

Passage 1 Carry on the Legacy of the May 4th Movement, and Be Worthy of the  
New Era

发扬五四精神，不负伟大时代

Under the leadership of the Party, we have opened up the path of Chinese socialism, formed its theoretical framework, established its system, developed its culture, and brought it into a new era. The Chinese people have unprecedented confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of Chinese socialism, and the prospects for national rejuvenation have never been brighter.

In the new era, the theme and direction of the Chinese youth movement and the mission of Chinese youths are to uphold the leadership of the CPC, and work along with other people to realize the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

Youth is the most active and energetic element among all forces in society. You are the hope and future of our country. Today, in the most promising period of the Chinese nation, young Chinese are endowed with rare opportunities to achieve things, and the mission to shoulder great responsibilities. In this new era, you should continue to carry forward the spirit of the May 4th Movement and take on your mission to realize national rejuvenation. You should meet the expectations of our Party and our people, be worthy of the trust of the nation, and live up to the demands of this great era.

今天，在中国共产党领导下，我们开辟了中国特色社会主义道路，形成了中国特色社会主义理论体系，建立了中国特色社会主义制度，发展了中国特色社会主义文化，推动中国特色社会主义进入了新时代。中国人民拥有了前所未有的道路自信、理论自信、制度自信、文化自信，中华民族伟大复兴展现出前所未有的光明前景！

新时代中国青年运动的主题，新时代中国青年运动的方向，新时代中国青年的使命，就是坚持中国共产党领导，同人民一道，为实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标、实现中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦而奋斗。

青年是整个社会力量中最积极、最有生气的力量，国家的希望在青年，民族的未来在青年。今天，新时代中国青年处在中华民族发展的最好时期，既面临着难得的建功立业的人生际遇，也面临着“天将降大任于斯人”的时代使命。新时代中国青年要继续发扬五四精神，以实现中华民族伟大复兴为己任，不辜负党的期望、人民期待、民族重托，不辜负我们这个伟大时代。

First, Chinese youths in the new era should establish great ideals.

The ideals and beliefs of youths have a bearing on the future of a country. Young people with great ideals and firm beliefs are the driving force that builds an invincible nation. High ambitions can stimulate your potential to forge ahead, so that you will not drift aimlessly like a boat without a rudder. It is said that "a person who aspires to be a saint will become a saint; and a person who aspires to be a sage will become a sage." Young people have different life goals and career choices. But only when you integrate your goals with those of the nation and the people, advance with the times, and share the aspirations of the people will you live up to your values and realize the lofty goals of life. Disregarding the needs of the country and the interests of the people, those who are self-centered will find a narrower path ahead.

Young Chinese in the new era must have belief in Marxism, faith in Chinese socialism, and confidence in realizing the Chinese Dream. You must go out to the people, embrace the new era and the new world, and realize your ideals and beliefs in building your careers, so that the years of your youth will sparkle with innovation and creation.

Second, Chinese youths in the new era should love our country.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen said that the biggest thing for a citizen is "knowing how to love one's country". Whoever does not love their country – or even worse, deceives and betrays their motherland – is a

第一，新时代中国青年要树立远大理想。

青年的理想信念关乎国家未来。青年理想远大、信念坚定，是一个国家、一个民族无坚不摧的前进动力。青年志存高远，就能激发奋进潜力，青春岁月就不会像无舵之舟漂泊不定。正所谓“立志而圣则圣矣，立志而贤则贤矣”。青年的人生目标会有不同，职业选择也有差异，但只有把自己的小我融入祖国的大我、人民的大我之中，与时代同步伐、与人民共命运，才能更好实现人生价值、升华人生境界。离开了祖国需要、人民利益，任何孤芳自赏都会陷入越走越窄的狭小天地。

新时代中国青年要树立对马克思主义的信仰、对中国特色社会主义的信念、对中华民族伟大复兴中国梦的信心，到人民群众中去，到新时代新天地中去，让理想信念在创业奋斗中升华，让青春在创新创造中闪光！

第二，新时代中国青年要热爱伟大祖国。

孙中山先生说，做人最大的事情，“就是要知道怎么样爱国”。一个人不爱国，甚至欺骗祖国、背叛祖国，那在自己的国家、在世界上都是很丢脸的，也是没有立足之地的。对每一个中国

disgrace and has no place anywhere in the world. Love of our country, the feeling of devotion and sense of attachment to our motherland is a duty and responsibility for every Chinese. It is the foundation on which young Chinese in the new era can become winners in life. In contemporary China, the essence of patriotism is loving our country, our Party and socialism all and at the same time.

Young Chinese in the new era should follow the instructions and guidance of the Party, and show concern and affection for our country and our people. You should dedicate yourself to the country and the people, demonstrate patriotism with lifelong sincerity and drive, and let the great banner of patriotism fly high in your heart.

Third, Chinese youths in the new era must shoulder your responsibilities.

The times call for responsibility, and our young people must take up the responsibility for national rejuvenation. As Lu Xun the great writer said, young people "have strength to spare; they can turn a dense forest into flat land, plant trees in the wilderness, and dig wells in the desert". In the new journey towards national rejuvenation, we need to respond to major challenges, guard against serious risks, overcome real obstacles, and resolve difficult problems. All these urgently demand the will to step forward in the face of difficulties. As long as young people are brave enough to shoulder responsibilities and fight hardships and risks, Chinese socialism will be full of vitality, potential and hope.

人来说，爱国是本分，也是职责，是心之所系、情之所归。对新时代中国青年来说，热爱祖国是立身之本、成才之基。当代中国，爱国主义的本质就是坚持爱国和爱党、爱社会主义高度统一。

新时代中国青年要听党话、跟党走，胸怀忧国忧民之心、爱国爱民之情，不断奉献祖国、奉献人民，以一生的真情投入、一辈子的顽强奋斗来体现爱国主义情怀，让爱国主义的伟大旗帜始终在心中高高飘扬！

第三，新时代中国青年要担当时代责任。

时代呼唤担当，民族振兴是青年的责任。鲁迅先生说，青年“所多的是生力，遇见深林，可以辟成平地的，遇见旷野，可以栽种树木的，遇见沙漠，可以开掘井泉的”。在实现中华民族伟大复兴的新征程上，应对重大挑战、抵御重大风险、克服重大阻力、解决重大矛盾，迫切需要迎难而上、挺身而出的担当精神。只要青年都勇挑重担、勇克难关、勇斗风险，中国特色社会主义就能充满活力、充满后劲、充满希望。

Young people must maintain your courage, fearing nothing and forging ahead in spite of difficulties and dangers. You should stand in the forefront and be the pioneers of national rejuvenation. There are people who are afraid to experiment and try out new things, or treat responsibilities as burdens and losses, or shirk their responsibilities and attend only to their own business. All such thoughts and acts are undesirable and those who entertain them will accomplish nothing and never be able to truly enjoy life.

Chinese youths must cherish this new era and grow with it. In the new era, you must work hard to perform on the vast stage of reform and opening up and on the journey to realizing the Chinese Dream. And you should endeavor to become morally, intellectually, physically, and aesthetically equipped to join and carry on the socialist cause.

Fourth, Chinese youths in the new era must work hard.

Hard work paints a bright backdrop for a young life. As Mao Zedong said, "Should I have 200 years to spare, I will surely swim for 3,000 li (1,500 km)." The mission of national rejuvenation must be achieved through hard work, as must the ideals of life. Without an arduous popular struggle, carried out especially by generations of young people, there would have been neither the present new era of Chinese socialism nor a future in which we will realize national rejuvenation. Over thousands of years, the Chinese nation has suffered numerous hardships, but none of them could defeat us; instead, they have lifted

青年要保持初生牛犊不怕虎、越是艰险越向前的刚健勇毅，勇立时代潮头，争做时代先锋。一切视探索尝试为畏途、一切把负重前行当吃亏、一切“躲进小楼成一统”逃避责任的思想 and 行为，都是要不得的，都是成不了事的，也是难以真正获得人生快乐的。

新时代中国青年要珍惜这个时代、担负时代使命，在担当中历练，在尽责中成长，让青春在新时代改革开放的广阔天地中绽放，让人生在实现中国梦的奋进追逐中展现出勇敢奔跑的英姿，努力成为德智体美劳全面发展的社会主义建设者和接班人！

第四，新时代中国青年要勇于砥砺奋斗。

奋斗是青春最亮丽的底色。“自信人生二百年，会当水击三千里。”民族复兴的使命要靠奋斗来实现，人生理想的风帆要靠奋斗来扬起。没有广大人民特别是一代代青年前赴后继、艰苦卓绝的接续奋斗，就没有中国特色社会主义新时代的今天，更不会有实现中华民族伟大复兴的明天。千百年来，中华民族历经苦难，但没有任何一次苦难能够打垮我们，最后都推动了我们民族精神、意志、力量的一次次升华。今天，我们的生活条件好了，但奋斗精神一点都不能少，中国青年永久奋斗的好传统一点都不能丢。在实现中华民族伟大复兴的新征程上，必然会有艰巨繁重的任务，必然会有艰难

<p>our national spirit, willpower and strength. Today, our living conditions have improved, but we, especially our young people, must retain the spirit and fine tradition of hard work. There will definitely be daunting challenges and even perilous storms in the new journey towards national rejuvenation. The spirit of arduous struggle is especially needed during the process. Hard work is not just a ringing slogan; it is about doing small things, completing every task, and fulfilling every duty. The road of hard work will not be smooth, instead it will be cobbled with hardships and full of ups and downs. The strong can always rise from setbacks; they are never discouraged.</p>	<p>险阻甚至惊涛骇浪，特别需要我们发扬艰苦奋斗精神。奋斗不只是响亮的口号，而是要在做好每一件小事、完成每一项任务、履行每一项职责中见精神。奋斗的道路不会一帆风顺，往往荆棘丛生、充满坎坷。强者，总是从挫折中不断奋起、永不气馁。</p>
<p>In the new era young Chinese must forge ahead as brave and devoted pioneers in the forefront of the times against all difficulties and obstacles, and work hard to blaze new trails, achieve successes and create miracles that will astonish the world.</p>	<p>新时代中国青年要勇做走在时代前列的奋进者、开拓者、奉献者，毫不畏惧面对一切艰难险阻，在劈波斩浪中开拓前进，在披荆斩棘中开辟天地，在攻坚克难中创造业绩，用青春和汗水创造出让世界刮目相看的新奇迹！</p>
<p>Fifth, Chinese youths in the new era must have remarkable abilities.</p>	<p>第五，新时代中国青年要练就过硬本领。</p>
<p>Youth is a golden age for developing skills through hard work. "If you idle away your youth and achieve nothing, it's no good lamenting in old age."</p>	<p>青年是苦练本领、增长才干的黄金时期。“青春虚度无所成，白首衔悲亦何及。”</p>
<p>In this new era, knowledge updates quickly, the social division of labor is becoming more refined, and new technologies, models, and forms of business are emerging one after another. This not only provides a broad stage for young people to display your talents, but also raises new and higher requirements for your abilities. To achieve your ideals</p>	<p>当今时代，知识更新不断加快，社会分工日益细化，新技术新模式新业态层出不穷。这既为青年施展才华、竞展风采提供了广阔舞台，也对青年能力素质提出了新的更高要求。不论是成就自己的人生理想，还是担当时代的神圣使命，青年都要珍惜韶华、不负青春，努力学习掌握科学知识，提高内在素质，锤炼过硬本领，使自己的思维视</p>

<p>or to shoulder the mission of the times, young people must cherish and do justice to the prime of youth, study hard to acquire scientific knowledge, improve your capabilities, hone your skills, and keep up with new developments around the world in terms of thinking, vision, ideas, and level of understanding.</p> <p>Chinese youths in the new era must have a stronger sense of urgency in learning, and work hard on studying the Marxist stance, viewpoint and methodology. You must master knowledge of science and culture and professional expertise. You must improve your attainment in humanities by educating yourselves and tempering your character through study. You must acquire more skills and become more professionally competent at work, so that you will be able to serve the people and make innovative and creative contributions to the country.</p> <p>Sixth, Chinese youths in the new era should temper your moral character.</p> <p>A person cannot succeed without virtues. This makes morality essential. The Chinese nation has been trying to attain moral qualities that repose in the heights of excellence. To build China into a strong modern socialist country, we must enrich ourselves not only materially but culturally and ethically. Cultural and ethical progress is more lasting, more profound and more powerful. Young people must integrate sound moral appreciation and conscious moral development with active moral practice, to improve yourselves and maintain moral integrity. This way you will travel further in the correct direction on the path of life.</p>	<p>野、思想观念、认识水平跟上越来越快的时代发展。</p> <p>新时代中国青年要增强学习紧迫感，如饥似渴、孜孜不倦学习，努力学习马克思主义立场观点方法，努力掌握科学文化知识和专业技能，努力提高人文素养，在学习中增长知识、锤炼品格，在工作中增长才干、练就本领，以真才实学服务人民，以创新创造贡献国家！</p> <p>第六，新时代中国青年要锤炼品德修为。</p> <p>人无德不立，品德是为人之本。止于至善，是中华民族始终不变的人格追求。我们要建设的社会主义现代化强国，不仅要在物质上强，更要在精神上强。精神上强，才是更持久、更深沉、更有力量的。青年要把正确的道德认知、自觉的道德养成、积极的道德实践紧密结合起来，不断修身立德，打牢道德根基，在人生道路上走得更正、走得更远。面对复杂的世界大变局，要明辨是非、恪守正道，不人云亦云、盲目跟风。</p>
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Faced with a complex and changing international landscape, young people must differentiate between truth and falsehood and keep to the right path, and never blindly follow what others say or do. Facing temptation from the outside world, you must remain resolute, strictly abide by rules, create a better life with hard and honest work, and never be opportunistic or become conceited. While enjoying the good times, you should remember those who fought to make the present possible and work to repay them. You should be grateful to the Party, the country, the society and the people. You are expected to go through hardships, understand what life entails, get to know people's concerns and real problems, and identify the true meaning and value of life and work.

In the new era young people must nurture and practice the core socialist values, draw nourishment from traditional Chinese virtues, learn from heroes and role models of the times, and enhance your moral integrity through introspection. You should recognize illustrious virtue, follow social ethics, and restrict personal desires, while guarding against temptations such as worship of money, self-indulgence, overly self-centered pursuits, and historical nihilism. You should aim high and look far to pursue a more lofty and fulfilling life, so that integrity and vitality will prevail throughout our society.

面对外部诱惑,要保持定力、严守规矩,用勤劳的双手和诚实的劳动创造美好生活,拒绝投机取巧、远离自作聪明。面对美好岁月,要有饮水思源、懂得回报的感恩之心,感恩党和国家,感恩社会和人民。要在奋斗中摸爬滚打,体察世间冷暖、民众忧乐、现实矛盾,从中找到人生真谛、生命价值、事业方向。

新时代中国青年要自觉树立和践行社会主义核心价值观,善于从中华民族传统美德中汲取道德滋养,从英雄人物和时代楷模的身上感受道德风范,从自身内省中提升道德修为,明大德、守公德、严私德,自觉抵制拜金主义、享乐主义、极端个人主义、历史虚无主义等错误思想,追求更有高度、更有境界、更有品位的人生,让清风正气、蓬勃朝气遍布全社会!

**Passage 2 Principles to Apply in Protecting the Eco-Environment**

**加强生态文明建设必须坚持的原则**

<p>Protecting the eco-environment is a major political issue related to the mission and purpose of the CPC; it is also a major social issue related to people's wellbeing. The Party has always attached great importance to this issue, and established resource conservation and environmental protection as a fundamental national policy, and sustainable development as a national strategy. As economic and social development proceeds, our comprehension of the overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics has evolved, from the Two Progresses (in the 1980s), to the Three-sphere Plan (in the 1990s), to the Four-sphere Plan (in 2007), and to the Five-sphere Integrated Plan today. The process represents a major practical and theoretical innovation, which has brought about a profound change in China's philosophy and model of development.</p> <p>The principal challenge facing our society is the gap between unbalanced and inadequate development and the ever-growing expectation of the people for a better life. To meet the people's need for a quality eco-environment has become an important element of this challenge. The general public is looking forward to a rapid improvement. Their aspiration for a better life is the goal of our Party, and solving their most</p>	<p>生态环境是关系党的使命宗旨的重大政治问题，也是关系民生的重大社会问题。我们党历来高度重视生态环境保护，把节约资源和保护环境确立为基本国策，把可持续发展确立为国家战略。随着经济社会发展和实践深入，我们对中国特色社会主义总体布局的认识不断深化，从当年的“两个文明”到“三位一体”、“四位一体”，再到今天的“五位一体”，这是重大理论和实践创新，更带来了发展理念和发展方式的深刻转变。</p> <p>现在，随着我国社会主要矛盾转化为人民日益增长的美好生活需要和不平衡不充分的发展之间的矛盾，人民群众对优美生态环境需要已经成为这一矛盾的重要方面，广大人民群众热切期盼加快提高生态环境质量。人民对美好生活的向往是我们党的奋斗目标，解决人民最关心最直接最现实的利益问题是执政党使命所在。人心是最大的政治。我们要积极回应人民群众所想、所盼、所急，大力推进生态</p>
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<p>pressing and immediate concerns is our mission. The people's support is our top political priority. Therefore, we should respond to the people's opinions, hopes, and concerns, promoting environmental protection, preserving the ecosystems, and providing more quality eco-products.</p> <p>Humanity is a community that rises and falls as one. Protecting the eco-environment is a common challenge and a joint responsibility for the whole world. Success in this endeavor will be good for Chinese socialism; otherwise it will become a pretext for forces with ulterior motives to attack us.</p> <p>Since humanity entered the industrial age, rapid traditional industrialization, while bringing about great material wealth, has accelerated the consumption of natural resources, and broken the original cycle and balance of the ecosystems, resulting in a tense relationship between humanity and nature. Since the 1930s, a number of environmental incidents have occurred in Western countries, causing huge losses, which have shocked the world and triggered a profound reflection on the development model of capitalism.</p> <p>In the process of more than 200 years of modernization, industrialization was realized in no more than 30 countries with a total population of no more than 1 billion. If we promote eco-environmental progress and build China, the largest developing country with a population of more than 1.3 billion, into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious and</p>	<p>文明建设,提供更多优质生态产品,不断满足人民日益增长的优美生态环境需要。</p> <p>人类是命运共同体,保护生态环境是全球面临的共同挑战和共同责任。生态文明建设做好了,对中国特色社会主义是加分项,反之就会成为别有用心势力攻击我们的借口。</p> <p>人类进入工业文明时代以来,传统工业化迅猛发展,在创造巨大物质财富的同时也加速了对自然资源的攫取,打破了地球生态系统原有的循环和平衡,造成人与自然关系紧张。从上世纪 30 年代开始,一些西方国家相继发生多起环境公害事件,损失巨大,震惊世界,引发了人们对资本主义发展模式的深刻反思。</p> <p>在人类 200 多年的现代化进程中,实现工业化的国家不超过 30 个、人口不超过 10 亿。在我们这个 13 亿多人口的最大发展中国家推进生态文明建设,建成富强民主文明和谐美丽的社会主义现代化强国,其影响将是世界性的。</p>
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beautiful, the influence of our achievement will be worldwide.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, our Party has put forward a series of new concepts, ideas and strategies in answering the important theoretical and practical questions of why to pursue eco-environmental progress, what the goal is, and how to achieve it. In order to succeed in this endeavor in the new era, we must adhere to the following principles:

First, we must pursue the harmonious coexistence between humanity and nature. Humanity and nature are a community of life. There is no substitute for the current eco-environment. When we use it, we take it for granted. But once damaged, it will struggle to recover. "Heaven and earth coexist with me; all things and I are one." "Heaven and earth do not speak, yet the seasons change and all things grow." When human beings make rational use of nature and protect it, the rewards of nature are often generous; when human beings rudely exploit and plunder nature, the punishment is bound to be merciless. It is an immutable law that harm caused by human actions to nature will eventually hurt human beings themselves. "All things must be in harmony with nature to grow, and obtain from nature to thrive." There are many vivid examples. One of them is Dujiangyan, a large-scale water conservancy project on the Minjiang River near the city of Chengdu on the Chengdu Plain, in southwest China's Sichuan Province. When it was first built in the Warring States Period more than 2,000 years ago, the flood patterns of the Minjiang River and the

党的十八大以来，我们党深刻回答了为什么建设生态文明、建设什么样的生态文明、怎样建设生态文明的重大理论和实践问题，提出了一系列新理念新思想新战略。新时代推进生态文明建设，必须坚持好以下原则。

一是坚持人与自然和谐共生。人与自然是生命共同体。生态环境没有替代品，用之不觉，失之难存。“天地与我并生，而万物与我为一。”“天不言而四时行，地不语而百物生。”当人类合理利用、友好保护自然时，自然的回报常常是慷慨的；当人类无序开发、粗暴掠夺自然时，自然的惩罚必然是无情的。人类对大自然的伤害最终会伤及人类自身，这是无法抗拒的规律。“万物各得其和以生，各得其养以成”。这方面有很多鲜活生动的事例。始建于战国时期的都江堰，距今已有2000多年历史，就是根据岷江的洪涝规律和成都平原悬江的地势特点，因势利导建设的大型生态水利工程，不仅造福当时，而且泽被后世。

<p>topography of the Chengdu Plain were important factors to be considered. The project is still in use today – it has benefited generations of local residents.</p> <p>In the whole process of economic development, we must adhere to the principle of giving priority to conservation, protection, and the restoration of nature. We should not think about taking from nature without giving back, developing without protecting, and consuming without restoring. We should protect the eco-environment as we protect our eyes, and cherish it as we cherish our own lives. We should lay the groundwork for long-term benefits, take concrete steps to protect nature, restore the ecosystems, and create a beautiful environment. We should make it possible for people to enjoy the natural landscape and retain their love of nature, while returning serenity, harmony and beauty back to nature.</p> <p>Second, clear waters and green mountains are invaluable assets. This is an important concept of development and a major principle behind our modernization drive. It emphasizes the relationship between economic development and eco-environmental protection – this means preserving and developing productive forces. It points out a new way to coordinate development and protection. Clear waters and green mountains are not only natural and ecological wealth, but also social and economic wealth. Protecting the eco-environment means protecting nature's value and adding value to nature's capital, protecting the potential of economic and social development,</p>	<p>在整个发展过程中，我们都要坚持节约优先、保护优先、自然恢复为主的方针，不能只讲索取不讲投入，不能只讲发展不讲保护，不能只讲利用不讲修复，要像保护眼睛一样保护生态环境，像对待生命一样对待生态环境，多谋打基础、利长远的善事，多干保护自然、修复生态的实事，多做治山理水、显山露水的好事，让群众望得见山、看得见水、记得住乡愁，让自然生态美景永驻人间，还自然以宁静、和谐、美丽。</p> <p>二是绿水青山就是金山银山。这是重要的发展理念，也是推进现代化建设的重大原则。绿水青山就是金山银山，阐述了经济发展和生态环境保护的关系，揭示了保护生态环境就是保护生产力、改善生态环境就是发展生产力的道理，指明了实现发展和保护协同共生的新路径。绿水青山既是自然财富、生态财富，又是社会财富、经济财富。保护生态环境就是保护自然价值和增值自然资本，就是保护经济社会发展潜力和后劲，使绿水青山持续发挥生态效益和经济社会效益。</p>
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and giving full play to the ecological, social and economic effects of nature.

Eco-environmental problems are after all the results of our development model and our way of life. In order to fundamentally solve the problems, we must put into practice the vision of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, and accelerate the formation of spatial configurations, industrial structures, production models, and lifestyles that favor resource conservation and environmental protection. We must also keep economic and human activities within the carrying capacity of natural resources and the eco-environment, leaving time and space for nature to recuperate.

We should move faster to draw and enforce red lines for the protection of the ecosystems, the quality of the environment, and rational resource utilization. Crossing these red lines by continuing the extensive growth model and through unlimited plundering of existing resources at the expense of future generations will no longer be tolerated. To enforce these red lines, it is necessary to establish a strict and unified system to manage, with consistent standards, all major environmental spaces. By doing so, we will ensure that ecological functions will not weaken and environmental areas will not decrease – we will continue to conserve these areas. Environmental quality cannot be allowed to drop further; it must only improve. Local Party and government officials must be held accountable if their regions' ecosystems are seriously damaged and their environment deteriorates. As to resource utilization,

生态环境问题归根结底是发展方式和生活方式问题，要从根本上解决生态环境问题，必须贯彻创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的发展理念，加快形成节约资源和保护环境的空间格局、产业结构、生产方式、生活方式，把经济活动、人的行为限制在自然资源和生态环境能够承受的限度内，给自然生态留下休养生息的时间和空间。

要加快划定并严守生态保护红线、环境质量底线、资源利用上线三条红线。对突破三条红线、仍然沿用粗放增长模式、吃祖宗饭砸子孙碗的事，绝对不能再干，绝对不允许再干。在生态保护红线方面，要建立严格的管控体系，实现一条红线管控重要生态空间，确保生态功能不降低、面积不减少、性质不改变。在环境质量底线方面，将生态环境质量只能更好、不能变坏作为底线，并在此基础上不断改善，对生态破坏严重、环境质量恶化的区域必须严肃问责。在资源利用上线方面，不仅要考虑人类和当代的需要，也要考虑大自然和后人的需要，把握好自然资源开发利用的度，不要突破自然资源承载能力。

we must ensure proper exploitation within the bearing capacity of natural resources, taking into consideration not only the needs of humans and of today, but also the needs of nature and of the future.

Third, a good eco-environment is the most inclusive form of public wellbeing. We should choose to do the things that win the approval of the people, and avoid doing things that they oppose. A good environment is part of the public's wellbeing; green mountains and blue skies bring delight and happiness to the people. Economic development contributes to improving people's wellbeing, so does eco-environmental protection. We should create more material and cultural wealth to meet the people's growing expectation for a better life, and effectively preserve the ecosystems to meet their growing expectation for a beautiful environment. We must pursue environmental benefits for the people with the emphasis on solving prominent problems that threaten their health. We must accelerate this work, provide more quality eco-products, and realize social fairness and justice.

Eco-environmental progress is a common cause that requires the participation and contribution of the general public. Its results will also be shared by the people. To build a beautiful China, we should transform our efforts into conscientious action on the part of all. Each and every individual is a protector, builder and beneficiary, and no one should be a bystander, an outsider or a critic. No one should remain aloof and pay only lip service. We

三是良好生态环境是最普惠的民生福祉。民之所好好之，民之所恶恶之。环境就是民生，青山就是美丽，蓝天也是幸福。发展经济是为了民生，保护生态环境同样也是为了民生。既要创造更多的物质财富和精神财富以满足人民日益增长的美好生活需要，也要提供更多优质生态产品以满足人民日益增长的优美生态环境需要。要坚持生态惠民、生态利民、生态为民，重点解决损害群众健康的突出环境问题，加快改善生态环境质量，提供更多优质生态产品，努力实现社会公平正义，不断满足人民日益增长的优美生态环境需要。

生态文明是人民群众共同参与共同建设共同享有的事业，要把建设美丽中国转化为全体人民自觉行动。每个人都是生态环境的保护者、建设者、受益者，没有哪个人是旁观者、局外人、批评家，谁也不能只说不做、置身事外。要增强全民节约意识、环保意识、生态意识，培育生态道德和行为准则，开展全民绿色行动，动员全社会都以实际行动减少能源资源消耗和污染排放，为生态环境保护作出贡献。

must enhance people's awareness of resource conservation, environmental protection, and a healthy ecosystem. We need to cultivate eco-friendly ethics and codes of conduct, launch nationwide green environment campaigns, and encourage the whole of society to contribute to environmental protection by reducing pollution and consumption of energy and other resources.

Fourth, mountains, rivers, forests, farmlands, lakes and grasslands are a community of life. An ecosystem is an integrated natural system of interdependent and closely-related ecological chains. The lifeline of humans rests with farmlands, that of farmlands with water, that of water with mountains, that of mountains with earth, and that of earth with forests and grasslands. This community of life is the material basis for the survival and development of humanity. We should take a broad and long-term view. We must try to avoid earning a little only to lose a lot, or attending to one thing and losing sight of others. Otherwise, our actions are bound to cause systematic and long-lasting damage.

In order to seek a new way of governance from a systematic and broader perspective, we must no longer take a fragmented and palliative approach that only treats the symptoms, nor can we care for our own business and hold others back. Instead we must make an overall plan that takes all relevant factors into consideration, and adopt multiple measures simultaneously to advance eco-environmental progress in all respects. For instance, to achieve the best results in systematic control of

四是山水林田湖草是生命共同体。生态是统一的自然系统，是相互依存、紧密联系的有机链条。人的命脉在田，田的命脉在水，水的命脉在山，山的命脉在土，土的命脉在林和草，这个生命共同体是人类生存发展的物质基础。一定要算大账、算长远账、算整体账、算综合账，如果因小失大、顾此失彼，最终必然对生态环境造成系统性、长期性破坏。

要从系统工程和全局角度寻求新的治理之道，不能再是头痛医头、脚痛医脚，各管一摊、相互掣肘，而必须统筹兼顾、整体施策、多措并举，全方位、全地域、全过程开展生态文明建设。比如，治理好水污染、保护好水环境，就需要全面统筹左右岸、上下游、陆上水上、地表地下、河流海洋、水生态水资源、污染防治与生态保护，达到系统治理的最佳效果。

water pollution, it is necessary to consider a comprehensive range of factors concerning a body of water – river banks on both sides, upstream and downstream, surface water and groundwater, rivers, oceans, aquatic ecosystems, water resources, pollution prevention and control, and environmental protection.

We will further integrate the protection and restoration of mountains, rivers, forests, farmlands, lakes and grasslands, carry out large-scale afforestation campaigns, and speed up the comprehensive control of soil erosion, desertification, and stony desertification. In developing the Yangtze River Economic Belt, we will strive to step up conservation of the Yangtze River, stop over-development, and prioritize environmental protection and green development. All economic activities involving the Yangtze River must be conditional on not damaging the river's ecosystem.

Fifth, we should protect the eco-environment with the strictest regulations and laws. Eco-environmental protection relies on laws and regulations. Most of the outstanding environmental problems in China result from incomplete systems, the lack of appropriate rules and enforceable laws, inadequate implementation, and ineffective punishment. We must speed up institutional innovation, put in place more regulations, improve support systems, and strengthen their implementation. Regulations must be made mandatory, so that they become a powerful deterrent. We must use rules to supervise officials and their exercise

要深入实施山水林田湖草一体化生态保护和修复，开展大规模国土绿化行动，加快水土流失和荒漠化石漠化综合治理。推动长江经济带发展，要共抓大保护，不搞大开发，坚持生态优先、绿色发展，涉及长江的一切经济活动都要以不破坏生态环境为前提。

五是用最严格制度最严密法治保护生态环境。保护生态环境必须依靠制度、依靠法治。我国生态环境保护中存在的突出问题大多同体制不健全、制度不严格、法治不严密、执行不到位、惩处不得力有关。要加快制度创新，增加制度供给，完善制度配套，强化制度执行，让制度成为刚性的约束和不可触碰的高压线。要严格用制度管权治吏、护蓝增绿，有权必有责、有责必担当、失责必追究，保证党中央关于生态文明建设决策部署落地生根见效。

of power in protecting blue skies and increasing green coverage. We must associate power with responsibility and accountability, so as to ensure the implementation of the CPC Central Committee's policies and plans for building an eco-civilization.

A country is strong when its law enforcement is strong; it is weak when its law enforcement is weak. The power of laws and decrees can only be established through their enforcement. The efficacy of rules lies in their implementation. We have introduced a series of reform measures and related rules. They must be carried out as strictly as the central inspection of environmental protection. The binding force and authority of the institutions must be firmly established, and selective implementation and perfunctory enforcement must be banned.

It is necessary to implement the accountability system among leading officials for protecting our eco-environment, and strictly assess their performance. Those who make ill-judged decisions that cause harmful consequences must be held accountable, and for life.

We must never be lenient in punishing actions that damage our eco-environment. We will strike hard at typical cases that cause damage to the eco-environment and send out the signal that the perpetrators will be severely punished. Anyone who damages the environment – no matter where or when – shall face the consequences. The institutions must not become a "paper tiger".

奉法者强则国强，奉法者弱则国弱。令在必信，法在必行。制度的生命力在于执行，关键在真抓，靠的是严管。我们已出台一系列改革举措和相关制度，要像抓中央环境保护督察一样抓好落实。制度的刚性和权威必须牢固树立起来，不得作选择、搞变通、打折扣。

要落实领导干部生态文明建设责任制，严格考核问责。对那些不顾生态环境盲目决策、造成严重后果的人，必须追究其责任，而且应该终身追责。

对破坏生态环境的行为不能手软，不能下不为例。要下大气力抓住破坏生态环境的反面典型，释放出严加惩处的强烈信号。对任何地方、任何时候、任何人，凡是需要追责的，必须一追到底，决不能让制度规定成为“没有牙齿的老虎”。



Sixth, we should work together to promote a global eco-civilization. The eco-environment bears on the future of humanity. Building a green home is our common dream. Protecting the environment and dealing with climate change requires the joint efforts of all countries. No country can distance itself or remain immune from such challenges.

China has become an important participant, contributor and leader in promoting a global eco-civilization. We advocate jointly building a clean and beautiful world that respects nature and favors green development. China will be heavily involved in global environmental governance, have a bigger say and greater influence, play an active part in the transformation of the international order, and help form global solutions to eco-environmental protection and to sustainable development. We must always adopt the environment-friendly approach and play a constructive role in international cooperation on climate change. We will promote the philosophy and practice of eco-environmental progress in the Belt and Road Initiative to benefit the peoples of all countries along the Belt and Road.

六是共谋全球生态文明建设。生态文明建设关乎人类未来，建设绿色家园是人类的共同梦想，保护生态环境、应对气候变化需要世界各国同舟共济、共同努力，任何一国都无法置身事外、独善其身。

我国已成为全球生态文明建设的重要参与者、贡献者、引领者，主张加快构筑尊崇自然、绿色发展的生态体系，共建清洁美丽的世界。要深度参与全球环境治理，增强我国在全球环境治理体系中的话语权和影响力，积极引导国际秩序变革方向，形成世界环境保护和可持续发展的解决方案。要坚持环境友好，引导应对气候变化国际合作。要推进“一带一路”建设，让生态文明的理念和实践造福沿线各国人民。

## Passage 3 A Deeper Understanding of the New Development Concepts

### 深入理解新发展理念

<p>On the philosophy of innovative, coordinated, green, open, and inclusive development, I have talked much at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2015 and on other occasions. Today, I will not try to elaborate on it from the practical perspective of our work, but proceed from history and reality, and offer some suggestions on how to tackle major issues.</p> <p>Firstly, we should implement the strategy of innovation-driven development.</p> <p>We should put innovation first because it is the primary driving force for development. The force of innovation determines the speed, effectiveness, and sustainability of development. In the case of such a large economy as China, without continued development impetus we will find it difficult to realize sound and sustained economic growth; we will struggle to double the 2010 GDP and per capita income for both urban and rural residents by 2020. Of course, coordinated, green, open, and inclusive development helps to strengthen the impetus of development, yet the core is innovation. Innovation is the key to driving overall social and economic development.</p> <p>The need to pursue innovative development is a conclusion drawn from the world's development process in</p>	<p>创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的发展理念，我在党的十八届五中全会和其他场合已经讲了不少，今天不从抓工作的角度全面讲了，而是结合历史和现实，结合一些重大问题，从理论上、宏观上讲讲。</p> <p>第一，着力实施创新驱动发展战略。</p> <p>把创新摆在第一位，是因为创新是引领发展的第一动力。发展动力决定发展速度、效能、可持续性。对我国这么大体量的经济体来讲，如果动力问题解决不好，要实现经济持续健康发展和“两个翻番”是难以做到的。当然，协调发展、绿色发展、开放发展、共享发展都有利于增强发展动力，但核心在创新。抓住了创新，就抓住了牵动经济社会发展全局的“牛鼻子”。</p> <p>坚持创新发展，是我们分析近代以来世界发展历程特别是总结我国改革开放成功实践得出的结论，是我们</p>
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<p>modern times and from China's practice in reform and opening up since 1978. Pursuing innovative development is fundamental to our strategy in adapting to the changing environment of development, enhancing the impetus of development, seizing the initiative in development, and leading the new normal.</p> <p>Nowadays, social and economic development throughout the world relies more on theoretical, institutional, scientific, and cultural innovation, while new competitive edges are to be gained through the capacity for innovation. Those countries which advance in innovation will seize the initiative in leading global development. A new round of scientific and industrial revolution is on the way, whose main characteristics are as follows: Major revolutionary technologies are emerging; the transformation of scientific achievements is accelerating; the form of industrial organization and industrial chains is more monopolistic. Major world powers have adopted new strategies to promote innovation, increased investment in innovation, and made greater efforts to contend for strategic resources in innovation such as talent, intellectual property and standards.</p> <p>Despite being the world's second largest, China's economy is obese and weak. Inadequate capacity for innovation is its Achilles' heel. Innovation-driven growth has become the pressing demand for China's development. Therefore, I stress repeatedly that innovation is development; innovation is the future.</p>	<p>应对发展环境变化、增强发展动力、把握发展主动权，更好引领新常态的根本之策。</p> <p>当今世界，经济社会发展越来越依赖于理论、制度、科技、文化等领域的创新，国际竞争新优势也越来越体现在创新能力上。谁在创新上先行一步，谁就能拥有引领发展的主动权。当前，新一轮科技和产业革命蓄势待发，其主要特点是重大颠覆性技术不断涌现，科技成果转化速度加快，产业组织形式和产业链条更具垄断性。世界各主要国家纷纷出台新的创新战略，加大投入，加强人才、专利、标准等战略性创新资源的争夺。</p> <p>虽然我国经济总量跃居世界第二，但大而不强、臃肿虚胖体弱问题相当突出，主要体现在创新能力不强，这是我国这个经济大块头的“阿喀琉斯之踵”。通过创新引领和驱动发展已经成为我国发展的迫切要求。所以，我反复强调，抓创新就是抓发展，谋创新就是谋未来。</p>
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<p>Through years of efforts, China's overall scientific capacity has improved, transforming from quantitative increase to qualitative improvement. It has now reached advanced international level in some major areas. Nevertheless, China's key technologies remain restrained by other countries; China's scientific reserve is far from adequate to create new industries and lead future global development; China's industries remain at the middle and low end of global value chains; and China lags far behind developed countries in high technologies for military and security use. Therefore, we must seek development based on innovation, foster new development impetus through innovation, and promote leading edge development that gives greater incentives to first innovators.</p> <p>Secondly, we should enhance overall and coordinated development.</p> <p>"Everything has its counterpart." According to materialistic dialectics, things are universally related; they interact with and constrain each other, and so do their composing elements; the world is an interrelated whole and also an interactive system. Applying materialistic dialectics, we should grasp the inherent relationship between objective things to understand and handle problems. Authors of Marxist classics value materialistic dialectics, and are skilled in applying them to understand and explore the theory of movement of opposites in the development of human society. For example, Karl Marx proposed that social reproduction falls into two categories – means of production and means of</p>	<p>经过多年努力，我国科技整体水平有了明显提高，正处在从量的增长向质的提升转变的重要时期，一些重要领域跻身世界先进行列。但是，总体上看，我国关键核心技术受制于人的局面尚未根本改变，创造新产业、引领未来发展的科技储备远远不够，产业还处于全球价值链中低端，军事、安全领域高技术方面同发达国家仍有较大差距。我们必须把发展基点放在创新上，通过创新培育发展新动力、塑造更多发挥先发优势的引领型发展。</p> <p>第二，着力增强发展的整体性协调性。</p> <p>“有上则有下，有此则有彼。”唯物辩证法认为，事物是普遍联系的，事物及事物各要素相互影响、相互制约，整个世界是相互联系的整体，也是相互作用的系统。坚持唯物辩证法，就要从客观事物的内在联系去把握事物，去认识问题、处理问题。马克思主义经典作家十分重视并善于运用唯物辩证法来认识和探索人类社会发展中的矛盾运动规律。比如，马克思提出，社会再生产分为生产资料生产和消费资料生产两大部类，两大部类必须保持一定比例关系才能保证社会再生产顺利实现。</p>
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subsistence, and they must maintain a certain ratio to realize social reproduction.

Presently, coordinated development has acquired new features. Coordinated development is the means and the objective of development, the standard and measurement for evaluating development. In the development of all things, we should address both major and minor problems, both major and minor aspects of a problem; at the same time, we should focus on major problems and major aspects of a problem. Coordinated development is the unity of the above two theories. A country, a region, or an industry has both strengths and constraints at any given development stage. Accordingly, we should make a targeted effort to resolve tough problems and improve weak points, and at the same time, consolidate and foster our existing strengths. By taking the two measures that complement each other we can achieve high-level development. Coordinated development is the unity of balanced development and imbalanced development. The process from balance to imbalance and then to rebalance is the basic law of development. Balance is relative while imbalance is absolute. Emphasizing coordinated development is not pursuing equalitarianism, but giving more importance to equal opportunities and balanced resource allocation. Coordinated development is the unity of weakness and potential in development. China is in a stage of transition from a middle-income country to a high-income country. According to international experience, this is a stage of concentrated conflicts of interest, in

新形势下，协调发展具有一些新特点。比如，协调既是发展手段又是发展目标，同时还是评价发展的标准和尺度。再比如，协调是发展两点论和重点论的统一，一个国家、一个地区乃至一个行业在其特定发展时期既有发展优势、也存在制约因素，在发展思路上既要着力破解难题、补齐短板，又要考虑巩固和厚植原有优势，两方面相辅相成、相得益彰，才能实现高水平发展。又比如，协调是发展平衡和不平衡的统一，由平衡到不平衡再到新的平衡是事物发展的基本规律。平衡是相对的，不平衡是绝对的。强调协调发展不是搞平均主义，而是更注重发展机会公平、更注重资源配置均衡。还比如，协调是发展短板和潜力的统一，我国正处于由中等收入国家向高收入国家迈进的阶段，国际经验表明，这个阶段是各种矛盾集中爆发的时期，发展不协调、存在诸多短板也是难免的。协调发展，就要找出短板，在补齐短板上多用力，通过补齐短板挖掘发展潜力、增强发展后劲。

which imbalanced development and various weaknesses are inevitable. To pursue coordinated development, we should identify and improve our weaknesses, so as to tap development potential and sustain growth momentum.

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

We should develop regional comparative edges, and improve the distribution of productive forces. We should make special efforts to implement three strategies – the Belt and Road Initiative, the Coordinated Development of Beijing, Tianjin and Hebei, and the Yangtze River Economic Belt. We should support

下好“十三五”时期发展的全国一盘棋，协调发展是制胜要诀。我们要学会运用辩证法，善于“弹钢琴”，处理好局部和全局、当前和长远、重点和非重点的关系，在权衡利弊中趋利避害、作出最为有利的战略抉择。从当前我国发展中不平衡、不协调、不可持续的突出问题出发，我们要着力推动区域协调发展、城乡协调发展、物质文明和精神文明协调发展，推动经济建设和国防建设融合发展。这是五中全会在部署协调发展时强调的重点。

要发挥各地区比较优势，促进生产力布局优化，重点实施“一带一路”建设、京津冀协同发展、长江经济带发展三大战略，支持革命老区、民族地区、边疆地区、贫困地区加快发展，构建连接东中西、贯通南北方的多中心、网络化、开放式的区域开发格局，不断缩小地区发展差距。要坚持工业反哺

accelerated development in old revolutionary bases, areas with concentrations of ethnic minorities, border areas, and poor areas. We should build a multi-centered, IT-supported, and open regional development framework which connects the eastern, central, and western regions and runs through the southern and northern regions, so as to narrow regional development gaps. We should continue to ensure that industry helps agriculture and that cities support the countryside; we should implement the policy of giving more, taking less, and loosening control to increase rural incomes; we should balance public resource allocation in urban and rural areas; we should build new forms of relationship between industry and agriculture and between urban and rural areas in which industry promotes agriculture, urban areas support rural development, industry and agriculture reinforce each other, and urban development and rural development are integrated, so as to continue to narrow the gap between urban and rural development. We must adhere to the goal of advancing socialist culture, using core socialist values to forge consensus and gather strength, using outstanding cultural products to inspire people and boost morale, and using the best of traditional Chinese culture to nourish morality, thereby raising cultural progress to a higher level. We must ensure both economic development and the development of defense capabilities; we should further the integration of military and civilian development and achieve a cost-effective civil-military integration that covers all elements and all fields; we should ensure that strengthening

农业、城市支持农村和多予少取放活方针，促进城乡公共资源均衡配置，加快形成以工促农、以城带乡、工农互惠、城乡一体的工农城乡关系，不断缩小城乡发展差距。要坚持社会主义先进文化前进方向，用社会主义核心价值观凝聚共识、汇聚力量，用优秀文化产品振奋人心、鼓舞士气，用中华优秀传统文化为人民提供丰润的道德滋养，提高精神文明建设水平。要统筹经济建设和国防建设，建立全要素、多领域、高效益的军民深度融合发展格局，推进国防和军队建设同全面建成小康社会进程相一致，使两者协调发展、平衡发展、兼容发展。

<p>national defense and the armed forces is consistent with completing the First Centenary Goal, and ensure the coordinated, balanced, and inclusive development of the two processes.</p> <p>Thirdly, we should promote the harmonious coexistence of humanity and nature.</p> <p>The purpose of green development, fundamentally speaking, is to serve this end. Human development activities must respect, accommodate, and protect nature; otherwise nature will retaliate against us. This is a law no one can deny.</p> <p>Fourthly, we should establish a new system of opening up.</p> <p>China's development achievements over the past 30 years derive from opening up. The prosperity of a country and the rejuvenation of a nation mostly rely on following the trend of the times and propelling historical progress.</p> <p>In promoting open development, the domestic and international situations we face now are quite different from the past. On the whole, we have more favorable factors; we also face significant risks and challenges that are by no means negligible. This can be seen from four perspectives.</p> <p>First, power structures among various countries are changing positively in an unprecedented way. The rise of emerging market economies and developing countries is changing the global political and economic landscapes. There is an irresistible trend</p>	<p>第三，着力推进人与自然和谐共生。</p> <p>绿色发展，就其要义来讲，是要解决好人与自然和谐共生问题。人类发展活动必须尊重自然、顺应自然、保护自然，否则就会遭到大自然的报复，这个规律谁也无法抗拒。</p> <p>第四，着力形成对外开放新体制。</p> <p>我国30多年来的发展成就得益于对外开放。一个国家能不能富强，一个民族能不能振兴，最重要的就是看这个国家、这个民族能不能顺应时代潮流，掌握历史前进的主动权。</p> <p>我们现在搞开放发展，面临的国际国内形势同以往有很大不同，总体上有利因素更多，但风险挑战不容忽视，而且都是更深层次的风险挑战。这可以从4个方面来看。</p> <p>一是国际力量对比正在发生前所未有的积极变化，新兴市场国家和发展中国家群体性崛起正在改变全球政治经济版图，世界多极化和国际关系民主化大势难逆，以西方国家为主导的全球治理体系出现变革迹象，但争夺全球治理和国际规则制定主导权的</p>
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<p>towards world polarization and democracy in international relations. The West-dominated global governance system is finally showing signs of change, but the competition to gain dominance in global governance and the formulation of international rules is fierce. Since Western developed countries retain advantages in economy, science and technology, politics, and military affairs, there is a long way to go to build a fairer and more equitable international political and economic order.</p>	<p>较量十分激烈，西方发达国家在经济、科技、政治、军事上的优势地位尚未改变，更加公正合理的国际政治经济秩序的形成依然任重道远。</p>
<p>Second, the world economy is gradually emerging from the shadow of the global financial crisis. Western countries are maintaining the momentum of economic recovery through reindustrialization. The structure of the international industrial division of labor has changed, but protectionism remains severe worldwide. The formulation of international economic and trade rules tends to be politicized and fragmented. Emerging market economies and developing economies are still sluggish, and the global economy has not yet found new engines for full recovery.</p>	<p>二是世界经济逐渐走出国际金融危机阴影，西方国家通过再工业化总体保持复苏势头，国际产业分工格局发生新变化，但国际范围内保护主义严重，国际经贸规则制定出现政治化、碎片化苗头，不少新兴市场国家和发展中国家经济持续低迷，世界经济还没有找到全面复苏的新引擎。</p>
<p>Third, China's share of the world economy and global governance has increased rapidly. China is now the world's second largest economy, its largest exporter, its second largest importer, its second largest source of foreign direct investment, its largest holder of foreign exchange reserves, and its largest market for tourism. China has become a major factor in changing the world political and economic landscapes. Nevertheless, it remains the case that China's economy is big but not</p>	<p>三是我国在世界经济和全球治理中的分量迅速上升，我国是世界第二经济大国、最大货物出口国、第二大货物进口国、第二大对外直接投资国、最大外汇储备国、最大旅游市场，成为影响世界政治经济版图变化的一个主要因素，但我国经济大而不强问题依然突出，人均收入和人民生活水平更是同发达国家不可同日而语，我国经济实力转化为国际制度性权力依然需要付出艰苦努力。</p>

strong, and our per capita income and living standards are not in the same league as those of Western countries. We need to work harder to turn our economic strength into international institutional authority.

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

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

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

This was initiated at the Fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central

四是我国对外开放进入引进来和走出去更加均衡的阶段，我国对外开放从早期引进来为主转为大进大出新格局，但与之相应的法律、咨询、金融、人才、风险管控、安全保障等都难以满足现实需要，支撑高水平开放和大规模走出去的体制和力量仍显薄弱。

这就是说，我们今天开放发展的大环境总体上比以往任何时候都更为有利，同时面临的矛盾、风险、博弈也前所未有，稍不留神就可能掉入别人精心设置的陷阱。关于下一步怎么开放发展，党的十八届五中全会已经作出部署，我在全会第二次全体会议上的讲话中也提出了要求。希望大家不断探索实践，提高把握国内国际两个大局的自觉性和能力，提高对外开放质量和水平。

第五，着力践行以人民为中心的发展思想。

这是党的十八届五中全会首次提出来的，体现了我们党全心全意为人民服

Committee. It displays the CPC's fundamental purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly, and the materialistic historical view that the people are the primary force for propelling development.

As mentioned in ancient Chinese classics, "There are some fixed principles in governing a state, among which benefiting the people should be the root." The people-centered development philosophy is not an abstract, abstruse concept. We will not restrict ourselves to lip service or idle reflection, but put it into practice in all areas of social and economic development. We should maintain the people's principal position in the country, and fulfill the people's expectations for a better life. We should continue to realize, safeguard, and develop the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. We should ensure that development is for the people, that it is reliant on the people, and that its fruits are shared by the people. We should, through furthering reform and innovation-driven development, enhance the quality and increase the benefits of development. We should produce more and better material and cultural products to meet the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people. We should fully stimulate the people's initiative, enthusiasm, and creativity, and provide the platform and environment for all workers, entrepreneurs, idea generators, and officials at all levels to play their innovative role. We should adhere to the basic socialist economic system and the socialist income distribution system. We should adjust the pattern of national

务的根本宗旨，体现了人民是推动发展的根本力量的唯物史观。

“治国有常，而利民为本。”以人民为中心的发展思想，不是一个抽象的、玄奥的概念，不能只停留在口头上、止步于思想环节，而要体现在经济社会发展各个环节。要坚持人民主体地位，顺应人民群众对美好生活的向往，不断实现好、维护好、发展好最广大人民根本利益，做到发展为了人民、发展依靠人民、发展成果由人民共享。要通过深化改革、创新驱动，提高经济发展质量和效益，生产出更多更好的物质精神产品，不断满足人民日益增长的物质文化需要。要全面调动人的积极性、主动性、创造性，为各行业各方面的劳动者、企业家、创新人才、各级干部创造发挥作用的舞台和环境。要坚持社会主义基本经济制度和分配制度，调整收入分配格局，完善以税收、社会保障、转移支付等为主要手段的再分配调节机制，维护社会公平正义，解决好收入差距问题，使发展成果更多更公平惠及全体人民。

income distribution. We should improve the mechanism of secondary distribution regulating income distribution mainly through taxation, social security, and transfer payments. We must safeguard social fairness and justice, and narrow income gaps, so that all the people can have a greater share of the fruits of development in a fair way.

In nature, the philosophy of shared development represents the idea of people-centered development. It reflects the demand of achieving shared prosperity in stages. Shared prosperity is a primary goal of Marxism; it has also been a basic ideal of the Chinese people since ancient times. Confucius said, "He is not concerned lest his people should be poor, but only lest what they have should be ill-apportioned. He is not concerned lest they should be few, but only lest they should be divided against one another." Mencius said, "Do reverence to the elders in your own family and extend it to those in other families; show loving care to the young in your own family and extend it to those in other families." The Book of Rites gives a detailed and lively description of "moderate prosperity" and "great harmony".

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

共享理念实质就是坚持以人民为中心的发展思想，体现的是逐步实现共同富裕的要求。共同富裕，是马克思主义的一个基本目标，也是自古以来我国人民的一个基本理想。孔子说：“不患寡而患不均，不患贫而患不安。”孟子说：“老吾老以及人之老，幼吾幼以及人之幼。”《礼记·礼运》具体而生动地描绘了“小康”社会和“大同”社会的状态。

按照马克思、恩格斯的构想，共产主义社会将彻底消除阶级之间、城乡之间、脑力劳动和体力劳动之间的对立和差别，实行各尽所能、按需分配，真正实现社会共享、实现每个人自由而全面的发展。

individuals in the real sense.

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

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

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

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

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

当然，实现这个目标需要一个漫长的历史过程。我国正处于并将长期处于社会主义初级阶段，我们不能做超越阶段的事情，但也不是说在逐步实现共同富裕方面就无所作为，而是要根据现有条件把能做的事情尽量做起来，积小胜为大胜，不断朝着全体人民共同富裕的目标前进。

党的十八届五中全会提出的共享发展理念，其内涵主要有4个方面。

一是共享是全民共享。这是就共享的覆盖面而言的。共享发展是人人享有、各得其所，不是少数人共享、一部分人共享。

二是共享是全面共享。这是就共享的内容而言的。共享发展就要共享国家经济、政治、文化、社会、生态各方面建设成果，全面保障人民在各方面的合法权益。

三是共享是共建共享。这是就共享的实现途径而言的。共建才能共享，共建的过程也是共享的过程。要充分发扬民主，广泛汇聚民智，最大激发民力，形成人人参与、人人尽力、人人都有成就感的生动局面。

of sharing benefits. We should practice democracy, widely gather the wisdom of the people, and encourage their efforts, so that all the people participate in and dedicate themselves to shared development, and share a sense of accomplishment.

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

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

In terms of implementing the philosophy of shared development, the 13th Five-year Plan proposed many tasks and measures which can be distilled down to two points. First, we should give full rein to the people's enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity, gather their strength to advance Chinese socialism, and "make the cake bigger". Second, once the cake has indeed become bigger, we must cut it fairly, so as to demonstrate the full strength of socialism and make the people feel a greater sense of gain. We should expand the middle-income class,

四是共享是渐进共享。这是就共享发展的推进进程而言的。一口吃不成胖子，共享发展必将有一个从低级到高级、从不均衡到均衡的过程，即使达到很高的水平也会有差别。我们要立足国情、立足经济社会发展水平来思考设计共享政策，既不裹足不前、铤而走险、该花的钱也不花，也不好高骛远、寅吃卯粮、口惠而实不至。

这 4 个方面是相互贯通的，要整体理解和把握。

落实共享发展理念，“十三五”时期的任务和措施有很多，归结起来就是两个层面的事。一是充分调动人民群众的积极性、主动性、创造性，举全民之力推进中国特色社会主义事业，不断把“蛋糕”做大。二是把不断做大的“蛋糕”分好，让社会主义制度的优越性得到更充分体现，让人民群众有更多获得感。要扩大中等收入阶层，逐步形成橄榄型分配格局。特别要加大对困难群众的帮扶力度，坚决打赢农村贫困人口脱贫攻坚战。落实共享发展是一门大学问，要做好从顶层设计到“最后一公里”落地的工作，在实践

and gradually form an olive-shaped income distribution structure. In particular, we should make greater efforts to help people in difficulties and win the campaign against rural poverty. Implementing shared development is a big issue. From the top-level design to the "last kilometer" of policy implementation, we should make continuous efforts to mark new milestones in our progress.	中不断取得新成效。
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## Passage 4 Confidence in the Political System of Chinese Socialism

### 坚定对中国特色社会主义政治制度的自信

<p>People's democracy is a banner that the CPC has always held high. On our way forward, we should keep to the socialist path of making democratic political progress with Chinese features.</p> <p>The way we plan and accelerate China's socialist democracy plays a decisive, comprehensive, and far-reaching role in our national political life.</p> <p>At all times and almost everywhere on the planet, evidence can be found showing that the wrong choice in the path for political development leads to social unrest, national disruption, and the fall of the government. China is a large developing country. Choosing the right path for its political progress is therefore a fundamental and vital issue.</p> <p>Designing and developing the national political system, we must ensure the unity of history and reality, theory and practice, and form and content.</p> <p>We must take into account the realities and the prevailing conditions in China, focusing on current issues to respond to actual demands rather than copying from other models. We must keep to the long-established track of historical heritage, cherishing the path of past development, accumulated political experience, and established political principles rather than breaking with history.</p>	<p>人民民主是中国共产党始终高举的旗帜。在前进道路上，我们要坚定不移走中国特色社会主义政治发展道路，继续推进社会主义民主政治建设、发展社会主义政治文明。</p> <p>以什么样的思路来谋划和推进中国社会主义民主政治建设，在国家政治生活中具有管根本、管全局、管长远的作用。</p> <p>古今中外，由于政治发展道路选择错误而导致社会动荡、国家分裂、人亡政息的例子比比皆是。中国是一个发展中大国，坚持正确的政治发展道路更是关系根本、关系全局的重大问题。</p> <p>设计和发展国家政治制度，必须注重历史和现实、理论和实践、形式和内容有机统一。</p> <p>要坚持从国情出发、从实际出发，既要把握长期形成的历史传承，又要把握走过的发展道路、积累的政治经验、形成的政治原则，还要把握现实要求、着眼解决现实问题，不能割断历史，不能想象突然就搬来一座政治制度上的“飞来峰”。</p>
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A political system works to adjust political relations, establish political order, accelerate national development, and maintain national stability. This is why it cannot be judged without reference to its specific social and political conditions. It can never be all in the same key and follow the same pattern. In our political system, we should not simply imitate others when we see things that we do not have, and neither should we want to get rid of what we believe to be surplus because others do not have it. Neither of these views is correct because they are superficial and reductive.

As an old Chinese saying goes, "To the south of the Huaihe River grow oranges, while to the north grow bitter oranges." The purpose of the saying is to highlight the influence of environment. We should draw on the achievements of other political civilizations, but we should never let them outweigh the foundations of China's own political system.

China is a country with a land area of over 9.6 million square kilometers and a population of 56 ethnic groups. Whose model should we copy? And who is qualified to throw their weight around and tell us what to do?

Living in a colorful world, we should uphold the approach of inclusiveness, modestly learn from the best of other civilizations, and digest and absorb them on an independent basis, so as to turn them into part of the best of our own. Never follow others without trying to understand them properly. In attempting to walk like a swan, the crow loses its

政治制度是用来调节政治关系、建立政治秩序、推动国家发展、维护国家稳定的，不可能脱离特定社会政治条件来抽象评判，不可能千篇一律、归于一尊。在政治制度上，看到别的国家有而我们没有就简单认为有欠缺，要搬过来；或者，看到我们有而别的国家没有就简单认为是多余的，要去除掉。这两种观点都是简单化的、片面的，因而都是不正确的。

“橘生淮南则为橘，生于淮北则为枳”。我们需要借鉴国外政治文明有益成果，但绝不能放弃中国政治制度的根本。

中国有 960 多万平方公里土地、56 个民族，我们能照谁的模式办？谁又能指手画脚告诉我们该怎么办？

对丰富多彩的世界，我们应该秉持兼容并蓄的态度，虚心学习他人的好东西，在独立自主的立场上把他人的好东西加以消化吸收，化成我们自己的好东西，但决不能囫囵吞枣、决不能邯郸学步。

<p>own gait.</p> <p>Blindly copying the political systems of other countries will never work in China. They will never adapt to our country. Such a course of action will "turn the tiger you are trying to draw into a dog". It could even spell an end to the independent destiny of our country. Only a system deeply-rooted and fully nourished in our own soil is trustworthy and will serve our purposes.</p> <p>No two political systems on earth are exactly alike, and no model can fit the political systems of all countries.</p> <p>The Chinese people recognize that it is natural for things to be different. All countries differ in their realities. Each country is unique in its political system, which is determined by its people and has been developed and gradually refined over a long period of time on the basis of their historical heritage, cultural traditions, and social and economic development.</p> <p>The strength of China's socialist political system, featuring Chinese characteristics – workable, full of vigor and vitality, and efficient – is that, past and present, it has grown on the Chinese soil. In the future, it will continue to thrive and to be deeply rooted in this soil.</p> <p>The best way to evaluate whether a country's political system is democratic and efficient is to observe whether the succession of its leading body is orderly and in line with the law, whether all people can manage state affairs and social, economic and cultural affairs in conformity with legal provisions,</p>	<p>照抄照搬他国的政治制度行不通，会水土不服，会画虎不成反类犬，甚至会把国家前途命运葬送掉。只有扎根本国土壤、汲取充沛养分的制度，才最可靠、也最管用。</p> <p>世界上不存在完全相同的政治制度，也不存在适用于一切国家的政治制度模式。</p> <p>“物之不齐，物之情也。”各国国情不同，每个国家的政治制度都是独特的，都是由这个国家的人民决定的，都是在这个国家历史传承、文化传统、经济社会发展的基础上长期发展、渐进改进、内生性演化的结果。</p> <p>中国特色社会主义政治制度之所以行得通、有生命力、有效率，就是因为它是从中国的社会土壤中生长起来的。中国特色社会主义政治制度过去和现在一直生长在中国的社会土壤之中，未来要继续茁壮成长，也必须深深扎根于中国的社会土壤。</p> <p>评价一个国家政治制度是不是民主的、有效的，主要看国家领导层能否依法有序更替，全体人民能否依法管理国家事务和社会事务、管理经济和文化事业，人民群众能否畅通表达利益要求，社会各方面能否有效参与国家政治生活，国家决策能否实现科学化、民主化，各方面人才能否通过公平</p>
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whether the public can express their requirements without hindrance, whether all sectors can efficiently participate in the country's political affairs, whether national decisions can be made in a rational, democratic way, whether professionals in all fields can be part of the team of the national leadership and administrative systems through fair competition, whether the ruling party can serve as a leader in state affairs in accordance with the Constitution and laws, and whether the exercise of power can be kept under effective restraint and supervision.

Thanks to a long-term effort, we have made decisive progress in addressing such major issues.

We have replaced the life-long tenure of officials with limited terms. Today, all officials serving in government agencies are replaced in an orderly manner.

We have offered greater opportunities for the people to participate in political affairs, so that they are able to play their role as the masters of the country, on a wide range, at all levels.

We have promoted the broadest possible patriotic United Front and developed a unique socialist consultative democracy, which has brought together the wisdom and strength of all political parties, organizations, ethnic groups, social groups, and people from all walks of life.

We have striven to establish a decision-making system that tells us how people are faring, reflects public opinion, pools general wisdom, and values social

competition entering the national leadership and management system, whether the ruling party can follow the constitution and laws to realize leadership of state affairs, whether the use of power can be effectively constrained and supervised.

经过长期努力，我们在解决这些重点问题上都取得了决定性进展。

我们废除了实际上存在的领导干部职务终身制，普遍实行领导干部任期制度，实现了国家机关和领导层的有序更替。

我们不断扩大人民有序政治参与，人民实现了内容广泛、层次丰富的当家作主。

我们坚持发展最广泛的爱国统一战线，发展独具特色的社会主义协商民主，有效凝聚了各党派、各团体、各民族、各阶层、各界人士的智慧 and 力量。

我们努力建设了解民情、反映民意、集中民智、珍惜民力的决策机制，增强决策透明度和公众参与度，保证了决策符合人民利益和愿望。

<p>strengths. We have also maximized the transparency of decision-making and provided further opportunities for the public to take part in the process, so as to ensure that all of our decisions serve the interests and aspirations of the people.</p> <p>We have established and improved a system for the selection and appointment of exemplary talent, so that outstanding people from all sectors can be drawn to the causes of both the Party and the government.</p> <p>We have promoted the rule of law, law-based governance and exercise of state power, and a law-based country, government and society, thus enhancing governance by law throughout the country.</p> <p>We have established and refined a multilevel system for scrutiny and one for open administration system in various areas so as to guarantee that both Party and central government organs, as well as their staff, exercise their power in accordance with proper authorization and procedures.</p> <p>China has implemented the state system which is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and farmers, the system of people's congresses as the system of government, the system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and the system of community-level self-governance, featuring distinctive Chinese</p>	<p>我们积极发展广纳群贤、充满活力的选人用人机制，广泛把各方面优秀人才集聚到党和国家各项事业中来。</p> <p>我们坚持依法治国、依法执政、依法行政共同推进，坚持法治国家、法治政府、法治社会一体建设，全社会法治水平不断提高。</p> <p>我们建立健全多层次监督体系，完善各类公开办事制度，保证党和国家领导机关和人员按照法定权限和程序行使权力。</p> <p>中国实行工人阶级领导的、以工农联盟为基础的人民民主专政的国体，实行人民代表大会制度的政体，实行中国共产党领导的多党合作和政治协商制度，实行民族区域自治制度，实行基层群众自治制度，具有鲜明的中国特色。</p>
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characteristics.

This institutional arrangement has demonstrated the following strengths:

- It performs well in allowing the people to enjoy more extensive and more substantial rights and freedoms, and share more opportunities to participate in national and social governance.

- It can effectively regulate the country's political relations, promote a vigorous and vital relationship among political parties, ethnic groups, religions, social groups, and compatriots at home and abroad, enhance national cohesion, and form political stability.

- It can pool our resources to accomplish sizable tasks, successfully accelerate the liberation and development of social productivity, incentivize all sectors during socialist modernization, and upgrade quality of life and standards of living.

- It can effectively safeguard state independence, sovereignty, security, and the benefits of development, and maintain the well-being of both the nation and its people.

Over the three decades since the introduction of the reform and opening-up policy, China has overcome rarely-seen difficulties and removed barriers to progress. As a result it has reached new heights in economic strength and overall national strength, and in people's standard of living. All ethnic groups have worked together for common prosperity and development, leading to a long-term social harmony and stability in the country. Facts prove that China's socialist democracy is bestowed with enormous vitality and the country has made the right choice for its socialist path of

这样一套制度安排，能够有效保证人民享有更加广泛、更加充实的权利和自由，保证人民广泛参加国家治理和社会治理；能够有效调节国家政治关系，发展充满活力的政党关系、民族关系、宗教关系、阶层关系、海内外同胞关系，增强民族凝聚力，形成安定团结的政治局面；能够集中力量办大事，有效促进社会生产力解放和发展，促进现代化建设各项事业，促进人民生活质量和水平不断提高；能够有效维护国家独立自主，有力维护国家主权、安全、发展利益，维护中国人民和中华民族的福祉。

改革开放 30 多年来，中国经济实力、综合国力、人民生活水平不断跨上新台阶，我们不断战胜前进道路上各种世所罕见的艰难险阻，中国各民族长期共同团结奋斗、共同繁荣发展，中国社会长期保持和谐稳定。这些事实充分证明，中国社会主义民主政治具有强大生命力，中国特色社会主义政治发展道路是符合中国国情、保证人民当家作主的正确道路。

making political progress with Chinese characteristics, which suits China's national conditions and reinforces the position of the people as the master of the country.

A country's political system defines and responds to its economic and social foundations. It can even play a decisive role. It is a key link between other systems. Therefore, we must increase self-confidence in our country's political system and strengthen our faith in and determination to follow our chosen political path of development.

Socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics is something new, and good. This does not necessarily mean that China's political system is flawless, beyond improvement and incapable of development.

Having confidence in our political system does not mean being smug or complacent, nor does it mean we know best and we can ignore the outside world. Instead, we should fuse growing confidence in the system with continuous reform and innovation, and be unstinting in our efforts to improve and develop the institutional system, while maintaining the fundamental political system.

As we have always believed, the progress of our democracy and legal system is not quick enough in responding to the requirements of expanding people's democracy and promoting social and economic development. When it comes to socialist democracy, there remain further improvements to be made in its system, mechanisms, procedures,

一个国家的政治制度决定于这个国家的经济社会基础，同时又反作用于这个国家的经济社会基础，乃至起到决定性作用。在一个国家的各种制度中，政治制度处于关键环节。所以，坚定中国特色社会主义制度自信，首先要坚定对中国特色社会主义政治制度的自信，增强走中国特色社会主义政治发展道路的信心和决心。

中国特色社会主义民主是个新事物，也是个好事物。当然，这并不是说，中国政治制度就完美无缺了，就不需要完善和发展了。

制度自信不是自视清高、自我满足，更不是裹足不前、固步自封，而是要把坚定制度自信和不断改革创新统一起来，在坚持根本政治制度、基本政治制度的基础上，不断推进制度体系完善和发展。

我们一直认为，我们的民主法治建设同扩大人民民主和经济社会发展的要求还不完全适应，社会主义民主政治的体制、机制、程序、规范以及具体运行上还存在不完善的地方，在保障人民民主权利、发挥人民创造精神方面也还存在一些不足，必须继续加以完善。

regulations, and specific operations. We should therefore double our efforts to safeguard the people's right to democracy and give full play to their creativity.

While promoting reform in all respects, we should actively and steadily advance political reform, take the people's position as masters of the country as a fundamental principle, enhance the vitality of the Party and the country, and keep the people fully motivated.

Socialist political progress means modernizing the state governance system and capacity.

The general goal of continuing reform, set at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, concluded with two phrases: "improving and developing the socialist system with Chinese characteristics", and "modernizing our national governance system and capacity". The former defines our fundamental orientation – Chinese socialism, rather than anything else. The latter points the distinctive direction to achieve development and progress under the fundamental orientation. Each of the two is essential, and they are interdependent.

The key to socialist democracy lies in maximizing and expanding our strengths and traits.

We should give better play to the Party's core function as a leader that commands the overall situation and coordinates with all other stakeholders. We should improve the CPC's capability for scientific, democratic and law-based

在全面深化改革进程中，我们要积极稳妥推进政治体制改革，以保证人民当家作主为根本，以增强党和国家活力、调动人民积极性为目标，不断建设社会主义政治文明。

发展社会主义民主政治，是推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化的题中应有之义。

党的十八届三中全会提出的全面深化改革总目标，是两句话组成的一个整体，即完善和发展中国特色社会主义制度、推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化。前一句规定了根本方向，我们的方向就是中国特色社会主义道路，而不是其他什么道路。后一句规定了在根本方向指引下完善和发展中国特色社会主义制度的鲜明指向。两句话都讲，才是完整的。

发展社会主义民主政治，关键是要增加和扩大我们的优势和特点，而不是要削弱和缩小我们的优势和特点。

我们要坚持发挥党总揽全局、协调各方的领导核心作用，提高党科学执政、民主执政、依法执政水平，保证党领导人民有效治理国家，切实防止出现群龙无首、一盘散沙的现象。

governance, ensure that the Party leads the people to govern the country effectively, and guarantee that our country moves forward with the leadership and in a state of unity.

We must uphold the principle that all power of the state belongs to the people, which guarantees not only democratic elections in accordance with the law but also democratic decision-making, democratic management, and democratic supervision, and avoids any risk that pre-election promises will not be kept.

We must uphold and improve the system of CPC-led multiparty cooperation and political consultation, and intensify cooperation and coordination between all social forces, so as to avoid conflicts, disputes, and internal strife among the various parties involved.

We must uphold and improve the system of regional ethnic autonomy, consolidate ethnic relations of equality, unity, mutual assistance and harmony, and achieve harmonious development of all ethnic groups, so as to guard against ethnic conflicts and misunderstandings.

We must uphold and improve the system of community-level self-governance by improving local democracy, and see that the people directly exercise their democratic rights in line with the law, and that their rights are genuine.

We must uphold and improve the system and principle of democratic centralism by enhancing the capacity and efficiency of all government agencies, stepping up their coordination and collaboration,

我们要坚持国家一切权力属于人民,既保证人民依法实行民主选举,也保证人民依法实行民主决策、民主管理、民主监督,切实防止出现选举时漫天许诺、选举后无人过问的现象。

我们要坚持和完善中国共产党领导的多党合作和政治协商制度,加强社会各种力量的合作协调,切实防止出现党争纷沓、相互倾轧的现象。

我们要坚持和完善民族区域自治制度,巩固平等团结互助和谐的社会主义民族关系,促进各民族和睦相处、和衷共济、和谐发展,切实防止出现民族隔阂、民族冲突的现象。

我们要坚持和完善基层群众自治制度,发展基层民主,保障人民依法直接行使民主权利,切实防止出现人民形式上有权、实际上无权的现象。

我们要坚持和完善民主集中制的制度和原则,促使各类国家机关提高能力和效率、增进协调和配合,形成治国理政的强大合力,切实防止出现相互掣肘、内耗严重的现象。



<p>and forming a strong force for managing our state affairs, so as to avoid internal friction.</p> <p>In short, we should double our efforts in institutionalizing and standardizing socialist democracy to give free rein to the strengths of the socialist political system with Chinese characteristics, so that our Party and nation can thrive and enjoy long-lasting stability.</p>	<p>总之，我们要不断推进社会主义民主政治制度化、规范化、程序化，更好发挥中国特色社会主义政治制度的优越性，为党和国家兴旺发达、长治久安提供更加完善的制度保障。</p>
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## Passage 5 Advance the Rule of Law Under Chinese Socialism

### 坚定不移走中国特色社会主义法治道路

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, the Central Committee has made a series of major decisions and worked out a chain of major measures on law-based governance. To further the cause of our Party and state, we have strengthened legislation in key areas and improved our socialist legal system with distinctive Chinese features. Upholding Constitution-based governance, we have amended the Constitution as required by the times, designated the national Constitution Day, and established the institution of pledging allegiance to the Constitution. In addition, the oversight of the implementation of the Constitution has been strengthened. We have advanced law-based government, substantially reduced items for administrative approval, completely ruled out examination and approval for non-administrative licenses, and introduced a power list, a negative list and a responsibility list for governments at various levels, so as to regulate the exercise of executive power and see that law is enforced in a strict, procedure-based, impartial and non-abusive way. We are resolutely carrying forward reform in the domain of rule of law, promoting the adoption of judicial accountability, personnel quota systems and reform measures to establish a criminal litigation system centering on trials. We have abolished the system of reeducation through labor and rectified a batch of cases involving serious

党的十八大以来，党中央对全面依法治国作出一系列重大决策、提出一系列重大举措。我们适应党和国家事业发展要求，完善立法体制，加强重点领域立法，中国特色社会主义法律体系日趋完善。我们坚持依宪治国，与时俱进修改宪法，设立国家宪法日，建立宪法宣誓制度，宪法实施和监督全面加强。我们推进法治政府建设，大幅减少行政审批事项，非行政许可审批彻底终结，建立政府权力清单、负面清单、责任清单，规范行政权力，推动严格规范公正文明执法。我们坚定不移推进法治领域改革，废止劳教制度，推进司法责任制、员额制和以审判为中心的刑事诉讼制度改革，依法纠正一批重大冤假错案件，司法质量、效率、公信力显著提高。我们坚持把全民普法和守法作为依法治国的基础性工作，实行国家机关“谁执法谁普法”普法责任制，将法治教育纳入国民教育体系，全社会法治观念明显增强。我们推进法治队伍建设，发展壮大法律服务队伍，加强法学教育和法治人才培养。我们坚持依法执政，加强党内法规制度建设，推进国家监察体制改革，依法惩治腐败犯罪，全面从严治党成效显著。

miscarriages of justice. Therefore our judicial performance, efficiency and credibility have improved remarkably. We regard our efforts to carry out basic legal education among the people and to encourage them to abide by the law as fundamental tasks of law-based governance. We have carried out a responsibility program in which state law enforcement departments are responsible for strengthening public legal awareness. We have incorporated education on the rule of law into the national education system. As a result, public awareness of the rule of law has been noticeably enhanced. We are raising the competence of those responsible for implementing the rule of law. We are developing a workforce of legal service professionals and strengthening legal education and the training of legal personnel. We have kept our commitment to law-based governance, developing and improving Party rules and regulations, pushing forward the reform of the national supervision system, punishing corruption and crimes in accordance with the law, and exercising full and strict governance over our Party. As a result, remarkable results have been achieved in all those areas.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, we have put forward new concepts, new thinking and new strategies on law-based governance and defined the guiding philosophy, development path, work plan and key tasks of law-based governance, which can be summarized in the following ten principles:

First, strengthen the CPC's leadership

党的十八大以来，我们提出一系列全面依法治国新理念新思想新战略，明确了全面依法治国的指导思想、发展道路、工作布局、重点任务。概括起来，主要有以下十方面。

一是坚持加强党对依法治国的领导。

<p>role in law-based governance. Leadership by the CPC is the most fundamental guarantee for socialist rule of law. In absolutely no way does the rule of law amount to weakening the leadership of the CPC. Instead, it is meant to strengthen and improve its leadership, constantly enhance its capacity and performance in law-based governance, and bolster its position as the governing party. We must ensure the Party's leadership over legislation, its guarantee of law enforcement, its support for judicial justice, and its exemplary role in abiding by the law. We must improve the institutions and mechanisms by which our Party plays its leadership role in law-based governance. We must turn the views of our Party into the will and laws of the state through legal procedures, ensure effective implementation of our Party's policies through the law and ensure that we are on the right track in exercising law-based governance.</p>	<p>党的领导是社会主义法治最根本的保证。全面依法治国决不是要削弱党的领导,而是要加强和改善党的领导,不断提高党领导依法治国的能力和水平,巩固党的执政地位。必须坚持实现党领导立法、保证执法、支持司法、带头守法,健全党领导全面依法治国的制度和工作机制,通过法定程序使党的主张成为国家意志、形成法律,通过法律保障党的政策有效实施,确保全面依法治国正确方向。</p>
<p>Second, uphold the principle that the people enjoy the principal status in our society. We must develop the rule of law for the people and rely on them, and it must benefit and protect them. We must uphold social equity and justice, which is the goal of the rule of law, and make sure that the people can see that equity and justice are served in every law, every law enforcement action, and every judicial case. In the whole process of our law-based governance we must represent the people's interests, reflect their wishes, protect their rights and interests, and improve their wellbeing. We must ensure that the people, under the leadership of the CPC, are able to administer state affairs and manage</p>	<p>二是坚持人民主体地位。法治建设要为了人民、依靠人民、造福人民、保护人民。必须牢牢把握社会公平正义这一法治价值追求,努力让人民群众在每一项法律制度、每一个执法决定、每一宗司法案件中都感受到公平正义。要把体现人民利益、反映人民愿望、维护人民权益、增进人民福祉落实到依法治国全过程,保证人民在党的领导下通过各种途径和形式管理国家事务,管理经济和文化事业,管理社会事务。</p>

economic, cultural and social affairs through various channels and in various ways as provided by law.

Third, uphold socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. In advancing law-based governance, we must take the right path. We need to bear in mind our own national context and realities and take a path of rule of law best suited to our own specific conditions. Under no circumstance should we imitate the models and practices of other countries or adopt the Western models of "constitutionalism", "separation of powers", and "judicial independence".

Fourth, develop a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. Such a system is a legal manifestation of the Chinese socialist system. We must focus on our goal of building socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and work hard to establish a complete system of laws, a highly effective enforcement system, a stringent scrutiny system, effective supporting measures, and a sound system of Party regulations, thereby constantly breaking new ground in law-based governance.

Fifth, push forward coordinated progress in law-based governance, exercise of state power, and government administration, and promote the integrated development of the rule of law for the country, the government, and society. Comprehensive law-based governance is a great systematic endeavor. Therefore, we must take many factors into consideration, identify priorities, and formulate integrated plans. We must pursue it in a more systematic, holistic and coordinated way.

三是坚持中国特色社会主义法治道路。全面推进依法治国必须走对路。要从中国国情和实际出发，走适合自己的法治道路，决不能照搬别国模式和做法，决不能走西方“宪政”、“三权鼎立”、“司法独立”的路子。

四是坚持建设中国特色社会主义法治体系。中国特色社会主义法治体系是中国特色社会主义制度的法律表现形式。必须抓住建设中国特色社会主义法治体系这个总抓手，努力形成完备的法律规范体系、高效的法治实施体系、严密的法治监督体系、有力的法治保障体系，形成完善的党内法规体系，不断开创全面依法治国新局面。

五是坚持依法治国、依法执政、依法行政共同推进，法治国家、法治政府、法治社会一体建设。全面依法治国是一个系统工程，必须统筹兼顾、把握重点、整体谋划，更加注重系统性、整体性、协同性。依法治国、依法执政、依法行政是一个有机整体，关键在于党要坚持依法执政、各级政府要坚持依法行政。法治国家、法治政府、法治社会三者各有侧重、相辅相成，法治国家是法治建设的目标，法治政府是建设法治国家的主体，法治社会是构筑法治国家的基础。要善于运用制度和

<p>Law-based governance, exercise of state power and government administration form an indivisible whole, the key to which is that the CPC must keep its commitment to law-based governance and that governments at all levels must administer in accordance with the law. A law-based country, government, and society each have their own areas of focus, allowing them to exert a mutually reinforcing effect on one another. A law-based country is the goal of developing the rule of law; a law-based government is the main force in building a law-based country; a law-based society is the foundation for building a law-based country. We must be adept at using institutions and laws to govern our country and improve our capacity for well-conceived, democratic and law-based governance.</p> <p>Sixth, govern the country and exercise state power within the framework of the Constitution. In pursuing law-based governance, we must first uphold Constitution-based governance; in pursuing law-based exercise of state power, we must first uphold Constitution-based exercise of state power. The CPC leads the people in enacting and enforcing the Constitution and the law, and it must confine its activities to the areas prescribed by the Constitution and the law. All individuals, organizations and state organs must regard the Constitution and the law as their code of conduct, and exercise powers, enjoy rights, perform duties, and fulfill obligations accordingly. They will not be permitted to enjoy any special privilege that places them above the Constitution and the law, and all acts in violation of the Constitution or the law</p>	<p>法律治理国家，提高党科学执政、民主执政、依法执政水平。</p> <p>六是坚持依宪治国、依宪执政。依法治国首先要坚持依宪治国，依法执政首先要坚持依宪执政。党领导人民制定宪法法律，领导人民实施宪法法律，党自身必须在宪法法律范围内活动。任何公民、社会组织和国家机关都必须以宪法法律为行为准则，依照宪法法律行使权利或权力，履行义务或职责，都不得有超越宪法法律的特权，一切违反宪法法律的行为都必须予以追究。</p>
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must be punished.

Seventh, ensure sound lawmaking, strict law enforcement, impartial administration of justice, and the observance of law by all. To solve the prominent conflicts and problems in devising, enforcing, applying and observing the law, we must resolutely advance reform in the domain of law-based governance. We must focus on the key areas of law-based governance and improve the legislative system and the quality of our legislation. We must promote strict law enforcement, establish an efficient system, improve administrative procedures, and fully implement administrative accountability. We must support the lawful and independent functioning of judicial organs and make better institutional arrangements for the exercise of judicial power in which the division of powers is both complementary and mutually restrictive. We must make greater efforts to raise public legal awareness and create an environment for the rule of law in which all of our people work in accordance with the law, look to the law when running into problems, and rely on the law to resolve problems and conflicts.

Eighth, properly handle the dialectical relationships concerning law-based governance. In implementing law-based governance, we must correctly deal with the relationships between leadership by the Party and the rule of law, between reform and the rule of law, between the rule of law and the rule of virtue, and between law-based governance and rule-based Party discipline. Socialist rule of law must uphold CPC leadership,

七是坚持全面推进科学立法、严格执法、公正司法、全民守法。解决好立法、执法、司法、守法等领域的突出矛盾和问题，必须坚定不移推进法治领域改革。要紧紧抓住全面依法治国的关键环节，完善立法体制，提高立法质量。要推进严格执法，理顺执法体制，完善行政执法程序，全面落实行政执法责任制。要支持司法机关依法独立行使职权，健全司法权力分工负责、相互配合、相互制约的制度安排。要加大全民普法力度，培育全社会办事依法、遇事找法、解决问题用法、化解矛盾靠法的法治环境。

八是坚持处理好全面依法治国的辩证关系。全面依法治国必须正确处理政治和法治、改革和法治、依法治国和以德治国、依法治国和依规治党的关系。社会主义法治必须坚持党的领导，党的领导必须依靠社会主义法治。“改革与法治如鸟之两翼、车之两轮”，要坚持在法治下推进改革，在改革中完善法治。要坚持依法治国和以德治国相结合，实现法治和德治相辅相成、相得益彰。要发挥依法治国和依规治党的

while CPC leadership must rely on socialist rule of law. Reform and the rule of law are like the two wings of a bird or the two wheels of a cart. We must promote reform under the rule of law and improve the rule of law in the process of reform. We must integrate the rule of law with the rule of virtue so that they complement and reinforce each other. We must bring into play the complementary roles of law-based governance and rule-based Party discipline, and ensure that the CPC governs the country in accordance with the Constitution and the law, and govern and discipline itself strictly with Party rules and regulations.

Ninth, develop a contingent of high-caliber legal personnel with moral integrity and professional competence. To advance law-based governance, we must train legal professionals devoted to socialist rule of law and loyal to the Party, the country, the people and the law. We must strengthen education in our ideals and convictions, carry out in-depth education on the core socialist values and the socialist concept of law-based governance, and enable judicial personnel to be more consistent, specialized and professional in their conduct. We must stick to our goal of legal education to foster virtuous specialists who are morally and professionally strong. We must be innovative in training legal talent and cultivate a large number of legal professionals of high caliber and their successors.

Tenth, make sure that leading officials, though small in number, play a key role in implementing the rule of law. It is

互补性作用，确保党既依据宪法法律治国理政，又依据党内法规管党治党、从严治党。

九是坚持建设德才兼备的高素质法治工作队伍。全面推进依法治国，必须着力建设一支忠于党、忠于国家、忠于人民、忠于法律的社会主义法治工作队伍。要加强理想信念教育，深入开展社会主义核心价值观和社会主义法治理念教育，推进法治专门队伍正规化、专业化、职业化，提高职业素养和专业水平。要坚持立德树人，德法兼修，创新法治人才培养机制，努力培养造就一大批高素质法治人才及后备力量。

十是坚持抓住领导干部这个“关键少数”。领导干部具体行使党的执政权和国家立法权、行政权、监察权、司



leading officials who exercise the ruling power of the Party and the legislative, administrative, supervisory and judicial powers of the state. Therefore, they are key to law-based governance. They must set a good example in upholding the law and treating it with respect, in understanding and having a good mastery of the law, in observing the law and defending the rule of law, and in applying the law and working in accordance with the law. They must strive to become more adept at using law-based thinking and approaches to carry out reform, promote development, resolve problems, and maintain stability. They must provide the example whereby the whole of society upholds, studies, observes and applies the law.

These new concepts, thinking and strategies are the latest achievements in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context. They provide fundamental principles for us in implementing law-based governance. Thus we must uphold them on a long-term basis and constantly enrich and develop them.

法权，是全面依法治国的关键。领导干部必须带头尊崇法治、敬畏法律，了解法律、掌握法律，遵纪守法、捍卫法治，厉行法治、依法办事，不断提高运用法治思维和法治方式深化改革、推动发展、化解矛盾、维护稳定的能力，做尊法学法守法用法的模范，以实际行动带动全社会尊法学法守法用法。

这些新理念新思想新战略，是马克思主义法治思想中国化的最新成果，是全面依法治国的根本遵循，必须长期坚持、不断丰富发展。

## Passage 6

### The Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the Basic Policy

### 新时代中国特色社会主义思想和基本方略



**1** Since our 18th National Congress, changes both in and outside China, and the progress made in all areas of China's endeavors, have presented us with a profound question—the question of an era. Our answer must be a systematic combination of theory and practice and must address what kind of socialism with Chinese characteristics the new era requires us to uphold and develop, and how we should go about doing it. This involves fundamental issues like the overarching objective, task, plan, and strategy for upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era; like the direction, model, and driving force of development, and the strategic steps, external conditions, and political guarantees. In addition, to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics, we should, based on new practice,

**1.** 十八大以来,国内外形势变化和我国各项事业发展都给我们提出了一个重大时代课题,这就是必须从理论和实践结合上系统回答新时代坚持和发展什么样的中国特色社会主义、怎样坚持和发展中国特色社会主义,包括新时代坚持和发展中国特色社会主义的总目标、总任务、总体布局、战略布局和发展方向、发展方式、发展动力、战略步骤、外部条件、政治保证等基本问题,并且要根据新的实践

<p>undertake theoretical analysis and produce policy guidance on the economy, political affairs, rule of law, science and technology, culture, education, the wellbeing of our people, ethnic and religious affairs, social development, the eco-environment, national security, defense and the armed forces, the principle of “one country, two systems” and national reunification, the united front, foreign affairs, and the strengthening of the Party.</p> <p><b>2</b> In answering this question, our Party has been guided by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development. It has continued to free our minds, seek truth from facts, move with the times, and apply a realistic and pragmatic approach. In answering this question, our Party has continued to uphold dialectical and historical materialism; has considered carefully the new conditions of the era and the new requirements of practice; and has adopted an entirely new perspective to deepen its understanding of the laws that underlie governance by a communist party, the development of socialism, and the evolution of human society. It has worked hard to undertake theoretical explorations, and has achieved major theoretical innovations, ultimately giving shape to the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era.</p> <p><b>3</b> The Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era makes the following things clear:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— It makes clear that the overarching task of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is to realize socialist modernization and national rejuvenation, and, that on the basis of finishing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects, a two-step approach should be taken to build China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful by the middle of the century.</li> <li>— It makes clear that the principal challenge facing Chinese society in the new era is the gap between unbalanced and inadequate development and the ever-growing expectation of the people for a better</li> </ul>	<p>对经济、政治、法治、科技、文化、教育、民生、民族、宗教、社会、生态文明、国家安全、国防和军队、“一国两制”和祖国统一、统一战线、外交、党的建设等各方面作出理论分析和政策指导,以利于更好坚持和发展中国特色社会主义。</p> <p><b>2.</b> 围绕这个重大时代课题,我们党坚持以马克思列宁主义、毛泽东思想、邓小平理论、“三个代表”重要思想、科学发展观为指导,坚持解放思想、实事求是、与时俱进、求真务实,坚持辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义,紧密结合新的时代条件和实践要求,以全新的视野深化对共产党执政规律、社会主义建设规律、人类社会发展规律的认识,进行艰辛理论探索,取得重大理论创新成果,形成了新时代中国特色社会主义思想。</p> <p><b>3.</b> 新时代中国特色社会主义思想,明确坚持和发展中国特色社会主义,总任务是实现社会主义现代化和中华民族伟大复兴,在全面建成小康社会的基础上,分两步走在本世纪中叶建成富强民主文明和谐美丽的社会主义现代化强国;</p> <p>明确新时代我国社会主要矛盾是人民日益增长的美好生活需要和不平衡不充分的发展之间的矛盾,必须</p>
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<p>life. We must therefore continue commitment to our people-centered philosophy of development, and work to promote well-rounded human development and common prosperity for everyone.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— It makes clear that the overall plan for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the Five-Sphere Integrated Plan, and the overall strategy is the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy. It highlights the importance of fostering stronger confidence in the path, theory, system and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics.</li> <li>— It makes clear that the overall goal of in-depth reform in every field is to improve and develop the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and modernize China's governance system and capacity.</li> <li>— It makes clear that the overall goal of comprehensively advancing law-based governance is to establish a system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and build a country of socialist rule of law.</li> <li>— It makes clear that the Party's goal of building a strong military in the new era is to build the people's forces into world-class forces that obey the Party's command, can fight and win, and maintain excellent conduct.</li> <li>— It makes clear that major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics aims to foster a new type of international relations and build a global community of shared future.</li> <li>— It makes clear that the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the Communist Party of China; the greatest strength of the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the Communist Party of China; the Party is the highest force for political leadership. It sets forth the general requirements for strengthening the Party in the new era and underlines the importance of reinforcing the Party's political foundations.</li> </ul> <p>...</p>	<p>坚持以人民为中心的发展思想,不断促进人的全面发展、全体人民共同富裕;</p> <p>明确中国特色社会主义事业总体布局是“五位一体”、战略布局是“四个全面”,强调坚定道路自信、理论自信、制度自信、文化自信;</p> <p>明确全面深化改革总目标是完善和发展中国特色社会主义制度、推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化;</p> <p>明确全面推进依法治国总目标是建设中国特色社会主义法治体系、建设社会主义法治国家;</p> <p>明确党在新时代的强军目标是建设一支听党指挥、能打胜仗、作风优良的人民军队,把人民军队建设成为世界一流军队;</p> <p>明确中国特色大国外交要推动构建新型国际关系,推动构建人类命运共同体;</p> <p>明确中国特色社会主义最本质的特征是中国共产党领导,中国特色社会主义制度的最大优势是中国共产党领导,党是最高政治领导力量,提出新时代党的建设总要求,突出政治建设在党的建设中的重要地位。</p>
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<p><b>4</b> Everyone in the Party should develop a good grasp of the essence and rich implications of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and fully and faithfully apply it in all our work.</p> <p><b>5</b> 1. Ensuring Party leadership over all work The Party exercises overall leadership over all areas of endeavor in every part of the country. We must strengthen our consciousness of the need to maintain political commitment, think in terms of the general picture, follow the core leadership of the Central Committee, and act in accordance with its requirements. We must work harder to uphold the authority and centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee, and closely follow the Central Committee in terms of our thinking, political orientation, and actions. We must improve the institutions and mechanisms for upholding Party leadership, remain committed to the underlying principle of pursuing progress while ensuring stability, and ensure coordinated implementation of the Five-Sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy. We must strengthen the Party's ability and resolve to chart our course, craft overall plans, design policy, and promote reform; and we must ensure the Party always provides overall leadership and coordinates the efforts of all involved.</p> <p><b>6</b> 2. Committing to a people-centered approach The people are the creators of history; they are the fundamental force that determines our Party and country's future. We must ensure the principal status of the people, and adhere to the Party's commitment to serving the public good and exercising power in the interests of the people. We must observe the Party's fundamental purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people, and put into practice the Party's mass line in all aspects of governance. We must regard as our goal the people's aspirations to live a better life, and rely on the people to move history forward.</p> <p><b>7</b> 3. Continuing to comprehensively deepen reform Only with socialism can we save China; only with reform and opening up can we develop China, develop socialism, and develop Marxism. We must uphold and improve the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and</p>	<p><b>4.</b> 全党要深刻领会新时代中国特色社会主义思想的精神实质和丰富内涵,在各项工作中全面准确贯彻落实。</p> <p><b>5.</b> (一) 坚持党对一切工作的领导。党政军民学,东西南北中,党是领导一切的。必须增强政治意识、大局意识、核心意识、看齐意识,自觉维护党中央权威和集中统一领导,自觉在思想上政治上行动上同党中央保持高度一致,完善坚持党的领导的体制机制,坚持稳中求进工作总基调,统筹推进“五位一体”总体布局,协调推进“四个全面”战略布局,提高党把方向、谋大局、定政策、促改革的能力和定力,确保党始终总揽全局、协调各方。</p> <p><b>6.</b> (二) 坚持以人民为中心。人民是历史的创造者,是决定党和国家前途命运的根本力量。必须坚持人民主体地位,坚持立党为公、执政为民,践行全心全意为人民服务的根本宗旨,把党的群众路线贯彻到治国理政全部活动之中,把党的群众路线贯彻到治国理政全部活动之中,把人民对美好生活的向往作为奋斗目标,依靠人民创造历史伟业。</p> <p><b>7.</b> (三) 坚持全面深化改革。只有社会主义才能救中国,只有改革开放才能发展中国、发展社会主义、发展马克思主义。必须坚持和完善</p>
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continue to modernize China's system and capacity for governance. We must have the determination to get rid of all outdated thinking and ideas and all institutional ailments, and to break through the blockades of vested interests. We should draw on the achievements of other civilizations, develop a set of institutions that are well-conceived, fully built, procedure-based, and efficiently functioning, and do full justice to the strengths of China's socialist system.

**8 4. Adopting a new vision for development**

Development is the underpinning and the key for solving all our country's problems; our development must be sound development. We must pursue with firmness of purpose the vision of innovative, coordinated, green, and open development that is for everyone. We must uphold and improve China's basic socialist economic system and socialist distribution system. We must be resolute in consolidating and developing the public sector; and we must be resolute in encouraging, supporting, and guiding the development of the non-public sector. We must see that the market plays the decisive role in resource allocation, the government plays its role better, and new industrialization, IT application, urbanization, and agricultural modernization go hand in hand. We must actively participate in and promote economic globalization, develop an open economy of higher standards, and continue to increase China's economic power and composite strength.

- 9 5. Seeing that the people are the masters of the country**  
Commitment to the unity of the Party's leadership, the people's position as masters of the country, and law-based governance is a natural element of socialist political advancement. We must keep to the path of socialist political advancement with Chinese characteristics; uphold and improve the system of people's congresses, the system of Party-led multiparty cooperation and political consultation, the system of regional ethnic autonomy, and the system of community-level self-governance; and consolidate and develop the broadest possible patriotic united front. We should develop socialist consultative democracy, improve our democratic institutions, diversify our forms of democracy, and establish more democratic

中国特色社会主义制度,不断推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化,坚决破除一切不合时宜的思想观念和体制机制弊端,突破利益固化的藩篱,吸收人类文明有益成果,构建系统完备、科学规范、运行有效的制度体系,充分发挥我国社会主义制度优越性。

- 8. (四) 坚持新发展理念。**发展是解决我国一切问题的基础和关键,发展必须是科学发展,必须坚定不移贯彻创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的发展理念。必须坚持和完善我国社会主义基本经济制度和分配制度,毫不动摇巩固和发展公有制经济,毫不动摇鼓励、支持、引导非公有制经济发展,使市场在资源配置中起决定性作用,更好发挥政府作用,推动新型工业化、信息化、城镇化、农业现代化同步发展,主动参与和推动经济全球化进程,发展更高层次的开放型经济,不断壮大我国经济实力 and 综合国力。

- 9. (五) 坚持人民当家作主。**坚持党的领导、人民当家作主、依法治国有机统一是社会主义政治发展的必然要求。必须坚持中国特色社会主义政治发展道路,坚持和完善人民代表大会制度、中国共产党领导的多党合作和政治协商制度、民族区域自治制度、基层群众自治制度,巩固和发展最广泛的爱国统一战线,发展社会主义协商民主,健全民主制度,丰富民主形式,拓宽民主渠

channels. We must see to it that the principle of the people as masters of the country is put into practice in China's political and social activities.

- 10** 6. Ensuring every dimension of governance is law-based  
Law-based governance is an essential requirement and important guarantee for socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must exercise Party leadership at every point in the process and over every dimension of law-based governance, and be fully committed to promoting socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics. We must improve the Chinese socialist system of laws, at the heart of which is the Constitution; establish a Chinese system of socialist rule of law; build a socialist country based on the rule of law; and develop Chinese socialist rule of law theory. We must pursue coordinated progress in law-based governance, law-based exercise of state power, and law-based government administration, and promote the integrated development of rule of law for the country, the government, and society. We must continue to promote a combination of rule of law and rule of virtue, and combine law-based governance of the country and rule-based governance over the Party. We must further the reform of the judicial system, and strengthen awareness of the rule of law among all our people while also enhancing their moral integrity.

- 11** 7. Upholding the core socialist values  
Cultural confidence represents a fundamental and profound force that sustains the development of a country and a nation. We must uphold Marxism, firm up and further build the ideal of communism and a shared ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics, and nurture and practice the core socialist values, while making continued and greater efforts to maintain the initiative and ensure we have our say in the realm of ideology. We must promote the creative evolution and development of fine traditional Chinese culture, see our revolutionary culture remains alive and strong, and develop an advanced socialist culture. We should cherish our cultural roots, draw on other cultures, and be forward-thinking. We should do more to foster a Chinese spirit, Chinese values, and Chinese strength to provide a source of cultural and moral guidance for our people.

- 12** 8. Ensuring and improving living standards through

道,保证人民当家作主落实到国家政治生活和社会生活之中。

- 10.** (六) 坚持全面依法治国。  
全面依法治国是中国特色社会主义的本质要求和重要保障。必须把党的领导贯彻落实到依法治国全过程和各方面,坚定不移走中国特色社会主义法治道路,完善以宪法为核心的中国特色社会主义法律体系,建设中国特色社会主义法治体系,建设社会主义法治国家,发展中国特色社会主义法治理论,坚持依法治国、依法执政、依法行政共同推进,坚持法治国家、法治政府、法治社会一体建设,坚持依法治国和以德治国相结合,依法治国和依规治党有机统一,深化司法体制改革,提高全民族法治素养和道德素质。

- 11.** (七) 坚持社会主义核心价值观。文化自信是一个国家、一个民族发展中更基本、更深沉、更持久的力量。必须坚持马克思主义,牢固树立共产主义远大理想和中国特色社会主义共同理想,培育和践行社会主义核心价值观,不断增强意识形态领域主导权和话语权,推动中华优秀传统文化创造性转化、创新性发展,继承革命文化,发展社会主义先进文化,不忘本来、吸收外来、面向未来,更好构筑中国精神、中国价值、中国力量,为人民提供精神指引。

- 12.** (八) 坚持在发展中保障和

development

The wellbeing of the people is the fundamental goal of development. We must do more to improve the lives and address the concerns of the people, and use development to strengthen areas of weakness and promote social fairness and justice. We should make steady progress in ensuring people's access to childcare, education, employment, medical services, elderly care, housing, and social assistance. We will intensify poverty alleviation, see that all our people have a greater sense of fulfillment as they contribute to and gain from development, and continue to promote well-rounded human development and common prosperity for everyone. We will continue the Peaceful China Initiative, strengthen and develop new forms of social governance, and ensure social harmony and stability. We must work hard to see that our country enjoys enduring peace and stability and our people live and work in contentment.

**13 9. Ensuring harmony between humans and nature**

Building an eco-civilization is vital to sustaining the Chinese nation's development. We must realize that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets and act on this understanding, implement our fundamental national policy of conserving resources and protecting the environment, and cherish the environment as we cherish our own lives. We will adopt a holistic approach to conserving our mountains, rivers, forests, farmlands, lakes, and grasslands, implement the strictest possible systems for environmental protection, and develop eco-friendly growth models and ways of life. We must pursue a model of sustainable development featuring increased production, higher living standards, and healthy ecosystems. We must continue the Beautiful China Initiative to create good working and living environments for our people and play our part in ensuring global ecological security.

**14 10. Pursuing a holistic approach to national security**

We should ensure both development and security and be ever ready to protect against potential dangers in time of peace. This is a major principle underlying the Party's governance. We must put national interests first, take protecting our people's security as our mission and safeguarding political security as a fundamental task, and

改善民生。增进民生福祉是发展的根本目的。必须多谋民生之利、多解民生之忧，在发展中补齐民生短板、促进社会公平正义，在幼有所育、学有所教、劳有所得、病有所医、老有所养、住有所居、弱有所扶上不断取得新进展，深入开展脱贫攻坚，保证全体人民在共建共享发展中有更多获得感，不断促进人的全面发展、全体人民共同富裕。建设平安中国，加强和创新社会治理，维护社会和谐稳定，确保国家长治久安、人民安居乐业。

**13. (九) 坚持人与自然和谐共生**

建设生态文明是中华民族永续发展的千年大计。必须树立和践行绿水青山就是金山银山的理念，坚持节约资源和保护环境的基本国策，像对待生命一样对待生态环境，统筹山水林田湖草系统治理，实行最严格的生态环境保护制度，形成绿色发展方式和生活方式，坚定走生产发展、生活富裕、生态良好的文明发展道路，建设美丽中国，为人民创造良好生产生活环境，为全球生态安全作出贡献。

**14. (十) 坚持总体国家安全观**

统筹发展和安全，增强忧患意识，做到居安思危，是我们党治国理政的一个重大原则。必须坚持国家利益至上，以人民安全为宗旨，以政治安全为根本，统



ensure both internal and external security, homeland and public security, traditional and non-traditional security, and China's own and common security. We will improve our systems and institutions and build additional capacity for national security, and resolutely safeguard China's sovereignty, security, and development interests.

**15 11. Upholding absolute Party leadership over the people's armed forces**

Building people's forces that obey the Party's command, can fight and win, and maintain excellent conduct is strategically important to achieving the Two Centenary Goals and national rejuvenation. To realize the Party's goal of building a powerful military in the new era, we must fully implement the fundamental principles and systems of Party leadership over the military, and see that the Party's thinking on strengthening the military for the new era guides work to build national defense and the armed forces. We must continue to enhance the political loyalty of the armed forces, strengthen them through reform and technology, and run them in accordance with the law. We must place greater focus on combat, encourage innovation, build systems, increase efficacy and efficiency, and further civil-military integration.

**16 12. Upholding the principle of "one country, two systems" and promoting national reunification**

Maintaining lasting prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao and achieving China's full reunification are essential to realizing national rejuvenation. We must ensure both the central government's overall jurisdiction over the Hong Kong and Macao special administrative regions and a high degree of autonomy in the two regions. We should ensure that the principle of "one country, two systems" remains unchanged, is unwaveringly upheld, and in practice is not bent or distorted. We must uphold the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus, promote the peaceful development of cross-Straits relations, deepen economic cooperation and cultural exchanges between the two sides of the Straits, and encourage fellow Chinese on both sides to oppose all separatist activities and work together to realize China's national rejuvenation.

筹外部安全和内部安全、国土安全和国民安全、传统安全和非传统安全、自身安全和共同安全,完善国家安全制度体系,加强国家安全能力建设,坚决维护国家主权、安全、发展利益。

**15. (十一) 坚持党对人民军队的绝对领导。**建设一支听党指挥、能打胜仗、作风优良的人民军队,是实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标、实现中华民族伟大复兴的战略支撑。必须全面贯彻党领导人民军队的一系列根本原则和制度,确立新时代党的强军思想在国防和军队建设中的指导地位,坚持政治建军、改革强军、科技兴军、依法治军,更加注重聚焦实战,更加注重创新驱动,更加注重体系建设,更加注重集约高效,更加注重军民融合,实现党在新时代的强军目标。

**16. (十二) 坚持“一国两制”和推进祖国统一。**保持香港、澳门长期繁荣稳定,实现祖国完全统一,是实现中华民族伟大复兴的必然要求。必须把维护中央对香港、澳门特别行政区全面管治权和保障特别行政区高度自治权有机结合起来,确保“一国两制”方针不会变、不动摇,确保“一国两制”实践不变形、不走样。必须坚持一个中国原则,坚持“九二共识”,推动两岸关系和平发展,深化两岸经济合作和文化往来,推动两岸同胞共同反对一切分裂国家的活动,共同为实现中华民族伟大复兴

**17** 13. Building a global community of shared future  
The dream of the Chinese people is closely connected with the dreams of the peoples of other countries; the Chinese Dream can be realized only in a peaceful international environment and under a stable international order. We must keep in mind both the internal and the international situation, stay on the path of peaceful development, and continue to pursue a mutually beneficial strategy of opening up. We will uphold justice while pursuing shared interests, and will foster new thinking on common, comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable security. We will pursue open, innovative, and inclusive development that benefits everyone; boost cross-cultural exchanges characterized by harmony within diversity, inclusiveness, and mutual learning; and cultivate ecosystems based on respect for nature and green development. China will continue its efforts to safeguard world peace, contribute to global development, and uphold international order.

**18** 14. Exercising full and rigorous governance over the Party  
To have the courage to carry out self-reform and conduct strict self-governance: This is the most distinctive part of our Party's character. We must uphold the Party Constitution as our fundamental rules, reinforce the political foundations as our priority, buttress our ideological commitment, strengthen our systems, and increase Party competence in all respects. We must focus on oversight over the "key few," by which we mean leading officials, and see that the Three Guidelines for Ethical Behavior and Three Basic Rules of Conduct are observed. We must uphold democratic centralism, ensure that intra-Party political activities are carried out in earnest, impose strict Party discipline, and strengthen internal oversight. We must develop a positive and healthy political culture in the Party and improve the Party's political ecosystem, resolutely correct misconduct in all its forms, and show zero tolerance for corruption. We will continue to strengthen the Party's ability to cleanse, improve, and reform itself, and forever maintain its close ties with the people.

**19** The above 14 points form the basic policy that underpins our endeavors to uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era. All our members

复兴而奋斗。

**17.** (十三) 坚持推动构建人类命运共同体。中国人民的梦想同各国人民的梦想息息相通,实现中国梦离不开和平的国际环境和稳定的国际秩序。必须统筹国内国际两个大局,始终不渝走和平发展道路、奉行互利共赢的开放战略,坚持正确义利观,树立共同、综合、合作、可持续的新安全观,谋求开放创新、包容互惠的发展前景,促进和而不同、兼收并蓄的文明交流,构筑尊崇自然、绿色发展的生态体系,始终做世界和平的建设者、全球发展的贡献者、国际秩序的维护者。

**18.** (十四) 坚持全面从严治党。勇于自我革命,从严管党治党,是我们党最鲜明的品格。必须以党章为根本遵循,把党的政治建设摆在首位,思想建党和制度治党同向发力,统筹推进党的各项建设,抓住“关键少数”,坚持“三严三实”,坚持民主集中制,严肃党内政治生活,严明党的纪律,强化党内监督,发展积极健康的党内政治文化,全面净化党内政治生态,坚决纠正各种不正之风,以零容忍态度惩治腐败,不断增强党自我净化、自我完善、自我革新、自我提高的能力,始终保持党同人民群众的血肉联系。

**19.** 以上十四条,构成新时代坚持和发展中国特色社会主义的基本方略。全党同志必

<p>must fully implement the Party's underlying theories, basic guidelines, and fundamental principles so as to better steer the development of the Party and people's cause.</p> <p><b>20</b> Just as there are no bounds to practice, there is no end to theoretical innovation. The world is changing with every second, every moment; and China, too, is changing with every second, every moment. We must ensure our theory evolves with the times, deepen our appreciation of objective laws, and advance our theoretical, practical, institutional, cultural, and other innovations.</p> <p><b>21</b> Comrades, The era is the mother of thought; practice is the fount of theory. If we respond to the call of our times and have the courage to uphold truth and correct errors, the Marxism of 21st century China will, without a doubt, emanate a more mighty, more compelling power of truth.</p>	<p>须全面贯彻党的基本理论、基本路线、基本方略，更好引领党和人民事业发展。</p> <p><b>20.</b> 实践没有止境，理论创新也没有止境。世界每时每刻都在发生变化，中国也每时每刻都在发生变化，我们必须在理论上跟上时代，不断认识规律，不断推进理论创新、实践创新、制度创新、文化创新以及其他各方面创新。</p> <p><b>21.</b> 同志们！时代是思想之母，实践是理论之源。只要我们善于聆听时代声音，勇于坚持真理、修正错误，二十一世纪中国的马克思主义一定能够展现出更强大、更有说服力的真理力量！</p>
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## Passage 7

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

### 弘扬伟大长征精神，走好今天的长征路



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| <p>1. As a great feat in human history, the Long March (1934-1936) has left us with a rich heritage. However, its most precious element was the spirit of the Long March, which was forged with the lives and blood of Chinese Communists and Red Army soldiers.</p> <p>2. The spirit of the Long March meant putting the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and nation above all else, meant upholding firm revolutionary ideals and beliefs, and meant the belief that a just cause would surely succeed. It represented a willingness to sacrifice everything to save the country and the people, no matter what difficulties and obstacles lay ahead. It meant remaining committed to independence and autonomy, to seeking truth from facts, and to proceeding from reality in all endeavors. It meant taking a broad view, maintaining strict discipline, and seeking unity. And it meant relying closely on the people, sharing weal and woe with the people, and fighting bitterly alongside the people.</p> <p>3. History only moves forward. To realize our ideals, we must continue on the path we have set for ourselves.</p> | <p>1. 长征这一人类历史上的伟大壮举，留给我们最可宝贵的精神财富，就是中国共产党人和红军将士用生命和热血铸就的伟大长征精神。</p> <p>2. 伟大长征精神，就是把全国人民和中华民族的根本利益看得高于一切，坚定革命的理想和信念，坚信正义事业必然胜利的精神；就是为了救国救民，不怕任何艰难险阻，不惜付出一切牺牲的精神；就是坚持独立自主、实事求是，一切从实际出发的精神；就是顾全大局、严守纪律、紧密团结的精神；就是紧紧依靠人民群众，同人民群众生死相依、患难与共、艰苦奋斗的精神。</p> <p>3. 历史是不断向前的，要达到理想的彼岸，就要沿着我们确定</p> |
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Every generation has its own long march, and every generation must see that march through. Today, the goal of our generation's long march is to attain the Two Centenary Goals and realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

4. —To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must remain committed to the great ideal of communism and the common ideal of Chinese socialism, and engage in a tireless struggle to realize our ideals and beliefs. The victory of the Long March proved that belief in our hearts gives strength to our legs. Without their indomitable ideals and beliefs to sustain them, the Red Army's victory in the Long March would simply have been inconceivable. Deng Xiaoping once said, "In the past, no matter how small and weak our Party was, and no matter what difficulties it faced, we always maintained great combat effectiveness thanks to our faith in Marxism and communism. Because we shared common ideals, we had strict discipline. That is our real strength today as it has been in the past and will be in the future."
5. On our new long march, we need to ensure that our ideals and beliefs remain firm. No matter how times change or how conditions alter, we must never be deflected by the trials that await us. We must consciously strive to be firm believers in, and loyal practitioners of, the great ideal of communism and the common ideal of Chinese socialism, and engage in an eternal fight for truth and for our ideals.
6. "A rock can be smashed, but its pieces will still be hard; cinnabar can be ground, but its powder will still be red." Firm ideals and beliefs come from solid ideas and theories. To have firm ideals and beliefs, one must first understand, grasp, believe in, and defend truth. The ideals and beliefs of a Chinese Communist are founded on the scientific truths of Marxism, on the laws of social development revealed by Marxism, and on the grand aspiration to serve the interests of the broadest majority of the people. We are strong because what we pursue is truth. We are strong because we respect the

的道路不断前进。每一代人有每一代人的长征路，每一代人都要走好自己的长征路。今天，我们这一代人的长征，就是要实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标、实现中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦。

4. ——弘扬伟大长征精神，走好今天的长征路，必须坚定共产主义远大理想和中国特色社会主义共同理想，为崇高理想信念而矢志奋斗。长征胜利启示我们：心中有信仰，脚下有力量；没有牢不可破的理想信念，没有崇高理想信念的有力支撑，要取得长征胜利是不可想象的。邓小平同志说：“过去我们党无论怎样弱小，无论遇到什么困难，一直有强大的战斗力，因为我们有马克思主义和共产主义的信念。有了共同的理想，也就有了铁的纪律。无论过去、现在和将来，这都是我们的真正优势。”
5. 在新的长征路上，我们一定要保持理想信念坚定，不论时代如何变化，不论条件如何变化，都风雨如磐不动摇，自觉做共产主义远大理想和中国特色社会主义共同理想的坚定信仰者、忠实实践者，永远为了真理而斗争，永远为了理想而斗争。
6. “石可破也，而不可夺坚；丹可磨也，而不可夺赤。”理想信念的坚定，来自思想理论的坚定。认识真理，掌握真理，信仰真理，捍卫真理，是坚定理想信念的精神前提。中国共产党人的理想信念，建立在马克思主义科学真理的基础之上，建立在马克思主义揭示的人类社会发展规律的基础之上，建立在为最广大人民谋利益的崇高价值

laws that govern development. And we are strong because we represent the fundamental interests of the great majority of the people.

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

8. —To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must remain confident in the path, theories, system and culture of Chinese socialism, and engage in a tireless struggle to win new victories for this great cause. The victory of the Long March proved that we can move in the right direction only if we possess a sound theory, and that we can advance to victory only if we have forged our own path on the basis of our own reality. The Long March not only crossed countless mountains and rivers; it also surmounted the erroneous idea that Marxism was a fixed dogma that could not change. Its most fundamental lesson was that China had to remain committed to combining the basic principles of Marxism with China's realities, and remain committed to a path of revolution, socialist construction, and reform that conformed to China's prevailing conditions.

9. On our new long march, we must firmly believe that the path of Chinese socialism is the only path that can lead us to socialist modernization, and the only path that

的基础上。我们坚定，是因为我们追求的是真理。我们坚定，是因为我们遵循的是规律。我们坚定，是因为我们代表的是最广大人民根本利益。

7. 坚定理想信念，就要深入学习马克思列宁主义、毛泽东思想、邓小平理论、“三个代表”重要思想、科学发展观，深入学习党的十八大以来党中央治国理政新理念新思想新战略，让真理武装我们的头脑，让真理指引我们的理想，让真理坚定我们的信仰。要坚持学而信、学而思、学而行，把学习成果转化为不可撼动的理想信念，转化为正确的世界观、人生观、价值观，用理想之光照亮奋斗之路，用信仰之力开创美好未来。

8. ——弘扬伟大长征精神，走好今天的长征路，必须坚定中国特色社会主义道路自信、理论自信、制度自信、文化自信，为夺取中国特色社会主义伟大事业新胜利而矢志奋斗。长征胜利启示我们：只有掌握科学理论才能把握正确前进方向；只有立足实际、独立自主开辟前进道路，才能不断走向胜利。长征走过的道路，不仅翻越了千山万水，而且翻越了把马克思主义当做一成不变的教条的错误思想障碍。长征给我们的根本经验和启示，就是要坚持马克思主义基本原理同中国具体实际相结合，坚定不移走符合中国国情的革命、建设、改革道路。

9. 在新的长征路上，我们要坚信，中国特色社会主义道路是实现社会主义现代化的必由之路，

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

**10.** Chinese socialism, as the only choice for the development of modern China, embodies the ideals and explorations of several generations of Chinese Communists, the wishes and hopes of countless progressives, and also the struggles and sacrifices of millions upon millions of Chinese people. In emphasizing the need for confidence in our path, theories, system and culture, our intention is by no means to rest on our laurels and stop seeking progress. On the contrary, it is imperative that we continue to discover, invent, create and advance, so as to preserve the strong vitality of Chinese socialism. However, what we must always remember is that the purpose of any and all improvements we make is to advance on the path we have set for ourselves, and not to change course, or discard the very foundation that supports the CPC, the country and the people.

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

是指引中国人民创造自己美好生活的必由之路。中国特色社会主义理论体系是指导党和人民沿着中国特色社会主义道路实现中华民族伟大复兴的正确理论，是立于时代前沿、与时俱进的科学理论。中国特色社会主义制度是当代中国发展进步的根本制度保障，是具有鲜明中国特色、明显制度优势、强大自我完善能力的先进制度。中国特色社会主义文化积淀着中华民族最深层的精神追求，代表着中华民族独特的精神标识，是中国人民胜利前行的强大精神力量。这一点，不仅已经在理论上被证明是正确的，而且在实践上也被证明是正确的。

**10.** 中国特色社会主义，承载着几代中国共产党人的理想和探索，寄托着无数仁人志士的夙愿和期盼，凝聚着亿万人民的奋斗和牺牲，是近代以来中国社会发展的必然选择。我们强调坚定道路自信、理论自信、制度自信、文化自信，不是说就固步自封、不思进取了，我们必须不断有所发现、有所发明、有所创造、有所前进，使中国特色社会主义永远充满蓬勃生机活力。同时，我们要永远记住，我们所进行的一切完善和改进，都是在既定方向上的继续前进，而不是改变方向，更不是要丢掉我们党、国家、人民安身立命的根本。

**11.** ——弘扬伟大长征精神，走好今天的长征路，必须把人民放在心中最高位置，坚持一切为了人民、一切依靠人民，为人民过上更加美好生活而矢志奋斗。长征胜利启示我们：人民群

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

12. On our new long march, the whole Party must remember that the nature of a political party and government is determined by whom they serve and whom they rely on for their support. We must uphold our fundamental political stance of standing on the people's side, put the interests of the people above all else, and constantly advance our endeavors to make life better for them. Rallying and leading all Chinese people, we must be tireless in our efforts to constantly secure and improve standards of living of the people, allow all people to benefit more fairly and thoroughly from the fruits of reform and development, and move steadily towards our goal of common prosperity for all.
13. There is an old saying: "The same water that keeps a ship afloat can also sink it." This is something we must never ever forget. The people are the skies above us and the earth below us. If we forget the people and

众有着无尽的智慧和力量，只有始终相信人民，紧紧依靠人民，充分调动广大人民的积极性、主动性、创造性，才能凝聚起众志成城的磅礴之力。一部红军长征史，就是一部反映军民鱼水情深的历史。在湖南汝城县沙洲村，3名女红军借宿徐解秀老人家中，临走时，把自己仅有的一床被子剪下一半给老人留下了。老人说，什么是共产党？共产党就是自己有一条被子，也要剪下半条给老百姓的人。同人民风雨同舟、血脉相通、生死与共，是中国共产党和红军取得长征胜利的根本保证，也是我们战胜一切困难和风险的根本保证。中国共产党之所以能够发展壮大，中国特色社会主义之所以能够不断前进，正是因为依靠了人民。中国共产党之所以能够得到人民拥护，中国特色社会主义之所以能够得到人民支持，也正是因为造福了人民。

12. 在新的长征路上，全党必须牢记，为什么人、靠什么人的问题，是检验一个政党、一个政权性质的试金石。我们要始终把人民立场作为根本政治立场，把人民利益摆在至上的地位，不断把为人民造福事业推向前进。我们要团结带领全体人民，以自己的辛勤劳动和不懈努力，不断保障和改善民生，让改革发展成果更多更公平惠及全体人民，朝着实现全体人民共同富裕的目标稳步迈进。
13. “水能载舟，亦能覆舟。”这个道理我们必须牢记，任何时候都不能忘却。老百姓是天，老百姓是地。忘记了人民，脱离了人



become distanced from them, we will lose their support, like a river with no headwater or a tree with no roots, and achieve nothing. Therefore, we must uphold the CPC's principle of relying on and serving the people, preserve our close ties with the people, readily subject ourselves to the criticism and oversight of the public, remain mindful of the difficulties ordinary people face, and search constantly for means of bringing prosperity to the people, so as to ensure that the CPC always has the trust and support of the people, and ensure that our cause has an inexhaustible source of strength to carry it forward.

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

**15.** —To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must stay on the right course, keep sight of the bigger picture, and make sound overall arrangements, engaging in a tireless effort to accomplish our overall tasks, fulfill our plans, and achieve our goals. The victory of the Long March proved that to remain invincible a political party must stand at the forefront of the times, keep in step with the flow of history, lay out sound overall plans, seize the strategic initiative, and stay committed to achieving its goals. The Long March took the CPC and the Red Army over towering peaks, across treacherous rivers, and through bleak grasslands, but every leg of the journey,

民,我们就会成为无源之水、无本之木,就会一事无成。我们要坚持党的群众路线,始终保持党同人民群众的血肉联系,始终接受人民群众批评和监督,心中常思百姓疾苦,脑中常谋富民之策,使我们党永远赢得人民群众信任和拥护,使我们的事业始终拥有不竭的力量源泉。

**14.** 团结是战胜一切困难的强大力量,是凝聚人心、成就伟业的重要保证。在中华民族伟大复兴而奋斗的征程中,我们一定要巩固全国各族人民大团结,增强各党派、各团体、各民族、各阶层以及各方面的团结,坚决维护国家统一和社会和谐稳定,坚决反对任何破坏统一和团结的分裂活动。我们要凝聚起全体人民智慧和力量,激发出全社会创造活力和发展动力,让全体中华儿女万众一心、团结奋斗迸发出来的磅礴力量成为实现中华民族伟大复兴的强大动力。

**15.** ——弘扬伟大长征精神,走好今天的长征路,必须把握方向、统揽大局、统筹全局,为实现我们的总任务、总布局、总目标而矢志奋斗。长征胜利启示我们:一个党要立于不败之地,必须立于时代潮头,紧扣新的历史特点,科学谋划全局,牢牢把握战略主动,坚定不移实现我们的战略目标。长征走的是高山峻岭,渡的是大河险滩,过的是草地荒原,但每一个行程、每一次突围、每一场战斗都从战略

every charge through enemy lines, and every battle formed part of a bigger strategic picture. Not only did the CPC and Red Army win the fight, they also seized the strategic initiative. This was an embodiment not only of spirit, but also of wisdom.

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

**17.** The overall task of Chinese socialism is to achieve modernization and national rejuvenation. In a constant effort to move closer to the completion of this overall task, we must coordinate our Five-Point Strategy of economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress; advance the Four-Pronged Strategy in a coordinated fashion; and work wholeheartedly to achieve our Two Centenary Goals. Development is critical to the success of Chinese socialism. We must continue to make economic development our central task, and guide the new normal of economic growth with our Five-Point Strategy, so as to resolve difficulties in development, cultivate new strengths, and lay down more solid material foundations to underpin Chinese socialism. Reform is the key move that will decide China's future. With an unequivocal commitment to reform, we must break free from the shackles of outdated thinking, dismantle the barriers erected by vested interests, and clear away institutional obstacles impeding the development of productive forces and social progress, in order to further modernize China's national governance system and capacity. Innovation is the primary driving force behind development. It is imperative that we free our minds, seek truth from facts, and move forward with the times. We must advance innovation in theory, practice and systems, and in many other areas, so that the causes of the CPC and the country retain their strong creative vitality and constantly advance into new territory.

全局出发，既赢得了战争胜利，也赢得了战略主动。这既是一种精神，也是一种智慧。

**16.** 在新的长征路上，我们要立足世情国情党情，统筹国内国际两个大局，统筹党和国家事业发展全局，协调推进各项事业发展，抓住战略重点，实现关键突破，赢得战略主动，防范系统性风险，避免颠覆性危机，维护好发展全局。

**17.** 坚持和发展中国特色社会主义，总任务是实现社会主义现代化和中华民族伟大复兴。我们必须统筹推进“五位一体”总体布局、协调推进“四个全面”战略布局，一心一意为实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标而努力工作，不断把完成总任务的历史进程推向前进。发展对坚持和发展中国特色社会主义具有决定性意义，我们必须坚持以经济建设为中心，坚持以新发展理念引领经济发展新常态，破解发展难题，厚植发展优势，不断为坚持和发展中国特色社会主义奠定强大物质基础。改革是决定当代中国命运的关键一招，我们必须坚定不移高举改革旗帜，坚决冲破思想观念束缚，坚决破除利益固化藩篱，坚决清除妨碍生产力发展和社会进步的体制机制障碍，不断推进国家治理体系和治理能力现代化。创新是引领发展的第一动力，我们必须解放思想、实事求是、与时俱进，坚定不移推进理论创新、实践创新、制度创新以及其他各方面创新，让党和国家事业始终充满创造活力、

**18.** —To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must build a solid national defense capacity and strong military that is commensurate with China's international standing and that can meet the country's security and development needs, and engage in a tireless effort to preserve national security and world peace. The victory of the Long March proved that the people's army was the foundation of the revolution and the hope of the nation, and that absolute CPC leadership over the army guaranteed victory on the battlefield. The Long March tested, tempered, and strengthened the people's army, initiating a new phase in its growth. The Long March was the glory of the people's army. A glorious people's army must therefore carry forward the spirit and fine tradition that the Red Army demonstrated during the Long March.

**19.** —To carry forward the spirit of the Long March and succeed in our present long march, we must strengthen CPC leadership, remain committed to strict self-governance, and work hard to advance the further development of the Party. The victory of the Long March proved that Party leadership is a fundamental guarantee ensuring that the cause of the Party and the people will succeed. Mao Zedong once said, "Who brought the Long March to victory? The Communist Party. Without the Communist Party, a long march of this kind would have been inconceivable. The Communist Party of China, its leadership, its cadres and its members fear no difficulties or hardships." Party leadership has guaranteed the success of China's revolution, socialist construction and reform. As the essential attribute of Chinese socialism, and the greatest strength of this system, this leadership must be resolutely upheld and improved.

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

不断打开创新局面。

**18.** ——弘扬伟大长征精神，走好今天的长征路，必须建设同我国国际地位相称、同国家安全和利益相适应的巩固国防和强大军队，为维护国家安全和世界和平而矢志奋斗。长征胜利启示我们：人民军队是革命的依托、民族的希望，党对军队绝对领导人民军队赢得胜利的根本保证。长征锻炼了人民军队，长征磨练了人民军队，长征成就了人民军队，长征开启了人民军队发展的新起点。长征是人民军队的光荣，光荣的人民军队必须永远继承红军长征的伟大精神和优良作风。

**19.** ——弘扬伟大长征精神，走好今天的长征路，必须加强党的领导，坚持全面从严治党，为推进党的建设新的伟大工程而矢志奋斗。长征胜利启示我们：党的领导是党和人民事业成功的根本保证。毛泽东同志指出：“谁使长征胜利的呢？是共产党。没有共产党，这样的长征是不可能设想的。中国共产党，它的领导机关，它的干部，它的党员，是不怕任何艰难困苦的。”中国共产党的领导，是中国革命、建设、改革不断取得胜利最根本的保证，是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征，也是中国特色社会主义的最大优势，必须毫不动摇坚持和完善。

**20.** 在新的长征路上，全党同志都要自觉坚持和维护党的领导，自觉站在党和人民立场上，对党忠诚、为党分忧、为党担责、为党尽责，竭尽全力完成党交给的职责和任务，通过全党共同努力，使我们党永远同人民

the Party will always stand with the people and always stand at the forefront of the times.

**21.** “Heroes are those who know themselves and can surpass themselves.” The closer we come to our dream of national rejuvenation, the more arduous the task of reform and opening up becomes, the more we must emphasize the development of the Party. Being prepared for danger in times of peace is the key to survival and development. The “four tests” and “four risks” that our Party faces are long-term, complex and grave. Upholding the centralized leadership of the CPC Central Committee, we must ensure that all Party organizations, members, and officials enhance their political integrity, follow the core leadership of the CPC Central Committee, develop a better understanding of the general picture, and act consistently with CPC Central Committee policy, maintaining a high degree of unity with the CPC Central Committee in the way of thinking, in political principles, and in their actions. We must continue to promote comprehensive governance of the CPC under the strictest discipline; focus on strengthening the governing capacity and pioneering nature of the CPC; improve and regulate political activities within the Party in the new era; make persistent and determined efforts to improve Party conduct and combat corruption; raise the capacity of the CPC to remain wholesome and to improve, renew and surpass itself; improve CPC leadership and governance whilst enhancing its ability to resist corruption and withstand risks; and ensure that the CPC remains the firm leading core of the cause of Chinese socialism.

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

在一起、永远走在时代前列。

**21.** “自知者英，自胜者雄。”民族复兴梦想越接近，改革、开放任务越繁重，越要加强党的建设。安不忘危，才是生存发展之道。我们党面临的“四大考验”、“四种危险”是长期的、复杂的、严峻的。要坚持党中央集中统一领导，在各级党组织和广大党员、干部中强化政治意识、大局意识、核心意识、看齐意识，确保在思想上政治上行动上始终同党中央保持高度一致。要继续推进全面从严治党，牢牢把握加强党的执政能力建设和先进性建设这条主线，加强和规范新形势下党内政治生活，坚定不移推进党风廉政建设和反腐败斗争，不断增强党自我净化、自我完善、自我革新、自我提高能力，提高党的领导水平和执政水平、增强拒腐防变和抵御风险能力，确保党始终成为中国特色社会主义事业的坚强领导核心。

**22.** 蓝图已绘就，奋进正当时。前进道路上，我们要大力弘扬伟大长征精神，激励和鼓舞全党全军全国各族人民特别是青年一代发愤图强、奋发有为，继续把革命前辈开创的伟大事业推向前进，在实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标、实现中华民族伟大复兴中国梦新的长征路上续写新的篇章、创造新的辉煌！

## Passage 8

### Exchanges and Mutual Learning Make Civilizations Richer and More Colorful

### 文明因交流而多彩，文明因互鉴而丰富



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| <p><b>1</b> Civilizations become richer and more colorful through exchanges and mutual learning, which form an important driver for human progress and global peace and development.</p> <p><b>2</b> To promote exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations we must adopt a correct approach with some important principles. They, in my view, contain the following:</p> <p><b>3</b> First, civilizations come in different colors, and such diversity has made exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations relevant and valuable. Just as the sunlight has seven colors, our world is a place of dazzling colors. A civilization is the collective memory of a country or a nation. Throughout history, mankind has created and developed many colorful civilizations, from the earliest days of primitive hunting to the period of agriculture, and from booming industrial revolution</p> | <p><b>1</b> 文明因交流而多彩，文明因互鉴而丰富。文明交流互鉴，是推动人类文明进步和世界和平发展的重要动力。</p> <p><b>2</b> 推动文明交流互鉴，需要秉持正确的态度和原则。我认为，最重要的是坚持以下几点。</p> <p><b>3</b> 第一，文明是多彩的，人类文明因多样才有交流互鉴的价值。阳光有七种颜色，世界也是多彩的。一个国家和民族的文明是一个国家和民族的集体记忆。人类在漫长的历史长河中，创造和发展了多姿多彩的文明。从茹毛饮血到田园农耕，从工业革命到信息社会，构成了</p> |
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<p>to the information society. Together, they present a magnificent genetic map of the exciting march of human civilizations.</p>	<p>波澜壮阔的文明图谱，书写了激荡人心的文明华章。</p>
<p>4 “A single flower does not make spring, while one hundred flowers in full blossom bring spring to the garden.” If there were only one kind of flower in the world, people would find it boring no matter how beautiful it was. Be it Chinese civilization or other civilizations in the world, they are all fruits of human progress.</p>	<p>4 “一花独放不是春，百花齐放春满园。”如果世界上只有一种花朵，就算这种花朵再美，那也是单调的。不论是中华文明，还是世界上存在的其他文明，都是人类文明创造的成果。</p>
<p>5 I have visited the Louvre Museum in France and the Palace Museum in China, both of which house millions of art treasures. They are attractive because they present the richness of diverse civilizations. Exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations must not be built on the exclusive praise or belittling of one particular civilization. As early as over 2,000 years ago, the Chinese people came to recognize that “it is natural for things to be different.” Greater exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations can further enrich the colors of various civilizations and the cultural life of people and open up still greater alternatives in the future.</p>	<p>5 我参观过法国卢浮宫，也参观过中国故宫博物院，它们珍藏着千万件艺术珍品，吸引人们眼球的正是其展现的多样文明成果。文明交流互鉴不应该以独尊某一种文明或者贬损某一种文明为前提。中国人在 2000 多年前就认识到了“物之不齐，物之情也”的道理。推动文明交流互鉴，可以丰富人类文明的色彩，让各国人民享受更富内涵的精神生活、开创更有选择的未来。</p>
<p>6 Second, civilizations are equal, and such equality has made exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations possible. All human civilizations are equal in value, and they all have their respective strengths and weaknesses. No civilization is perfect on the planet. Nor is it devoid of merit. No single civilization can be judged superior to another.</p>	<p>6 第二，文明是平等的，人类文明因平等才有交流互鉴的前提。各种人类文明在价值上是平等的，都各有千秋，也各有不足。世界上不存在十全十美的文明，也不存在一无是处的文明，文明没有高低、优劣之分。</p>
<p>7 I have visited many places in the world. What interested me most during the trips was to learn about differing civilizations across the five continents, what makes them different and unique, how their people think about the world and life and what they hold dear. I have visited Chichen Itza, a window on the ancient Maya civilization, and the Central Asian city of Samarkand, an icon of the ancient Islamic civilization. It is my keenly felt conviction that an attitude of equality and modesty is required if one wants to truly understand various civilizations. Taking a condescending attitude towards a civilization cannot</p>	<p>7 我访问过世界上许多地方，最喜欢做的一件事情就是了解五大洲的不同文明，了解这些文明与其他文明的不同之处、独到之处，了解在这些文明中生活的人们的世界观、人生观、价值观。我到过代表古玛雅文明的奇琴伊察，也到过带有浓厚伊斯兰文明色彩的中亚古城撒马尔罕。我深深感到，要了解各种文明的真谛，必须秉持平等、谦虚的态度。如果居高临下对</p>

<p>help anyone to appreciate its essence, and may risk antagonizing it. Both history and reality show that pride and prejudice are the biggest obstacles to exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations.</p> <p><b>8</b> Third, civilizations are inclusive, and such inclusiveness has given exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations the impetus to move forward. The ocean is vast because it refuses no rivers. All civilizations are crystallizations of mankind's diligence and wisdom. Every civilization is unique. Copying other civilizations blindly or mechanically is like cutting one's toes to fit one's shoes—impossible and highly detrimental. All achievements of civilizations deserve our respect and must be cherished.</p> <p><b>9</b> History proves that only by interacting with and learning from others can a civilization enjoy full vitality. If all civilizations are inclusive, the so-called "clash of civilizations" can be avoided and the harmony of civilizations will become reality; as a Chinese saying goes, "Radish or cabbage, each to his own delight."</p> <p><b>10</b> Having gone through over 5,000 years of vicissitudes, the Chinese civilization has always kept to its original root. As an icon, it contains the most profound pursuits of the Chinese nation and provides it with abundant nourishment for existence and development. Deriving from Chinese soil, it has come to its present form through constant exchanges with and learning from other civilizations.</p> <p><b>11</b> In the 2nd century BC, China started the Silk Road leading to the Western Regions. In 138 BC and 119 BC, Envoy Zhang Qian of the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) made two trips to those regions, disseminating Chinese culture and bringing into China grapes, alfalfa, pomegranates, flax, sesame and other products. During the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 25), China's merchant fleets sailed as far as India and Sri Lanka where they traded China's silk for colored glaze, pearls and other products. The Tang Dynasty (618-907) saw dynamic interactions between China and other countries. Historical records reveal that China</p>	<p>待一种文明，不仅不能参透这种文明的奥妙，而且会与之格格不入。历史和现实都表明，傲慢和偏见是文明交流互鉴的最大障碍。</p> <p><b>8</b> 第三，文明是包容的，人类文明因包容才有交流互鉴的动力。海纳百川，有容乃大。人类创造的各种文明都是劳动和智慧的结晶。每一种文明都是独特的。在文明问题上，生搬硬套、削足适履不仅是不可能的，而且是十分有害的。一切文明成果都值得尊重，一切文明成果都要珍惜。</p> <p><b>9</b> 历史告诉我们，只有交流互鉴，一种文明才能充满生命力。只要秉持包容精神，就不存在什么“文明冲突”，就可以实现文明和谐。这就是中国人常说的：“萝卜青菜，各有所爱。”</p> <p><b>10</b> 中华文明经历了 5000 多年的历史变迁，但始终一脉相承，积淀着中华民族最深层的精神追求，代表着中华民族独特的精神标识，为中华民族生生不息、发展壮大提供了丰厚滋养。中华文明是在中国大地上产生的文明，也是同其他文明不断交流互鉴而形成的文明。</p> <p><b>11</b> 公元前 100 多年，中国就开始开辟通往西域的丝绸之路。汉代张骞于公元前 138 年和 119 年两次出使西域，向西域传播了中华文化，也引进了葡萄、苜蓿、石榴、胡麻、芝麻等西域文化成果。西汉时期，中国的船队就到达了印度和斯里兰卡，用中国的丝绸换取了琉璃、珍珠等物品。中国唐代是中国历史上对外交流的活跃期。据史料记载，唐代中国通使交好的国</p>
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exchanged envoys with more than 70 countries, and Chang'an, the capital of Tang, bustled with envoys, merchants and students from other countries. Exchanges of such a magnitude helped spread Chinese culture to the rest of the world and introduce other cultures and products to China. During the early 15th century, Zheng He, a famous navigator of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), made seven expeditions to the Western Seas, reaching many Southeast Asian countries and even Kenya on the eastern coast of Africa, leaving behind many stories of friendly exchanges between China and countries along the route. During the late Ming and early Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, the Chinese people began to access modern science and technology through the introduction of European knowledge in the realms of astronomy, medicine, mathematics, geometry and geography, which helped broaden the horizons of Chinese people. Thereafter, exchanges and mutual learning between Chinese civilization and other civilizations became more frequent. Naturally, there were conflicts, frictions, bewilderment and denial, but the more dominant features of the period were learning, digestion, integration and innovation.

**12** Buddhism originated in ancient India. After it was brought to China, the religion went through an extended period of integrated development with the indigenous Confucianism and Taoism, and finally became Buddhism with Chinese features, thus greatly impacting the religious beliefs, philosophy, literature, art, etiquette and customs of China. Xuan Zang, an eminent monk of the Tang Dynasty, who endured untold sufferings as he went on a pilgrimage to ancient India for Buddhist scriptures, gave full expression to the determination and fortitude of the Chinese people to learn from other cultures. I am sure you have heard of the Chinese mythological classical novel Journey to the West based on his stories.

**13** The Chinese people enriched Buddhism and developed some special Buddhist thoughts in the light of Chinese culture, and helped it spread from China to Japan,

家多达 70 多个，那时候的首都长安里来自各国的使臣、商人、留学生云集成群。这个大交流促进了中华文化远播世界，也促进了各国文化和物产传入中国。15 世纪初，中国明代著名航海家郑和七次远洋航海，到了东南亚很多国家，一直抵达非洲东海岸的肯尼亚，留下了中国同沿途各国人民友好交往的佳话。明末清初，中国人积极学习现代科技知识，欧洲的天文学、医学、数学、几何学、地理学知识纷纷传入中国，开阔中国人的知识视野。之后，中外文明交流互鉴更是频繁展开，这其中有冲突、矛盾、疑惑、拒绝，但更多是学习、消化、融合、创新。

**12** 佛教产生于古代印度，但传入中国后，经过长期演化，佛教同中国儒家文化和道家文化融合发展，最终形成了具有中国特色的佛教文化，给中国人的宗教信仰、哲学观念、文学艺术、礼仪习俗等留下了深刻影响。中国唐代玄奘西行取经，历尽磨难，体现的是中国人学习域外文化的坚韧精神。根据他的故事演绎的神话小说《西游记》，我想大家都知道。中国人根据中华文化发展了佛教思想，形成了独特的佛教理论，而且使佛教从中国传播到了日本、韩国、东南亚等地。

**13** 2000 多年来，佛教、伊斯兰教、基督教等先后传入中国，中国音乐、绘画、文学等也不断吸纳



Korea, Southeast Asia and beyond. Over the last 2,000 years religions such as Buddhism, Islam and Christianity have been introduced into China, nurturing the country's music, painting and literature. China's freehand oil painting, for instance, is an innovative combination of its own traditional painting and Western oil painting, and the works by Xu Beihong and other master painters have been widely acclaimed. China's Four Great Inventions—papermaking, gunpowder, printing and the compass—brought drastic changes to the whole world, including the European Renaissance. Its philosophy, literature, medicine, silk, porcelain and tea have been shared by the West and become part of its people's life. The book *Travels of Marco Polo* provoked widespread interest in China.

- 14** I think some of you might be familiar with the terracotta warriors and horses of the Qin Dynasty (221-207 BC), one of the eight wonders in the world. After his visit to the site, President Chirac of France remarked that a visit to Egypt would not be complete without seeing the pyramids, and that a visit to China would not be complete without seeing the terracotta warriors and horses. In 1987 this national treasure was listed as one of UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage Sites. Many Chinese legacies are ranked as World Cultural Heritage Sites, and World Intangible Cultural Heritage Sites and are listed on the Memory of the World Register. Here, I'd like to express my heartfelt thanks to UNESCO for its contribution to the preservation and dissemination of Chinese civilization.
- 15** Today, we live in a world with different cultures, ethnic groups, skin colors, religions and social systems, and all people on the planet have become members of an intimate community of shared future.
- 16** The Chinese people have long come to appreciate the concept of "harmony without uniformity." Zuoqi Ming, a Chinese historian who lived 2,500 years ago, recorded a few lines by Yan Zi, prime minister of the State of Qi during the Spring and Autumn Period (770-476 BC) in Zuo's Chronicles (Zuo Zhuan): "Harmony is like cooking thick soup. You need water, fire, vinegar, meat sauce, salt and plum to go with the fish or meat.

外来文明的优长。中国传统画法同西方油画融合创新，形成了独具魅力的中国写意油画，徐悲鸿等大师的作品受到广泛赞赏。中国的造纸术、火药、印刷术、指南针四大发明带动了世界变革，推动了欧洲文艺复兴。中国哲学、文学、医药、丝绸、瓷器、茶叶等传入西方，渗入西方民众日常生活之中。《马可·波罗游记》令无数人对中国心向往之。

- 14** 大家都知道，中国有秦俑，人们称之为“地下的军团”。法国总统希拉克参观之后说：“不看金字塔，不算真正到过埃及。不看秦俑，不算真正到过中国。”1987年，这一尘封了2000多年的中华文化珍品被列入世界文化遗产。中国还有大量文明成果被教科文组织列入世界文化遗产、世界非物质文化遗产、世界记忆遗产名录。这里，我要对教科文组织为保存和传播中华文明作出的贡献，表示衷心的感谢！
- 15** 当今世界，人类生活在不同文化、种族、肤色、宗教和不同社会制度所组成的世界里，各国人民形成了你中有我、我中有你的命运共同体。
- 16** 中国人早就懂得了“和而不同”的道理。生活在2500年前的中国史学家左丘明在《左传》中记录了齐国上大夫晏子关于“和”的一段话：“和如羹焉，水、火、醯、醢、盐、梅，以烹鱼肉。”“声亦如味，一气，二体，三类，四物，五声，六律，

It is the same with music. Only by combining the texture, length, rhythm, mood, tone, pitch and style adequately and executing them properly can you produce an excellent melody. Who can tolerate soup with nothing but water in it? Who can tolerate the same tone played again and again with one instrument?"

**17** On the planet, there are more than 200 countries and regions inhabited by over 2,500 ethnic groups with a multitude of religions. Can we imagine a world with only one lifestyle, one language, one kind of music and one style of costume?

**18** Victor Hugo once said that there was a prospect greater than the sea—the sky; there was a prospect greater than the sky—the human soul. Indeed, we need a mind that is broader than the sky as we approach different civilizations, which serve as water, moistening everything silently. We should encourage different civilizations to respect each other and live in harmony, so as to turn exchanges and mutual learning between civilizations into a bridge promoting friendship between peoples around the world, an engine driving human society, and a bond cementing world peace. We should draw wisdom and nourishment and seek spiritual support and psychological consolation from various civilizations, and work together to face down the challenges around the globe.

**19** In 1987, 20 exquisite pieces of colored glaze were brought to light from an underground tomb of Famen Temple in Shaanxi, China. They proved to be Byzantine and Islamic relics brought to China during the Tang Dynasty. Marveling at these exotic relics, I was struck by the thought that we should appreciate their cultural significance rather than simply admiring their exquisiteness, and bring their inherent spirit to life instead of merely appreciating the artistic presentation of life in the past.

七音，八风，九歌，以相成也。”“若以水济水，谁能食之？若琴瑟之专一，谁能听之？”

**17** 世界上有 200 多个国家和地区，2500 多个民族和多种宗教。如果只有一种生活方式，只有一种语言，只有一种音乐，只有一种服饰，那是不可想象的。

**18** 雨果说，世界上最宽阔的是海洋，比海洋更宽阔的是天空，比天空更宽阔的是人的胸怀。对待不同文明，我们需要比天空更宽阔的胸怀。文明如水，润物无声。我们应该推动不同文明相互尊重、和谐共处，让文明交流互鉴成为增进各国人民友谊的桥梁、推动人类社会进步的动力、维护世界和平的纽带。我们应该从不同文明中寻求智慧、汲取营养，为人们提供精神支撑和心灵慰藉，携手解决人类共同面临的各种挑战。

**19** 1987 年，在中国陕西的法门寺，地宫中出土了 20 件美轮美奂的琉璃器，这是唐代传入中国的东罗马和伊斯兰的琉璃器。我在欣赏这些域外文物时，一直在思考一个问题，就是对待不同文明，不能只满足于欣赏它们产生的精美物件，更应该去领略其中包含的人文精神；不能只满足于领略它们对以往人们生活的艺术表现，更应该让其中蕴藏的精神鲜活起来。

## Passage 9

### Towards a Community of Shared Future for Mankind

### 共同构建人类命运共同体



- 1 Ladies and gentlemen,  
Dear friends,  
Great visions can be realized only through actions. Actions hold the key to building a community of shared future for mankind. To achieve this goal, the international community should promote partnership, security, growth, inter-civilization exchanges and the building of sound ecosystems.
- 2 —We should build a world of lasting peace through dialogue and consultation. When countries enjoy peace, so will the world; when countries fight, the world suffers. From the Peloponnesian War in the fifth century BC to the two world wars and the Cold War that lasted more than four decades, we have drawn painful and profound lessons. As a Chinese saying goes, “History, if not forgotten, can serve as a guide for the future.” Established by those before us, the United Nations has made it possible for us to enjoy relative peace for more than 70 years. What we need to do is

- 1 女士们、先生们、朋友们！  
大道至简，实干为要。构建人类命运共同体，关键在行动。我认为，国际社会要从伙伴关系、安全格局、经济发展、文明交流、生态建设等方面作出努力。
- 2 ——坚持对话协商，建设一个持久和平的世界。国家和，则世界安；国家斗，则世界乱。从公元前的伯罗奔尼撒战争到两次世界大战，再到延续 40 余年的冷战，教训惨痛而深刻。“前事不忘，后事之师。”我们的先辈建立了联合国，为世界赢得 70 余年相对和平。我们要完善机制和手段，更好化解纷争和矛

to improve the mechanisms and means to more effectively resolve disputes, reduce tension, and prevent wars and conflicts.

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

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

5 The terrorist attacks that have occurred in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East in recent years once again demonstrate that terrorism is the common enemy of humanity. Fighting terrorism is the shared responsibility of all countries. In fighting terror, we should not only treat the symptoms, but also remove

盾、消弭战乱和冲突。

3 瑞士作家、诺贝尔文学奖获得者黑塞说：“不应为战争和毁灭效劳，而应为和平与谅解服务。”国家之间要构建对话不对抗、结伴不结盟的伙伴关系。大国要尊重彼此核心利益和重大关切，管控矛盾分歧，努力构建不冲突不对抗、相互尊重、合作共赢的新型关系。只要坚持沟通、真诚相处，“修昔底德陷阱”就可以避免。大国对小国要平等相待，不搞唯我独尊、强买强卖的霸道。任何国家都不能随意发动战争，不能破坏国际法治，不能打开潘多拉的盒子。核武器是悬在人类头上的“达摩克利斯之剑”，应该全面禁止并最终彻底销毁，实现无核世界。要秉持和平、主权、普惠、共治原则，把深海、极地、外空、互联网等领域打造成各方合作的新疆域，而不是相互博弈的竞技场。

4 ——坚持共建共享，建设一个普遍安全的世界。世上没有绝对安全的世外桃源，一国的安全不能建立在别国的动荡之上，他国的威胁也可能成为本国的挑战。邻居出了问题，不能光想着扎好自家篱笆，而应该去帮一把。“单则易折，众则难摧。”各方应该树立共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观。

5 近年来，在欧洲、北非、中东发生的恐怖袭击事件再次表明，恐怖主义是人类公敌。反恐是各国共同义务，既要治标，更要治本。要加强协调，建立全球反恐统一战线，为各国人民撑起

the root causes. We should enhance coordination and build a global united front against terrorism so as to create an umbrella of security for people around the world. The number of refugees has hit a record high since the end of World War II. While tackling the crisis, we should also get to its roots. Why would anyone want to be displaced if they have a home to return to? UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration should act as the coordinator to mobilize the world to respond effectively to the refugee crisis. China has decided to provide an additional RMB200 million in humanitarian assistance for refugees and the displaced of Syria. As terrorism and refugee crises are closely linked to geopolitical conflicts, resolving conflicts provides the fundamental solution to these problems. Parties that are directly involved in the conflicts should return to the negotiating table, while others should facilitate peace talks. We should all respect the role of the United Nations as the main mediator. Pandemic diseases such as bird flu, Ebola and Zika have sounded the alarm for international health security. The WHO should play a leadership role in strengthening epidemic monitoring and in sharing information, best practices and technologies. The international community should step up support and assistance for public health in African countries and other developing countries.

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

安全伞。当前，难民数量已经创下第二次世界大战结束以来的历史纪录。危机需要应对，根源值得深思。如果不是有家难归，谁会颠沛流离？联合国难民署、国际移民组织等要发挥统筹协调作用，动员全球力量有效应对。中国决定提供 2 亿元人民币新的人道援助，用于帮助叙利亚难民和流离失所者。恐怖主义、难民危机等问题都同地缘冲突密切相关，化解冲突是根本之策。当事各方要通过协商谈判，其他各方应该积极劝和促谈，尊重联合国发挥斡旋主渠道作用。禽流感、埃博拉、寨卡等疫情不断给国际卫生安全敲响警钟。世界卫生组织要发挥引领作用，加强疫情监测、信息沟通、经验交流、技术分享。国际社会应该加大对非洲等发展中国家卫生事业的支持和援助。

- 6 ——坚持合作共赢，建设一个共同繁荣的世界。发展是第一要务，适用于各国。各国要同舟共济，而不是以邻为壑。各国特别是主要经济体要加强宏观政策协调，兼顾当前和长远，着力解决深层次问题。要抓住新一轮科技革命和产业变革的历史性机遇，转变经济发展方式，坚持创新驱动，进一步发展社会生产力、释放社会创造力。要维护世界贸易组织规则，支持开放、透明、包容、非歧视性的多边贸易体制，构建开放型世界经济。如果搞贸易保护主义、画地为牢，损人不利己。

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

**8** We should draw inspiration from history. Historians told us long ago that rapid economic development necessitates social reform; but people tend to support the former while rejecting the latter. Instead of watching and hesitating, we should move forward against all odds. Answers can also be found in reality. The 2008 global financial crisis has taught us that we should strengthen coordination and improve governance so as to ensure sound growth of economic globalization and make it open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial to all. We should make the cake bigger and share it fairly to ensure justice and equity.

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

**10** —We should build an open and inclusive world through exchanges and mutual learning. "Delicious soup is made by combining different ingredients." Diversity in human civilizations not only defines our world, but also

**7** 经济全球化是历史大势，促成了贸易大繁荣、投资大便利、人员大流动、技术大发展。本世纪初以来，在联合国主导下，借助经济全球化，国际社会制定和实施了千年发展目标和2030年可持续发展议程，推动11亿人口脱贫，19亿人口获得安全饮用水，35亿人口用上互联网等，还将在2030年实现零贫困。这充分说明，经济全球化的大方向是正确的。当然，发展失衡、治理困境、数字鸿沟、公平赤字等问题也客观存在。这些是前进中的问题，我们要正视并设法解决，但不能因噎废食。

**8** 我们要从历史中汲取智慧。历史学家早就断言，经济快速发展使社会变革成为必需，经济发展易获支持，而社会变革常遭抵制。我们不能因此踟蹰不前，而要砥砺前行。我们也要从现实中寻找答案。2008年爆发的国际金融危机启示我们，引导经济全球化健康发展，需要加强协调、完善治理，推动建设一个开放、包容、普惠、平衡、共赢的经济全球化，既要做大“蛋糕”，更要分好“蛋糕”，着力解决公平公正问题。

**9** 去年9月，二十国集团领导人杭州峰会聚焦全球经济治理等重大问题，通过《创新增长蓝图》，首次将发展问题纳入全球宏观政策框架，并制定了行动计划。

**10** ——坚持交流互鉴，建设一个开放包容的世界。“和羹之美，在于合异。”人类文明多样性是世界的根本特征，也是人类进

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

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

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

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

步的源泉。世界上有 200 多个国家、2500 多个民族、多种宗教。不同历史和国情，不同民族和习俗，孕育了不同文明，使世界更加丰富多彩。文明没有高下、优劣之分，只有特色、地域之别。文明差异不应该成为世界冲突的根源，而应该成为人类文明进步的动力。

**11** 每种文明都有其独特魅力和深厚底蕴，都是人类的精神瑰宝。不同文明要取长补短、共同进步，让文明交流互鉴成为推动人类社会进步的动力、维护世界和平的纽带。

**12** ——坚持绿色低碳，建设一个清洁美丽的世界。人与自然共生共存，伤害自然最终将伤及人类。空气、水、土壤、蓝天等自然资源用之不觉、失之难续。工业化创造了前所未有的物质财富，也产生了难以弥补的生态创伤。我们不能吃祖宗饭、断子孙路，用破坏性方式搞发展。绿水青山就是金山银山。我们应该遵循天人合一、道法自然的理念，寻求永续发展之路。

**13** 我们要倡导绿色、低碳、循环、可持续的生产生活方式，平衡推进 2030 年可持续发展议程，不断开拓生产发展、生活富裕、生态良好的文明发展道路。《巴黎协定》的达成是全球气候治理史上的里程碑。我们不能让这一成果付诸东流。各方要共同推动协定实施。中国将继续采取行动应对气候变化，百分



fully honor its obligations.

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

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

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

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

**18** China has grown from a poor and weak country to the second largest economy not through military expansion or colonial plunder, but through the hard

之百承担自己的义务。

**14** 瑞士军刀是瑞士“工匠精神”的产物。我第一次得到一把瑞士军刀时，我就很佩服人们能赋予它那么多功能。我想，如果我们能为这个世界打造一把精巧的瑞士军刀就好了，人类遇到了什么问题，就用其中一个工具来解决它。我相信，只要国际社会不懈努力，这样一把瑞士军刀是可以打造出来的。

**15** 女士们、先生们、朋友们！  
中国人始终认为，世界好，中国才能好；中国好，世界才更好。面向未来，很多人关心中国的政策走向，国际社会也有很多议论。在这里，我给大家一个明确的回答。

**16** 中国维护世界和平的决心不会改变。中华文明历来崇尚“以和邦国”、“和而不同”、“以和为贵”。中国《孙子兵法》是一部著名兵书，但其第一句话就讲：“兵者，国之大事，死生之地，存亡之道，不可不察也”，其要义是慎战、不战。几千年来，和平融入了中华民族的血脉中，刻进了中国人民的基因里。

**17** 数百年前，即使中国强盛到国内生产总值占世界 30% 的时候，也从未对外侵略扩张。1840 年鸦片战争后的 100 多年里，中国频遭侵略和蹂躏之害，饱受战祸和动乱之苦。孔子说，己所不欲，勿施于人。中国人民深信，只有和平安宁才能繁荣发展。

**18** 中国从一个积贫积弱的国家发展成为世界第二大经济体，靠的不是对外军事扩张和殖民掠



work of its people and their efforts to uphold peace. China will never waver in its pursuit of peaceful development. No matter how strong its economy grows, China will never seek hegemony, expansion or spheres of influence. History has borne this out and will continue to do so.

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

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

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

**22** The Belt and Road Initiative that I have proposed aims to achieve win-win and shared development. Over 100 countries and international organizations have positively responded to and supported the initiative,

而是人民勤劳、维护和平。中国将始终不渝走和平发展道路。无论中国发展到哪一步，中国永不称霸、永不扩张、永不谋求势力范围。历史已经并将继续证明这一点。

**19** 第二，中国促进共同发展的决心不会改变。中国有句古语叫“落其实思其树，饮其流怀其源”。中国发展得益于国际社会，中国也为全球发展作出了贡献。中国将继续奉行互利共赢的开放战略，将自身发展机遇同世界各国分享，欢迎各国搭乘中国发展的“顺风车”。

**20** 1950 年至 2016 年，中国累计对外提供援款 4000 多亿元人民币，今后将继续在力所能及的范围内加大对外帮扶。国际金融危机爆发以来，中国经济增长对世界经济增长的贡献率年均都在 30% 以上。未来 5 年，中国将进口 8 万亿美元的商品，吸收 6000 亿美元的外来投资，中国对外投资总额将达到 7500 亿美元，出境旅游将达到 7 亿人次。这将为世界各国发展带来更多机遇。

**21** 中国坚持走符合本国国情的发展道路，始终把人民权利放在首位，不断促进和保护人权。中国解决了 13 亿多人口的温饱问题，让 7 亿多人口摆脱贫困，这是对世界人权事业的重大贡献。

**22** 我提出“一带一路”倡议，就是要实现共赢共享发展。目前，已经有 100 多个国家和国际组织积极响应支持，一大批早期收

and a large number of “early harvest” projects have been launched. China supports the successful operation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and other new multilateral financial institutions in order to provide more public goods to the international community.

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

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

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

获项目落地开花。中国支持建设好亚洲基础设施投资银行等新型多边金融机构，为国际社会提供更多公共产品。

**23** 第三，中国打造伙伴关系的决心不会改变。中国坚持独立自主的和平外交政策，在和平共处五项原则基础上同所有国家发展友好合作。中国率先把建立伙伴关系确定为国家间交往的指导原则，同 90 多个国家和区域组织建立了不同形式的伙伴关系。中国将进一步联结遍布全球的“朋友圈”。

**24** 中国将努力构建总体稳定、均衡发展的大国关系框架，积极同美国发展新型大国关系，同俄罗斯发展全面战略协作伙伴关系，同欧洲发展和平、增长、改革、文明伙伴关系，同金砖国家发展团结合作的伙伴关系。中国将继续坚持正确义利观，深化同发展中国家务实合作，实现同呼吸、共命运、齐发展。中国将按照亲诚惠容理念同周边国家深化互利合作，秉持真实亲诚对非政策理念同非洲国家共谋发展，推动中拉全面合作伙伴关系实现新发展。

**25** 第四，中国支持多边主义的决心不会改变。多边主义是维护和平、促进发展的有效路径。长期以来，联合国等国际机构做了大量工作，为维护世界总体和平、持续发展的态势作出了

<p><b>26</b> China is a founding member of the United Nations, and it was the first country to put its signature on the UN Charter. China will firmly uphold the international system with the UN at its core, the fundamental norms governing international relations embodied in the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, the authority and stature of the UN, and its core role in international affairs.</p> <p><b>27</b> The China-UN Peace and Development Fund has been formally inaugurated. We will make funds available to peace and development-oriented programs proposed by the UN and its agencies in Geneva on a priority basis. China will increase its support for multilateralism as the country continues to develop itself.</p>	<p>有目共睹的贡献。</p> <p><b>26</b> 中国是联合国创始成员国，是第一个在联合国宪章上签字的国家。中国将坚定维护以联合国为核心的国际体系，坚定维护以联合国宪章宗旨和原则为基石的国际关系基本准则，坚定维护联合国权威和地位，坚定维护联合国在国际事务中的核心作用。</p> <p><b>27</b> 中国—联合国和平与发展基金已经正式投入运营，中国将把资金优先用于联合国及日内瓦相关国际机构提出的和平与发展项目。随着中国持续发展，中国支持多边主义的力度也将越来越大。</p>
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## Passage 10

### Speech at a Ceremony Marking the Centenary of the Communist Party of China

### 在庆祝中国共产党成立 100 周年大会上的讲话



**1** Comrades and friends,  
Though defining our Party's founding mission is easy, ensuring that we stay true to this mission is not. By learning from history, we can understand why powers rise and fall. Through the mirror of history, we can find where we currently stand and gain foresight into the future. Looking back on the Party's 100-year history, we can see why we were successful in the past and how we can continue to succeed in the future. This will ensure that we act with greater resolve and purpose in staying true to our founding mission and pursuing a better future on the new journey that lies before us.

**2** As we put conscious effort into learning from history to create a bright future, we must bear the following in mind: We must uphold the firm leadership of the Party. China's success hinges on the Party. The more than 180-year-long modern history of the Chinese nation, the 100-year-long history of the Party, and the more than 70-year-long history of the People's

**1** 同志们、朋友们！  
初心易得，始终难守。以史为鉴，可以知兴替。我们要用历史映照现实、远观未来，从中国共产党的百年奋斗中看清楚过去我们为什么能够成功、弄明白未来我们怎样才能继续成功，从而在新的征程上更加坚定、更加自觉地牢记初心使命、开创美好未来。

**2** ——以史为鉴、开创未来，必须坚持中国共产党坚强领导。办好中国的事情，关键在党。中华民族近代以来 180 多年的历史、中国共产党成立以来 100 年的历史、中华人民共和国成立以来 70 多年的历史都充分证明，

Republic of China all provide ample evidence that without the Communist Party of China, there would be no new China and no national rejuvenation. The Party was chosen by history and the people. The leadership of the Party is the defining feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics and constitutes the greatest strength of this system. It is the foundation and lifeblood of the Party and the country, and the crux upon which the interests and wellbeing of all Chinese people depend.

**3** On the journey ahead, we must uphold the Party's overall leadership and continue to enhance its leadership. We must be deeply conscious of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership. We must stay confident in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must uphold the core position of the General Secretary on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole, and uphold the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership. Bearing in mind the country's most fundamental interests, we must enhance the Party's capacity to conduct sound, democratic, and law-based governance, and ensure that it fully exerts its core role in providing overall leadership and coordinating the efforts of all sides.

**4** We must unite and lead the Chinese people in working ceaselessly for a better life. This country is its people; the people are the country. As we have fought to establish and consolidate our leadership over the country, we have in fact been fighting to earn and keep the people's support. The Party has in the people its roots, its lifeblood, and its source of strength. The Party has always represented the fundamental interests of all Chinese people; it stands with them through thick and thin and shares a common fate with them. The Party has no special interests of its own—it has never represented any individual interest group, power group, or privileged stratum. Any attempt to divide the Party from the Chinese people or to set the people against the Party is bound to fail. The more than 95 million Party members will not allow it. The more than

没有中国共产党，就没有新中国，就没有中华民族伟大复兴。历史和人民选择了中国共产党。中国共产党领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征，是中国特色社会主义制度的最大优势，是党和国家的根本所在、命脉所在，是全国各族人民的利益所系、命运所系。

**3** 新的征程上，我们必须坚持党的全面领导，不断完善党的领导，增强“四个意识”、坚定“四个自信”、做到“两个维护”，牢记“国之大者”，不断提高党科学执政、民主执政、依法执政水平，充分发挥党总揽全局、协调各方的领导核心作用！

**4** ——以史为鉴、开创未来，必须团结带领中国人民不断为美好生活而奋斗。江山就是人民、人民就是江山，打江山、守江山，守的是人民的心。中国共产党根基在人民、血脉在人民、力量在人民。中国共产党始终代表最广大人民根本利益，与人民休戚与共、生死相依，没有任何自己特殊的利益，从来不代表任何利益集团、任何权势团体、任何特权阶层的利益。任何想把中国共产党同中国人民分割开来、对立起来的企图，都是绝不会得逞的！9500多万中国共产党人不答应！14亿多中国人

1.4 billion Chinese people will not allow it.

5 On the journey ahead, we must rely closely on the people to create history. Upholding the Party's fundamental purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people, we will stand firmly with the people, implement the Party's mass line, respect the people's creativity, and practice a people-centered philosophy of development. We will develop whole-process people's democracy, safeguard social fairness and justice, and resolve the imbalances and inadequacies in development and the most pressing difficulties and problems that are of great concern to the people. In doing so, we will make more substantive progress towards achieving well-rounded human development and common prosperity for all.

6 We must continue to adapt Marxism to the Chinese context. Marxism is the fundamental guiding ideology upon which our Party and country are founded; it is the very soul of our Party and the banner under which it strives. The Communist Party of China upholds the basic tenets of Marxism and the principle of seeking truth from facts. Based on China's realities, we have developed keen insights into the trends of the day, seized the initiative in history, and made painstaking explorations. We have thus been able to keep adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, and to guide the Chinese people in advancing our great social revolution. At the fundamental level, the capability of our Party and the strengths of socialism with Chinese characteristics are attributable to the fact that Marxism works.

7 On the journey ahead, we must continue to uphold Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development, and fully implement the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. We must continue to integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific realities and its fine traditional culture. We will use Marxism to observe, understand, and steer the trends of our times, and continue to develop the Marxism of contemporary China and in the 21st

民也不答应！

5 新的征程上，我们必须紧紧依靠人民创造历史，坚持全心全意为人民服务的根本宗旨，站稳人民立场，贯彻党的群众路线，尊重人民首创精神，践行以人民为中心的发展思想，发展全过程人民民主，维护社会公平正义，着力解决发展不平衡不充分问题和人民群众急难愁盼问题，推动人的全面发展、全体人民共同富裕取得更为明显的实质性进展！

6 ——以史为鉴、开创未来，必须继续推进马克思主义中国化。马克思主义是我们立党立国的根本指导思想，是我们党的灵魂和旗帜。中国共产党坚持马克思主义基本原理，坚持实事求是，从中国实际出发，洞察时代大势，把握历史主动，进行艰辛探索，不断推进马克思主义中国化时代化，指导中国人民不断推进伟大社会革命。中国共产党为什么能，中国特色社会主义为什么好，归根到底是因为马克思主义行！

7 新的征程上，我们必须坚持马克思列宁主义、毛泽东思想、邓小平理论、“三个代表”重要思想、科学发展观，全面贯彻新时代中国特色社会主义思想，坚持把马克思主义基本原理同中国具体实际相结合、同中华优秀传统文化相结合，用马克思主义观察时代、把握时代、引领时代，继续发展当代中国马克思主义、21世纪马克思主义！

century.

- 8** We must uphold and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must follow our own path—this is the bedrock that underpins all the theories and practices of our Party. More than that, it is the historical conclusion our Party has drawn from its struggles over the past century. Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a fundamental achievement of the Party and the people, forged through innumerable hardships and great sacrifices, and it is the right path for us to achieve national rejuvenation. As we have upheld and developed socialism with Chinese characteristics and driven coordinated progress in material, political, cultural-ethical, social, and ecological terms, we have pioneered a new and uniquely Chinese path to modernization, and created a new model for human advancement.
- 9** On the journey ahead, we must adhere to the Party's basic theory, line, and policy, and implement the Five-Sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy. We must deepen reform and opening up across the board, ground our work in this new stage of development, fully and faithfully apply the new development philosophy, and foster a new pattern of development. We must promote high-quality development and build up our country's strength in science and technology. We must ensure it is the people who run the country, continue to govern based on the rule of law, and uphold the core socialist values. We must ensure and enhance public wellbeing in the course of development, promote harmony between humanity and nature, and take well-coordinated steps towards making our people prosperous, our nation strong, and our country beautiful.
- 10** The Chinese nation has fostered a splendid civilization over more than 5,000 years of history. The Party has also acquired a wealth of experience through its endeavors over the past 100 years and during more than 70 years of governance. At the same time, we are also eager to learn what lessons we can from the achievements of other cultures, and we welcome helpful suggestions and constructive criticism. We will not, however, accept sanctimonious preaching from

**8** ——以史为鉴、开创未来，必须坚持和发展中国特色社会主义。走自己的路，是党的全部理论和实践立足点，更是党百年奋斗得出的历史结论。中国特色社会主义是党和人民历经千辛万苦、付出巨大代价取得的根本成就，是实现中华民族伟大复兴的正确道路。我们坚持和发展中国特色社会主义，推动物质文明、政治文明、精神文明、社会文明、生态文明协调发展，创造了中国式现代化新道路，创造了人类文明新形态。

**9** 新的征程上，我们必须坚持党的基本理论、基本路线、基本方略，统筹推进“五位一体”总体布局、协调推进“四个全面”战略布局，全面深化改革开放，立足新发展阶段，完整、准确、全面贯彻新发展理念，构建新发展格局，推动高质量发展，推进科技自立自强，保证人民当家作主，坚持依法治国，坚持社会主义核心价值观体系，坚持在发展中保障和改善民生，坚持人与自然和谐共生，协同推进人民富裕、国家强盛、中国美丽。

**10** 中华民族拥有在 5000 多年历史演进中形成的灿烂文明，中国共产党拥有百年奋斗实践和 70 多年执政兴国经验，我们积极学习借鉴人类文明的一切有益成果，欢迎一切有益的建议和善意的批评，但我们绝不接受“教师爷”般颐指气使的说教！中国共产党和中国人民将

those who feel they have the right to lecture us. The Party and the Chinese people will keep moving confidently forward in broad strides along the path that we have chosen for ourselves, and we will make sure the destiny of China's development and progress remains firmly in our own hands.

**11** We must accelerate the modernization of national defense and the armed forces. A strong country must have a strong military, as only then can it guarantee the security of the nation. At the point that it was engaged in violent struggle, the Party came to recognize the irrefutable truth that it must command the gun and build a people's military of its own. The people's military has made indelible achievements on behalf of the Party and the people. It is a strong pillar for safeguarding our socialist country and preserving national dignity, and it is a powerful force for protecting peace in our region and beyond.

**12** On the journey ahead, we must fully implement the Party's thinking on strengthening the military in the new era as well as our military strategy for the new era, maintain the Party's absolute leadership over the people's armed forces, and follow a Chinese path to military development. We will take comprehensive measures to enhance the political loyalty of the armed forces, to strengthen them through reform and technology and the training of competent personnel, and to run them in accordance with the law. We will elevate our people's armed forces to world-class standards so that we are equipped with greater capabilities and more reliable means for safeguarding our national sovereignty, security, and development interests.

**13** We must continue working to promote the building of a human community with a shared future. Peace, concord, and harmony are ideas the Chinese nation has pursued and carried forward for more than 5,000 years. The Chinese nation does not carry aggressive or hegemonic traits in its genes. The Party cares about the future of humanity, and wishes to move forward in tandem with all progressive forces around the world. China has always worked to safeguard world peace, contribute to global development, and preserve

在自己选择的道路上昂首阔步走下去，把中国发展进步的命运牢牢掌握在自己手中！

**11** ——以史为鉴、开创未来，必须加快国防和军队现代化。强国必须强军，军强才能国安。坚持党指挥枪、建设自己的人民军队，是党在血与火的斗争中得出的颠扑不破的真理。人民军队为党和人民建立了不朽功勋，是保卫红色江山、维护民族尊严的坚强柱石，也是维护地区和世界和平的强大力量。

**12** 新的征程上，我们必须全面贯彻新时代党的强军思想，贯彻新时代军事战略方针，坚持党对人民军队的绝对领导，坚持走中国特色强军之路，全面推进政治建军、改革强军、科技强军、人才强军、依法治军，把人民军队建设成为世界一流军队，以更强大的能力、更可靠的手段捍卫国家主权、安全、发展利益！

**13** ——以史为鉴、开创未来，必须不断推动构建人类命运共同体。和平、和睦、和谐是中华民族5000多年来一直追求和传承的理念，中华民族的血液中没有侵略他人、称王称霸的基因。中国共产党关注人类前途命运，同世界上一切进步力量携手前进，中国始终是世界和平的建设者、全球发展的贡献者、



international order.

**14** On the journey ahead, we will remain committed to promoting peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit, to an independent foreign policy of peace, and to the path of peaceful development. We will work to build a new type of international relations and a human community with a shared future, promote high-quality development of the Belt and Road Initiative through joint efforts, and use China's new achievements in development to provide the world with new opportunities. The Party will continue to work with all peace-loving countries and peoples to promote the shared human values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy, and freedom. We will continue to champion cooperation over confrontation, to open up rather than closing our doors, and to focus on mutual benefits instead of zero-sum games. We will oppose hegemony and power politics, and strive to keep the wheels of history rolling towards bright horizons.

**15** We Chinese are a people who uphold justice and are not intimidated by threats of force. As a nation, we have a strong sense of pride and confidence. We have never bullied, oppressed, or subjugated the people of any other country, and we never will. By the same token, we will never allow any foreign force to bully, oppress, or subjugate us. Anyone who would attempt to do so will find themselves on a collision course with a great wall of steel forged by over 1.4 billion Chinese people.

**16** We must carry out a great struggle with many new contemporary features. Having the courage to fight and the fortitude to win is what has made our Party invincible. Realizing our great dream will require tenacity and persistence. Today, we are closer, more confident, and more capable than ever before of making the goal of national rejuvenation a reality. But we must be prepared to work harder than ever to get there.

国际秩序的维护者！

**14** 新的征程上，我们必须高举和平、发展、合作、共赢旗帜，奉行独立自主的和平外交政策，坚持走和平发展道路，推动建设新型国际关系，推动构建人类命运共同体，推动共建“一带一路”高质量发展，以中国的新发展为世界提供新机遇。中国共产党将继续同一切爱好和平的国家和人民一道，弘扬和平、发展、公平、正义、民主、自由的全人类共同价值，坚持合作、不搞对抗，坚持开放、不搞封闭，坚持互利共赢、不搞零和博弈，反对霸权主义和强权政治，推动历史车轮向着光明的目标前进！

**15** 中国人民是崇尚正义、不畏强暴的人民，中华民族是具有强烈民族自豪感和自信心的民族。中国人民从来没有欺负、压迫、奴役过其他国家人民，过去没有，现在没有，将来也不会有。同时，中国人民也绝不允许任何外来势力欺负、压迫、奴役我们，谁妄想这样干，必将在 14 亿多中国人民用血肉筑成的钢铁长城面前碰得头破血流！

**16** ——以史为鉴、开创未来，必须进行具有许多新的历史特点的伟大斗争。敢于斗争、敢于胜利，是中国共产党不可战胜的强大精神力量。实现伟大梦想就要顽强拼搏、不懈奋斗。今天，我们比历史上任何时期都更接近、更有信心和能力实现中华民族伟大复兴的目标，同时必须准备付出更为艰巨、更为艰苦的努力。

**17** On the journey ahead, we must demonstrate stronger vigilance and always be prepared for potential danger, even in times of calm. We must adopt a holistic approach to national security that balances development and security imperatives, and implement the national rejuvenation strategy within a wider context of the once-in-a-century changes taking place in the world. We need to acquire a full understanding of the new features and requirements arising from the change to the principal contradiction in Chinese society and the new issues and challenges stemming from a complicated international environment. We must be both brave and adept in carrying out our struggle, forging new paths and building new bridges wherever necessary to take us past all risks and challenges.

**18** We must strengthen the great unity of the Chinese people. In the course of our struggles over the past century, the Party has always placed the united front in a position of importance. We have constantly consolidated and developed the broadest possible united front, united all the forces that can be united, mobilized all positive factors that can be mobilized, and pooled as much strength as possible for collective endeavors. The patriotic united front is an important means for the Party to unite all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation, both at home and abroad, behind the goal of national rejuvenation.

**19** On the journey ahead, we must ensure great unity and solidarity and balance commonality and diversity. We should strengthen theoretical and political guidance, build broad consensus, bring together the brightest minds, and expand common ground and the convergence of interests, so that all Chinese people, both at home and overseas, can focus their ingenuity and energy on the same goal and come together as a mighty force for realizing national rejuvenation.

**20** We must continue to advance the great new project of Party building. A hallmark that distinguishes the Communist Party of China from other political parties is its courage in undertaking self-reform. An important reason why the Party remains so vital and vibrant despite having undergone so many trials and tribulations is that it practices effective self-supervision

**17** 新的征程上，我们必须增强忧患意识、始终居安思危，贯彻总体国家安全观，统筹发展和安全，统筹中华民族伟大复兴战略全局和世界百年未有之大变局，深刻认识我国社会主要矛盾变化带来的新特征新要求，深刻认识错综复杂的国际环境带来的新矛盾新挑战，敢于斗争，善于斗争，逢山开道、遇水架桥，勇于战胜一切风险挑战！

**18** ——以史为鉴、开创未来，必须加强中华儿女大团结。在百年奋斗历程中，中国共产党始终把统一战线摆在重要位置，不断巩固和发展最广泛的统一战线，团结一切可以团结的力量、调动一切可以调动的积极因素，最大限度凝聚起共同奋斗的力量。爱国统一战线是中国共产党团结海内外全体中华儿女实现中华民族伟大复兴的重要法宝。

**19** 新的征程上，我们必须坚持大团结大联合，坚持一致性和多样性统一，加强思想政治引领，广泛凝聚共识，广聚天下英才，努力寻求最大公约数、画出最大同心圆，形成海内外全体中华儿女心往一处想、劲往一处使的生动局面，汇聚起实现民族复兴的磅礴力量！

**20** ——以史为鉴、开创未来，必须不断推进党的建设新的伟大工程。勇于自我革命是中国共产党区别于其他政党的显著标志。我们党历经千锤百炼而朝气蓬勃，一个很重要的原因就是我们始终坚持党要管党、全

and full and rigorous self-governance. It has thus been able to respond appropriately to the risks and tests of different historical periods, to ensure that it always remains at the forefront of the times even as profound changes sweep the global landscape, and to stand firm as the backbone of the nation throughout the process of meeting various risks and challenges at home and abroad.

**21** On the journey ahead, we must keep firmly in mind the old adage that it takes a good blacksmith to make good steel. We must demonstrate greater political awareness of the fact that full and rigorous self-governance is a never-ending journey. With strengthening the Party politically as our overarching principle, we must continue advancing the great new project of Party building in the new era. We must tighten the Party's organizational system, work hard to train high-caliber officials who have both moral integrity and professional competence, remain committed to improving Party conduct, upholding integrity, and combating corruption, and root out any elements that would harm the Party's advanced nature and purity and any viruses that would erode its health. We must ensure that the Party preserves its essence, color, and character, and see that it always serves as the strong leadership core in the course of upholding and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new era.

**22** Comrades and friends,  
We will stay true to the letter and spirit of the principle of "one country, two systems," under which the people of Hong Kong administer Hong Kong, and the people of Macao administer Macao, both with a high degree of autonomy. We will ensure that the central government exercises overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong and Macao, and implement the legal systems and enforcement mechanisms for the two special administrative regions to safeguard national security. While protecting China's sovereignty, security, and development interests, we will ensure social stability in Hong Kong and Macao, and maintain lasting prosperity and stability in the two special administrative regions.

**23** Resolving the Taiwan question and realizing China's

面从严治党，不断应对好自身在各个历史时期面临的风险考验，确保我们党在世界形势深刻变化的历史进程中始终走在时代前列，在应对国内外各种风险挑战的历史进程中始终成为全国人民的主心骨！

**21** 新的征程上，我们要牢记打铁必须自身硬的道理，增强全面从严治党永远在路上的政治自觉，以党的政治建设为统领，继续推进新时代党的建设新的伟大工程，不断严密党的组织体系，着力建设德才兼备的高素质干部队伍，坚定不移推进党风廉政建设和反腐败斗争，坚决清除一切损害党的先进性和纯洁性的因素，清除一切侵蚀党的健康肌体的病毒，确保党不变质、不变色、不变味，确保党在新时代坚持和发展中国特色社会主义的历史进程中始终成为坚强领导核心！

**22** 同志们、朋友们！  
我们要全面准确贯彻“一国两制”、“港人治港”、“澳人治澳”、高度自治的方针，落实中央对香港、澳门特别行政区全面管治权，落实特别行政区维护国家安全的法律制度和执行机制，维护国家主权、安全、发展利益，维护特别行政区社会大局稳定，保持香港、澳门长期繁荣稳定。

**23** 解决台湾问题、实现祖国完全

complete reunification is a historic mission and an unshakable commitment of the Communist Party of China. It is also a shared aspiration of all the sons and daughters of the Chinese nation. We will uphold the one-China principle and the 1992 Consensus, and advance peaceful national reunification. All of us, compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, must come together and move forward in unison. We must take resolute action to utterly defeat any attempt towards "Taiwan independence," and work together to create a bright future for national rejuvenation. No one should underestimate the resolve, the will, and the ability of the Chinese people to defend our national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

**24 Comrades and friends,**

The future belongs to the young people, and our hopes also rest with them. A century ago, a group of young progressives held aloft the torch of Marxism and searched assiduously in those dark years for ways to rejuvenate the Chinese nation. Since then, under the banner of the Communist Party of China, generation after generation of young Chinese have devoted their youth to the cause of the Party and the people, and remained in the vanguard of the drive to rejuvenate the nation. In the new era, our young people should make it their mission to contribute to national rejuvenation and aspire to become more proud, confident, and assured in their identity as Chinese people so that they can live up to the promise of their youth and the expectations of our times, our Party, and our people.

统一，是中国共产党矢志不渝的历史任务，是全体中华儿女的共同愿望。要坚持一个中国原则和“九二共识”，推进祖国和平统一进程。包括两岸同胞在内的所有中华儿女，要和衷共济、团结向前，坚决粉碎任何“台独”图谋，共创民族复兴美好未来。任何人都不要低估中国人民捍卫国家主权和领土完整的坚强决心、坚定意志、强大能力！

**24 同志们、朋友们！**

未来属于青年，希望寄予青年。一百年前，一群新青年高举马克思主义思想火炬，在风雨如晦的中国苦苦探寻民族复兴的前途。一百年来，在中国共产党的旗帜下，一代代中国青年把青春奋斗融入党和人民事业，成为实现中华民族伟大复兴的先锋力量。新时代的中国青年要以实现中华民族伟大复兴为己任，增强做中国人的志气、骨气、底气，不负时代，不负韶华，不负党和人民的殷切期望！