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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

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

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

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

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

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

July, 2001

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HOW OUR PARTY IS TO ATTAIN THE “THREE REPRESENTS” UNDER THE NEW HISTORICAL CONDITIONS*

February 25, 2000

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

May 14, 2000

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

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

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

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

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

For instance, under the planned economic system, the state