also a specific requirement for increasing national governance capacity. Only by continuously improving effective mechanisms for correctly handling contradictions among the people under the new situation and further increasing the Party and the government’s capacity for political communication, coordination of interests, and social integration, among others, can we better transform our national system’s advantages into governance efficiency and assist the modernization of our national governance system and governance capacity.

Human society is continuously moving forward in its development in the midst of contradictory activities. Contradictions are found everywhere, all the time. Counting on an absence of contradictions is unrealistic. In social life, all kinds of contradictions exist, which according to their differing characteristics may be classified as two types: antagonistic contradictions and non-antagonistic contradictions. Contradictions among the people, in contrast to antagonistic contradictions between us and the enemy, are non-antagonistic, and are contradictions based on the fundamental unity of people’s interests which can be settled and resolved through the correct methods.

In 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong issued *On Correctly Handling Contradictions Among the People*, the first systematic exposition on this significant problem, indicating the direction to be taken in correctly handling contradictions among the people under socialist conditions. After reform and opening-up to the outside, especially since the new era, the economy and the society have undergone profound changes which have brought about deep adjustments of interest patterns, with the appearance of many new circumstances with many new problems under contradictions among the people. Firstly, is the high incidence of contradictions. China has entered a developmental phase with per capita GDP between 8,000 and 12,000 US Dollars. According to the experience of

certain countries, this is a period during which social contradictions stand out and easily occur, when differentiation of interests occurs among different groups and conflicts tend to intensify. Secondly, is the diversity of contradictions. As the people's demands increase with respect to democracy, rule of law, impartiality, justice, safety, and the environment, their contradictions are not only expressed as economic disputes involving material interests but also in political, cultural, social, and ecological fields, involving multiple economic and social spheres. Thirdly, is their expansive nature. In today's highly informatized society, certain trifling matters which appear to be ordinary are fermented and amplified by the Internet, very easily leading to large scale emotional antagonism and social cleavage. These issues appear during development and necessitate an adaptation to the development requirements of the times and to the people's rising expectations for a better life. Efforts must be made to resolve them.

(Bottom of page 157 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Shanghai's Fengxian District actively explores the new experience of "visiting residents to hear their complaints".

In recent years, Fengxian District in Shanghai has actively explored the new practice of "visiting residents to hear their complaints", converting "visits to the authorities" to "visits to the people", and "receiving visits from people" to "going out to visit the people", establishing the rural village residence as the site where work is conducted. During small talk with villagers, signs of grassroots contradictions can be perceived, and steps can be taken to prevent problems before they occur. The picture shows staff responsible for hearing complaints receiving villagers at a rural village residence work site.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee deeply grasped the characteristics and laws governing contradictions among the people in the new era, and from the strategic height of maintaining social stability and safeguarding national security, proposed the improvement of effective mechanisms for correctly handling contradictions among the people under the new situation, providing methodological guidance in prevention, control and settlement of contradictions among the people fundamentally at the source.

Checkpoints should be moved forward and contradictions not turned over to a higher authority. A prominent feature of the "Fengqiao Experience" is that "trifling matters never leave the village, while matters of great importance never leave the town". Prevention and resolution of contradiction risks are handled at the grassroots level to the greatest extent possible. From the actual situation it can be seen that some localities and units are slow to realize that problems exist, and are not sensitive to signs of problems, so that when problems appear they have few ways to deal with them and handle them inappropriately, either by covering them up or by shirking their responsibilities, ultimately resulting in "trifling matters dragging on to become serious matters, and serious matters dragging on until they blow up." To avoid this type of situation it is most important that we move checkpoints forward, and duly manage source checkpoints, monitoring

checkpoints, management and control checkpoints and responsibility checkpoints, to achieve front lines of defense, predictive governance, front end control, and early handling.

(Bottom of page 158 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

“Villagers evaluation meeting” in Fuqing, Fujian enables cadres and the people to meet face to face.

Fuqing in Fujian Province by convening “villagers evaluation meetings” has enabled discipline inspection commission, control commission, and township and village cadres, to meet villagers face to face, to start dialogues and exchanges with villagers on focal points, flash points and difficulties reported by villagers, to provide unimpeded access to channels through which the people can make appeals, making every effort to settle contradictions at the grassroots level. In the picture, a villager from the city is expressing his opinion at the evaluation meeting.

Improve social stability risk assessment mechanisms for major decisions. Expedite construction of monitoring and early warning systems. Improve the overall prevention and control system. Strictly implement leadership responsibilities, territorial responsibilities, and regulatory responsibilities. Ensure that there are responsibilities for defending the territory, that responsibilities for defending the territory are taken up, and that responsibilities for defending the territory are fully discharged.

Implement joint adjustment and linkage to find common solutions to contradictions. An important feature of modern medical and health systems is the implementation of classified and triaged diagnosis and treatment according to different conditions for each patient. Resolving conflicts and disputes is like seeing a doctor. Civil mediation, administrative mediation, and judicial mediation must be organically unified, forming a triple mediation linkage mechanism with scientific split-flow and linked effectiveness, to ensure its precision and efficiency. At the same time, improve institutional mechanisms for resource integration, promote multi-agent joint regulation by judicial authorities, administrative organs, enterprises, public institutions, and social organizations, with an emphasis on resolving major interregional, interindustry, and interdepartmental disputes which are difficult and complicated, and form a significant collaborative force for solving contradictory problems.

By mediating and guiding, contradictions will seldom arise. The ancients have a saying, “A good doctor administers treatment before an illness arises.” When resolving contradictions, the focus should be on preventing them. With the rapid transformation of our society, psychological fluctuations among certain people continue to increase, with a progressive rise in negative emotions such as anxiety, irritability, indifference, and extreme feelings. “One word of disagreement results in cleavage”. “Everything is viewed as a conspiracy.” “Enmity towards officials, enmity towards wealth, enmity towards the government” ....these have become the immediate causes which trigger the occurrence of contradictions. When people are indignant it is difficult for society to be at peace. “When we are able to reach people’s hearts, their hostility will

naturally disappear.” (“attacking the heart” from Strategies of the Warring States , Strategies of Han, Third Section) (“攻心“ , 看 戰 國 策 , 韓 策 三 ) The underlying cause of many contradictions is not a serious conflict of interest or enigmatic, deep-rooted hatred. Certain contradictions arise because someone wants to “insist on being vindicated”. Resolving conflicts most importantly concerns reaching people’s hearts. According to different groups of people, and different circumstances, focus on strengthening help and rescue, psychological counseling, and legal aid, to dispel social rage to the greatest extent possible, and create a social mentality based on confidence, rationality and moderation, and positive, upward aspirations.

(Right side of page 159 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

Hold a few more “hot potatoes”, be an “ant on a hot pan” a few times more, and you will be able to untie more “knots in the hearts of the people”.

Use “small grids” to open up “great governance”, use “microcirculation” to unblock “main channels”. Use an “embroidery needle” to embroider a “picture of peace”.

Scientific and technological innovation is like a tiger which has grown wings; the people’s participation in spreading tightly the net (of surveillance) gives infinite power to prevention and control measures for public order in the new era.

There are no small matters in public security. Always be prepared for danger in times of peace. We must first check erroneous ideas at the outset. Being safe and sound concerns all of us.

National security takes precedence over all else. If a nation is not at peace, how can we speak of happiness?

There must be policies for dealing with new phenomena. If there are new tricks and new methods for facing new situations and new issues, the social environment will develop a new look, and socialism with Chinese characteristics for the new era will obtain even greater development power.

## **II. A new form of social governance**

Communities are the basic units in urban and rural areas, the nerve endings of social governance. In the battle to fight the COVID 19 pandemic, communities are the frontlines in preventing and controlling the pandemic, the forward positions in preventing entry from outside and preventing spread within. If we say that hospital treatment is fierce face to face killing of the virus, the prevention and control of the virus in the community is a tenacious battle to block the spread of the virus. Over four million community workers fought on the frontlines of prevention and control in six hundred fifty thousand urban and rural communities nationwide, creating line after line of joint prevention and control, group prevention and control, and scientific prevention and control

“steel lines of defenses”, to establish a strong “immune system” for the whole society to resist viruses.

The implementation of pandemic prevention and control at the community level has fully demonstrated that the most important task of social governance is work at the grassroots level, and the most solid strength and support is also at the grassroots level. The more powerful and effective grassroots social governance is, the firmer and more solid the foundation of all social governance becomes. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party’s 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee gave prominence to the position of strengthening grassroots social governance, proposed important tasks for building new patterns of grassroots social governance, and made many new arrangements for long-term plans and fundamental consolidation policies, for the purpose of further raising grassroots social governance standards and continuously cementing the social foundation for national harmony and stability.

Smooth open channels of participation. The nucleus of social governance is the people. The people are the most extensive and most active subjects. In practice, certain localities have actively explored good methods and good experiences in which the people participate in social governance, such as democratic hearings, community forums, expert consultation meetings, public opinion “through trains” directly connecting to the government, mayor hotlines, and televised question and answer sessions on government, along with a wealth of other means of participation, to enable the people to have even more opportunities to contribute their wisdom and power.

(Top of page 161 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Hangzhou in Zhejiang uses the “urban brain” to advance the modernization of urban governance.

From informatization to intelligent implementation to smart applications is the road which must be followed when building a smart city. Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province has used such means as big data, cloud computing, and artificial intelligence to collect data originally scattered throughout city life, and through integration analysis create an integrated digital interface which includes police services, transportation, culture and tourism, and health among 11 large systems and 48 application scenarios, with a daily average increase of over 80 million pieces of data. The “urban brain” has become the information center of the smart city, on which the people rely to feel the pulse and temperature of the city and to enjoy city services. The government through this “urban brain” has achieved refined, intelligent scientific governance. The picture shows the precision intelligent control epidemic prevention system displaying dynamic data on pandemic prevention and control.

The key to the next step is to deeply summarize and refine the mature experiences and methods of various localities to improve institutionalized channels for mass participation in grassroots social governance, while arousing the inner motivation of the people to participate in governance.

Innovate institutional mechanisms. The pace of China's industrialization and urbanization continues to increase, bringing about extensive population movements with profound changes occurring in the objects, tasks, and environments of grassroots social governance, especially with the rapid development of information technology. This has caused grassroots social governance to be faced with unprecedented opportunities and challenges. National Bureau of Statistics data show that in 2019 the total population of people separated from their areas of household registration nationwide was 280 million of which 236 million were transient population, constituting almost 20 percent of China's total population. Faced with such new circumstances and new features, we must change with the times, act in accordance with the current situation, continuously increase innovation efforts, and improve urban and rural grassroots governance systems combining autonomy, rule of law, and governance by virtue under the leadership of the Party organization, improve social management and service mechanisms, and implement grid management and services, to better provide residents of urban and rural communities with precise, refined services.

Move the center of gravity down. A popular saying goes, "You want the horse to run, but you don't want it to eat grass." This sentence ridicules those methods which have unbalanced powers and responsibilities and are unsustainable. Certain localities delegate all work tasks and assessment responsibilities to the grassroots level. However, various necessary policy supports and service packages for the grassroots level are inevitably inadequate, which results in certain grassroots level units being unable to fulfill heavy responsibilities. "One thousand threads above, with one needle below". (Superiors have multiple demands, but their subordinates do not have the resources to fulfill them.) The ultimate implementation of the country's major policies is at the grassroots level. The capillaries of social governance are at the grassroots level. If we really attach importance to the grassroots level, we should push the social governance center of gravity downward, placing even more social resources, administrative authority, and services for the people's livelihood at the grassroots level. We should place more manpower, material resources, and financial resources at the grassroots level, to enable grassroots social governance to enter a good trajectory with powers and responsibilities which are consistent, and with sufficient funding for undertakings.

When implementing these arrangements, it is most critical to first conceptualize them, to achieve a transformation from traditional social management to modern social governance, adhering to systematic governance, governance according to law, and governance at the source, with comprehensive application of policies, to continuously raise grassroots social governance standards, enabling the results of social governance to benefit all the people in more and better ways.

(Bottom of page 162 of the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Jingdezhen in Jiangxi undergoes reform and innovates a new service mode to facilitate handling of matters for migrant workers in Jingdezhen.

With the rise in Jingdezhen's attractiveness, especially since Jingdezhen obtained approval for its National Ceramic Cultural Heritage Innovation Experimental Area, many enterprising individuals have poured into Jingdezhen, to become "a group of Jingdezhen migrant workers". The city's deep reforms of institutional mechanisms for talent, with an innovative service mode incorporating environment, platform, and policy reforms, provides tens of thousands of migrant workers in Jingdezhen with preferential housing, follow-up resettlement, school attendance, venture lending, and other highly personalized services. The picture shows a staff member of the city's Floating Population Service Hall processing a migrant's application for a residence permit.

(Top of page 163 of the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Xianghe in Hebei implements grid management in rural areas

Xianghe County in Hebei Province has implemented grid management in rural areas, taking the town as the unit to scientifically establish a tri-level management grid. Areas as large as sections of a community or a village thoroughfare and as small as streets and lanes and residential households are all covered by the management grid. The grid administrator makes scheduled visits to understand the needs of the people, which are recorded in the grid journal, to enable the provision of immediate onsite assistance when people have difficulties or when there are conflicts among neighbors, to achieve full coverage of convenience services for the public. The picture shows a grid administrator from the county explaining the divisions of the local grid.

**III. A new system for safeguarding security**

At the end of 2019, International SOS issued the World Travel Risk Map 2020, which evaluated travel risks among all the countries and regions in the world based on natural disasters, political conflict, terrorism, religious and racial conflict, infrastructure, emergency system construction, and other criteria. Among these, China was ranked as a country with a relatively low security risk, and one of the popular travel destinations favored by tourists worldwide. In 2019, China's inbound tourism totaled 145 million entries, ranking among the highest in the world.

(Bottom of page 164 in the Chinese text)

Pictures of tourists at the Great Wall (left) and at the Forbidden City (right).

People are happy during peacetime, and the country is prosperous when there is peace. The issue of security concerns the people's happiness, well-being, and safety, and the nation's survival and

development. Security involves political security, homeland security, military security, economic security, cultural security, social security, scientific and technological security, information security, ecological security, resource security, nuclear security, and other areas. It is a complete system covering all aspects of Party and national undertakings, for which there must be unified planning and integrated advancement.

It should be especially noted that the current international and domestic situation is severe and complicated, while various uncertain factors are increasing, with an increase in the probability of the occurrence of “gray rhino” (clear but neglected threats) and “black swan” events, testing China’s systems and capacity for safeguarding social security, dealing with public safety, and defending national security. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party’s Central Committee, based on strategic objectives for building a safe and sound China, made arrangements for and plans of improvements to the public order prevention and control system, improvements to institutional mechanisms for public security, and improvements to the national security system, comprehensively improved security levels for the nation and for society overall.

Knit a tight prevention and control net for law and order. In recent years, Beijing’s “Chaoyang Masses” and Tianjin’s “Alley Housekeepers” along with other well-known law and order volunteers, have made outstanding contributions in assisting investigations of people involved in crimes, providing evidence, and fighting against illegal and criminal activities, to become an indispensable force in unilaterally safeguarding safety. This is a phenomenon unique to China. By comparison, many travelers who have gone abroad have all personally experienced that although certain countries’ scenic spots are magnificent, nonetheless, when night comes people do not dare to venture outside for fear of being robbed, because there are no guarantees that they or their property will be safe.

(Bottom of page 165 in the Chinese text)

Beijing’s “Chaoyang Masses” (picture on the left)

Tianjin’s “Alley Housekeepers” (picture on the right)

In improving prevention and control systems for public order, it is most critical that the masses be relied on and motivated. We must uphold integration of specialists and the masses, and prevention and management (in public security work) by the masses themselves, and increase three-dimensional, rule of law, specialization, and smart standards for social governance. When implementing prevention and control measures for law and order, the word “pre-” should be the priority. We must increase the capacity to forecast, provide advance warning of, and prevent various types of risks, to achieve organic coordination and take well-targeted steps.

Adhere to layers of barriers in safeguarding public safety. Public safety on the one hand is connected to economic and social development and on the other hand is connected to the safety and security of innumerable households. We must always stay vigilant and make unremitting efforts to hold up the bottom line of public safety, constructing a “firewall” to isolate major risks

and hazards. The Plenary Session proposed clear requirements for improving public safety institutional mechanisms. We must build a public safety hazard screening and safety prevention and control system. We must build an emergency management system with a unified command, incorporating both specialized and regular features, sensitive response, and vertical linkage, to increase disaster prevention, disaster reduction, and disaster relief capacity. In addition, the Plenary Session specially emphasized that we must safeguard food safety, making important arrangements for strengthening and improving the food and drug safety and supervision system.

We must forge an impregnable bastion of national security. Safeguarding national security is a matter of prime importance. Without national security, all else is an illusion. This lesson which can be found throughout history is also not uncommon in today's world. Certain countries in West Asia and North Africa have fallen into years of war, with precariously fragile national security and no hope of obtaining effective safeguards. The people there are in danger year after year, with no hope of ensuring the safety of their lives or property. China's overall national security situation is good. However, with the ongoing rise of China's international standing, contradictions are continuously arising between national security requirements and national security capacity. Improving the national security system is an urgent matter. At the present time, China's national security connotatively and denotatively is greater than at any other time in history. Spatial and temporal domains are more extensive than at any other time in history. Internal and external factors are more complex than at any other time in history. We must uphold a holistic national security concept, with the people's security as our purpose, political security as our root, and economic security as our foundation, with military, scientific, cultural, and social security as our safeguards. Relying on the promotion of international security, we must safeguard all aspects of national security, construct a national security system, and take the road of national security with Chinese characteristics, resolutely safeguarding national sovereignty and security and development interests.

The world existing in great harmony, everyone working for the public interest. Only by relying on the people can social governance obtain an inexhaustible, endless source of (kinetic) energy. Only by mobilizing the people can social governance form a strong synergy embodying the united hearts and minds of the people in solidarity and collaboration. Only by acting for the sake of the people can social governance occupy the high ground of perfect impartiality and benefitting the people. Standing at today's new starting point for social governance, we await a jointly-constructed, jointly-governed, and jointly-shared beautiful society with even greater anticipation.

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**Special Focus:**

At Zaozhuang in Shandong, national security education enters the community

April 15, 2020 was the fifth "National Security Education Day". Zaozhuang in Shandong Province organized judges to enter the community to launch a propaganda campaign with the theme "National Security Education", to increase residents' awareness of national security, and establish the concept of "each person is responsible for national security". The picture shows a judge from the city promoting knowledge of national security among residents.

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**For in-depth reading**

*Xi Jinping Delivers an Important Speech Emphasizing Increasing Prevention and Control Capacity to Focus on Prevention and Resolution of Major Risks to Maintain Sustainable Healthy Development of the Economy and the Stability of the Overall Social Situation at the Opening Ceremony of the Special Seminar for Leading Cadres at the Provincial and Ministerial Levels on Adhering to the Bottom Line in Focusing on Preventing and Resolving Major Risks*  
People's Daily, January 22, 2019

*Guiding Opinions on Strengthening and Improving Rural Governance, Issued by The General Office of the Central Committee and the General Office of the State Council*  
People's Daily, June 24, 2019

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## CHAPTER 11

### Living Among Green Mountains and Lucid Waters

How does the institutional system for ecological civilization safeguard a beautiful China?

From Sanjiangyuan to Qilianshan from Hubei's Shennongjia to Zhejiang's Qianjiangyuan, from Wuyishan in Fujian to Pudacuo in Yunnan.....at present, 10 pilot national park systems are being advanced in-depth in 12 provinces, with a total area of approximately 220,000 square kilometers, covering different types of ecological environments and involving numerous treasured species. The national park system, this "green name card", by implementing a system of institutional initiatives for integral protection, system restoration and comprehensive control, has built a "green highland" of splendid mountains and rivers, restoring the natural ecology to its original state, building a habitat for wild animals and plants, and leaving a precious treasure for future generations.

(Picture at the bottom of page 169 in the Chinese text)

The inscription on the stone stele reads "Lucid waters and green mountains are mountains of gold and mountains of silver"

Building an ecological civilization is a millennium plan which concerns the sustainable development of the Chinese nation. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC National Congress, General Secretary Xi Jinping has given in-depth answers to the important questions of "Why should an ecological civilization be built? What kind of ecological civilization should be built? How should an ecological civilization be built?" and has raised a series of symbolic, innovative, and strategic major ideological viewpoints, to form Xi Jinping Thought on Ecological Civilization. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, guided by Xi Jinping Thought on Ecological Civilization, raised the major proposal of upholding and improving the institutional system for ecological civilization and introduced a series of major initiatives to achieve harmonious co-existence between human beings and nature and build a strong protective green shield for a beautiful China.

#### **I. Prioritize environmental protection concepts.**

The poetic scene of "a stream and a whisp of smoke" is the result of over ten years of practicing the concept of eco-friendly development in the Xixi wetland of Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province. Such pleasant scenery also once had a terrible past. In former times, the river channel in Xixi was silted up, with deteriorating water quality, and serious damage to the natural ecosystem. To change this situation, the principles of ecology first, minimal intervention, and sustainable development were upheld in Xixi, to establish the first national wetlands park in the country was established and a wetland comprehensive protection project to was implemented greatly improve the quality of the ecological environment, making the wetlands a leisure holiday paradise sought after by tourists both inside and outside China.

The beautiful transformation of the Xixi wetlands is a successful example of the current concept of ecological and environmental protection. General Secretary Xi Jinping has pointed out that, “Lucid waters and green mountains are mountains of gold and mountains of silver (valuable assets)”. This important concept deeply reveals the relationship between economic development and protection of the ecological environment, pointing out a new road for achieving the synergistic symbiosis of development and protection. For human survival, mountains of gold and mountains of silver (valuable assets) are no doubt important. Nonetheless, lucid waters and green mountains are an important part of people’s happy lives, which cannot be replaced by money. We must take the concept of “Lucid waters and green mountains are mountains of gold and mountains of silver” as our guide by upholding the basic national policy of conserving resources and protecting the environment, upholding a policy primarily based on conservation first, (environmental) protection first, and restoration of nature, resolutely taking the road to developing a civilization in which production is growing, people lead affluent lives, and the ecology is good.

Construct a full process, full range prevention and control system. Protection of the ecology and the environment is a comprehensive and holistic process involving a complete system, running vertically to the bottom and horizontally to the edge, to form an institutional system with interlocking, collaborative links. From the perspective of prevention and control, what happened before, during and after an event must be connected together. We must perfect an ecological and environmental protection system under which there is prevention at the source, process control, compensation for damages, and accountability for actions. From the perspective of prevention and control mechanisms, we must construct an institutional system for monitoring stationary pollution sources centered on a pollutant discharge license system, improve regional mechanisms linking pollution prevention and control, and land-sea overall ecological and environmental governance systems. From the perspective of prevention and control processes, deepen reforms for setting up and managing sewage outfall, link up onshore and water, and land and sea (resources), and construct a land and water coordinated, precise, scientific control and treatment system for river, lake, and sea pollution.

(Bottom of page 172 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

The national carbon emission trading market has begun to take shape.

Construction of a nationwide unified carbon emission trading market is an important institutional innovation for using market mechanisms to control and reduce greenhouse gases, and to advance eco-friendly and low-carbon transformation of the economic mode, while also being an important policy tool for strengthening the construction of ecological civilization, and for implementing international emission reduction commitments. As at the end of 2019, seven pilot carbon markets in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Chongqing, Hubei, Guangdong, and Shenzhen, covered almost 3,000 key emission enterprises in (electrical) power, steel, cement, and many other industries, with cumulative turnover having an equivalent weight of more than 360 million tons of carbon dioxide, with a transaction amount of approximately 8.13 billion US Dollars, maintaining a relatively high enterprise performance rate. The picture shows the

opening of the Shanghai pilot carbon emission trading market at the Shanghai environmental energy exchange.

(Top of page 173 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Qingdao in Shandong creates a “sponge city that can breathe”.

Constructing a sponge city is a necessary trend in the development of modern cities. As a member of the second batch of sponge city urban construction pilot projects, Qingdao in Shandong Province continues to accelerate project construction progress in pilot areas, coordinating and advancing construction in new and old urban areas, striving to build a sponge city with natural accumulation, natural permeability, and self-purification properties, to give the city flexibility and to enable it to breathe. The picture shows a scene at the city’s Licang Cultural Park.

Improve the main functional area system. Our national territory is the spatial medium for a beautiful China, just like a person’s home environment, must be divided into a living room, a bedroom, a study, a kitchen, and a bathroom, etc., enabling different areas to take on different functions. Areas suited for industrial use may be used for industry, areas suited for agricultural use may be used for agriculture, and areas suited for ecological purposes may be used for the ecology, constituting a large ecological system with each part having distinct characteristics which are organically unified. This Plenary Session emphasized accelerating the establishment and improvement of a comprehensively planned, coordinated administrative control system for national land spatial planning and use, with overall regulation and implementation of ecological protection red lines, permanent basic farmland, urban development boundaries, and other spaces for control boundaries, along with protection lines for various sea areas, to enable national ecological security to have comprehensive safeguards.

Strengthen institutional guarantees for eco-friendly development. Eco-friendly development is a worldwide trend, the direction of future industrial and economic development. A good ecological environment is itself a huge amount of wealth, which can bring a steady stream of economic benefits, to achieve a “double harvest” of environmental protection and economic development. In 2018, China’s carbon emission intensity per unit GDP dropped approximately 45.8 percent from 2005 to complete in advance the 2020 target of a 40 to 45 percent reduction. This Plenary Session emphasized the need to improve the legal system and policy orientation concerning eco-friendly production and consumption, develop green financing, advance market-oriented eco-friendly technological innovation, and promote more self-awareness in society on adhering to green cycles and low carbon development.

**II. Efficient utilization of resources is the key.**

A small step for garbage classification, a leap for ecological civilization. From July 1, 2019, Shanghai officially implemented a household garbage classification system. Work units which contravened this system would be fined 5,000 to 50,000 Renminbi, while individuals in violation of this system would be fined 50 to 200 Renminbi, a level of strictness which people had not anticipated. This system was not only implemented in Shanghai. China, in an unprecedented spirit of resolve, vigorously promoted the “garbage revolution”, sounding the call for the tough battle and protracted war of “garbage classification”. By the end of 2020, 46 key cities will have basically completed setting up garbage classification and disposal systems. By the end of 2025, cities at the prefecture level and above will have basically completed setting up garbage classification and disposal systems.

(Bottom of page 174 in the Chinese text)

Two photographs with a caption which reads “From July 1, 2019, Shanghai officially implemented a household garbage classification system.”

(Top of page 175 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

The recycling economy has achieved outstanding results in Mian County, Shaanxi Province

In recent years, Mian County in Shaanxi Province has adhered to the concept of circular development, relying on the Zhoujiashan Circular Economy Industry Gathering Area, the Baocheng New Materials Industry Gathering Area, and incubation parks for medium and small enterprises to fully promote industrial transformation and upgrading, to construct and bring on-line a batch of projects which promote transformation, bring long-term benefits, and extend industry life, generating a good effect by gathering together industry and talent, and injecting vitality in local economic development and employment among the masses. The picture shows one of the county’s new materials science and technology limited liability companies activating supercapacitor electrode materials.

Garbage is a resource which has been put in the wrong place. Implementing a garbage classification system turns waste into valuable material, not only solving the problem of garbage polluting the environment but also increasing the resource recovery utilization rate. Sewage can also be a resource for recycling and utilization. Sewage after undergoing treatment to render it harmless, can attain a certain standard of water quality to replace conventional water resources for use in industrial production, miscellaneous municipal applications, residential life, ecological hydration, agricultural irrigation, replenishing ground water, etc. , to effectively alleviate pressure on water resources, water ecology, and the water environment, with huge utilization potential. Achieving high efficiency resource utilization has consistently been a major problem which the construction of China’s ecological civilization has focused on resolving. Although China has a vast territory with abundant resources and a relatively large total amount of resources, nonetheless, over a certain period, unconstrained development has resulted in overexploitation of resources, with considerable consumption and waste. Land, energy, water, and other resources have become

hard constraints and tight balances in China's development, with successive alerts being raised about resource consumption, with an urgent need to change resource utilization methods.

In the end, the problem of resource utilization is a problem concerning patterns of production and consumption. High efficiency resource utilization most fundamentally involves restricting economic activity and human behavior to the range which can be tolerated by natural resources and the ecological environment, to enable resources, production, consumption, and other key elements to correspondingly match and adapt to one another, using the smallest resource cost to obtain the greatest economic and social benefits. Today and in the future, we must firmly establish a concept of resources based on economical and intensive recycling in accordance with the requirements of the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, comprehensively establish a highly efficient resource utilization system, use compulsory controls to resolve the difficult problems faced in China's resource environment, and advance the construction of a resource-saving society.

(Top of page 176 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

25th United Nations Climate Change Conference, Conference of the Parties (COP) convened in Madrid, Spain

The 25<sup>th</sup> United Nations Climate Change Conference, Conference of the Parties (COP) was convened in Madrid, Spain from December 2-15, 2019. The Conference passed a political resolution, the "Chile Madrid Time for Action" which emphasized that each country must intensify their actions in accordance with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the Paris Agreement, reduce carbon emissions, adapt to climate change, and provide support to developing countries. At this Conference, the Chinese delegation expressed that China will unflinchingly implement a national strategy for dealing with climate change, to fulfill its promise 100 percent and work with each of the parties to jointly deal with global climate change, working together to build a worldwide ecological civilization and a global community with a shared future.<sup>7</sup>

Have clearly established property rights with compensation for use of property. The laws of the market economy tell us that the market is the most efficient means of allocating and utilizing resources. Property rights are the precondition for the role played by market mechanisms. At present, China's natural resources property rights system has initially been established. However, problems still exist, such as the lack of clarity about the actual situation and clearly defined powers and responsibilities, and poor protection, which has resulted in the occurrence of numerous property rights disputes, inadequate resource protection, unconstrained development and utilization, and other such problems. To resolve such problems, we must further improve the

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<sup>7</sup> The Chinese phrase used for this here and elsewhere in the book [(人类)命运共同体] more accurately translates to "community of common destiny (for mankind)".

natural resource property rights system, implementing a system of compensation for use of natural resources. We must implement a system for management of all resources and comprehensive resource conservation. We must accelerate the pace of reform in improving the property rights system, implementing the ownership of property rights, investigating, monitoring, and confirming (property) rights registration, intensive development, and utilization, and improving the regulatory system, to provide a foundation for property rights in the efficient and rational utilization of natural resources.

Implement conservation, intensive utilization, and recycling. A popular saying goes “The quantity of bread you soak depends on how much soup you have.” [i.e. Utilize your resources accordingly]. China’s total quantity of water, land, energy, and other resources is limited. We must establish the principle of equilibrium between the population, the economy, and the resource environment, strengthen administration of binding indicators, implement the most stringent water resource management system, land conservation system, and energy consumption system, to ensure conservation and intensive efficient utilization of resources. With the rapid growth of China’s resource requirements, the quantity of waste produced continues to increase. The resource recycling and utilization system must be improved, with widespread implementation of garbage classification and recycling. We must facilitate reduction, reuse, and resource utilization in production, circulation, and consumption processes, and build a resource recycling and utilization system covering the whole society.

Clean and low carbon, safe and efficient. The two most important features of a modern energy system are rational energy structures and relatively high energy efficiency. At the present time, China’s energy structures are still not fully rational, with fossil energy constituting 80 percent or more of total energy consumed. To change this situation, we must vigorously advance an energy revolution, while expediting development of wind energy, waterpower, solar energy, biomass energy, thermal heat energy, and other types of clean, low carbon energy, along with safe, efficient development of nuclear energy, and build an eco-friendly, sustainable modern energy system.

“Many hands make light work.” Every person is a consumer of resources, and is also a practitioner of energy conservation. If we can consume one less kilowatt hour, waste one less piece of paper, drive a car one less day, have one less dish leftover...if each person out of 1.4 billion people consciously begins to do this, starting with trifles, their actions drop by drop will form a vast ocean of accumulated resources.

(Top of page 178 in the Chinese text)

Zhangjiakou in Hebei firmly advances the construction of a renewable energy demonstration zone.

Zhangjiakou in Hebei Province in recent years has accelerated construction of green energy systems, continuing to introduce new technology, new projects, and new modes to expand power generation through wind power, photovoltaic power, photo-thermal, biomass power, and other

renewable energy on an industrial scale. The picture shows a wind energy and solar energy complementary power generation station.

### III. Simultaneously address environmental protection and restoration issues

“The waters of the Yellow River flow from Heaven, racing to the ocean to never return.” (Opening line of the poem “Bring in the Wine” by the Tang dynasty poet Li Bai). For thousands of years, the Yellow River with its nine turns has raced forward to feed the “descendants of Yan Di and the Yellow Emperor” (the Chinese people), spawning the Chinese civilization, as the Mother River which nourishes the Chinese people. Because the Yellow River flows through the loess plateau, the five desert regions, and other ecologically weak areas, it has always been plagued with many problems, with frequent flooding. Protecting and bringing the Yellow River under control is a beautiful, long-cherished wish of the people living on its two banks, a matter which concerns the grand plan for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. After the establishment of New China (the PRC), especially since the new era, our Party has led the people in the call to protect and restore the ecological environment of the Yellow River, with an overall plan for cooperating to do a good job of protecting the Yellow River’s upper and lower reaches, main tributaries, and shores on both sides, collaborating in advancing the control of the river, enabling the Yellow River to become a river of happiness bringing good fortune to the people.

Mountains, water, forests, fields, lakes, and grass form a living community. The lifeblood of human beings comes from fields, the lifeblood of the fields comes from water, the lifeblood of water comes from the mountains, the lifeblood of the mountains comes from the earth, and the lifeblood of the earth comes from the trees and grass. Ecology is a large system in which there is interdependent co-existence among its members. If a person planting a tree only cares about the planting, if a person engaged in water control only cares about controlling the water, if a person protecting the fields simply protects fields, “with each person only caring about their respective interests “, this will very easily result in attending to one thing while losing sight of the other, “solving one problem only to find another cropping up“, causing systemic long-term damage to the ecology. Only by establishing systematic thinking, unified protection, and unified restoration can we safeguard the natural balance of the ecology.

(Bottom of page 179 in the Chinese text)

The caption under the photograph reads, “Yellow River National Wetlands Park in Wuzhong, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region”

(Top of page 180 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

The ecological environment is fragile, easy to destroy but difficult to restore. We must take care of nature in the same way that we love and protect our eyes. We must care for the environment in the same way that we care for life.

The resources on which humankind depends for survival are limited and concern the prosperity and development of today's world and the long-term survival of our children, grandchildren, and future generations.

Protection and restoration are two sides of the same coin. We cannot on the one hand protect, and on the other hand destroy, on the one hand restore and on the other hand damage. We must hold on firmly with both hands, resolutely, without loosening our grip.

Mountains and rivers encircle, forests and fields intermingle, lakes and grasses share life together, creating an extended natural family, harmonious and beautiful in a symphony of life.

Environmental protection can never achieve its most stringent state, it can only become more stringent, like a "high voltage wire" standing erect which cannot be touched. Resolutely maintain "zero tolerance" for destruction of the environment, with absolutely "no tolerance" for dereliction of duty.

Garbage classification is a revolutionary environmental protection concept, a revolutionary development in urban governance, and, furthermore, a revolutionary change of lifestyle.

Based on this, the 4th Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee starting from the whole ecosystem, has emphasized improving the ecological protection and restoration system, implementing unified planning for mountains, waters, forests, fields, and lakes, with an emphasis on strengthening protection of the natural ecology of forests, grasslands, rivers, lakes, wetlands, and oceans. This systematic and comprehensive approach to ecological governance is the fundamental way to achieve harmonious co-existence between human beings and nature, to safeguard that mountains and rivers remain peaceful and stable in the long-term.

Holistic protection. The ecological environment is the root of our survival, the source of our development, and its protection comes first. Although China's ecological environment is complex and varied, nonetheless, it still constitutes a complete ecological system, requiring a comprehensive approach to ecological environmental protection, with overall planning. We must strengthen top-level design, establish a nationwide unified plan for ecological environmental protection, strengthen the protection and sustainable utilization of important ecological systems, strengthen ecological protection and systematic governance of major rivers such as the Yangtze River and the Yellow River, construct a natural preserve system with national parks as the main body, founded on natural reserves, supplemented by various types of nature parks, to protect everything which should be protected. Currently, China has established more than 11,800 natural preserves at all levels and of all types, occupying 18 percent of China's territorial land area, and 4.6 percent of China's territorial sea area. Among these natural preserves, 14 are world natural

heritage sites, 4 are world natural and cultural heritage sites, and 39 are world geoparks, all of which rank first in the world in numbers.

Systematic restoration. During recent years, we have persevered in advancing large-scale greening of our land, making great efforts to rectify desertification, rocky desertification, and soil erosion, implementing rescue and protection of endangered wild animals and plants, to enable gradual restoration of overburdened ecological environments. China's percentage of forest cover has increased from 16.6 percent at the beginning of this century to approximately 23 percent. Land areas affected by desertification, sanding, and rock desertification have experienced an average annual reduction of 2,000 square kilometers, 2,400 square kilometers, and 390,000 hectares, respectively. Based on this, we have vigorously implemented natural resources protection projects, a new round of restoring farmland to forest projects, wetlands protection and restoration projects, and other major ecological restoration projects, advancing the recovery and restoration of cultivated land, grasslands, forests, rivers, and lakes, to build strong lines of defense for ecological security.

#### **IV. Systematic implementation of strict responsibilities.**

The Qinling Mountains run from the north to the south, benefitting the nation. They are China's central water tower, the ancestral origin of the Chinese people and an important symbol of Chinese culture. They are also an important protective shield for ecological security in central China, which are known as the "green lungs of the nation" and the "world's biological gene bank". It was not long ago that many illegally built villas appeared in this area, with large areas of forest and green land sustaining man-made damage. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC National Congress, under repeated instructions from Party General Secretary Xi Jinping, the issue of this seriously damaged ecological environment has been resolved. On December 1, 2019, to consolidate the results achieved in recent years by the remedies used to restore the ecological environment of the Qinling Mountains, the newly revised *Measures for Protecting the Ecological Environment of the Qinling Mountains in Shaanxi Province* officially came into effect. The new measures emphasized "stringency" and "responsibility" to further stipulate even stricter and even more detailed regulations for regulatory responsibilities, assessment and evaluation, investigation of accountability, and penalty standards, to tighten "the screws" on local government and relevant departmental supervisory administration.

During recent years, the construction of China's ecological civilization has intensified, with the issuance of numerous policy provisions, obtaining outstanding results in advancing ecological environmental protection, while the sky has become bluer, the water clearer, and the mountains greener. However, in opposition to such achievements, certain malignant environmental pollution and ecological destruction incidents still occur from time to time, producing serious outcomes and harmful effects. An analysis of these successive incidents show that a major cause of their occurrence is ecological environmental protection responsibilities not being strict and not being implemented, leaving room for ecological destruction and environmental pollution.

(Pictures on the left side of page 182 in the Chinese text)

The caption reads: “Pictures comparing the site of illegally constructed villas before, during, and after rectification of the problem. “

Responsibility is heavier than Mount Tai. To eliminate this element of “man-made disasters” we must address the issue of “responsibility”, prioritizing “stringency”, to further improve and implement the ecological environmental protection responsibility system, to cause regulators to “be online at all times” and to dare to “show their swords” (take decisive action) when dealing with behavior involving pollution, forcing offenders to “bear all the consequences” (of their behavior), and to be subject to the severe punishment which is due them, without exception.

Strictly implement the responsibilities of all parties. If we compare ecological environmental protection to a sports match, enterprises are the athletes, who must achieve winning scores without violating the rules; Party committees and the government are the referees who must ensure that sporting activities proceed smoothly and must at any time “call out” those who violate the rules. With respect to ecological environmental protection, enterprises, Party committees, and the government are the most important holders of responsibility who must respectively duly perform their responsibilities as subjects and exercise their regulatory responsibilities, to reduce the occurrence of pollution to the greatest extent possible. At the present time, the *Environmental Protection Law*, the *Air Pollution Prevention and Control Law*, and the *Water Pollution Prevention and Control Law* along with other important laws and regulations implemented by China, have set forth clear provisions for the “two responsibilities” (the Party Committee should bear the main responsibility and the disciplinary committee should bear responsibility for supervision), and their legal authority is used to safeguarded the uncompromising implementation of environmental protection responsibilities.

Implement the central (government’s) inspection system. During recent years, the central government has advanced in-depth inspection of ecological environmental protection, stirring up successive “storms” over pollution control. Since 2015, the central government’s first round of ecological environmental protection inspections has been completed, with full coverage of 31 provinces (regions, and municipalities), including the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, and has launched “look backs” (re-inspections) in 20 provinces (regions). At the present time, the second round has been launched, and quickly discovered, supervised, and urged the resolution of a batch of existing problems.

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### **Authoritative Voices**

China’s development absolutely must not be at the expense of the environment

Mu Hong (Deputy Director of the Central Reform Office in Charge of Daily Work, Deputy Secretary of the Party Group and Deputy Director of the National Development and Reform

Commission): We must uphold the ecology as our priority, with green development, establishing and improving an economic system with green and low carbon circular development, with comprehensive policies on technology, economy, rule of law, education, and other areas, while advocating simplicity and moderation, and a green, low carbon lifestyle, to promote green transformation from the source, decrease resource consumption, reduce pollution discharge, and prevent ecological damage.

(Top of page 184 in the Chinese text)

### **Special Focus**

The “highest fine in history” under China’s ecological environment protection policy

On January 6, 2020, the Intermediate People’s Court of Nanjing, Jiangsu Province announced the results of the judgment in an environmental pollution case, imposing a high fine amounting to 520 million Renminbi. From October 2014 to April 2017, a certain water company in Nanjing on numerous occasions illegally directly discharged sewage with high concentrations of waste into the Yangzi River, while also changing data to avoid regulation, and over a long period of time discharged sewage which exceeded standards, causing 100 million Renminbi in damages to the ecological environment. The “highest fine in history” was imposed on this malicious enterprise, as an expression of the firm resolve of the nation to protect the ecological environment, to severely punish environmental pollution actions, and to make offenders pay a heavy price.

During the first round of inspections and re-inspections alone, approximately 179,000 ecological environmental reports submitted by the masses were accepted and transferred for review, with over 150,000 recommendations on solutions to ecological environmental problems. As the central government’s ecological environmental protection inspections increase in depth, the content of such inspections will be continuously expanded, with coordinated extension to advance economic and social development in conjunction with ecological environmental protection, to better utilize their important role in ecological environmental protection.

Improve accountability mechanisms. Mobilizing personnel one thousand times is not as effective as holding them accountable one time. Strict accountability is the “trump card” for supervising and prompting implementation of responsibilities. Without this type of deterrent force, responsibility will become a mere formality, with practically no function. We must improve the ecological environment public interest litigation system, implementing ecological compensation and a compensation system for ecological environmental damage, strictly holding instigators accountable, with “the person responsible for the damages bearing the consequences”, to cause offenders to pay a heavy price. Being an official, one must benefit the people, not harm them. Cadres in positions of leadership whose erroneous decisions result in serious harm to the ecological environment must be held accountable under a lifelong responsibility system, must be subject to rigorous resignation and audit procedures, and must not be allowed to get off lightly, or change

locations to serve as officials and be promoted. No matter how long it has been since they left office after the occurrence of a problem, no matter where they may be, they must subsequently be held accountable.

We must guard and protect our beautiful home, lending our efforts to realizing the green dream. We have been born and have grown up in the great land of China, which should be a beautiful China with ever blue skies, eternally beautiful green mountains, and perpetually flowing lucid waters. On the new journey to achieving the China dream of national rejuvenation, accelerating the construction of a more perfect institutional system for ecological civilization will necessarily provide strong support for construction of an idyllic environment amenable to human beings.

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**For in-depth reading:**

*Xi Jinping: Speech at the Symposium on Ecological Protection and High-quality Development in the Yellow River Basin*, published in Issue 20 of *Qiushi Magazine*, 2019

*Guiding Opinions on Constructing a Modern Environmental Governance System*, Issued by the General Office of the CPC Central Committee, and the General Office of the State Council, published in *People's Daily* on March 4, 2020



(Scan)

## CHAPTER 12

### **Forging the Soul of the Military with Steeled Blood and Unwavering Loyalty**

Why is the system of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces unshakable?

In the autumn of 1927, the famous "Sanwan reorganization" established the system under which the "(the Party) branch is built on the company (of the military)", ensuring politically and organizationally that the "Party commanded the gun [the military]". Afterwards, on the march to Gannan (southern Jiangxi Province) and Minxi (western Fujian Province), a disagreement arose in the Red 4<sup>th</sup> Army on the issue of who had the power to command the military. In September 1929, the Party Center issued an instruction letter from Shanghai, affirming Comrade Mao Zedong's thoughts and opinions clarifying that the power to command the military belonged to the Party's frontline Committee. This "September Letter" with its clear position reaffirmed the fundamental principle of the Party's absolute leadership of the military, setting the precondition and the foundation for the principles of building the Party on ideology, and the military on politics, set forth at the Gutian Conference three months later.

The struggle of blood and fire forges the foundation for building the military. The test of life and death steels the soul of a strong military. The people's armed forces was created by the Party's own hands and the commanding gun of the Party is the secret behind the success of the people's armed forces's growth from a small to a large force, from weakness to strength, marching to victory after victory. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee affirmed the system of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces as a fundamental system under socialism with Chinese characteristics, having great significance as a "ballast stone" (of the system). This system fundamentally ensures the loyalty of the people's armed forces in carrying out its mission and duties in the new era, the Party's long-term governance, the nation's long term peace and security, and our undertakings' prosperity and development.

#### **I. Why are the building of the military and the soul of a strong military so important?**

The nation is a product of class contradictions which cannot be reconciled. The military is a tool of violence for class rule. When the nation is born, the military is born with it. We may say that the military is born for the nation, fights on behalf of the nation, and functions to consolidate national political power domestically, and safeguard national security and interests outside the country. Throughout the history of human political development, controlling the military is the top priority for seizing and consolidating national power. This has become an irrefutable law of history.

The question of the leadership of the military is the core of Marxist theory on building the military. Marx and Engels believed that the proletariat needed its own strong armed forces to seize power. After achieving victory, it was still necessary to rely on the armed forces to protect the achievements of the revolution and to safeguard one's own rule. Lenin, based on the experience of the Russian Revolution, pointed out that if the tools of the dictatorship of the proletariat are to fight for the political power of the workers and farmers, they must be under the Communist Party's political leadership, with Party organizations established inside the military. These important discourses pointed out the way for establishing a new type of military of the proletariat.

With respect to the people's armed forces led by the Chinese Communist Party, upholding the fundamental principle of the Party's absolute leadership was not born out of thin air, but was obtained at the cost of blood, after going through difficult exploration. In the early days of the Party, our Party failed to recognize the extreme importance of establishing and controlling the military, which resulted in setbacks such as the painful defeat of the Great Revolution. However, our Party quickly realized that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" (this concept was proposed by Mao Zedong at the Central Emergency Meeting of the Communist Party of China on August 7, 1927). Thus, we took the revolutionary road of encircling cities from the countryside, seizing political power through armed force. The Nanchang Uprising demonstrated that our Party had its own military. After the "Sanwan reorganization" and the Gutian Conference, the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces became an iron law for our Party's building and governance of the military. The sparks of fire from the revolution thereafter became a spreading prairie fire. Over the past 90 years, it is precisely the barrel of the gun consistently being held in the hands of the Party which has provided guarantees for the people's armed forces in various periods to resolutely carry out the Party's political tasks, to bathe itself in blood fighting for the revolution, escort and safeguard construction and reform, and become a strong pillar for continuous advancement of the Party's and the nation's undertakings.

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Photos on page 188 (from top to bottom):

Former location of the command headquarters of the Nanchang Uprising.

The location where the "Sanwan reorganization" took place.

The location of the Gutian Conference.

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### **Authoritative Voices**

Uphold uniqueness, thoroughness, and unconditionality in the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces.

Zhong Xin: *The Decision* pointed out that the people's armed forces is a strong pillar of socialism with Chinese characteristics, that the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces is the basis on which the people's armed forces has been built and is the soul of a strong military. This deeply reveals the important position and role of the people's armed forces in safeguarding the red rivers and mountains of socialism (our socialist nation), while revealing the extreme importance of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces. We must uphold the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces. The word "absolute" is most critical, as it emphasizes uniqueness, thoroughness, and unconditionality. We must fully recognize this point, with a firm grasp, and strengthen resoluteness and consciousness in its implementation.

The Party's absolutely leadership of the people's armed forces is the lifeblood and soul of our military, and concerns the nature, purpose, direction and future of our military. Our military has consistently been obedient to the Party and has followed the Party. No matter what person, or what means they use, no one who wants to pull the military away from the Party will be successful. In our military's history, no formally organized unit has ever been pulled away by the enemy, and there has never been anyone who was able to use the military to achieve their personal goals. Some years ago, Zhang Guotao, relying on the large number of troops under his command, wanted to break away from the (Party) Center and form his own faction. Finally, he only succeeded in isolating himself without any support from others, forcing him to flee on his own. During the "Cultural Revolution" the Gang of Four always wanted to seize power over the military, but the military refused to listen to them, and after falling from power still lamented that they had failed to bring the military under their control. History has repeatedly proven that when the Party's absolute leadership of the military is upheld, no matter how the situation may change, no matter how complex the circumstances may be, the people's armed forces will not lose its direction, and will consistently maintain the most resolute political character and the brightest hue of red (most resolute socialist nature).

Facing the future, China is progressively approaching the world's center stage, with the realization of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation entering a critical phase. Safeguarding national sovereignty, security, and development interests, has never been as important as it is today. From an international perspective, the world security situation is not optimistic, with an increase in indeterminate factors which may initiate war. Military competition among countries is progressively intensifying. A report from an authoritative British think tank shows that in 2019 global expenditures on military spending increased 4 percent over the preceding year, constituting the largest increase in 10 years. From a domestic perspective, the tasks of reform, development, and maintaining stability, have become more complex, with reform of the armed forces progressing uphill and overcoming obstacles, challenged by increasing pressure to maintain overall social harmony and stability. Only by upholding and duly utilizing the political advantage of the Party's absolute leadership of the military, will we be able to ensure that the construction and application of military forces can better cope with ongoing risks and challenges, to provide powerful strategic support for national rejuvenation and China's strides onto the world stage.

(Bottom of page 190)

"Chubby girl" Y-20 transport aircraft transports medical personnel. (Left)

Military-use truck transports medical supplies (Center)

Emergency assembly of military medical teams (Right)

## **II. How does absolute leadership use a system to provide safeguards?**

(Top of page 191)

**Special Focus:**

China's second domestically-produced amphibious assault ship is launched

On April 22, 2020, China's second domestically produced amphibious assault ship was launched at Shanghai Hudong–Zhonghua Shipbuilding (Group) Co. Ltd. At such time, all of the first batch of Chinese-built Type 075 amphibious assault ships had been launched. (The first ship was launched on September 25, 2019). The entry into service of these two amphibious assault ships will significantly improve the amphibious three-dimensional delivery capacity and the operational capacity of fleet helicopters of the Northern Theater Command and the Eastern Theater Command. The picture shows the two amphibious assault ships being built.

The pandemic is a command: when summoned we must respond, and when fighting we must achieve victory. After the outbreak of the COVID 19 pandemic, the General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and Xi Jinping, China's President and Chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission, ordered the people's armed forces to charge forward to contribute to winning the war in preventing and controlling the pandemic. The people's armed forces resolutely implemented the deployment of the policies of the CPC Central Military Commission and Chairman Xi Jinping by moving swiftly upon command and going into action upon receiving orders, urgently organizing 3 groups of over 4,000 doctors and nurses to race to the frontlines of defense against the pandemic, dispatching at top speed 30 sorties of transport aircraft and over 2,500 instances of vehicles to deliver medical supplies to areas affected by the pandemic, in an all out effort to treat tens of thousands of patients...in this smokeless war, vast numbers of officers and men resolute in their beliefs dared to brave a tough battle and courageously take up a heavy load, making an immeasurable contribution to the defense of Wuhan and the defense of Hubei, taking real action to give the Party and the People satisfactory results.

The greater the test being confronted, the greater the immense effect of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces can be demonstrated. Behind this power lies a complete system of safeguards and support. Over a long period of exploration and development, we have formed a system of division of labor responsibilities for senior officials under the unified leadership of the Party Committee, which includes a (Central) Military Commission Chairman Responsibility System, a Party Committee System, a Political Commissar System, and a Political Organs System, in a comprehensive institution with (Party) branches established at the company level, thus ensuring that the people's armed forces will resolutely obey the commands of the Party at all times under all circumstances.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party's 19<sup>th</sup> Committee based on consolidating existing institutional achievements, raised new requirements for upholding and improving the system of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces, giving new content and new forms of implementation to the system of Party building in our Military. We must firmly establish the guiding position of Xi Jinping Thought on Strengthening the Military in national defense and military building, construct a socialist military policy framework with Chinese characteristics, comprehensively advance the modernization of national defense and the military, ensure the

achievement of the Party's objective of a strong military in the new era, comprehensively build the people's armed forces into a world-class military, and forever maintain the character, purpose and true nature of the people's armed forces.

Military power must have unified command. Military commands must be unitary. Uphold the Party Center as having the highest leadership authority and command authority over the people's armed forces. The implementation of the Chairman responsibility system by the Central Military Commission (CMC) is the fundamental means for upholding the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces. This is a major system set forth in the Constitution of the PRC and the Chinese Communist Party's Constitution, and is the highest level of leadership in the entire framework of the Party's leadership of the military, occupying the commanding position. The Chairman of the Central Military Commission (CMC) is responsible for the overall work of the Central Military Commission, leading and commanding all armed forces nationwide, and deciding on all major issues concerning national defense and building the armed forces. All the armed forces must strengthen the "Four Consciousnesses" (political consciousness, overall consciousness, core consciousness, and alignment consciousness), uphold the Four Matters of Confidence (confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics), achieve "The Two Safeguards" (resolutely safeguarding General Secretary Xi Jinping as the core of the Party Center, as the person holding the core position throughout all the Party, and resolutely safeguarding the authority and centralized unified leadership of the Party Center), and implement the (Central) Military Commission Chairman Responsibility System, and ensure that all actions obey the commands of the Party Center, the Central Military Commission (CMC), and Chairman Xi Jinping.

(Picture at the bottom of page 192)

In September 2019, joint maritime exercises were held by China, Russia, and Iran.

Organizations should be comprehensive, strong, and powerful. Improve the institutions for Party building in the people's armed forces. The key to whether the system of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces can be practically implemented is strengthening the Party's leadership of the military and building the Party. For more than 90 years, China's military has been able to maintain its true nature and win every battle fundamentally because in practice it has formed a complete and effective institution for Party building. Early on, during the era of the revolutionary war, our Party made political work the "lifeline" of the military, and established Party organizations in the military at every level. Squads and platoons had small groups, companies had branch organizations, and Party Committees were established at the battalion level and above. Party leadership directly reached the grassroots level, the rank-and-file troops, ensuring that all the officers and men in the entire military were of one will to form a firm, unbreakable fighting force to defeat all types of reactionary forces. In the new era, we must fully implement various requirements to build political consciousness in the military and improve the organizational system for the Party's leadership of the military. We must build a strong, powerful Party organization and troops filled with highly qualified, professional cadres, to ensure that guns are forever held in the hands of reliable persons who are loyal to the Party.

(Photographs on page 194 in the Chinese text)

The caption reads: Chinese peacekeepers carrying out military missions overseas.

Maintain a high level of self-awareness, advancing on all fronts. Military building is a systematic project, involving all aspects. In duly implementing the system of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces, we must with a strong will, a high level of self-awareness, and solid work, embody the principles of this system in the policy guidance, institutional norms, and standards of behavior of all aspects of building and governing the military. At present, one extremely important task is ensuring the Party's absolute leadership of the military, taking combat capacity as the only fundamental standard, while focusing on mobilizing the dynamism, initiative, and creativity of military personnel, to concentrate our efforts on improving the institutional system of Party building in the military, the policy framework for military force employment, the policy framework for military force construction and the policy framework for military administration, and implement the principle of the Party in command throughout all processes in all aspects of building the military.

In upholding the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces, the key is to achieve the requirement for "absoluteness". This is something which is indispensable, not a play on words. It means that no compromises may be made, and that there is no room whatsoever for negotiation. What is meant by "absoluteness" emphasizes upholding the uniqueness, thoroughness, and unconditionality of the Party's leadership, with imperative purity, thoroughness, and one hundred percent loyalty. No admixture of impurities or watering down is allowed. Whether in ideology or in action, whether in wartime or peacetime, whether concerning large problems or specific work, all must take the Party's banner as their banner, the Party's direction as their direction, and the Party's will as their will, in a very clearheaded way, with an extremely clear attitude, and exceptionally resolute action, to ensure the absolute loyalty, purity and reliability of the entire military.

### **III. Why is "political genetic modification" unfeasible?**

Everyone knows that in biology there is transgenic technology which by transforming genes or genetic structures causes mutations to occur in the original characteristics of organisms. For example, red apples or red roses after undergoing genetic transformation change to other colors. This type of biological technology has been transferred to the political arena by certain individuals with ulterior motives, who have attempted to bring about "political genetic modification" within the people's armed forces, trying to do everything possible to "change the color" of the military, which clearly reveals their intentions.

Whether or not to uphold the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces has consistently been a focal point in our struggle with the hostile forces of the reactionaries. During recent years such hostile forces have promoted the "de-partyization of the military, the depoliticization of the military" and the "nationalization of the military" and have used "reform of

the military” as a pretext for promoting this argument in a rash attempt to “uproot the roots and eliminate the soul” of our officers and troops, to shake the Party’s absolute leadership of the people’s armed forces and pull the military out from under the banner of the Party. This type of fallacy severs the essential connection between the Party, politics, and the military, is theoretically absurd, and in practice is untenable.

(Photograph at the bottom of page 195 in the Chinese text)

The caption reads: Master’s and Doctoral degree student members of the propaganda group at the National University of Defense Technology (NUDT) go to first-line units to propagate the Party’s innovation theory.

So-called “de-partyization of the military” principally refers to the mistaken view of representing the military as not being subject to control by a certain political party, with no party establishing its organizations within the military, and no military personnel belong to any political party. Persons who support this argument only see how the relationship between the military and the government in the West appears to be, and do not see the true nature of how the military serves [a certain] class and its political part[ies]. In Western countries, it appears that the military does not exclusively belong to any political party. However, no matter which political party is in power, the supreme commander of the military rank is the highest leader of a bourgeois political party. When a change of ruling parties occurs, the military leadership authority merely passes from the “left hand” to the “right hand” of the bourgeoisie. Accordingly, under the conditions of political party politics, the military absolutely cannot possibly exist apart from political parties, and always belongs to a certain class and its political parties.

(Bottom of page 196 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

The spirit of the Hard Bones 6<sup>th</sup> Company is passed down from generation to generation. (The yellow Chinese characters on the red banner in the photograph read “Hard Bones 6<sup>th</sup> Company”)

The “Hard Bones 6<sup>th</sup> Company” of a certain brigade in the 74<sup>th</sup> Group Army is a heroic company with the bloodlines of the Red Army, daring to fight difficult and fierce battles. Entering the new era, the “Hard Bones 6<sup>th</sup> Company” upholds using Xi Jinping Thought on Strengthening the Military to build the company and educate the troops, taking passing down and promoting “the three strengths” and “the four solids” as the focus of the objective of strengthening the military taking root in the company, continuously adding steel to further harden Hard Bones 6<sup>th</sup> Company, to create a resilient company as sharp as the point of a knife. On January 18, 2020, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, President, and Chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission Xi Jinping sent a letter in reply to all the officers and men of the Hard Bones 6<sup>th</sup> Company, encouraging them to always remember their objectives in strengthening the military, passing on red genes (socialist characteristics), and training hard to be able to win, carrying forward the “Hard Bones Spirit” to build an even stronger company.

(Page 197 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

Remember the past, how the Party commanded the military in the bloody fight to win the nation. Look at the present, how the Party's command protects our nation and helps us to achieve our dreams.

Military orders are like mountains. Follow the Party's commands. In battle, courageously kill the enemy and protect our ancestral land. Always come when summoned, shouldering heavy responsibilities.

The military does not live in a vacuum: it must always eliminate evil and uphold justice, ensuring that its soul lives on forever, and that its color never fades.

Revolutionary remolding in military reforms not only strengthens its body, but further nourishes its roots and forges its soul.

Western militaries serve as "executioners" for class rule, and as "the servants in front of the horses and chariots" of hegemonism.

So called "depoliticization of the military" primarily refers to advocating that the military maintain a politically neutral position, and does not intervene in politics, does not intervene in political struggles between Party factions, etc. Military non-involvement in politics is really a hypocritical slogan of the bourgeoisie, which severs the inevitable relationship between the military and the government. The Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz once said, "War is merely a continuation of politics by other means." The military comes into being because of politics, owing its existence to politics. Fundamentally no military exists which is separate from politics and which does not serve political interests. In fact, in Western countries the military early on was trained to become a tool of the dictatorship of the bourgeois, to domestically suppress the people's struggles of resistance, and externally to serve as the "pawn" of power politics. After the Second World War, the United Kingdom used the military over thirty times to suppress workers' strike movements, while America's involvement in the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and the Mideast conflict, was undertaken to clear the way for its hegemonism. From this it may be seen that what in Western countries is referred to as "politically neutral" militaries have not achieved and cannot possibly achieve "depoliticization".

So called "nationalization of the military" primarily refers to advocating that the military is only loyal to the nation, and does not follow orders from a certain political party, etc. This type of argument absolutizes the military's national attributes, perpetrates a fraud, is partial while turning a blind eye to the whole situation, and furthermore is confusing and deceptive. The nation is the irreconcilable product of class contradictions. Classes are represented by political parties. The nation is governed by political parties. The military must also be led by a political party. It is impossible for the military to only establish a relationship with an abstract nation and have no relationship to a social class and political party. Western countries flaunt that they are countries which go beyond the limitations of class and are for all the people, that the military transcends political parties and politics. This type of military model has been created to fool and confuse people. Any military has class and political attributes. Abstract, pure, nationalized militaries do not exist.

These three erroneous arguments, no matter how they may undergo superficial changes, have malicious intent and are a rash attempt to cause our military to break away from the leadership of the Party. When dealing with political conspiracy in the bones of hostile forces, we must maintain a high level of alertness, watch carefully, have a clear attitude and confidently refute mistaken political views, consistently maintaining our consciousness and political firmness.

The people's armed forces is a military created and led by the Party, an armed group which enforces the Party's political tasks, and never shies away from its political attributes. The Party and the military have no special interests outside the nation's interests and the people's interests. The system of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces, along with the Party's leadership and economic, political, cultural, social, ecological civilization, and other systems, together constitute the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and become an indispensable strong pillar. The people's armed forces must stand firm in consistently upholding the Party's absolute leadership of the military, deeply integrate obeying the Party's commands into its blood and soul, fully implement all requirements for political military building, focus on cultivating the soul of the military, carry forward our fine traditions, pass on our red genes, (socialist characteristics), and focus on improving and upholding political consciousness and practical ability of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces, to truly achieve "Building a body of steel which does not fear invasion by poisons."

"There is no power in the country greater than that of the military." To rule, you must have control of the military. To make the nation strong, you must make the military strong. The leadership and command of the people's armed forces concerns the future and destiny of the Party and the country, and the long-term development of socialism with Chinese characteristics. On the new journey to strengthening and revitalizing the military, upholding the victorious magic weapon of the Party's absolute leadership of the people's armed forces will assuredly provide a solid institutional guarantee for achieving modernization of national defense and the military and smoothly completing the great cause of national rejuvenation.

(Bottom of page 199)

**For In-depth Study:**

*China's National Defense in the New Era*, Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, People's Publishing House 2019 Edition

*Important Instructions Given by Xi Jinping to the Military on Duly Performing the Work of Preventing and Controlling the Pandemic, Emphasizing that They Must Always Remember Their Purpose and Bravely Shoulder Heavy Responsibilities, and Make a Contribution to Winning the War of Prevention and Control of the Pandemic*, People's Daily, January 30, 2020



## Chapter 13

### The Course of History Cannot Be Blocked

#### Why is the vital system of “One Country, Two Systems” completely feasible?

On July 1, 1997 and December 20, 1999, Hong Kong and Macao, after weathering the vicissitudes of time, returned in succession to the Motherland’s embrace, washing away one hundred years of humiliation suffered by the Chinese people, and opening up a new historical era. Over 20 years have passed since those events. Backed by the strong support of the Motherland, mainland China, the economies and societies of Hong Kong and Macao have achieved development by leaps and bounds. From 1997 to 2019, Hong Kong’s gross domestic product grew from 177.3 billion US Dollars to 358.3 billion US Dollars. From 1999-2019, Macao’s gross domestic product grew from 6.5 billion US Dollars to 59.1 billion US Dollars. After Hong Kong and Macao returned to China, the achievements in their development witnessed by the whole world, with irrefutable facts demonstrated the scientific nature, feasibility, and practicality of the mighty concept of “One Country, Two Systems.”

“One Country, Two Systems“ is an important system under which the Party is leading the people to achieve the peaceful (re)unification of the Motherland, while being a great initiative of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee cited “One Country, Two Systems” as one of the 13 outstanding advantages of the national system and the national governance system, and issued institutional system designs and work deployment in upholding and improving the institutional system of “One Country, Two Systems”. This Plenary Session clearly declared the fundamental position of steadfastly upholding the policy of “One Country, Two Systems”, while further clarifying major issues on what should be upheld and what should be improved, and displayed the central government’s confidence in the system and its ability to safeguard the long-term prosperity of Hong Kong and Macao and advance the peaceful (re)unification of the Motherland.

#### I. The Chinese wisdom of the great initiative

Our divine land was submerged, our mountains and rivers shattered. During modern times, due to invasion by foreign enemies, and weakness and chaos among our people, Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan were successively separated from China, leaving the embrace of the Motherland. At that time, China’s history was filled with national humiliation and the people’s grief. Only after the Chinese people rose up and became prosperous could the great undertaking of the (re)unification of our Motherland welcome a bright future.

(Pictures at the bottom of page 201 in the Chinese text)

Captions read:

Commoners’ residential housing in Hong Kong in the 1970’s in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Left photo)

Coolie labor in Macao in the 1960’s in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Right photo)

Under the historical conditions of reform and opening-up to the outside, along with the construction of modern socialism, Comrade Deng Xiaoping creatively proposed the great concept of “One Country, Two Systems”, i.e., subject to the condition of having one country, the main body of the country implementing a socialist system, while Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan implement a capitalist system. Using this as a guide, through diplomatic negotiations with the U.K. and Portugal, the historical problems of Hong Kong and Macao were smoothly resolved, continuing breakthroughs in relations between both sides of the Taiwan Straits have been advanced, completing an important step towards achieving complete (re)unification of the Motherland.

(Pictures on page 202 in the Chinese text)

Captions reads:

Meeting between Deng Xiaoping and Madame Churchill (top photo)

Negotiations between China and Portugal on the Macao issue (bottom photo)

History is like a mirror, sifting the sands of time. Looking at the general trend of world development, gazing from the great journey of national rejuvenation, demonstrated by vivid events since the return of Hong Kong and Macao to China, as time goes on, we have come to increasingly appreciate the political wisdom and practical power inherent in the significant institution of “One Country, Two Systems”. The facts have demonstrated and will continue to demonstrate that this important system is the best means for achieving the (re)unification of the country, is completely practicable, can be done, has the support of the people, and has strong vitality.

(It is) the best system for advancing Hong Kong and Macao’s stable development far into the future. “One Country, Two Systems” is the best solution for resolving the historical problems of Hong Kong and Macao. It has been the root cause of the progress made during the twenty or more years since the return of Hong Kong and Macao, and the institutional arrangement for facing the future and maintaining long-term prosperity and stability. At present, Hong Kong and Macao are encountering certain new situations and problems in their economic and social development. Traditional advantages are relatively weakened, while new economic growth points have not yet formed, while issues such as housing which affect people’s livelihood are rather prominent. Given constraints such as territory, economic structure and volume, market space, and other conditions, it is difficult for Hong Kong and Macao to merely rely on their own power to resolve these problems. This requires fully utilizing the advantages of “One Country, Two Systems,” further improving Hong Kong and Macao’s integration into China’s overall development situation, sharing mutually complimentary advantages with mainland China, and coordinating development mechanisms, and utilizing the mainland’s vast market for development and strong development trend to provide a steady stream of impelling power for Hong Kong and Macao’s economic and social prosperity and development.

(Top of page 203 in the Chinese text)

The captions read:

Hong Kong continues to maintain its position as an international shipping center. The picture shows the busy Kwai Tsing container pier in Hong Kong. (Top photo)

Hong Kong's International Finance Centre has a prominent status. The picture shows the 13<sup>th</sup> Asian Financial Forum being held in Hong Kong. (Bottom photo)

The imperative choice for achieving peaceful (re)unification of both sides of the Taiwan Straits (Taiwan and mainland China). Our compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits “are bonded by blood which is thicker than water,” like brothers. Achieving (re)unification through peaceful means is in the best overall interests of the Chinese nation, including our compatriots in Taiwan. The scientific concept of “One Country, Two Systems” initially was specifically proposed to peacefully resolve the Taiwan problem, subject to ensuring national sovereignty, security, and development interests. After peaceful (re)unification, our Taiwan compatriots’ social system and way of life would be fully respected. Our Taiwan compatriots’ personal property, religious beliefs, and lawful rights and interests will be fully safeguarded. The system was originally proposed to take into consideration Taiwan’s existing situation, to safeguard the interests and happiness of our Taiwan compatriots, with the greatest acceptance and adaptability, and providing the best path for seeking common ground while respecting existing differences and peaceful (re)unification between both sides of the Taiwan Straits.

Creating a whole new approach to political practice for humankind. Throughout the history of the development of international politics, lost territory was recovered by means of military force, through war. This is practically a certainty. For example, in history, there was the well-known movement in Spain to recover lost territory, which began in 718 and continued for almost eight centuries, during which innumerable wars were fought before the invaders were finally driven out and the Iberian Peninsula was fully recovered. This corresponds precisely with the Internet catchphrase “I’m so stressed”. During the 1980’s and 1990’s in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Hong Kong was one of the world’s international financial centers, while average income in Macao ranked among the first in Asia. At that time, taking back these two places from the U.K. and Portugal would not be easy. However, the great concept of “One Country, Two Systems” embodied an all-embracing, greatly inclusive political wisdom, winning the unanimous approval of all interested parties, to achieve the peaceful return of Hong Kong and Macao to China without the use of any military force. This new concept and new solution provided a new option for resolving similar problems faced by international society, making an important contribution to world peace and development.

(Bottom of page 204 in the Chinese text)

The captions read:

In 2017 Hong Kong held an event celebrating the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Hong Kong’s return to China (Photo on le

In 2019 Macao held an event celebrating the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Macao's return to China (Photo on right)

“One Country, Two Systems” is an important system, based on China's national conditions, which conforms to the trend of the times, and cares for the people's happiness, unifies principle with flexibility, practicality and longevity, and consistency and plurality, condensing Chinese Communists' exceptional courage and outstanding wisdom in resolving the problem of (re)unification, in a great initiative never witnessed before in the history of humankind's political civilization.

(Top of page 205 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

Song of the Seven Sons (a group of poems written in 1925 by the Chinese scholar Wen Yiduo) plaintively recites the Chinese people's humiliation, exhaustively narrating the melancholy of persons separated from their loved ones.

The greatness of “One Country, Two Systems” is its magnanimity, like a sea into which all rivers flow, and it seeks common ground while reserving existing differences, with long-term stability and profound foresight.

With your back to a large tree, you can enjoy the cool. A large river brimming with water fills small rivulets. Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and mainland China share in the unparalleled glory of national rejuvenation.

Regardless of what kind of “independence (activist)” you are, you are “poison” which disrupts our country, China. You will not be able to escape the tides of history which have destined you to be expunged and eliminated.

The waters of the sea are vast; the shallow waters of the Taiwan Straits cannot sever the bloodlines of the Chinese. The bond is everlasting. The long passage of time cannot extinguish the anxious desire to be reunited.

**II. Neither “one country” nor “two systems” may be upheld at the expense of the other.**

Since June 2019, Hong Kong has experienced disturbances. Violent unrest in Hong Kong has continued for quite some time with no return to law-abiding order. Certain opposition and radicals under the pretense of opposing revisions to the law, with interference from outside forces, have continued to escalate street violence, launching frenzied attacks on the Hong Kong offices of Central Government organizations, maliciously insulting the national flag, national emblem, district flag and district emblem (of Hong Kong), recklessly disrupting the social order, and cruelly injuring and harming innocent city residents. Their arrogance and evil nature makes one's blood boil. They have created a foul atmosphere in Hong Kong, with utter confusion with no peace.

The ongoing occurrence of radical violence and criminal activities in Hong Kong has seriously undermined legal authority, seriously harmed Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, and seriously challenged the bottom line of the principle of “One Country, Two Systems”. This is unjustifiable.

in principle and under the law and must be resolutely, severely punished. With the resolute support of the Central Government, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (S.A.R.) government and the police have heavily cracked down on radical violence and criminal activities, to resolutely stopped violence and controlled chaos, restored order, and severely punished actions which violate national dignity and transgress the system's red line boundaries.

Deep roots are needed for luxuriant foliage. Firm planting is required for branches to sprout in spring. Agitators in Hong Kong inciting violence in an attempt to paralyze the Hong Kong S.A.R. government, and resist the Central Government, challenging the guidelines and principles of "One Country, Two Systems", is really putting things backwards, going against the trend of the times. "One Country, Two Systems" is a complete concept in which the relationship between "one country" and "two systems" must be fully and accurately understood.

"One country" is the premise for "two systems". The relationship between "one country" and "two systems" is one of head waters and tributaries. "One country" is the premise and foundation for implementing "two systems". The "two systems" belong to "one country" and are united in "one country". The "one country" cannot be challenged and cannot be shaken. The "two systems" must operate within "one country". China is a country with a unitary type of government, with the Central Government having complete jurisdiction over all regions, including the Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions. The high degree of autonomy enjoyed by Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions is not inherent. Their sovereignty and governance is under the Central Government, which has given them their high degree of autonomy.

(Bottom of page 206 in the Chinese text)

**Authoritative Voices**

We must be comprehensive and correct in implementing the "One Country, Two Systems" policy

Zhang Xiaoming (Deputy Director of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council in charge of daily work): Ideologically and cognitively uphold "one country" as the premise and foundation for implementing "two systems". The "two systems" belong to and are derived from "one country" and are unified in the basic logic of "one country". We must uphold the principle of rule of law in strict accordance with the Constitution and the Basic Laws in implementing governance of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and the Macao Special Administrative Region. We must resolutely safeguard national sovereignty, security, and development interests, while safeguarding the fundamental aim of long-term prosperity and stability for Hong Kong and Macao.

The "two systems" are derived from "one country". Hong Kong and Macao for many years have been ruled as colonies, have been deeply influenced by Western capitalist systems, and have major differences with the socialist system of the main body of the country. Under the premise of "one country", the co-existence of the "two systems" has the greatest degree of inclusiveness and adaptability, while providing the best institutional form for Hong Kong and Macao to smoothly return to China and maintain long-term prosperity and stability. Within the framework of "one

country”, comprehensive and accurate implementation of a policy giving a high degree of autonomy is emphasized for “One Country, Two Systems”, “Administration of Hong Kong by Hong Kong People”, and “Administration of Macao by Macao People”, giving Special Administrative Region governments administrative power, legislative power, independent judicial power, and power of final adjudication, and supporting Hong Kong and Macao compatriots in duly administering, building, and developing Hong Kong and Macao.

Uphold the principle of “one country” and respect the combination of the differences between the “two systems”. The principle of “One Country” is the root, and the differences between the “two systems” is a reality. These two are not mutually opposed or mutually interchangeable, but furthermore, organically united, in a mutually complementary relationship. At no time may one be upheld at the expense of the other. Otherwise, the left foot will be wearing the right foot’s shoe--- with the wrong foot in the wrong place. When implementing “One Country, Two Systems” upholding the principle of “one country” and respecting the differences between the “two systems” must be organically combined, to attain upholding “one country” as the root, while achieving the harmonious co-existence of the “two systems”, with mutual facilitation, implementing satisfactory construction of the socialist system on the mainland, while also implementing satisfactory construction of Hong Kong and Macao under the capitalist system.

An in-depth analysis of Hong Kong’s violent incidents shows their underlying cause to be the splitting of the relationship between “one country” and “two systems”, using the Hong Kong S.A.R.’s high degree of autonomy to resist the comprehensive governance authority of the Central Government. This struggle in Hong Kong is essentially a life-and-death contest between destroying “One Country, Two Systems” and safeguarding “One Country, Two Systems”, with no middle ground, and no room for bargaining. The people of China will in no way tolerate any behavior which challenges the bottom line of “One Country, Two Systems” and will in no way tolerate any behavior which splits the country.

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**Live Broadcast**

The National Security Office of the Central Government in Hong Kong is registered and established.

On July 8, 2020, the Office of the Central People's Government in Hong Kong Special Administrative Region for Safeguarding National Security was registered and established in Hong Kong. Pursuant to Clause 49 of the Hong Kong National Security Law, the duties of the National Security Office in Hong Kong are analyzing, studying and assessing the maintenance of the national security situation in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, giving opinions and recommendations on major strategies and policies for safeguarding national security; supervising, guiding, coordinating, and supporting the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in executing its duties in safeguarding national security; collecting and analyzing national security intelligence information; and, according to law, handling criminal cases involving endangerment of national security.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee clearly pointed out that it is necessary to “Establish and improve Special Administrative Region (S.A.R.) legal systems and enforcement mechanisms to safeguard national security, and support S.A.R. strengthening of law enforcement forces.” On May 28, 2020, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Session of the 13<sup>th</sup> National People’s Congress by a high number of votes adopted the *Decision of the National People’s Congress on Establishing and Perfecting the Legal System and Enforcement Mechanisms for Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, making major institutional arrangements for authorizing the NPC Standing Committee to formulate relevant laws, and authorizing the central government to set up a national security agency in Hong Kong. On June 30, 2020, the 20<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the Standing Committee of the 13<sup>th</sup> National People’s Congress voted on and adopted the *Law of the People’s Republic of China on Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*, promulgated by a presidential order signed by President Xi Jinping, effective from the date of its promulgation. This fully expressed the central government’s strong will and firm determination to safeguard national security, while expressing the central government’s resolve to safeguard and show the greatest concern for Hong Kong’s overall interests and for the fundamental welfare of Hong Kong compatriots.

### **III. Upholding and improving “One Country, Two Systems”**

“One Country, Two Systems” is a new phenomenon with no ready-made experience to follow, which requires continuous testing and exploration in practice. Over twenty years of actual experience have fully demonstrated to us the vitality and superiority of “One Country, Two Systems”. Its guidelines and principles are completely correct and must be unswervingly adhered to. “One Country, Two Systems” has in practice also encountered certain new situations and new challenges which require hard work to enrich and make improvements to bring about more stable, more realistic, and more long-term implementation.

The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Committee, based on the practical experience of “One Country, Two Systems”, focused on adapting to new situations and new requirements, from comprehensively and correctly implementing guidelines and principles, improving the central government’s system of comprehensive governance, and promoting the peaceful (re)unification of the motherland, proposed clear requirements for upholding and improving institutional systems for “One Country, Two Systems”. Under new historical conditions, this is the fundamental policy for maintaining Hong Kong and Macao’s long-term prosperity and stability, a long-term move for advancing the process of peaceful re-unification of both sides of the Taiwan Straits.

(Bottom of page 209 in the Chinese text)

Captions under the photographs read:

Hong Kong’s Ocean Park (photo on the left)

Macao’s Dasanba Memorial Archway (photo on the right)

(Top of page 210 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

The Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area

The Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area is composed of the two Special Administrative Regions of Hong and Macao, and the cities of Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Foshan, Huizhou, Dongguan, Zhongshan, Jiangmen, and Zhaoqing in Guangdong Province, with a total area of 56,000 square kilometers, and is one of the regions in China with the highest degree of openness and the strongest economic activity. In February 2019, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council issued the *Outline of the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area Development Plan* which proposed the establishment of a world class urban cluster and international science and technology innovation center, with the key cities of Hong Kong, Macao, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen as their core engines, with important support for construction of the “Belt and Road” Initiative, and demonstration zones with deep cooperation between mainland China, Hong Kong, and Macao, creating a quality living environment suitable for residential living, enterprises, and tourism, to become a model of high quality development. The picture shows the Unicorn Summit of China Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area held in Shenzhen in January 2019.

Comprehensive, correct implementation. In practice, certain people in Hong Kong society due to their vague grasp and one-sided understanding of the principles, policies, and basic law of “One Country, Two Systems” have deviated in their words and deeds. Beginning in 1999, the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress issued interpretations of the law on five separate occasions which served to clarify certain important issues. This Plenary Session has emphasized the need to comprehensively, correctly implement the policy on “One Country, Two Systems”, “Administration of Hong Kong by Hong Kong People”, and “Administration of Macao by Macao People”, while correctly implementing the policy on a high degree of autonomy, upholding governance of Hong Kong and governance of Macao according to law, safeguarding constitutional order assured under the Constitution and Basic Laws, combining the upholding of the principle of “one country” with respect for the differences between the “two systems”, safeguarding the central government’s right to comprehensively govern Special Administrative Regions while guaranteeing a high degree of S.A.R. autonomy, and utilizing the role of the Motherland mainland as a strong support, while increasing S.A.R. competitiveness, to ensure that the practice of “One Country, Two Systems” does not change form and does not deviate.

Govern in strict accordance with the law. During recent years, certain persons in Hong Kong society have advocated that Hong Kong has so-called certain “inherent powers” and “autonomous powers”, etc., denying or rejecting the Central Government’s power to govern Hong Kong. Comrade Deng Xiaoping early on said that “We mustn’t believe that Hong Kong’s affairs will be exclusively administered by Hong Kong people, and that everything will be fine if the Central Government has no say in the matter. This is unworkable. This type of thinking is unrealistic.” The power relationship between the Central Government and the Special Administrative Regions is one in which power is given by one party and received by the other. Using a high degree of

autonomy to resist Central Government authority is absolutely forbidden under any circumstances. This Plenary Session pointed out the need to improve the system under which the Central Government exercises comprehensive governance of Special Administrative Regions in accordance with the Constitution and Basic Laws, and further strengthen various institutional mechanisms for the Central Government to exercise its power in accordance with the law, to ensure that the Central Government's comprehensive governance authority is, actually, fully exercised as it should be, and fully implemented.

Advance peaceful (re)unification. Resolving the Taiwan issue and achieving complete (re)unification of the Motherland is the trend of the times and the will of the people. The completion of this great historical undertaking must rely on compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Straits working together with one heart, struggling together. Facing the future, we will advance institutional arrangements for peaceful development on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, improve and promote institutional arrangements and policy measures for exchange and cooperation between the two sides, deepening fused development between them, and safeguarding the well-being of Taiwan compatriots, making our greatest effort to move towards peaceful (re)unification of both sides. We must also continue to unite our Taiwan compatriots in jointly shouldering our overall national interests to oppose all forms of "Taiwan Independence" separatist behavior, joining hands to safeguard the bright prospect of achieving (re)unification of the Motherland.

(Bottom of page 211 in the Chinese text)

Caption under the photograph reads: Young Taiwanese university students in an exchange program with mainland China visit Yuelu Academy in Hunan Province in July 2019.

The mighty tide of history flows on. Standing at the pinnacle of our era, viewing the greatness of our nation, moving forward with resounding, forceful strides towards power and prosperity, the overall trend of achieving (re)unification is unstoppable. We believe that under the guidance of "One Party, Two Systems," our Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan compatriots will unite with the people of our Motherland, making concerted efforts, coming together to share in the great glory of national rejuvenation, to paint a beautiful tomorrow for China's (re)unification together.

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**For in-depth reading:**

*Xi Jinping: Speech at the Celebration of the 20th Anniversary of Macao's Return to the Motherland and the Inauguration Ceremony of the Fifth Government of Macao Special Administrative Region* People's Daily, December 21, 2019

*Decision of the National People's Congress on Establishing and Perfecting the Legal System and Implementation Mechanism for Safeguarding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* People's Daily, May 29, 2020

*The Law of the People's Republic of China on Upholding National Security in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region* People's Daily, July 1, 2020

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## Chapter 14

### Destiny and shared circumstances, both hot and cold

How can a peaceful foreign policy create a good international environment?

The pandemic has no national borders. The whole world is fighting it. During this time of crisis, international society has decided to take a firm stand. Facing the pandemic, China has taken the most comprehensive, most stringent, and most thorough policy measures, to prevent to the greatest extent possible the outward spread of the pandemic, to report information on the pandemic as soon as it is obtained, and to show our responsibility as a major power in “being responsible and positively taking action”. Facing the epidemic, many countries, international organizations, and friends people have one after another have expressed their sympathy for us and given us their support, extending helping hands to China in different ways, coming together in wave after wave of warm feelings, in the spirit of “How can you say you don’t have clothes? Mine are yours to share” (from the Book of Poems, Songs of Qin, Warring States Period). Facing the pandemic, China has strived to assist over 150 countries and four international agencies in fighting the pandemic, sending teams of medical experts to 27 countries, while actively sharing patient diagnosis and treatment cases and pandemic prevention and control experiences, to compose a beautiful tale of “Give me a peach and I will reciprocate with a gift of jade.”

On the great Way one is never alone, there are friends who keep watch for and defend each other. In the defense of global public health security, the international community is in a great chorus singing the song of a community with a shared future. In the context of the tremendous, unprecedented changes taking place in the world today unseen in a century, how can all the countries in the world be able to seek common ground while keeping existing differences, to join hands to jointly create a beautiful future? General Secretary Xi Jinping, from the lofty perspective of all humankind, has proposed the major initiative to promote and create a community with a shared future, providing a resounding reply to the question of what direction the world should take. This clear expression of the major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics embodies China’s consistent, unswerving, firm resolve to take the road of peaceful development, while also expressing China’s broad sentiments for safeguarding humankind’s shared home.

(Bottom of page 213 in the Chinese text)

The white banner on the left reads: PRC medical team sent to Russian to fight the pandemic.

The red banner reads: China and Russia fight the pandemic together. In adversity, you can see who your friends are. (A friend in need is a friend indeed.)

(Top of page 214 in the Chinese text)

Captions read:

Materials sent by Iraq to China to help fight the pandemic (photo on the left)

Medical materials donated by China to Italy to help fight the pandemic (photo on the right)

## **I. Peaceful development: improve comprehensive foreign policy arrangements**

“Feelings between Chinese and Burmese compatriots run deep; river waters can be traced to one distant source.” General Secretary Xi Jinping visited Myanmar for the first time in 2020, holding broad exchanges with persons from various social circles, to deepen the two countries’ mutually beneficial cooperation and discuss their companionship of a thousand years as friends. Twelve events in twenty-five hours bore witness to “the finest hour” of China-Myanmar relations. Starting with neighboring countries to weave a global network of partnership relations, continuously improving China’s diplomatic position, is the road map for peaceful development of major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics.

Recalling the time when New China (the PRC) had just been established, Western countries led by the United States of America isolated and blockaded us, with very few countries establishing diplomatic relations with China. In 1950 only 17 countries had established diplomatic relations with China. Over the past 70 years, China has followed an independent, autonomous peaceful foreign policy, holding the banner of peaceful development high and upholding the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, to win wide acceptance in the international community, especially among developing countries. More and more countries have established diplomatic relations with China, to stand resolutely with China. At present, China has established diplomatic relations with 180 countries, and has established various levels of partnerships with 112 countries and international organizations. China’s “circle of friends” is spread over seven continents and five oceans.

The world today is in a period of significant developments, changes, and adjustments. Peace and development are still the main theme of the times. However, the world is faced with significant instability and uncertainty, with sporadic outbreaks of armed conflicts, ongoing repercussions from the financial crisis, continual terrorist attacks, increasingly serious refugee issues, the potential threat of “gray rhino” risk crises (clear but neglected threats) and “black swan” events which defy precaution, especially the current Covid 19 pandemic which has spread across the whole world to seriously threaten the health of humankind. The world is still not very tranquil. Given the many disharmonious factors now facing humankind, China as a guardian, builder, and contributor of regional and world peace, will continue to raise the banner of peaceful development and win-win cooperation high, comprehensively develop friendly cooperation with all countries, and promote the construction of overall stability and balanced development under a framework of relations between major powers, create a regional community with a shared future, strengthen unity and cooperation with the vast number of developing countries, and strive to embark on a new road of state-to-state exchanges.

Promote the construction of a new type of international relations. Modern international relations following the emergence of nation-states, have been marked with a distinct Western imprint. Although Western countries in their international relations also advocate belief in values such as so-called equality, fairness, and rule of law, nonetheless, power politics and hegemonism have consistently been the main logic of international relations in modern times. China maintains that world affairs should be discussed and resolved by everyone equally, and one or two large powers should not have the final say in such matters. Whether it is safeguarding peace and stability or

pushing forward mutual development, all must fully implement democratic principles, taking mutual respect, fairness, justice, and win-win cooperation as the basic guidelines for handling relations between countries. China has consistently upheld the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and upheld the equality of all nations, whether they be big or small, strong or weak, poor or wealthy, respecting the rights of the people of each country to independently select their own road of development. China opposes intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, advocating safeguarding international fairness and justice, and the development of international relations in the direction of advancing democratization, execution in accordance with the law, and rationality.

Oppose hegemony and power politics. During recent years, certain countries have fabricated pretexts, including neo-interventionism, under the guise of democracy, human rights, and freedom, have carried out “color revolutions” in certain countries, even going so far as to resort to and fighting, doing their best to bully others. The facts repeatedly demonstrate that hegemonism cannot fundamentally resolve issues, and only leads to new, even greater contradictions. China is opposed to all forms of hegemony and power politics, using force at will and threatening the use of force, and advocates peaceful means, dialogue and discussion to resolve international conflicts and on flashpoints and difficult issues, always serving as a resolute force in safeguarding world peace.

Pursue a defensive national defense policy. China’s rapid development has caused certain people in the West to use the Thucydides Trap and the Kindleberger Trap to explain matters, vociferously exaggerating that “a strong country will necessarily practice hegemony”, depicting China as a terrible demon which someday will endanger the world. Such pronouncements are an attempt by vile individuals to surmise the intentions of a virtuous person. Over the past ten years, China’s military expenditures have on the average accounted for 1.3 percent of GDP, lower than average levels worldwide. The Chinese nation does not have genes which spur it to invade other nations as domineering conquerors, and will never seek hegemony or engage in expansionism. China’s peaceful development will never pose a threat to anyone, but, on the contrary, will bring glad tidings to the world.

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Caption reads:

Series of events marking the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Myanmar and the Ceremony Launching the China-Myanmar Cultural Tourism Year.

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**Hot comments online:**

The earth is growing smaller and the world is getting flatter. Human beings are growing closer together in a community with a shared future.

The Belt and Road initiative is the continuation of the long-cherished aspiration of a thousand years, to weave a beautiful, shared bond of friendship and pave a flourishing road to well-being.

The large-scale outbreak of the epidemic has tested our faith in human cooperation and unity. The virus pandemic has sharpened the people of the world's resolve to watch out for and protect one another.

What will the future world be like? The West cannot always have the final say. The East must also assert its role.

In “building group(s)”, you lead. In “withdrawing from group(s)”, you first run and then “pull others into group(s)”, it really is the case that “if it is not to your advantage, you don't start early.”

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**Knowledge Link:**

Hegemonism

In 1974, comrade Mao Zedong first raised the concept of hegemonism when he met with Kenneth Kaunda, the President of Zambia, pointing out that in international relations, large and strong countries relied on their military, economic and other advantages to control international legal and international political arrangements, and indulge in expanding their sphere of influence, manipulating international affairs, intervening in the internal affairs of other countries, and even carrying out armed invasion and occupation, thereby achieving regional or world hegemony.

Power Politics

Power politics refers to the law of the jungle followed by capitalist powers when handling international relations which states that “might is right” and “weak countries have no foreign relations”. This concept was first proposed in 1862 by Prussia's Prime Minister Otto von Bismarck, and later became prevalent during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to become the main principle for international politics pursued by the main imperialist nations of Europe and America. In contemporary international relations, the “power policy” pursued by the superpowers, and their armed intervention and aggression in other countries, are expressions of the principle of power politics.

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**Knowledge Link:**

Thucydides Trap

Thucydides Trap was proposed by Graham T. Allison, a professor at Harvard University. This proposal originated from a conclusion arrived at by the ancient Greek historian Thucydides regarding the Peloponnesian War. Athens' rise caused fear in Sparta, making war unavoidable. Graham T. Allison used this concept to explain how an emerging major power will necessarily challenge the status of an established major power, and how the major power being challenged

will necessarily take measures to contain and suppress such a challenge. Conflict or even war between these two powers is difficult to avoid.

### Kindleberger Trap

The Kindleberger Trap was proposed by the American scholar Joseph Nye. He cited and further elucidated Harvard professor Charles Kindleberger's viewpoint, believing that in the process of transferring power worldwide, if a newly emerging major power cannot take on leadership responsibilities, this will result in a deficiency of global public goods, and then create chaos and disrupt security and order. In the present situation in which America cannot provide additional global public goods to the world, and is unwilling to take on international responsibilities, certain people are taking advantage of this situation to pressure China to assume international responsibilities beyond its capabilities.

## II. Win-win cooperation: advance the construction of open systems

“Factory of the world”, “international workshop”, “manufacturing powerhouse”; all of these are descriptions of China's position as the hub of the global industrial chain's supply chain. China's manufacturing industry ceased operating for a time due to the impact of Covid19, resulting in a serious shock to the global industrial chain so much so that companies were faced with the danger of a cut-off of supplies. To minimize the impact of the pandemic on the world's economy, China, based on taking stringent measures to prevent and control the pandemic, accelerated the resumption of work and production at foreign trade enterprises to ensure the smooth operation of the international supply chain. This really enabled the world to breath a sigh of relief, “When China's factories' machines start operating, the global industrial chain is stabilized.”

China has consistently made the correct handling of the relationship between “justice” and “benefit” an important principle of diplomacy, advancing the achievement of shared benefits for humankind while safeguarding the nation's and the people's interests. The concept of justice and benefit is the essence of China's traditional philosophical thought, emphasizing when you encounter benefits think about justice, obtain benefits in a just way, pay more attention to justice than benefit, sacrifice benefit for the sake of justice, and consistently place justice first. In the more than 40 years since reform and opening-up to the outside, China has consistently upheld the correct concept of justice and benefit in cooperating with foreign parties, implementing the principle of mutual benefit and joint development, which has not only enabled China to develop at a speed seldom seen in the world, but has also made an important contribution to the advancement of prosperous development worldwide.

In today's era, the trend towards openness and accommodation is rolling forward. China's economy has already been deeply integrated into the great sea of the world's economy, becoming a source of power and an anchor of stability for world economic development. In recent years China's rate of contribution to world economic growth has consistently been maintained at roughly 30%. China's economic status today has been formed during its opening up to the world, while obtaining even greater development in the future must be realized during such opening up. China will in accordance with the arrangements of the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> CPC Central

Committee, uphold a strategy of mutually beneficial opening-up, take the advancement of the construction of an open system of mutually beneficial cooperation as a starting point, to build an open economic model at a higher level, and advance the construction of an open world economy.

The high quality Belt and Road Initiative: joint construction of the “Belt and Road Initiative” means forging a platform for international cooperation, including political mutual trust, economic integration, and cultural tolerance, to provide support for the advancement of worldwide joint development. Over the past six years, the “Belt and Road” has grown from one point to encompass a whole area, from conceptualization to action, from a vision to reality, gradually becoming one of the most popular public goods in the world. At present, almost 170 countries and international organizations have signed documents for cooperating with China. United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council resolutions have included relevant content of the “Belt and Road Initiative”. Today and in the future, a key emphasis of our work, based on completing overall arrangements and sketching a broad outline, will be to advance the transformation of the “Belt and Road” by upgrading the quality of its development, and paint an exquisite “finely-detailed painting”.

Liberalization and facilitation of trade: at present, populism, protectionism, unilateralism, and deglobalization ideological trends are running rampant, with some countries blaming their domestic problems on external shocks, believing that they are losing under the existing trade system. They are taking various measures, including trade measures, to fight and suppress the development of other countries and are not averse to repeatedly “withdrawing from groups”, “abrogating conventions”, and “placing the blame on others”, and attempting to set up their own set (of institutions), causing serious harm to the multi-lateral trading system. China resolutely defends globalization of the economy, firmly safeguarding the multi-lateral trading system, advancing the liberalization and facilitation of trade and investment, and promoting the construction of a fair, rational, transparent system of international economic and trade rules, and further advance openness, exchange, and integration of the global economy.

Openness should be secure with safeguards. When opening-up the nation for construction, bad elements will unavoidably be mixed in with the good. Tightening the safety barrier is crucial. In the process of introducing things from the outside, we must duly absorb advanced things from other countries, and must also be on the alert for subversive infiltration activities coming from outside China, and prevent erosion from negative, decadent ideas. In the process of going outside China, with Chinese citizens and legal entities going abroad on a progressively larger scale, overseas security risks are also gradually increasing. According to statistics, at present, almost 40,000 Chinese enterprises have offices abroad. Approximately 1.5 million students are studying abroad, and in 2019 Chinese citizens went abroad approximately 170 million times. We must accelerate construction of an overseas interest protection and risk early warning and prevention system, and improve working mechanisms for consular protection, and effectively safeguard the safety of the life and property of overseas compatriots.

Opening brings progress, while closing must result in backwardness. While certain countries are rushing to close their doors, China will be opening its doors more and more to the outside world to embrace the world with an even more open attitude, taking real actions to resolutely move

forward in globalizing the world economy, developing itself in an even broader scope to benefit the world.

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**Special Focus:**

Cumulative number of China-Europe Railway Express train trips exceed twenty thousand

China-Europe Railway Express refers to express freight trains running on three lines, eastern, central, and western. On March 19, 2011, the first train successfully ran from China to Europe. As at the end of 2019, the cumulative number of train trips from China to Europe totaled 21,162. Train runs from China to Europe have become an important means of overland transportation in international logistics, characterized by their short transportation distances, fast speed, and high security, along with their advantages of safety and speed, environmentally friendly conditions and relative immunity to environmental factors. It has become a major means of overland transportation in international logistics. The picture shows a train running on the China-Europe line to Duisburg, Germany pulling out from the China Railway Union Wuhan Central Station.

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**Special Focus:**

The China-Laos railway

The China-Laos Railway is a China “Belt and Road” Initiative strategic docking project to transform Laos from a landlocked country into a “land connected country”. The railway starts on the north from the frontier port of Moding on the China-Laos border and runs south to the Laotian capital, Vientiane, with a total length of 414 kilometers. The railroad connects Kunming in China with Vientiane in Laos. It is the first project primarily constructed and invested in by China with the whole line using Chinese technological standards and Chinese equipment, and is an international railway directly connected to China’s railway network. The project began full construction in December 2016, with a planned completion date of December 2021, at which time it will come online. The picture shows the China-Laos Railway under construction.

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**Special Focus:**

The 2<sup>nd</sup> China International Import Expo

From November 5 – 10, 2019, the 2<sup>nd</sup> China International Import Expo was held at the Shanghai National Exhibition and Convention Center, with 181 countries, regions, and international organizations participating, with exhibits from over 3,800 foreign enterprises, and over 500,000 domestic and foreign professional purchasers attending the Expo to discuss purchases. The expo area was 360,000 square meters, with an accumulated intended transaction amount of 71,130,000,000 US Dollars. The picture shows the equipment exhibition area at the Expo.

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Captions:

China Eastern Industry Zone in Ethiopia (top photo)

Chinatown in Milan, Italy celebrates the Lunar New Year (bottom photo)

### **III. Impartiality and rationality: participating in the reform of global governance systems**

From the Boao Forum for Asia to the Sino-French Global Governance Forum, from the German Colbert Foundation speech, to the speech at Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, from the BRICS Leadership Summit Meeting in Ufa, Russia, to the Hangzhou Summit of G20 Leaders..... General Secretary Xi Jinping at many international venues has profoundly expounded the global governance concept based on mutual discussion, mutual construction, and sharing, emphasizing the need to actively transform the global governance system and advance the development of the international order in a more impartial and rational direction.

The global governance structure is determined by the international balance of power. Transformation of the global governance structure originate from changes in the international balance of power. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, countries with emerging market economies and developing countries, as represented by China, have experienced rapid growth, accounting for almost 40 percent of the world's total economic (output), contributing 80 percent of global economic growth. The international balance of power is witnessing an historic change with “the rise of the East and the decline of the West.” With fluctuations and changes in the balance of international power and the progressive increase in global challenges, the existing global governance system is somewhat powerless, and has difficulty coping with and resolving the problems confronting it. Reform of the global governance system is urgently required. People are clamoring for change.

With China progressively moving closer to center stage in the world, China's right to speak and its influence in the international arena are also growing. In the past, China was a “small fry” to whom no one listened. Now the situation has changed. China has become a “big guy” , with everyone wanting to hear China's views on world matters. The international community is looking forward to seeing China's solution to eliminating the global governance deficit. China as a responsible power will actively participate in the reform and construction of the global governance

system, leading the direction of the world's evolution and the direction of the development of human civilization.

Advance the reform of global economic governance. Since the international financial crisis in 2008, the global economic map has undergone deep adjustments. Western developed countries are gradually on the decline, while countries with emerging market economies and developing countries are developing at a rapid pace. Relative to the trend in changes occurring in the international balance of power, global economic governance mechanisms lack strong representativeness and adaptability, exhibiting "muscle weakness" fatigue, and an inability to cope with global economic growth, and urgently need to be reformed. As the world's second largest economy, China should take more action in reforming the global economic governance system, actively participate in and strive to lead the formulation of international economic and trade rules, actively provide global public goods, and better safeguard the common interests of China and the vast number of developing countries.

Cooperate on dealing with climate change. In January 2020, the Bank for International Settlements for the first time proposed the concept of a "green swan" event, believing that an extremely destructive event might occur in the future in the climate sector, causing incalculable losses to humankind's economic growth and social life, possibly further triggering a financial crisis and social unrest. The Australian bush fires which have continued for six months, desert locusts which have swept over many countries in Africa and Asia, and other extreme disasters are closely related to climate change, once again sounding the alarm for humankind. All countries throughout the world must act to develop international cooperation to deal with climate change, based on the principles of common but differentiated responsibilities, fairness, and each country's respective abilities. China will resolutely honor its international commitments and firmly without deviation follow a green, low carbon sustainable road to development, satisfactorily performing its international responsibility to safeguard humankind's home.

Safeguard international relations with the United Nations at the core. The current international system was established after the Second World War under the leadership of Western countries headed by the United States. Although certain shortcomings and disadvantages exist, nonetheless, over the past 70 or more years, it has played an important role in safeguarding the world's peaceful development. Reforming and improving the current international system doesn't mean doing away with the existing system to start over and make a fresh start, but means making adjustments and innovations under the existing overall framework. China resolutely safeguards the core position of the United Nations in global governance, supports the construction of mechanisms and such platforms as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), BRICS countries, and the G20, and promotes the construction of international governance systems which are even more impartial and rational.

Only when the world is good can China be good. When China is good, the world will be better. On the bright road to a community with a shared future, China will continuously strive to work with other countries in the world to eliminate poverty and underdevelopment, and advance prosperous development. China will continue to struggle to eliminate differences and wars, and to

maintain harmony and stability, contributing its efforts to bridge the gaps between cultures, and strengthen exchanges and mutual learning, joining hands to build an even better world.

(Top of page 225 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

**2019 World Horticultural Exposition opened in Beijing, China**

On April 28, 2019, the World Horticultural Exposition opened in Beijing, China, with the theme “Green life, beautiful homeland”. Representatives of 110 countries and international organizations attended the Exposition. The picture shows a theatrical performance at the 2019 World Horticultural Exposition in Beijing, China.

(Top of page 226 in the Chinese text)

Captions:

Bush fires in Australia 2019. (Top photo)

Locusts fill the skies of the desert, devouring crops. (Bottom photo)

(Page 227 in the Chinese text)

**In-depth reading**

*Xi Jinping: Join Hands to Fight the Pandemic and Overcome Difficulties Together – Speech Given at the G20 Leaders Special Summit* People’s Daily, March 27, 2020

*Xi Jinping: Unite to Fight the Pandemic and Overcome Difficulties Together – Keynote Speech at the China-Africa Special Summit on Uniting to Fight the Pandemic* People’s Daily, June 18, 2020

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## Chapter 15

### Weaving a dense net to combat vice and uphold virtue

How can the oversight system of the Party and the state be improved and perfected?

In the middle of January 2020, during the convening of the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection (CCDI), a five-episode special television series titled “State Supervision” was broadcast on China Central Television (CCTV), eliciting a strong reaction among the public, and sparking continuous hot discussion among netizens. “This special series is filled with highlights. The investigation of these corrupt officials who embezzle state property and harm the public interest is truly gratifying.” “It is a warning and deterrent for civil servants, and publicity and popularization for the people”.....From this series we can see the remarkable results achieved by the anti-corruption campaign, and can feel the tremendous power of the supervision systems of the Party and the state.

Justice has long arms. Building a network of supervision systems of the Party and the State requires upholding the Party’s centralized and unified leadership and advance comprehensive supervision coverage. The *Decision* of the Party Central Committee’s 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session points out that “Supervision systems for the Party and the state must be upheld and improved. Restriction and oversight of the use of power must be strengthened.” These are the fundamental requirements raised for strengthening the building of the Party and improving the national governance system in the new era, constituting important safeguards for our Party maintaining its vitality forever and courageously lead the trend of the times.

#### I. Raise the “searchlight” of supervision high in all sectors.

The Chinese character *jian* (監) first appeared in oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang Dynasty. Its original meaning was using water as a mirror to reflect a person’s own image. Later this was extended to mean supervise and monitor. Over several thousand years, the form of the character has changed several times, but its core meaning has continued through today.

Supervision (oversight) is the fundamental root which enables a nation or a political party to maintain its vitality. After long-term development we have formed a set of rigorous, complete, effective systems of supervision for the Party and for the state. When compared to those of other countries, our systems of supervision have similarities but also have many unique attributes. For example, the emphasis on Party discipline being stricter than state law, integrated supervision of the Party and the state, and courageous self-supervision, etc. Because our Party has held power for a long time, and supervision within the Party is strong and effective, other forms of supervision can be effective. The Communist Party of China views the issue of supervision from an elevated position of self-generated internal revolution, consistently maintaining the vanguard character and purity of the Party by strengthening supervision.

Since the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC National People’s Congress, the Party Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core has in a thoroughly self-generated internal revolutionary spirit unflinchingly advanced comprehensive strict governance of the Party, with restriction and supervision of

power as important safeguards for maintaining the Party's physical health, with internal Party supervision driving and advancing other forms of supervision, and from bringing all civil servants exercising public power under the scope of state supervision to gradually forming four layouts for full (supervision) coverage, from vigorously promoting "tangible coverage" to moving towards "effective coverage", constructing supervision systems under the unified leadership of the Party, with full coverage and highly efficient authority, to follow a road of supervision with Chinese characteristics.

After ongoing, continuous effort, improvement of Party and State supervision systems has gone from a preliminary consolidated foundation and platform with an established framework, to comprehensive advancement with a build-up of resources during the intermediate phase, entering a new phase of systems integration and synergistic efficiency. At present and in the future, the main task in improving Party and state supervision systems, based on focusing on the Party's internal supervision and the special supervision of the Commission for Discipline Inspection and Supervision Commission, is to advance the organic integration and inter-coordination of various types of supervision, to further strengthen supervision strictness, synergy, and efficiency.

Utilize the leading role of the internal supervision of the Party. Self-supervision is a universal problem facing the governing party, the "Goldbach's Conjecture" of state governance. Our Party's solution to this problem fundamentally must rely on the political character of daring to self-revolutionize, through vigorous internal Party supervision, and finding and correcting mistakes in time, to enable the Party to perpetually maintain its vanguard character and purity. In China, over 95 percent of leading cadres and 80 percent of civil servants are members of the Communist Party. They constitute the backbone representing the people in exercising public power. The Party's ruling position determines that internal Party supervision is the priority. Strengthening the leadership role of internal Party supervision requires highlighting its political attributes, to advance the concretization and normalization of political supervision, to ensure the Party's centralized and unified leadership. Strengthen supervision of high-ranking cadres and leading cadres at all levels, improve internal supervision of leadership teams, and resolve the difficult problems of supervision of "top-ranking persons" and peer supervision, and ensure that "the key minority" is also indeed subject to effective supervision.

Strengthen specialized supervision under the Commission for Discipline Inspection and Supervision Commission. Discipline inspection and supervision organs are specialized supervisory authorities which are the mainstay of the Party and state supervisory systems and serve as safeguards. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress of the CPC, with the comprehensive advancement of national supervision system reform, all levels of the Commission for Discipline and Supervision have combined offices, to become a supervisory "army of iron" which has lived up to its reputation. To fully exercise the supervisory functions of the Commission for Discipline Inspection and Supervision Commission, it is necessary to strengthen higher-level Commission for Discipline Inspection and Supervision Commission leadership of lower-level Commission for Discipline Inspection and Supervision Commission authorities, and ensure the relative independence and authority of supervisory powers. Improve institutional mechanisms of dispatched supervision, expand full coverage under the scope of resident

supervision, increase the quality of dispatched supervision, and give full play to its role as a “advance guard”.

Advance organic penetration of various types of supervision. Under system theory, any system is an organic whole in which each of its parts are not merely simply added on to each other; they are mutually interconnected and affect one another. In Party and state supervision systems, various types of supervision do not exist separately from one another. Each type of supervision will exert an important effect on other types of supervision, while also requiring cooperation and coordination with other types of supervision. Overall consciousness and system concepts must be strengthened. Guided by the Party’s internal supervision, advance the coordinated convergence of discipline supervision and monitoring supervision, dispatched supervision, and inspection tour supervision, advancing the organic integration and inter-coordination of supervision by the National People’s Congress, democratic supervision, administrative supervision, judicial supervision, audit supervision, accounting supervision, statistical supervision, supervision by the masses, and supervision through public opinion to achieve maximum overall supervisory effectiveness.

(Picture on page 229 in the Chinese text)

Oracle bone character for “supervision” depicting a person who is kneeling next to a vessel (filled with water) and looking at his reflection in the water. The ancients took water as a mirror or “supervisor”, a reflection of a person’s behavior. (See [监的解释|监的意思|汉典“监”字的基本解释 \(www.zdic.net\)](http://www.zdic.net) )

(Top of page 230 in the Chinese text)

**Online Questions and Answers:**

Question: What are the “four full coverages”?

Answer: “The four full coverages” refer to full coverage under discipline supervision, full coverage under supervision and monitoring, full coverage under dispatched supervision, and full coverage under inspection tour supervision.

(Bottom of page 231 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Handan in Hebei launches regular supervision reminder discussions

The Discipline Inspection and Supervision Commissions team stationed at the Municipal Party Committee Office by the Commission for Discipline Inspection of Handan, Hebei Province, has launched regular supervision reminder discussions with leadership of the city Party

Committee Office, to oversee and urge their diligence and conscientiousness toward their main duties, and that they grasp and shoulder their responsibilities.

(Top of page 232 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

**Luoping Yunnan has established an “honest discourse” propagation team**

The Discipline and Supervision Commissions of Luoping County, Yunnan have established an “honest discourse” propagation team deeply penetrating villages, communities, government departments, and enterprises, to regularly talk about discipline and the law, and propagate good ethics and honest, clean behavior. The picture shows members of the propagation team spreading knowledge.

**II. Tighten the “iron cage” over authority throughout all procedures**

Power is a double-edged sword. When exercised under rule of law, it can work for the people’s interests. When operated outside the law it will inevitably bring disaster to the state and the people. The so-called dual nature of power may be understood to mean that on the one hand, power is normative and guiding, and if exercised well can enable society to operate with high efficiency, with stability and order. On the other hand, power is expansive and corrosive. Once control is lost, it is like a runaway wild horse, causing unforeseen disastrous consequences.

History has repeatedly warned us that no one is perfect, that everyone has cognitive and moral limitations. No one can guarantee that when they have and exercise power, they will never make any mistakes. To reduce and block the “headstrong” and “frivolous” exercise of power, to prevent power from spinning out of control, restriction and supervision of power must be strengthened.

On restricting and supervising authority, the most fundamental thing is that mechanisms for allocating power and restricting the exercise of power are improved. General Secretary Xi Jinping has pointed out the need to strengthen restrictions on power, rationally break down power, and scientifically allocate power, with powers of different features being exercised by different departments, units, and individuals, to form scientific power structures and operation mechanisms. This fundamentally points out the importance of using such segments as structuring and operations to strengthen restrictions on power. It is necessary to set boundaries, operate openly, and implement responsibilities, to form mechanisms for exercising authority that incorporate scientific decision-making, resolute execution, and strong supervision, so as to ensure that Party and state organs exercise their authority and perform their duties in accordance with statutory limitations and procedures, to truly achieve fair use of power, use of power according to law, and clean use of power.

Statutory powers and responsibilities. No actions may be executed without legal authorization; legal responsibilities must be performed. Establishment of powers must have a legal basis. Make improvements according to law to the system of exercising authority in accordance with different matters, establishing authority according to different positions, delegating power to different levels and rotating positions regularly. Clarify the boundaries of power and implement strict compliance with duties and authority. In 2018, reform of Party and state institutions was deepened, with items under internal Party laws and regulations being used for the first time to explain the “three stipulations” of departments, giving departments a legal basis for performing and fulfilling their duties. On this basis, we should comprehensively clarify the statutory authority of each department’s powers, establish a list of powers, a list of responsibilities, and a list of negative items, to advance the legalization of institutions, functions, authority, and responsibilities, ensuring discretion within a reasonable range, and guarding against power being overstepped.

Transparency of powers and responsibilities. Corruption is corrosive. Sunlight is the best preventative for corruption (disinfectant). Openness and transparency enable power to “bask” in the sunlight, a prerequisite for strengthening restrictions on the exercise of power. If the exercise of power is not exposed to sunlight, or is selectively exposed to sunlight, public credibility will be impossible to establish. To strengthen restrictions on power it is necessary to advance openness in the exercise of power, improve open systems for Party affairs, government affairs, judicial affairs, and other offices in various sectors, establish feedback mechanisms for enquires on and traceability of power, be adept at using the Internet, actively respond to public concerns, and accept supervision from the people. In recent years, many cases filed for examination and investigation by inspection and supervision organs nationwide have originated from reports made by the public.

Unity of powers and responsibilities. Power must come with responsibility. Responsibility must be taken, and dereliction must be investigated. Scientific mechanisms for exercising power must be guaranteed by responsibility systems which cover the overall process. Every segment of the exercise of power must be closely monitored, and effective mechanisms for discovering problems, correcting deviations, and accurate accountability must be improved, to compress and reduce the space for (using power for) rent-setting and rent-seeking, enabling accountability to become the “final test” which power must face. In 2019, 8,194 Party organizations, 108 commissions for discipline inspection (discipline inspection teams), and 45,000 Party members and leadership cadres were held accountable. Dereliction necessitates investigation, and strict accountability must become the norm.

State authority is a “sacred implement”, something sacrosanct. Public power is surnamed (belongs to the) “public” and such power must serve the public interest. Only by establishing scientific mechanisms for restricting the allocation and exercise of power, confining public power in the cage of the system, can we ensure that the power entrusted by the Party and people will consistently be used for the people’s best interest.

(Bottom of page 234 in the Chinese text)

**Hot comments online:**

It is easy to change others' lives, but it is difficult to change one's own life. Our Party uses "self-generated internal revolution" to solve the governance puzzle of "the historical cycle".

The oversight net must be woven firmly and densely to enable the norms for authority to correctly operate. Do not "use a cow stall to lock up the cat" (don't be loose), allowing free entrance and exit.

Party members and leading cadres should "walk as if treading on thin ice" with a feeling of awe and trepidation, justly exercise their power, be honest and self-disciplined, and steer clear of "clique culture" and factionalism.

A sharp sword suspended high above shows invincible might. If one reaches out to grab something, one will necessarily be caught. Spending the rest of one's life behind bars is cause for bitter remorse.

"Tigers" (corrupt high officials) should be thoroughly searched out, "flies" (corrupt low officials) should be thoroughly swatted, and "foxes" (corrupt officials who've fled abroad) should be thoroughly chased down.

(Top of page 235 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Hongya, Sichuan, strengthens supervision and inspection (to) assist poverty alleviation

Since 2020, the Commission for Discipline Inspection in Hongya County, Sichuan province has set up practices supervisory teams in five poverty alleviation domains, launching oversight inspections of 33 municipal level poverty-stricken villages, to strengthen supervision and inspection of the effectiveness of poverty alleviation work, maintenance of the continuity and stability of poverty alleviation policy, poverty alleviation inspection and verification, and other situations, ensuring that assistance project funding and policies are actually implemented satisfactorily. The picture shows a discipline inspection and supervision cadre from the county verifying that poverty alleviation funding is being implemented in an industry.

Top of page 236 in the Chinese text:

**Special Focus:**

Shangcai, Henan, breaks through discipline inspection & supervision and petitioning & reporting " last mile"

The Commission for Discipline Inspection and Supervision Commission of Shangcai County, Henan Province, through issuing reporting guidelines, conducting on-site consultation and other methods, has, batch by batch, entered 26 townships (subdistricts) to inform people of the scope of acceptance, reporting channels, and handling procedures for petitioning and reporting to discipline inspection and supervision departments, and broke through “the last mile” for petitioning and reporting to discipline inspection and supervision departments. The picture shows discipline and supervision cadres from the county receiving inquiries from the people at a mobile reception point.

### III. Construct a comprehensive “firewall” to combat corruption

The sharp sword of anti-corruption is once again unsheathed; honesty and righteousness fills heaven and earth. At the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, the transcripts of the 2019 anti-corruption campaign were unveiled. The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, State Supervision Commission filed cases for examination and investigation against 45 middle management cadres. Discipline inspection and supervision organs nationwide filed 619,000 cases for examination and investigation, in which Party discipline and administrative sanctions were taken against 587,000 individuals, and of which cases of 21,000 individuals suspected of committing crimes were transferred to procuratorial organs for prosecution. Under this powerful shock and the impact of government policy, 10,357 persons nationwide voluntarily turned themselves in, of whom 5 were middle management cadres, and 119 were provincial-level management cadres. This data shows that in recent years, the comprehensive effect of the integrated advancement of the concepts of not daring to be corrupt, not able to be corrupt, and not wanting to be corrupt (the “three nots”) is being fully manifested, with further consolidation and development of the overwhelming victory of the anti-corruption campaign.

Corruption means using public power to seek personal gain for an individual or a small group. Some people say that corruption is the shadow of power, and wherever there is power, the possibility of corruption exists. The Qing Dynasty historian Zhao Yi after summing up generation after generation of corruption arrived at a conclusion, expressed as “corruption follows the concentration of power”. Corruption always follows power, like a shadow. If you want to cause power to be far removed from corruption, you must take a multipronged approach involving punishment, mechanisms, and ideology, to ensure that power is not encircled and corrupted.

Implement integrated advancement of the “three nots”. Solidifying deep insight on the mechanism of corruption and revealing the basic laws for administering and governing the Party, is not only a basic policy for the anti-corruption campaign but is also an important strategy for comprehensive strict governance of the Party in the new era. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC National People’s Congress, with the progressive advancement of anti-corruption work, we have continuously deepened our

understanding of the causes of corruption along with countermeasures and measures to deal with corruption, with a highly focused consensus on enhancing treatment of its outward symptoms and root causes, and the basis for integrated advancement of “the three nots” is more solid and the time is ripe.

At present, although the anti-corruption campaign has achieved outstanding results, nonetheless the situation is still severe and complicated, with much corruption remaining and increases in corruption still occurring. Looking at the causes of corruption, on the one hand, punitive measures are insufficient, systems are imperfect, and supervision is weak, while, on the other hand, there are such factors as pursuit of personal interests, trusting that one will be spared by fate, etc., in addition to the impact of the political ecology, social atmosphere, and history and culture, with subsequent results stemming from the effect of the interaction of multiple factors. This determines that we cannot count on one move to win the game. We must take a multi-pronged approach in the integrated advancement of “the three nots”.

Strengthen deterrents of not daring to be corrupt. Our Party is as incompatible with corruption as fire is with water. We must maintain a tough stance in punishing corruption, insisting on no forbidden zones, full coverage, and zero tolerance, while also upholding heavy containment, strong high-pressure, and long-term deterrence, upholding simultaneous investigations of persons who give bribes and receive bribes, and, at the same, time continuing to crack down on large and small offenders. Resolutely investigate and prosecute bribery cases in which political and economic issues are interwoven, increase anti-corruption efforts in key areas and key segments, and continue to rectify corruption and work style issues around the masses; corruption must be punished, and greed must be eliminated. Persevere in pursuing fugitives and recovering stolen assets. Tightly encircle and sever escape routes of persons guilty of corruption. The “Skynet 2019” operation netted 2,041 fugitives, of whom 4 were of the “100 Interpol red notices”, and 40 had “Interpol red notices” issued, while recovering 5.42 billion Renminbi in stolen money.

Firmly plant a fence which will not erode. Systems are a type of hard constraint, having the long-term effect of restricting power and plugging loopholes. In recent years, various types of systems have gradually been improved, from political construction to discipline construction, from selecting and employing people to major policy decisions, from monitoring the “four winds” (formalism, bureaucracy, hedonism, and extravagance), to being strictly held accountable.....while this unbreakable fence is being woven more and more densely and being planted more and more firmly. To reduce the space in which power can be corrupted, we must focus on departments and industries which have concentrations of power, are capital intensive and are well endowed with resources; advance the reform of supervision mechanisms and construction of systems for key areas such as supervision of review and approval, law enforcement and justice, engineering construction, resource development, financial credit, public resource transactions, and public financial expenditures. Resolutely eradicate environments that breed corruption.

Solidly construct safeguards to deter people from wanting to engage in corrupt behavior. Lenin pointed out that “Politically educated people will not engage in corruption and bribery.” Since the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC National People’s Congress, our Party has started by consolidating the foundation of the ideals and beliefs of our Party members, successively launching mass line education and practical

activities, education on the themes of “the three stricts (strict self-cultivation, strict use of power, and strict self-discipline) and the three earnest (in making plans, in new undertakings, and in one’s life), education on “Two Studies, One Action” (“Two Studies, One Action” specifically refers to learning the Party Constitution and Regulations *and* learning to carry out the spirit of General Secretary Xi Jinping's series of important speeches *and* being a qualified Party member) and education on the theme of “Don’t forget your original intentions, always remember your mission”, enabling the great masses of Party members and cadres to broadly accept ideological baptism, and raise spiritual consciousness. Curbing corruption necessitates further tightening “the master switch” for thoughts and beliefs, strengthening ideology and morality and Party discipline and state law education, carrying forward and practicing core socialist values, and take political life within the Party seriously, to enable Party members and cadres to cultivate a high level of integrity and strength of character in resisting corruption and guarding against changes in a clean and upright political ecology.

Not daring to be corrupt, the inability to be corrupt, and not desiring to be corrupt, are not divisions of three stages, and also are not three separate links, but are a mutually fused, interlinked organic whole. Not daring to be corrupt is the prerequisite, referring to discipline, rule of law, and frightening deterrents, thus resolving the cost of corruption. Inability to be corrupt is critical, referring to systems, supervision, and control, resolving the issue of having the opportunity to engage in corruption. Not desiring to be corrupt is fundamental, referring to cognition, awareness, and culture, resolving the issue of the motive for corruption. None of the “three nots” are dispensable. Systems integration must be strengthened, attaching importance to synergy and efficiency, forming a strong synergy and overall effect in the work of fighting corruption.

“Difficult things of the world can only be tackled when they are easy. Big things of the world can only be achieved by attending to their small beginnings.” (Laozi, Chapter 63, translated by John C.H. Wu, St. John’s University Press, 1961 ). Under the new situation in the anti-corruption campaign of achieving an overwhelming victory and consolidating its development, only by persisting in treating both outward symptoms and root causes, working with perseverance, progressively walking the long journey step by step, and winning small victories to achieve large victories, can we at an early date achieve a well-ordered, well-regulated peaceful and stable situation.)

(Bottom of page 237 in the Chinese text)

**Authoritative Voices:**

Integrated advancement of “the three nots” is inherently unified with improving Party and state oversight systems

Miao Qingwang (Deputy Ministerial Inspector of the Central Leading Group for Inspection Work, Deputy Secretary General of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection) :

On the one hand, improving Party and state oversight systems, consolidating anti-corruption resources and forces, strengthening the Party’s centralized and unified leadership, expanding oversight coverage, and increasing oversight effectiveness, is beneficial to strengthening deterrents of corruption, tightening restraints on corruption, and strengthening self-awareness

of having no desire to be corrupt. On the other hand, integrated advancement of “the three nots” continuously increases the capacity and level of corruption governance, while being beneficial to verifying the results of reform of supervision and restriction institutions and mechanisms, and system construction, consolidating consensus and confidence among the entire Party and the entire society in improving the oversight system.

(Bottom of page 238 in the Chinese text)

Caption under photograph reads:

“One hundred Interpol red notices”... Huang Ping, the former general manager of Guangdong Guanghong Overseas Chinese Aluminum Processing Company Limited, returns to China to turn himself in.

(Top of page 239 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

Jiangyong County in Hunan Province Uses the “1+N” model to create an “upgrade” for education on clean government.

The Commission for Discipline Inspection of Jiangyong County in Hunan Province has made strengthening education on clean government a dedicated supervisory task to be vigorously undertaken, launching the “1+N” model in which “1” represents the main thread of warning education, while “N” represents discussions on clean government, conferences on warning education, education columns, short films on cases, and other methods, focusing on advancing the packaging, normalization, and systematization of education on clean government, giving advance warning and erect a “high voltage line”. The picture shows a work unit in the county organizing Party members and cadres to watch a film on clean government.

(Bottom of page 240 in the Chinese text)

**For in-depth reading**

*Communique of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th Central Commission for Discipline Inspection of the Communist Party of China, People’s Daily, January 16, 2020*

*Regulations Issued by the General Office of the Central Committee on Party Committees (Party Groups) in Implementing Comprehensively and Strictly the Main Responsibilities of the Party, People’s Daily, March 14, 2020*



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## Chapter 16

### Raise billowing sails to cross the great sea

How can the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics maintain stability (and continue) far into the future?

In the long passage of humankind's history of development and progress, there are inevitably some critical moments, which deeply influence the direction of a nation and a people's development. Opening the book on the rise and fall of China's ancient imperial dynasties, we can discern that several famous prosperous eras during their formation all followed certain patterns. The Western Han after sixty or seventy years of restoring social stability and resuming economic production, reached the zenith of its prosperity during the reign period of Emperor Han Wudi (the Martial Emperor). The Tang Dynasty after going through almost one hundred years of striving to make the nation prosperous, achieved its heyday during the Kaiyuan reign period (of Emperor Tang Taizong). The Qing Dynasty after invading China by passing through the Great Wall had over seventy years of prosperity during the reign periods of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors. From this we can observe that seventy<sup>8</sup> to one hundred years in power is an extremely critical time node. During this period, the ability to form a mature and effective system and governance system and pass through the "Three Gorges of history" is crucial to stabilizing the foundation of political power and achieving order and prosperity throughout the nation.

"Idle boast the strong pass is a wall of iron, with firm strides we are crossing its summit."<sup>9</sup> After over seventy years of continuous efforts, socialism with Chinese characteristics is standing on a new starting line. The world today is going through unprecedented great changes unseen in a century. The competition among different contesting social systems and modes of development is even sharper and more complicated. The great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation has reached a critical stage, while the task of building a modern, strong socialist country is even more difficult and arduous. Over the next thirty years, only by continuing to hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics and continuously advancing the modernization of the national governance system and governance capacity can we provide institutional support for overcoming risks and challenges and completing our historical task and open up a new realm of "Chinese governance."

#### I. Resolute adherence and consolidation

The type of social system a country implements is critically determined by whether this social system conforms to national conditions, whether it works effectively, and whether it is supported by the people. Only the wearer most clearly knows if the shoes fit. New China's brilliant journey of over seventy years eloquently proves that only socialism can save China, and only socialism with Chinese characteristics can develop China. In practice, the system of socialism with Chinese

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<sup>8</sup> The People's Republic of China saw its 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2019.

<sup>9</sup> "Loushan Pass", Mao Zedong, 1935.

characteristics is increasingly compatible with China's historical culture and realistic national conditions, and increasingly exhibits strong governance efficiency.

“That which seems to be ordinary is most amazing, that which appears easy, on the contrary, is rather difficult.” It is not easy to explore and form a good system. The key is unshaken adherence and consolidation. How to duly adhere to and consolidate the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is an ideological and cognitive issue, which also concerns manifesting government policy and the law. Unremitting efforts must be made, with long term work, planting a seed in the minds of the vast number of cadres, spinning a red thread through the Party's line, principles, and policies.

Steadfastly adhere to the correct direction. Our direction is our banner and our soul, determining the future destiny of our nation. For more than seventy years, during our advancement of institutional system construction, we have consistently advanced in the correct direction, steadfastly upholding the basic system of socialism, upholding leadership under the Party, and steadfastly upholding the guiding position of Marxism, to ensure that our socialist cause will not deviate or change color. Under China's state system and governance system, the names of many systems start with the word “socialist”, such as “socialist democracy”, “socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics”, “socialist market economy”, “socialist advanced culture”, etc. Socialism is not dispensable; rather, it provides the fundamental direction and nature for these institutional systems. On the road going forward, no matter how a system is reformed, it cannot deviate from the socialist direction, and absolutely cannot give rise to subversive errors on fundamental issues.

Fully comply with institutions and systems. The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is like a towering tree, a rigorous and complete scientific institutional system. Among which are the fundamental, basic, and important systems of socialism with Chinese characteristics, which serve as branches to construct the overall framework of the state system and the system of governance. These three types of systems from different levels focus on internal affairs, foreign affairs, and national defense, governing the Party, the nation, and the army, with system arrangements for all aspects of institutions under the Party and the state, and are the “general outline” and “general compliance” for the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Party committees and governments at all levels must all follow these systems, whether in preparing development plans, promoting the rule of law, formulating policy measures, and arranging various work assignments. When deliberating issues, making decisions, and implementing objectives, these systems must be taken as yardsticks, consciously benchmarked tables under which no error is permitted.

Be firm as a rock, maintaining strong determination. When the socialist system was born, it found itself in a struggle with the capitalist system. Socialist China, from the date of its establishment, has been encircled and suppressed by capitalist countries. So many years have passed. Whether we have been subjected to encirclement strategies, blackmail by nuclear weapons, economic blockade, or trade intimidation, we have not only failed to collapse but on the contrary, have developed and grown step by step. We can foresee that in the future, competition between the two systems will grow even deeper and more intense. In this type of situation, we must maintain strong

strategic determination, conviction, and belief, making certain that the socialist system will not waver, to enable this road to become progressively broader as we follow it.

(Bottom of page 241 in the Chinese text)  
Photograph of the Three Gorges of the Yangzi River

(Page 243 in the Chinese text)  
The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics has caused over 9.6 million square kilometers of Chinese territory to undergo dramatic changes. The photos show Lizi Street in West Lake District, Nanchang Municipality, Jiangxi Province, before and after reconstruction.

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The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> CPC Central Committee constitutes a great integration and advancement of system construction.

Xie Chuntao (Deputy Head of the School (Institute) of the Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (National School of Administration):

The 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> CPC Central Committee's achievements in institution building integrate and summarize successful experiences in long-term system construction, constituting a great integration and a great advancement. We must continue to work hard on which good systems should be upheld over the long term and consolidated, and which aspects have shortcomings and deficiencies. This Plenary Session clarified the major issues and is significant as a milestone in institution building under socialism with Chinese characteristics.

## II. Keeping in step with the times while improving and developing

An ancient poem says “Only the toughest grass can withstand the strongest wind (only those who have a strong character can withstand a severe test)”. The occurrence of a major crisis is a touchstone for testing the strengths and weaknesses of a system. The Covid19 pandemic has been a great test for China's governance system and governance capacity. This fight against the pandemic has demonstrated the outstanding advantages of China's system, while also exposing many weaknesses and deficiencies. For example, China's national emergency management system still requires further improvement, further optimization of the efficiency of China's national reserve system is necessary, shortcomings and dead ends still exist in governance of urban public environments, etc. When carefully summarizing the experiences and lessons of this pandemic, existing problems in relevant areas must be systematically sorted out, shortcomings should be remedied, loopholes should be plugged, and weak points reinforced, making timely institutional arrangements to further increase China's governance capacity and level.

No system is born perfect. It must undergo a process of dynamic evolution, development, and improvement, and must make corresponding adjustments and improvements in accordance with the times, the environment and changes in conditions. This is precisely what is meant by “A person who is enlightened changes with the times and a person who is wise governs in accordance with the circumstances of the world” (Han Dynasty Treatise on Salt and Iron (汉代盐铁论)). The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics has only been formed and developed for a short period of time. Especially after entering the new era, major social contradictions have undergone a transformation, while national governance is faced with many new tasks and many new demands, which necessitate that the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the national governance system undergo further improvement and continued development.

“Patch frequently.” Plug loopholes in the system. The undertaking of socialism with Chinese characteristics is progressively developing and growing, with a continuous expansion of the areas and aspects it covers. However, the relevant systems have not yet been completely established for certain new areas, and there are system deficiencies. It is necessary to focus on these new areas to accelerate formulation and improvement of various relevant institutions to effectively patch shortcomings in the systems. Many of the goals and tasks proposed by this Plenary Session address gaps and weaknesses and focus on distinct problems. These must be prioritized, with a focus on building solid foundations, promoting advantages, and reinforcing weak points, to enable China’s institutional systems to be more systematic and complete.

“Real time upgrades”. Strengthen institutional performance. Institution building is not accomplished at the first try and is not something which when once accomplished requires no further work. It must advance quickly in small steps with rapid iteration, continuously implementing new versions which perform better. This is determined by the continuous development and progress of Party and state undertakings and is required due to rapid changes in society and life. The *Land Administration Law of the People’s Republic of China*, the *National Basic Medical Insurance, Industrial Injury Insurance and Maternity Insurance Drug List* and other such laws and regulations formally implemented on January 1, 2020, all newly amended and completed in accordance with situational changes, will exert an even greater effect when they are implemented.

“Timely uninstalling.” Maintain the timely effectiveness of institutions. With the change of the times and the passage of time, certain systems seriously lag behind situational developments and must be discontinued in accordance with specific circumstances, just like uninstalling software on a mobile phone. Certain systems were formulated during specific historical periods, became ineffectual long ago with the passage of time and change of circumstances, and are now “zombie” systems. Certain systems are manifestly inconsistent with the Constitution or relevant laws, are disadvantageous to the modernization of the national governance system, and have become stumbling blocks to social development and progress. Since the 18<sup>th</sup> CPC National People’s Congress, our Party has undertaken two centralized clean-ups of Party internal laws and regulations and normative documents, abolishing a total of 376 documents, and declaring 425

documents invalid, resolving issues of inadaptability, discoordination, divergence, and inconsistency among laws and regulations within the Party, and elevating scientific standards for system construction by the Party.

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Many places are making efforts on improving the public health emergency management system

Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, some places have launched investigations on resolving existing shortcomings of public health emergency management systems, with a focus on proposing targeted measures. The picture shows a special topic investigation kick-off meeting held by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) (Committee) of Tongzhou District, Beijing on the theme of "Improving public health emergency management systems, increase the capacity of city sub-centers to respond to major public health events".

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**Authoritative voices :**

The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics works effectively and has the strong support of the people

Li Junru (former Vice President of CPC Central Party School) : China's state system and national governance system can truly solve the problems faced in China's development, have significant advantages, and are an advanced system and governance system that works effectively and have the strong support of the people. The system of socialism with Chinese characteristics provides strong guarantees for freeing up and developing social productivity, to stimulate and strengthen social vitality, and perpetuate the vigor and vitality of the Party and the state, while providing strong support for maintaining overall social stability, guaranteeing the people's stable livelihood, and safeguarding national security.

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**Hot comments online:**

When walking we must take the correct road. We must not take the road of deviation from correct ideology and no return, and must not take the closed, rigid road of retrogression.

“Socialism” and “Chinese characteristics” are not merely a simple addition of “1+1=2” but are an integration of the two as one body.

The body of the state system also has a metabolism, which must frequently undergo a complete “physical examination”, with timely optimization of its health condition and perpetual maintenance of the vigorous vitality of the system.

The system must not merely be written down or pronounced. It must be engraved in our hearts and substantively implemented.

Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a great undertaking. Looking back on yesterday’s massive work, we are moved by many emotions, and filled with pride. Looking forward to a bright vision of tomorrow, we are stirred by passion and soaring enthusiasm.

### **III. One hundred percent compliance and execution**

In November 2019, not long after the conclusion of the 4<sup>th</sup> Plenary Session of the Party’s 19<sup>th</sup> National People’s Congress, the Central Propaganda Team visited locations all over China to launch a propagation campaign, giving 32 reports, and holding close to 50 interactive exchange events of various types, with direct audience participants of approximately 450,000 persons and a remote audience of over 18 million listeners and viewers. After these events, various venues and departments, in conjunction with their own actual experiences, launched extensive propagation events to reach the grassroots at a deep level, which promoted the rapid rise of an upsurge in studying and propagating the implementation of the spirit of the Plenary Session throughout China’s great land.

This Plenary Session undertook systematic organizing and comprehensive deployment of all aspects of the system, and is a political declaration of the construction of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics in the new era. Duly studying and duly implementing the spirit of the Plenary Session is the primary political task of the entire Party and the entire nation. Currently and in the future, we must thoroughly implement the spirit of the Plenary Session in all aspects of the entire economic and social development process, in accordance with the requirements for scientific planning, careful organization, integration of resources near and far, and overall advancement, to push forward the further maturation and finalization of the form of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, to better transform the advantages of China’s system into national governance advantages.

Strengthen institutional authority. For quite some time, Chinese society have been based on human relationships, and people do not have a strong awareness of the rule of law or of institutions. When they encounter a matter they like to utilize their personal relationships or familiar connections to handle the situation. When faced with institutional regulations they like to find a way to make them flexible. For example, some people lack respect for institutions, fundamentally do not act according to the system, and even randomly change the system; certain people make every effort to utilize loopholes in the system, doing things on the edge of prescribed boundaries without breaking the rules; some people dare not and are unwilling to abide by the system, even making every effort to avoid supervision by the system, etc. Party committees, governments, and leading cadres at all levels must consistently show great respect for institutions and take the lead in safeguarding institutional authority, setting an example as implementers of the system, play an exemplary demonstrative and leading role throughout the Party and the society, and advance the formation of a good atmosphere in which all people respect, implement, and maintain institutions.

Demonstrate institutional power. “Even if there are good laws and good intentions, in the hands of others they result in bad governance.” A system’s vitality lies in its implementation. Without implementation, even the best system is merely an embellishment, becoming a “scarecrow” whom no one fears, which as time passes forms a “broken window effect”, causing even greater harm than the absence of a system itself. Implementing a system requires intrinsic self-consciousness and also requires external mandatory constraints. We must construct institutional mechanisms with strong leadership, resolute implementation, and comprehensive supervision, increase accountability, ensuring that all Party and state systems and institutions can be effectively implemented while ensuring that all work units and individuals strictly implement the system, to enable the system to be authoritative at all times and effective everywhere.

Raise the effectiveness of the system. “How you are is how China is. China is how you are.” Countless doctors and nurses disregarding their own safety, fight courageously day and night. Vast numbers of cadres involved in alleviating poverty fight on the front lines, winning decisive victories. Ten million express delivery staff brave wind and rain to serve ten thousand households...All these people have different faces but share the same mission. They form the face of the struggle to work hard and make today’s China prosperous. As long as China’s 1.4 billion people seize every moment and make use of their resources, strive ahead and fight hard, endeavoring to advance, the system’s advantages can be transformed into strong governance capacity to achieve a new level “Chinese governance.”

The system determines the rise and fall of a country. The happiness of the people is determined by how they are governed. During the initial period of reform and opening-up to the outside, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once said with great confidence “Our system will progressively be improved, absorbing progressive elements from the world’s nations to become the world’s best system.” After more than forty years of ongoing effort, the edifice of our socialist system with Chinese characteristics towers unshakable as a mountain, demonstrating its outstanding institutional advantages. We believe that after another thirty years of unremitting struggle, the institutional system of socialism with Chinese characteristics will be progressively improved, and continue to

flourish, blazing an even more magnificent path to prosperity to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

(Bottom of page 248 in the Chinese text)

The caption under the photograph reads:

Members of the Central Propaganda Group go deep into the countryside of Changsha County, Hunan Province to hold discussions and exchanges with villagers.

(Top of page 249 in the Chinese text)

The caption under the photographs reads:

The upsurge of studying, propagating, and implementing the spirit of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> CPC Central Committee is constantly on the rise.

(Top of page 250 in the Chinese text)

**Special Focus:**

**The Beijing-Zhangjiakou High Speed Railway Spans a Century**

In 1909, the construction of the Beijing-Zhangjiakou railway, the first railway independently designed and built by a Chinese person, was completed, presided over by Zhan Tianyou. 110 years later in 2019, at the same location, the newly constructed Jing-Zhang high-speed railway officially began operation. This high-speed railway runs from Beijing North Railway Station to Zhangjiakou Station, with a total length of 174 kilometers. Construction officially began on April 29, 2016, with completion after three and a half years. The Jing-Zhang high-speed railway is the first to use a smart high-speed railway operating under the Beidou satellite navigation system independently researched and developed by China, and is the world's first high-cold tolerance, heavy sandstorm-resistant high-speed railway, designed for travel at a maximum speed of 350 kilometers per hour. The picture shows a Fuxing series smart locomotive unit flying past the Great Wall at Juyongguan in Beijing.

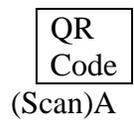
(Bottom of page 251 in the Chinese text)

**For in-depth reading**

*Xi Jinping: Winning a Decisive Victory in Building a Well-off Society in an All-round Way and Winning the Great Victory of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in the New Era: A Report at the 19<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress of China*

People's Publishing House, 2017 Edition

Xi Jinping: *Several Issues on Upholding and Developing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*  
Issue 7 of *Qiushi* Magazine, 2019



## Epilogue

The following persons participated in drafting and revising this book: Comrades He Yinong, Yan Xiaofeng, Shen Chuanliang, Chang Peiyu, Hu Qian'an, Sun He, Wu Gongming, Lei Huayu, Lan Yinyin, Zhang Han, Chen Qian, Sun Cunliang, Wang Junqi, Liu Wei, Mu Zhaoyong, Huang Xianghuai, Gong Jiacheng, Xu Chongfeng, Tang Lei, Xin Xiangyang, Zhu Dantao, Yu Xueguo, Jiang Zhiqiang, Yan Xi, Sun Feixiang, Liu Guangming, Long Hu, Xia Feng, Li Jie, Wang Yu, Zheng Liping, Han Baojiang, Ji Zhengju, Shuang Chuanxue, Zhang Ruicai, Li Xiangjun, Qi Dongxiang, Han Xianzhou, Yang Xiaoping, Shang Zhixiao, Zhang Qiaogui, Yu Liping, He Zukun, Lu Wei, Wang Deqiang, Zhang Boying, Dai Shiping, Wang Chengzhe, Han Xiping, Yang Shengping, Qiu Ji, Zhang Mingming, Zhang Ji, Zeng Weilun, Zhao Yongfu, Yang Zhengquan, Yuan Shijun, Zhang Yunfeng, Yang Jianjun, Xiong Weisong, Chen Rui, Liu Yan, Gao Tianqiong, Xiong Kongjun, Li Qi, Hou Yong, Li Haijun, Chen Lu, Li Yongjie, Zhu Mengjun, Chen Ruilai, He Shaohui, Deng Xiaodong, Chen Yin, Shen Jinghui, Ouyang Hui, Zhang Yao, Cao Jianwen, Zhang Baoming, Li Yangzhi, Bian Zhicun, Guo Haijun, She Shuanghao, Qin Chuan, Zhang Hao, Lin Zhipeng, Ye Haitao, Zhou Xuemei, Chen Xinjian, Wu Jun, Yan Xing, Chen Guanghua, Xiang Zheng, Zhang Yu, Hu Jing, Chen Yao, Xiong Wenjing, Han Qiyan, Han Xiangyu, Pan Yipo, Qiu Anqi, Sun Junrong, Du Zhe, Cui Xiaodan, Han Yiyang, Yin Heng, Dou Yingkang, Bo Lintong, Guo Wenjie, Yu Hao, Chen Ting, Wang Yuli, Xue Mengnan, Li Yan, Yang Fang, Zhou Quan, Wang Wei, Yu Chunxi, Liang Kaizhi, Wang Canxin, Shi Xizhe, Liu Liqing, and others. Comrades Hou Jun, Xie Xiang, Li Nian, and Yang Liwen from the inception of this book until its conclusion participated in the work of researching, drafting, revising, and unifying the content of this book. Comrade Wang Xinfu presided over the work of compiling this book.

During its compilation, this book received strong support from the relevant departments of the Central Government, and comrades in charge of certain work units, along with experts and scholars. The Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and State Supervisory Commission, the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, the Political and Legal Affairs Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Office of the Central Financial and Economic Affairs Committee, the Party School of the CPC of the Central Committee (College of National Administration), the Central Institute of Party History and Documentation, the Office of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the Ministry of Ecological Environment, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Political Work Department of the Central Military Commission, and other departments and work units, along with comrades such as Mu Hong, Qu Qingshan, Chen Baosheng, Li Jingtian, Shi Zhihong, Zhen Zhanmin, Xia Weidong, Zhang Shouying, Zhang Zheng, Jiang Hui, Wang Yiming, Jin Nuo, and Zhang Chuanjia, offered valuable opinions. Comrade Liang Yanshun reviewed and revised the entire manuscript of the book.

The Editors

July 2020