

Comprehensively Advancing the Building of a Strong Country and the Great Cause of National Rejuvenation Through Chinese Modernization

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The lead essay in the January 1, 2025 issue of Qiushi is the main part, over 11,000 characters, of Xi Jinping's speech he delivered on February 7, 2023, at a study session for new members of the Central Committee, alternate members, and principal provincial and ministerial-level leaders to study and implement Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the spirit of the 20th Party Congress. I have bolded some of the sections I thought were particularly interesting.

The text:

The Party Central Committee has decided to hold this study seminar for newly elected members of the Central Committee, alternate members, and principal leaders at the provincial and ministerial levels on studying and implementing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the guiding principles of the 20th National Congress of the Party. The purpose is to encourage senior officials to take the lead in thoroughly studying and implementing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the guiding principles of the 20th Party Congress, and thereby to rally the entire Party and the people of all ethnic groups to align their thinking with Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the guiding principles of the 20th Party Congress, as well as to pool their strength for achieving the goals and tasks set forth by the 20th Party Congress.

The guiding principles of the 20th Party Congress are extremely rich in content. I have, on different occasions, provided a number of explanations and put forward a series of requirements for studying and

implementing them. In my view, summarizing and thoroughly elucidating the theory of Chinese modernization is a major theoretical innovation of the 20th Party Congress and constitutes the latest significant achievement of scientific socialism. Therefore, I will focus today on how to understand and advance Chinese modernization, and share a few remarks.

I. Chinese modernization is a major outcome of our Party's long-term exploration and practice in leading the people.

With a civilization spanning over 5,000 years, the Chinese nation had long been at the forefront of the world. However, starting in the late Ming Dynasty, China adopted a policy of isolation, missing the opportunities presented by the Industrial Revolution and the scientific and technological revolutions. Under the pressure of internal contradictions and the surging tide of Western modernization, China gradually declined. The Opium War of 1840 became "the final straw that broke the camel's back." China was progressively reduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, suffering unprecedented calamities. In an effort to rid themselves of backwardness, vulnerability, and subjugation, the Chinese people rose in resistance, and countless patriots explored ways to achieve national rejuvenation. During the Self-Strengthening Movement, they tried to "learn Western techniques to counter Western powers." The Reform Movement of 1898 attempted to become stronger through incremental reforms. Dr. Sun Yat-sen led the Revolution of 1911, hoping to modernize China through solutions such as establishing a bourgeois republic and revitalizing industry. All these attempts failed. Historically, therefore, the mission to blaze a path to China's modernization fell upon the shoulders of the Communist Party of China (CPC).

Under semi-colonial, semi-feudal conditions, it was impossible to achieve modernization. During the period of the New Democratic Revolution, our Party united and led the people through grueling struggles and indomitable efforts, engaging in the Northern Expedition, Agrarian Revolutionary War, the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, and the War of Liberation. These struggles toppled the "three mountains" of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism, and established the People's Republic of China, in which the people are masters of the country. This realized

national independence and people's liberation, and created the fundamental social conditions for modernization.

After the founding of the People's Republic, under the Party's leadership, the people carried out the socialist revolution, abolishing the feudal system that had existed in China for thousands of years, and establishing the basic socialist system. This brought about the broadest and deepest social transformation in the history of the Chinese nation, laying the fundamental political and institutional foundation for modernization. At that time, China was extremely impoverished; even everyday items like kerosene, matches, and nails were referred to as "foreign oil," "foreign fire," and "foreign nails." In order to rapidly change this backward situation, the Party undertook strenuous exploration, proposing the goal of building our country into a great modern socialist power with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. Through several Five-Year Plans, we established a relatively complete and independent industrial system and national economic framework, and notably achieved breakthroughs in advanced defense science and technology, including the development of the "two bombs and one satellite." The Party's original theoretical contributions and tremendous achievements in socialist revolution and construction have provided invaluable experience, theoretical groundwork, and a material foundation for our modernization endeavor.

During the new period of reform, opening up, and socialist modernization, our Party made the historic decision to shift the focus of the Party and the country's work onto economic development and to implement reform and opening up, thus embarking on a new Long March toward Chinese modernization. How could China narrow the huge gap in economic and technological development levels with the Western developed countries, and how could it keep pace with the times and accelerate the realization of modernization? From the very beginning, our Party maintained a clear-headed approach. We did not follow some other developing countries by simply imitating Western countries; instead, we emphasized starting from China's own realities and pursuing our own path of modernization. To expedite socialist modernization, our Party has firmly upheld the Party's basic line, vigorously promoted innovation in theory, institutions, culture, and other areas based on practice, and adopted a socialist market economy system. Consequently, we achieved a historic breakthrough: moving from relatively underdeveloped productive forces to becoming the world's second-largest economy, and from a situation where

people struggled to meet basic needs to one in which they enjoy moderate prosperity in all respects. This has provided institutional safeguards brimming with new vitality and rapid material development for Chinese modernization.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), building on our past foundation, we have continued to move forward. Adhering to a problem-oriented approach, and focusing on addressing the prominent contradictions and issues in our modernization drive, we have deepened reform in all areas and continuously made innovative breakthroughs in both theory and practice. We have successfully advanced and broadened Chinese-style modernization. Over the past decade, our understanding has deepened. We have founded Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, achieving a new leap forward in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, thus providing fundamental guidance for Chinese-style modernization. We have further clarified the connotations and essence of Chinese modernization, summarized and formulated its Chinese characteristics, essential requirements, and major principles, and preliminarily established the theoretical system of Chinese modernization, making it clearer, more scientific, and more tangible and feasible. We have continuously refined our strategy, instituting a “two-step” strategic plan to build China into a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful by the middle of this century, and clarifying the overall approach known as the Five-Sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy. We have fully implemented major strategies such as the strategies of invigorating China through science and education, strengthening the country with talent, and revitalizing rural areas, thus providing a solid strategic underpinning for Chinese modernization. We have continuously enriched our practices, advancing a series of transformative initiatives, achieving a number of breakthrough advances, and attaining a series of landmark accomplishments. Notably, we have eradicated absolute poverty, built a moderately prosperous society in all respects, and propelled the Party and the country’s undertakings toward historic achievements and transformations, thereby providing an even more complete institutional guarantee, a more solid material foundation, and a more proactive spiritual force for Chinese modernization.

In sum, Chinese modernization is the momentous outcome of the Party leading people of all ethnic groups nationwide through

painstaking exploration and practice over a long period, at great cost. We must cherish this accomplishment, uphold it at all times, and continually expand and deepen it.

II. Chinese modernization is socialist modernization under the leadership of the Communist Party of China

The report to the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) clearly states that “Chinese modernization is socialist modernization under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.” This characterization defines the nature of Chinese modernization; it is overarching and fundamental. Why do we emphasize the Party’s leadership role in building Chinese modernization? Because the Party’s leadership is directly related to the fundamental direction, future prospects, and ultimate success or failure of Chinese modernization.

The Party’s leadership determines the fundamental nature of Chinese-style modernization. The Party’s nature and purpose, its founding aspiration and mission, its faith and convictions, and its policies and principles determine that Chinese modernization is socialist modernization rather than any other form of modernization. Our Party has always held high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics. While upholding the basic tenets of scientific socialism, it constantly imbues them with distinctive Chinese features and contemporary relevance, unswervingly following the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This ensures that Chinese modernization proceeds smoothly along the right track. Our Party upholds Marxism as its fundamental guiding ideology. We constantly deepen our understanding of the laws governing Communist Party governance, socialist development, and human social development, continuously opening new frontiers in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and to the times. In doing so, we provide scientific guidance for Chinese modernization. Our Party adheres to and improves the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, relentlessly advancing the modernization of China’s governance system and capacity. This has led to a comprehensive institutional framework, including the fundamental, basic, and important institutions of socialism with Chinese characteristics, providing a strong institutional guarantee for steady progress in Chinese modernization. Our Party also upholds and develops socialist culture

with Chinese characteristics, invigorating the entire nation's capacity for cultural innovation and creativity, and thereby providing a powerful source of spiritual strength for Chinese modernization. It is fair to say that only by remaining steadfast in upholding the Party's leadership can Chinese modernization have a bright future and flourish. Otherwise, Chinese modernization could lose its course and its essence, or even make subversive mistakes.

The Party's leadership ensures that Chinese modernization remains anchored to its goals and achieves steady, long-term progress. Our Party has always stayed true to its founding aspiration and mission—to seek happiness for the Chinese people and rejuvenation for the Chinese nation. It integrates its lofty ideals with its phased objectives. Once a goal is set, our Party remains unwavering in its commitment, pressing ahead with unrelenting, arduous, and persistent efforts. Since the launch of reform and opening up, the goals for building a socialist modern country have proceeded step by step and remained consistent, while also being enriched and improved in light of practical developments. On the basis of summing up the achievements and experiences gained during reform, opening up, and the new era, the 20th CPC National Congress has more clearly mapped out the developmental goals and requirements for China by 2035, and has drawn up a scientific blueprint for fully building a modern socialist country and comprehensively advancing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. From these historical processes, it is evident that building a socialist modern country has been the constant goal pursued by our Party across successive generations, each carrying the mission forward, achieving achievements that have won global admiration and are forever enshrined in the annals of history.

The Party's leadership unlocks powerful momentum for building Chinese modernization. Reform and opening up is the key move that has determined the destiny of contemporary China, and it is also the decisive factor in the success of Chinese-style modernization. After the initiation of reform and opening up, our Party, with a profound sense of historical initiative, continuously reformed elements of the relations of production and productive forces, as well as those of the superstructure and economic base, whenever they were out of sync. We continued to deepen institutional reforms in various fields, forming and refining institutions and mechanisms aligned with China's national

conditions and brimming with vitality. This allowed the dynamism of all productive factors—labor, knowledge, technology, management, and capital—to burst forth, and enabled the sources of social wealth creation to flow freely. Since the 18th National Congress, our Party has exercised immense political courage to deepen reform across the board. Underpinned by a problem-oriented approach, we dared to enter uncharted waters, tackle tough issues head-on, and confront new contradictions and challenges. We have broken free from outdated mindsets and vested interests, resolutely overcoming institutional and systemic flaws in various domains. What began as local and exploratory efforts in reform and breakthroughs in removing barriers have transformed into systemic integration and comprehensive deepening. Many fields have thus undergone historic transformation, systemic reshaping, and holistic restructuring, injecting an inexhaustible source of momentum into Chinese modernization.

The Party's leadership gathers a tremendous force for building Chinese modernization. Our Party profoundly understands that Chinese modernization is a cause of hundreds of millions of people, and that the people are the principal force behind Chinese modernization. Therefore, we must rely closely on the people, respect their creative spirit, and gather the wisdom and strength of all, so as to continuously advance Chinese modernization. We uphold the Party's mass line, focusing on gauging the people's sentiments, addressing their concerns, reflecting their aspirations, and enhancing their well-being when considering issues, making decisions, and handling affairs. We strive to secure the people's wholehearted support for the Party's theories, guidelines, principles, and policies. We remain committed to taking the people's aspirations for a better life as our goal, upholding a people-centered development philosophy, prioritizing efforts to protect and improve people's livelihoods, and focusing on solving their most pressing difficulties and concerns. By doing so, we ensure that the fruits of building Chinese modernization benefit all people more equitably. Our Party develops whole-process people's democracy, broadens democratic channels, diversifies forms of democracy, and expands the people's orderly participation in political affairs. This ensures that the people can, in accordance with the law and through various channels and means, manage state affairs, economic and cultural affairs, and social affairs, and thereby

devote themselves with great enthusiasm to the cause of modernization as masters of their own country. The Party uses the vision of Chinese modernization to motivate, inspire, and galvanize people. It effectively promotes harmony in relations between political parties, ethnic groups, religions, social strata, and between compatriots at home and overseas, and encourages Chinese people worldwide to unite in pursuit of common goals, thus forging a mighty force for fully building a modern socialist country.

III. Chinese Modernization Is the Broad Path Toward Building a Strong Country and Achieving National Rejuvenation

Which path a country chooses to pursue modernization is determined by many factors, including its historical traditions, social system, development conditions, and external environment. Different national circumstances call for different approaches to modernization. Practice has shown that in moving toward modernization, a country must not only follow the general laws of modernization but also ensure its path aligns with its own realities and possesses its own distinct features. Chinese-style modernization shares common characteristics with the modernization of other countries; at the same time, it displays distinctive features rooted in China's specific context. The report of the 20th Party Congress clearly summarized the five distinctive features of Chinese-style modernization, deeply revealing its scientific connotations. This is both a theoretical summary and a practical requirement, pointing out a broad path for the comprehensive construction of a socialist modernized country and the realization of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

A broad path does not equate to a smooth journey. To transform the five distinctive features of Chinese modernization into successful practices and turn these distinctive features into unique advantages, arduous efforts are required.

1. Modernization of a Huge Population—A Prominent Feature of Chinese Modernization. The first distinctive feature of Chinese modernization is its massive population. Different population sizes mean different modernization tasks, different degrees of difficulty and complexity, and necessarily distinct development pathways and promotion methods. Currently, there are only a little over 20 countries

in the world that have achieved modernization, with a combined population of around one billion. China, with its population of over 1.4 billion, is moving toward modernization as a whole. This figure exceeds the total population of all existing developed countries combined and will profoundly alter the global landscape of modernization. This is the largest-scale modernization in human history—and also the most challenging.

A super-sized population provides abundant human resources and a huge market, but it also brings a host of problems and challenges. Simply ensuring that over 1.4 billion people have enough to eat is no small challenge. Moreover, there are issues of employment, income distribution, education, healthcare, housing, elderly care, and childcare. None of these issues are easy to resolve, and each one involves a population number that is astronomical. When we think about problems, make decisions, and carry out work, we must first consider the sheer size of our population, as well as the significant development gaps that still exist between urban and rural areas and between different regions. We must avoid both aiming too high and clinging to outdated ways; instead, we must maintain historical patience and continue to pursue steady progress, step by step, over the long term.

2. Modernization That Achieves Common Prosperity for All—A Defining Feature of Chinese Modernization. This is the essential characteristic of Chinese modernization and a striking distinction from Western modernization. The greatest shortcoming of Western modernization is its capital-centric, rather than people-centric, approach, which prioritizes maximizing capital gains instead of serving the interests of the vast majority. This has led to significant wealth disparities and severe polarization. Some developing countries came close to reaching the threshold of developed-country status during their modernization process but fell into the “middle-income trap,” remaining stagnant for extended periods or even experiencing serious setbacks. A critical reason for this is the failure to address problems such as extreme polarization and the rigidification of social strata.

Chinese modernization adheres to the principle of development for the people, by the people, and with shared benefits for the people. We have made significant progress in promoting common prosperity for

everyone. Especially since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, we have won the critical battle against poverty, lifting nearly 100 million rural residents out of poverty. We have now developed a full range of guiding principles, institutional arrangements, and policy measures to promote common prosperity for all. Moving forward, while driving high-quality development and making a bigger “pie,” we must also work on dividing the “pie” properly. We will focus on tackling issues related to employment, income distribution, education, healthcare, housing, elderly care, and childcare. We will establish a system of coordinated mechanisms for primary, secondary, and tertiary distribution, standardize income distribution, regulate wealth accumulation, and legally guide and regulate the healthy development of capital. By doing so, we can gradually expand the middle-income group, narrow the income distribution gap, ensure that the benefits of modernization are shared more fully and equitably by all the people, and resolutely prevent extreme polarization. Achieving common prosperity is a long-term task. We must keep at it over time, remaining steadfast and continuing to make new progress.

3. Modernization That Balances Material and Cultural-Ethical Progress Striving for both material abundance and spiritual prosperity is a lofty goal of Chinese modernization. Poverty in material terms is not socialism, nor is poverty in cultural-ethical terms. **In the early stages of Western modernization, alongside the accumulation of wealth came a lack of faith and an unchecked surge of material desires. Today, many Western countries find themselves increasingly in difficulty, largely because they cannot curb the greedy nature of capital or address the deep-rooted maladies of materialism and spiritual emptiness.**

Chinese modernization requires not only the great enrichment of material wealth but also the great enrichment of spiritual wealth, along with confidence and self-reliance in the ideological and cultural spheres. We must make balanced, vigorous efforts on both fronts so that material progress and cultural-ethical progress complement and reinforce each other. This will ensure that the entire population is grounded in a shared ideological basis for unity and hard work, is motivated by an enterprising spirit, and aspires to healthy and uplifting values. We must also respond to people’s growing cultural and intellectual needs by building a socialist

ideology with strong cohesion and guiding power, strengthening education on ideals and convictions as well as on “Four Histories” (the histories of the Party, New China, reform and opening up, and socialist development), fostering and promoting core socialist values, developing advanced socialist culture, and producing more outstanding works of art and literature. All of these efforts will continuously enrich people’s spiritual lives, raise the overall level of social civility, and advance well-rounded human development.

4. Modernization That Achieves Harmonious Coexistence Between Humanity and Nature. Respecting, adapting to, and protecting nature while promoting harmony between humanity and nature is a defining feature of Chinese modernization. **Since the advent of modern times, most Western countries have experienced periods of wanton exploitation of natural resources and severe destruction of ecosystems during their modernization process. While generating enormous material wealth, they have often caused serious issues such as environmental pollution and resource depletion.** In China, per capita energy and resource endowments are critically low, and accelerated development faces greater constraints on energy resources and the environment. This reality makes it impossible for us to follow the old Western path to modernization.

Chinese modernization upholds sustainable development, adhering to the principle of prioritizing resource conservation and environmental protection, and placing emphasis on natural restoration. We remain steadfast on the path of promoting economic growth, enhancing people’s well-being, and maintaining a sound ecological environment, thus opening up broad prospects for the enduring development of the Chinese nation. We must firmly establish and act on the principle that “lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets,” pursue integrated conservation and systematic governance of mountains, rivers, forests, farmlands, lakes, grasslands, and deserts, and advance an eco-first, resource-conserving, green, and low-carbon approach to development. We will expedite the green transformation of our development model, boost the diversity, stability, and sustainability of our ecosystems, and actively yet prudently work toward reaching peak carbon emissions and achieving carbon neutrality. By doing so, we will underpin high-quality development with a high-caliber ecological environment.

5. Modernization Pursued Through Peaceful Development. Adhering to peaceful development—seeking our own development through resolutely safeguarding world peace and development, and in turn better safeguarding world peace and development through our own development, and promoting the building of a community with a shared future for mankind—is a defining feature of Chinese modernization. **Modernization in Western countries was steeped in wars, slavery, colonialism, and plunder, causing immense suffering for many developing countries. Having experienced aggression and humiliation by Western powers, the Chinese nation knows all too well the value of peace and will never repeat the old path taken by Western countries.**

Chinese modernization upholds independence and self-reliance, relying on the diligent work and innovative spirit of the entire population for growth. We combine endogenous motivation with the peaceful use of external resources to advance national development. We never oppress other nations or plunder resources and wealth from other countries in any form; instead, we do what we can to offer support and assistance to developing nations. We will always hold high the banner of peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit, pursue an open strategy that delivers win-win outcomes, and continually create new opportunities for the world through our own new development. We will actively participate in reforming and building the global governance system, practice true multilateralism, champion the common values of humanity, and promote the implementation of the Global Development Initiative and the Global Security Initiative, making greater contributions to peace and development for humankind.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China—and especially since the launch of reform and opening up—we have completed, in just a few decades, an industrialization process that took Western developed countries centuries. We have created miracles of rapid economic growth and long-term social stability, opening up vast prospects for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Practice has proven that Chinese modernization works and proceeds with stability. It is the one and only correct path for building a strong country and achieving national rejuvenation.

IV. Chinese Modernization Has Created a New Form of Human Civilization

Chinese modernization is deeply rooted in China's fine traditional culture, reflects the advanced essence of scientific socialism, draws on and assimilates all outstanding achievements of human civilization, represents the progressive direction of human civilization, and displays a new vision of modernization different from the Western model. It is, in fact, a completely new form of human civilization. As the latest major achievement of scientific socialism, Chinese modernization has attracted broad international attention.

Chinese modernization provides a brand-new model of modernization to the world. Since the global modernization process began in Western capitalist countries, and most of today's developed countries are in Europe and North America or are capitalist nations heavily influenced by Western civilization, people often develop a misconception that modernization equals Westernization, and Western civilization equals modern civilization. In reality, human civilization is diverse, and there is neither a one-size-fits-all model of modernization nor any universal standard for it. **Chinese modernization breaks the myth that "modernization = Westernization," presents another perspective on modernization, and expands the range of options available to developing countries in their pursuit of modernization. It thus offers a Chinese solution for humanity's quest for a better social system.**

Chinese modernization represents a major transcendence of the theories and practices of Western modernization. Capitalist civilization is founded on a system of capitalist exploitation and cannot overcome or eradicate the brutality inherent within it. Fundamentally, there is an inherent contradiction within capitalism between the private ownership of the means of production and large-scale socialized production—one that the capitalist system is unable to resolve. Although capitalism and the Western model of modernization continue to evolve, their underlying nature—capital supremacy, the law of the jungle, severe polarization, and hegemonic dominance—remains unchanged, and their problems are becoming increasingly evident. The unique worldview, values, historical perspective,

civilizational outlook, conception of democracy, ecological viewpoint, and other elements embodied in Chinese modernization, as well as its great practical achievements, constitute a significant innovation in global modernization theory and practice.

Chinese modernization offers an entirely new choice for a wide range of developing countries. Attaining modernization is both a right and an inevitable choice for all peoples of the world, and the key is to identify a path of development that aligns with a country's own conditions and the laws governing human societal progress. From the end of World War II to the early 1990s, some developing countries, disregarding their specific national circumstances and historical contexts, transplanted Western models wholesale, only to find those models ill-suited to their conditions. As a result, most fell into long-term economic stagnation and social and political upheaval. The issue of "which path to take" continues to trouble many developing countries. **Thanks to the initial success of Chinese modernization and its notable achievements—along with the marked contrast in the new era often described as "the East is rising while the West is in decline" and "order in China versus chaos in the West"—numerous developing countries now see new hope and new possibilities. Chinese modernization is the answer we have provided to the momentous historical question of how to "awaken the sleeping lion" and realize national rejuvenation. It is about choosing one's own path and focusing on one's own affairs. We have never intended, nor do we intend, to export Chinese modernization or the so-called "Chinese model." However, by setting an example of how developing countries can achieve modernization independently, Chinese modernization will inevitably serve as a reference for some of them.**

V. Several Major Relationships That Need to Be Well-Managed in Advancing Chinese Modernization

Advancing Chinese modernization is a systematic endeavor. It requires balancing all considerations, planning holistically, and moving forward comprehensively, while properly handling a series of major relationships. I will focus on six key areas here.

1. The Relationship Between Top-Level Design and Practical Exploration. The report of the 20th National Congress of the

Communist Party of China provides a profound explanation of the unique Chinese features, the essential requirements, and the major principles of Chinese-style modernization, constituting the highest-level top-level design for advancing Chinese modernization. This modernization process unfolds by stages and across sectors, and realizing development goals at each stage and in each sector also calls for top-level design. When conducting top-level design, it is essential to gain a deep insight into global development trends, accurately grasp the shared aspirations of the people, and thoroughly explore the laws governing economic and social development. In this way, our planning and policy systems can reflect the spirit of the times, capture inherent regularities, and be highly creative, thus achieving both near- and long-term goals, bridging higher-level and grassroots efforts, and ensuring coherence across different components. At the same time, advancing Chinese modernization is an exploratory undertaking, one that involves many unknowns. We must boldly explore these in practice, driving progress through reform and innovation. We must not cling to rigid thinking or wait passively for opportunities. Each region and department should innovate in light of its own realities. Particularly in cutting-edge practices and unfamiliar arenas, we should encourage bold exploration and pioneering efforts, seeking ways and methods to effectively address new contradictions and challenges. In so doing, we will strive to generate innovative experiences that can be replicated and scaled up.

2. The Relationship Between Strategy and Tactics. Strategy and tactics are powerful instruments that enable our Party to lead the people in transforming the world, reshaping practice, and driving historical progress. Skillful use of strategy and tactics is the key to our Party's success in creating a brilliant history, accomplishing great undertakings for all time, overcoming various risks and challenges, and continuously marching from victory to victory. As we advance Chinese modernization, we must inherit, apply, and further develop this vital key to success. We must enhance the forward-looking nature of our strategy—accurately grasping the inevitable trends in how things develop, keenly discerning potential opportunities and challenges along our path, and using a scientific approach to foresee and guide the future. We must strengthen the overall perspective of our strategy—whether we are setting strategic goals, formulating strategic initiatives, or making strategic plans, we must focus on resolving major issues

affecting the rise or fall of the Party and the nation, those that carry sweeping and decisive significance. We must also reinforce the stability of our strategy—once a strategy is formulated, we should adhere to it over the long term, follow it through to the end, and ensure that it is carried out skillfully and effectively, avoiding any hasty changes. Achieving all this requires raising our political awareness, fostering a global vision, keeping in mind the “highest priorities of the nation,” linking history, reality, and the future, connecting China and the world, and enhancing our capacity for strategic thinking. In this way, the strategies we formulate will align with actual conditions, prove effective in practice, and provide a powerful strategic underpinning for Chinese modernization. Meanwhile, tactics provide the scientific methods for implementing a strategy. The environment in which a strategy is carried out is constantly changing, and we may encounter new situations and problems at any moment. This makes it essential to organically combine the principled nature of strategy with the flexibility of tactics — adapting swiftly and responding effectively, making prompt decisions when needed, and seizing opportunities as they arise. By tailoring measures to local realities, adjusting to changing dynamics, and acting in harmony with unfolding circumstances, we can maintain strategic initiative at every turn.

3. Balancing Adherence to Fundamental Principles and Innovation. Adherence to fundamental principles and innovation is an important methodological approach the Party has adopted for governing the country in the new era. Adherence to fundamental principles ensures we do not lose our direction or make subversive mistakes, while innovation enables us to keep pace with—and even guide—the times. The exploration of Chinese modernization is itself a historical process of both inheritance and development, remaining true to fundamental principles while continuously innovating. On the new journey toward advancing Chinese-style modernization, we must first safeguard the “essence” and “origin,” the “roots” and “soul” of Chinese modernization. We must unswervingly uphold its distinctive Chinese features, essential requirements, and major principles, as well as the Party’s fundamental theories, basic line, and basic policy, along with the series of major guidelines introduced since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. This will ensure that Chinese modernization stays on the right course. Meanwhile, we must place innovation at the forefront of the country’s overall development.

In keeping with the needs of our times and focusing on addressing major theoretical and practical issues, we should keenly observe changes, respond to them, and seek to create positive change. We will vigorously advance theoretical, practical, institutional, and cultural innovations, among others, so as to continually explore new growth areas and new tracks, shaping new drivers of growth and new competitive strengths. By cultivating a strong social atmosphere that esteems, encourages, and dares to innovate, we can make innovation a widespread practice throughout society. All levels of leading officials should rapidly discard ways of thinking, mindsets, behavioral patterns, and working methods that are ill-suited to the requirements of innovation-driven development, and truly become leaders and drivers of innovation.

4. The Relationship Between Efficiency and Fairness. Chinese modernization aims to generate higher efficiency than capitalism while more effectively safeguarding social fairness, thus better achieving a balance and mutual reinforcement between efficiency and fairness. We must uphold and improve the fundamental socialist economic system, remain committed to consolidating and developing the public sector of the economy, and unwaveringly encourage, support, and guide the non-public sector. We will fully leverage the decisive role of the market in allocating resources, while giving better play to the role of the government. We will build a unified national market, deepen market-oriented reforms of the factors of production, and develop a high-standard market system. By fostering a market-oriented, law-based, and internationalized business environment, we can continuously optimize the allocation of factors such as labor, capital, land, and resources, thus improving total factor productivity. We will move faster to establish a social fairness guarantee system centered on ensuring fairness in rights, opportunities, and rules, so that people enjoy equal rights in participation and development. We will advance judicial reform in depth, striving to ensure that the people can feel fairness and justice in every legal institution, every law enforcement decision, and every judicial case. We will remove institutional barriers that hinder social mobility, thereby creating unimpeded channels for upward social movement. We will refine the system of basic public services, enhance the quality of such services, and increase their balance and accessibility. This will help us make solid progress toward achieving more tangible results in promoting common prosperity.

5. The Relationship Between Vitality and Order. Throughout the historical process of modernization, balancing these two factors has been a global challenge. Chinese modernization should—and can—achieve a dynamic equilibrium marked by vibrancy without chaos and lively but orderly development. We must deepen reforms in various systems and mechanisms to fully unleash the creative potential of society at large. We will encourage innovation and creation among scientists, entrepreneurs, artists, and other professionals—especially young talents. We will actively promote intra-Party democracy, protect Party members’ rights, and take effective measures to address a lack of willingness, courage, or skill in shouldering responsibilities. These steps will fully motivate Party members and officials to work energetically for the cause of modernization. **We will strengthen guidance of social discourse to foster the correct outlook that “work creates wealth, hard work achieves success, and endeavor brings happiness.” This will help prevent the spread of unhealthy thinking such as despising labor, seeking something for nothing, expecting sudden wealth, free-riding, or passively “lying flat,” and will fully activate creativity across the whole society.** We will coordinate development and security by applying the holistic approach to national security, improving the national security system, and enhancing our capacity to safeguard national security. We will resolutely protect the security of our state power, our socialist system, our ideological landscape, and key areas. We will raise the level of public security governance, improve the social governance system, and enhance governance effectiveness. We will develop whole-process people’s democracy, properly handle contradictions among the people under new circumstances, and strive to address disputes and conflicts at the community level and in the early stages. We will educate and guide the public to express their interests and defend their rights through rational and lawful means. Meanwhile, we will reinforce comprehensive crime prevention and control, and lawfully and sternly punish all illegal and criminal activities that draw strong public complaints, ensuring that people can live and work in peace.

6. The Relationship Between Self-Reliance and Opening Up. To advance Chinese modernization, we must remain committed to independence and self-reliance, always ensuring that our country’s and nation’s development rests on our own strengths, and that we keep our

nation's destiny for development and progress firmly in our own hands. **We must accelerate the establishment of a new development pattern that allows for internal circulation, while leveraging our super-sized domestic market to attract global resources and production factors, thereby enhancing the interplay between domestic and international markets and resources. We will safeguard economic security, with a particular focus on food security, energy security, and the security of industrial and supply chains. We will improve the new nationwide system for mobilizing resources, strengthen our national strategic scientific and technological capabilities, and, guided by our country's strategic needs, pool our efforts to achieve original and pioneering breakthroughs in science and technology, determined to win the critical battle of conquering key core technologies.** At the same time, we will continue to expand high-standard opening up, raise the quality and level of trade and investment cooperation, steadily increase institutional opening up in areas such as rules, regulations, management, and standards, and promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation. We will optimize our regional opening-up layout, implement strategies to upgrade pilot free trade zones, expand a global network of high-standard free trade agreements, and take an active part in global industrial division of labor and cooperation. By maintaining a diverse and stable international economic order and trade relationships, we will further broaden the space for Chinese modernization.

VI. Advancing Chinese-Style Modernization Requires Great Struggle

Daring to struggle is embedded in our Party's very genes and is a distinctive trait forged over a century of practice. Our Party relied on struggle to create a brilliant past, and it must also rely on struggle to carve out a bright future. Advancing Chinese modernization is an entirely new undertaking with no precedent in history, and it will inevitably encounter both foreseeable and unforeseeable risks and challenges, difficulties and obstacles, and even tumultuous storms. We must heighten our awareness of potential dangers, persist in thinking in terms of worst-case scenarios, remain vigilant even in peaceful times, prepare for contingencies before they arise, and have the courage and skill to carry on this struggle. Only through tenacious struggle can we open up new horizons for our cause. **History has repeatedly proven**

that striving for security through struggle brings genuine security, while seeking security through weakness and concession ultimately leads to insecurity; seeking development through struggle brings real development, while pursuing development through weakness and concession results in decline. This is precisely why I have repeatedly stressed the necessity of carrying forward the fighting spirit.

We must maintain strategic clarity and keep a firm grasp on all kinds of risks and challenges. Currently, China's development has entered a period in which strategic opportunities coexist with risks and challenges, while factors of uncertainty and unpredictability have markedly increased. We are confronted with more severe and complex risks, challenges, and issues that require prevention and resolution than ever before. Internationally, the once-in-a-century shifts in the global landscape are accelerating. The once in a hundred years pandemic continues to have far-reaching effects, anti-globalization sentiments are on the rise, unilateralism and protectionism are gaining ground, and the global economy remains sluggish in its recovery. The Ukraine crisis remains unresolved and continues to have spillover effects, and the world is entering a new phase of turbulence and transformation. Domestically, we face many deep-seated contradictions in reform, development, and stability that we cannot avoid or bypass. Balancing epidemic prevention and control with economic and social development is a daunting task. China's economy faces triple pressures of shrinking demand, supply shocks, and weakening expectations. There are numerous hidden risks that could undermine social stability, and "black swan" and "gray rhino" events may occur at any time. Within the Party, some deep-rooted problems remain unresolved; old issues could resurface at any moment, and any laxity could allow them to revive. Meanwhile, new problems keep emerging. The Party will be subject to the "four major tests" and "four major dangers" for a long time. In particular, Party conduct, upholding integrity, and combating corruption still face stubborn, recurrent problems. The Party's self-revolution is always ongoing, and there must be no letup in strict Party self-governance. Confronted with these risks, challenges, and contradictions, we must remain especially clear-headed and keep ourselves in a constant state of readiness—"arrow on the bowstring"—never becoming complacent or believing we can rest easy.

We must also maintain strategic confidence and strengthen our resolve to fight. Where does this resolve come from? It comes from China's ever-increasing overall strength, but more importantly, from our firm

ideals and convictions, our unwavering pursuit of truth, and our steadfast commitment to the Party's original aspiration and founding mission. **In the face of blockades, containment, and suppression, we must have every reason to fight confidently because we stand on the right side of history and on the side of progressive human civilization. We are working toward building a world marked by lasting peace, universal security, common prosperity, openness, inclusiveness, cleanliness, and beauty, playing a constructive role in safeguarding world peace and regional stability. We are on a path of justice, engaged in a righteous cause. Meanwhile, hegemonism, power politics, unilateralism, and protectionism run counter to the tide of the times, lack popular support, and are bound to fail.** When confronting contradictions and problems in reform, development, and stability, we must tackle them head-on and overcome difficulties because our cause has always advanced by resolving contradictions. Only by forging roads through mountains and building bridges across rivers, by charging ahead with a fearless spirit—removing all obstacles and sweeping away every impediment—can we ensure steady, long-term progress for our cause. Likewise, when facing pressing problems within the Party, we must have the courage to act, and enforce strict management and discipline. Full and rigorous self-governance of the Party is a great practice of self-revolution and the fundamental means for maintaining the Party's advanced nature and purity as a Marxist party. Only by imposing strict requirements, providing strict education, exercising strict management, and implementing strict supervision can we preserve the Party's unity and vibrancy, ensuring it remains full of vitality at all times.

We must maintain strategic initiative and strengthen our ability to struggle. Senior officials must possess keen insight and foresight regarding risks. In other words, they need the capacity to detect, from the rustle of grass and leaves, that a deer has passed by, or from the stir of the pines, that a tiger is approaching; to perceive the autumn chill from the change in a single leaf. Nowadays, various potential risks and hidden dangers are highly interrelated, prone to chain reactions, and transmit rapidly. A moment's carelessness can trigger a "butterfly effect": small risks might escalate into major ones, local risks into overarching threats, and economic or social risks could even become political ones. Therefore, in our minds, we must have a comprehensive panorama of risks across all areas and fields, continually analyzing and assessing them. We must scientifically foresee potential hazards, keep a well-stocked "toolbox," make the first move, and fight from a position

of initiative. We should not focus solely on the risks and hidden dangers in the departments and regions we oversee while ignoring those elsewhere; nor should we be content simply because everything seems fine at the moment, remaining oblivious or slow to respond to risks that have built up over time. Once a risk emerges, we need to detect it early, act quickly, command from the front, and make decisive calls when necessary—never letting a small problem snowball into a major crisis or a large issue become an explosive one. We must be adept in the strategies of struggle, refusing to compromise on matters of principle while also placing emphasis on tactical flexibility and countering each move effectively. When needed, we should take the initiative, strike first, and actively shape a favorable posture in our struggles. We must enhance our capabilities so that leading officials, especially younger ones, can “learn to swim by swimming”—that is, undergo rigorous ideological tempering, political training, practical experience, and professional development. Through these severe and complex struggles, they will weather storms, broaden their horizons, strengthen their resolve, and develop their talents. In assessing and identifying officials amid challenging and intricate struggles, we should support and encourage those who dare to fight skillfully, shoulder responsibilities, tackle tough issues without fear of offending anyone—and once we recognize their abilities, we must boldly appoint them.

Promoting Chinese modernization is a long-term task, and there is still much we need to deepen our understanding of. We must continue to strengthen theoretical research and practical exploration so that our understanding, policies, and measures increasingly align with objective laws. In doing so, we will gradually enter the “realm of freedom” in building Chinese modernization.

This is the main portion of the speech delivered by General Secretary Xi Jinping on February 7, 2023, at the study session for newly elected members and alternate members of the Central Committee, as well as principal leading cadres at the provincial and ministerial levels, on studying and implementing Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and the guiding principles of the 20th CPC National Congress.