

CHINA INSIGHT, SPECIAL ISSUE ON
THE TWO INTEGRATIONS

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China insight

TWO INTEGRATIONS

Integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and
the best of its traditional culture



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Grasp the Significance of the Two Integrations



President Xi Jinping visit the Yan'an Revolutionary Memorial Hall in Yan'an, Shaanxi Province, on October 27, 2022 (XINHUA)

Given the profound foundations of our 5,000-year-old civilization, the only path for pioneering and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics is to integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture (Two Integrations). This conclusion derives from our extensive exploration of Chinese socialism. We have always emphasized integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's realities and have now formalized the integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture. As I once stated, without the 5,000-year-old Chinese civilization, where would Chinese characteristics come from? If not for these characteristics, how could we have charted the triumphant path of Chinese socialism? Only within the context of more than 5,000 years of Chinese civilization can we genuinely comprehend the historical necessity, cultural significance, and unique strengths of the Chinese path.

Positive and negative historical ex-

perience demonstrates that the Two Integrations are the strongest guarantees for our success.

First, mutual compatibility is the prerequisite for integration. The Two Integrations are not far-fetched propositions. Despite their distinct origins, Marxism and the best of traditional Chinese culture exhibit remarkable congruence. For instance, the social principles of pursuing the common good and acting in good faith resonate harmoniously with the ideals and convictions of communism and socialism; the concepts of regarding the people as the foundations of the state and governing by virtue align with the political principle of putting the people first; and the practices of discarding the outdated in favor of the new and ceaselessly pursuing self-improvement correspond faithfully to the revolutionary spirit of Communists. Marxism sees the essence of humanity from the perspective of social relations, while in Chinese culture, people are defined by their relationships with their fam-

ily, their country, and the world. Both reject the notion of viewing humans as isolated entities. Compatibility is the basis for genuine integration. That is why we say that the Communist Party of China is a steadfast proponent and practitioner of Marxism, while it also works to keep the best of traditional Chinese culture alive and strong.

Second, integration represents a mutually beneficial process. Integration is not mere juxtaposition or a "physical reaction"; rather, it is a "chemical reaction" that creates a new, unified cultural entity. On one hand, the advanced theories of Marxism, with its strength of truth, provide new vitality to Chinese civilization. It ushered China into the modern era, revitalizing and modernizing Chinese culture. Traditional concepts such as regarding the people as the foundations of the state, unified governance over all regions of the country all things living side by side, and enriching the people have transformed to modern ideas of pursuing democracy, forging a sense

of the Chinese nation as one community, maintaining harmony between humanity and nature, and striving for common prosperity. This groundbreaking transformation has given rise to a modern form of Chinese civilization. On the other hand, the best of traditional Chinese culture continues to enrich Marxism and facilitate its breakthroughs in adapting to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, endowing it with an increasingly distinctive Chinese style and ethos, and making it an essential part of Chinese culture and the spirit of this era. The integration with the best of China's traditional culture has enabled Marxism to take root in China, modernized traditional Chinese culture, and led to the emergence of a new culture that facilitates Chinese modernization.

Third, integration has reinforced the foundations of our path. What makes our socialism unique? What enables it to thrive with such vitality? The answers

lie in its distinct Chinese characteristics, and Integrations. The path of Chinese socialism is fundamentally socialist, grounded in Marxism. The essential socialist elements in Chinese culture provide an intellectual foundation for the embrace of Marxism in China. The path of Chinese socialism is continually broadening, and our determination to remain on this path is unwavering. In the new era, one significant reason for the historic achievements and transformative progress made by our Party and country is our adherence to the Two Integrations. The path of Chinese socialism has been charted under the guidance of Marxism and built upon China's 5,000 years of civilization. The integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture has endowed the path of Chinese socialism with greater historical depth and broadened its cultural underpinnings. Chinese modernization represents a wide avenue

leading to a great country and national rejuvenation. Just as Chinese modernization infuses Chinese civilization with modern vitality, the rich heritage of Chinese civilization bolsters Chinese modernization. Chinese modernization seeks to build upon, rather than erase, China's ancient civilization; it has developed within China, not imported from any other country; and it has stemmed from the renewal, not the disruption, of Chinese civilization. Chinese modernization is a new mission for the Chinese nation, and it will allow Chinese civilization to shine with renewed radiance.

Fourth, integration has opened up new space for innovation. Integration itself embodies a form of innovation, and it also paves the way for significant theoretical and practical breakthroughs. The integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture has enabled us to retain the theoretical and cultural initiative, and exerted a strong influ-



People visit the Chinese Archaeological Museum in Beijing on September 15, 2023(XINHUA)



Dance performances featuring traditional Chinese culture in an art center in Xi'an, Shaanxi Province, on February 11, 2024 (XINHUA)

ence on the path, theory and system of Chinese socialism. From this perspective, we can see that the systems of people's congresses and political consultation established by our Party reflect the Chinese concept of the people being the foundations of the state, the idea of universal participation in governance, the tradition of collaborative and consultative governance, and the political wisdom of being all-inclusive and seeking common ground while setting aside differences. China's choice of a system of regional ethnic autonomy within a unitary state, rather than a federal or confederate system, aligns with the development trend of the Chinese nation towards internal cohesion and unity amid diversity. Carrying on the Chinese tradition of striving for great unity in the country, it ensures that all regions apply unified governance and share common customs and practices amid rich diversity and that all people come together as one family. The integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture is yet another manifestation of our commitment to freeing the mind. It allows us to fully harness the precious resources of traditional Chinese culture to explore future-oriented theoretical and insti-

tutional innovations within a broader cultural framework.

Fifth, integration has reinforced our cultural identity. Cultural identity is essential for the continued preservation and empowerment of a nation's culture, and for it to unite and inspire the people and to shape values and expand influence. The CPC has consistently emphasized cultural development. In the new era, we have emphasized confidence in our culture alongside confidence in our path, theory and system. Our cultural confidence is rooted in our cultural identity, established by the Chinese people under the leadership of the CPC in the land of China. It is established on the basis of creative transformation and innovative development of traditional culture, as well as the inheritance of revolutionary culture and the development of advanced socialist culture. While establishing this identity, we have drawn inspiration from the outstanding achievements of human civilization and integrated Marxism's basic tenets with China's realities and the best of its traditional culture. The creation of the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era is the most powerful embodiment for our cultural identity. This identity

has given us a firm cultural sense of self and provided fundamental support for our cultural confidence. With this cultural identity, the CPC gains significant cultural strength to steer the trends of our times; the Chinese nation and people have a solid cultural foundation for a collective sense of national identity; and Chinese civilization is endowed with distinctive features that facilitate exchanges and mutual learning with the rest of the world.

The integration of the basic tenets of Marxism with the best of China's traditional culture summarizes our Party's experience in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times, and embodies our Party's profound grasp of the laws guiding the development of Chinese civilization. It marks a new level in our Party's comprehension of the Chinese path, theory and system, our Party's unprecedented confidence in China's history and culture, and a fresh pinnacle in our Party's dedication to fostering cultural innovation, while preserving the essence of China's cultural heritage.

Part of President Xi Jinping's speech at a meeting on cultural inheritance and development on June 2, 2023. 

Source: Xi Jinping: *The Governance of China V*

What, Why and How: A Closer Look at the Two Integrations

What are the Two Integrations?

To uphold and develop Marxism, we must integrate it with China's specific realities. To uphold and develop Marxism, we must integrate it with China's fine traditional culture.

—Report to the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) on October 16, 2022

Why should China adopt the Two Integrations?

Integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific realities and fine traditional culture is the path that must be taken to explore and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics within the Chinese civilization, which has stretched for more than 5,000 years. This integration is the most important tool for the Party to achieve its success.

—President Xi Jinping's keynote speech at a meeting on cultural inheritance and development on June 2, 2023

Only by integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific realities and fine traditional culture and only by applying dialectical and historical materialism can we provide correct answers to the major questions presented by the times and discovered through practice and can we ensure that Marxism always retains its vigor and vitality.

—Report to the 20th National Congress of the CPC on October 16, 2022

How should China grasp and uphold the Two Integrations?

We must continue to free our minds, seek truth from facts, move with the times, and take a realistic and pragmatic approach. We must base everything we do on actual conditions and focus on solving real problems arising in our reform, opening up, and socialist modernization endeavors in the new era. We must keep responding to the questions posed by China, by the world, by the people, and by the times; in doing so, we should find the right answers suited to the realities of China and the needs of our day, reach conclusions that are compatible with objective laws, and develop new theories that are in step with the times, so as to provide better guidance for China's practice.

—Report to the 20th National Congress of the CPC on October 16, 2022

We must stay confident in our history and culture, make the past serve the present, and develop the new from the old. We must integrate the essence of Marxism with the best of fine traditional Chinese culture and with the common values that our people intuitively apply in their everyday lives. We should keep endowing Marxist theory with distinctive Chinese features and consolidating the historical basis and public support for adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times. With this, we will ensure that Marxism puts down deep roots in China.

—Report to the 20th National Congress of the CPC on October 16, 2022

Despite their different cultural roots, Marxism and China's fine traditional culture are highly consistent with each other.

—Xi's keynote speech at a meeting on cultural inheritance and development on June 2, 2023

The integration of Marxism and China's fine traditional culture will create a new type of culture that fits within Chinese modernization, and it will expand the cultural foundation of the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

—Xi's keynote speech at a meeting on cultural inheritance and development on June 2, 2023

Their integration highlights that the Party's understanding of the Chinese path, theory and system has reached a new height, as has its confidence in its history and culture, he said. It also shows that the Party's consciousness of the need to advance cultural innovation while inheriting fine traditional culture has climbed to a new level.

—Xi's keynote speech at a meeting on cultural inheritance and development on June 2, 2023

The integration will provide a broader cultural space for theoretical and institutional innovation for the future, and strengthen the cultural subjectivity of the Chinese people.

—Xi's keynote speech at a meeting on cultural inheritance and development on June 2, 2023

(Source: Xinhua News Agency)

The Two Integrations : The Only Path and Strongest Assurance for Our Success

The history of the Communist Party of China (CPC) has been a process of continuously adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times and a process of continually making theoretical innovations. Essentially, this has been possible because the CPC has remained committed to integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific realities and the best of its traditional culture, thus continually adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times.

The periods of the new-democratic revolution (1921-1949) and socialist revolution and development (1949-1978)



A sculpture marking revolutionary culture in Jinggangshan, Jiangxi Province, in 2023 (XINHUA)

The CPC integrated the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities of the Chinese revolution. This enabled it to blaze the right revolutionary path of encircling cities from the countryside and seizing state power with military force, secure victory in the new-democratic revolution, complete the socialist revolution, and carry out a highly productive socialist development drive. It was during this process that the CPC established, enriched, and further developed Mao Zedong Thought, which marked the first historic step in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times. By integrating Marxism's basic tenets with China's realities, the CPC developed many original theoretical achievements, put forward a series of important ideas regarding China's revolution and development, and led the people in securing great successes in the new-democratic revolution and in socialist revolution and development.

The new period of reform, opening up, and socialist modernization (1978-2012)



The Shenzhen Bay Sports Center in Shenzhen, Guangdong Province, on June 25, 2025 (XINHUA)

The CPC upheld and developed Marxism in light of new practices and contemporary features in order to successfully found, uphold, safeguard, and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics and form the theory of Chinese socialism. This represented a new step forward in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times. To accelerate socialist modernization, the CPC remained committed to steering the advancement of its cause with theoretical innovation and kept integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific realities and exploring the right path for building socialism in China. It thus led the people in making impressive achievements in reform, opening up, and modernization.

Following The 18th CPC National Congress in 2012



The Qianmen Street seen from the Zhengyangmen Gate arrow tower in Beijing, on July 27, 2026. The sites are heritage components on the Beijing Central Axis, one of China's World Heritage Sites (XINHUA)

Socialism with Chinese characteristics entered a new era. Chinese Communists, with Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee as their chief representative, have remained committed to integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific realities and traditional culture and brought about historic achievements and changes in the Party and the country. On this basis, they have established Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era, marking yet another new step forward in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of the times. Proceeding from a new historical juncture and new realities in China's development, the CPC has continued to make breakthroughs in theory and practice and led the people in securing great success for Chinese socialism in the new era.**CI**

Source: Qiushi Journal

Advancing Chinese Modernization Through the Two Integrations

Chinese modernization is a major achievement of the Communist Party of China in leading the Chinese people to integrate the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific realities and with China's fine traditional culture.

According to President Xi Jinping, also General Secretary of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's specific realities and fine traditional culture is the path that must be taken to explore and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics within the Chinese civilization, which has stretched for more than 5,000 years.

In the face of profound changes unseen in a century, and as China embarks on a new journey toward building a strong country and realizing national rejuvenation, we must continue to uphold the "Two Integrations" and open new chapters in advancing Chinese modernization.

Five Features of Chinese Modernization

1. First, Chinese modernization is for a huge population. Success in modernizing a country of **1.4 billion** people—a population that exceeds in size the combined total of all the developed countries—will completely change the international landscape and have a far-reaching impact on humanity.
2. Second, Chinese modernization aims at common prosperity for everyone, which is an essential requirement of Chinese socialism. Committed to the people-centered philosophy of development in the drive for modernization, China has proactively addressed regional divides, disparities between urban and rural areas, and the gap in income distribution. China has promoted social fairness and justice, worked towards common prosperity for all our people, and stood firmly against polarization between rich and poor.
3. Third, Chinese modernization balances material and cultural-ethical progress. It upholds the core socialist values, strengthens education on ideals and convictions, spreads splendid traditional culture, boosts people's moral strength, and fosters material abundance and the well-rounded development of all.
4. Fourth, Chinese modernization features a harmonious coexistence between humanity and nature. China strives to synergize material and eco-environmental progress, and follow a path of sound development that ensures growth, better lives and a good environment; otherwise the pressure on resources and the environment will simply become unbearable.
5. Fifth, Chinese modernization follows a path of peaceful development. Some of the old capitalist countries pursued modernization through violent exploitation of colonies and at the cost of other countries development. In contrast, Chinese modernization emphasizes mutual benefit with other countries, strives for a global community of shared future, and works to deliver peace and development to humanity.

Stories of Xi Jinping

Xi Jinping, Man of Culture

The Communist Party of China (CPC), born over a century ago following the New Culture Movement and the spread of Marxism in the country, has always been proud of its cultural essence. Now, under Xi's leadership, the Party is drawing on culture to enhance its governance and drive China's modernization.

A culture enthusiast

Xi was born in 1953 into a family of revolutionaries. As a child, he was greatly inspired by China's traditional culture. He said he would never forget the story of Yue Fei, as told by his mother. Yue was a patriotic military commander from the 12th century whose mother tattooed "serve the country with the utmost devotion" on his back, a phrase that embodies "Zhong," or loyalty, in Confucian philosophy. Xi made it his life's goal to follow this motto.

Xi has mentioned that reading is his favorite hobby. His school teachers remember him as an exceptional student with a passion for reading classical literature, particularly as a fan of Du Fu, a renowned realist poet from the Tang Dynasty (618-907).

In the late 1960s, Xi was dispatched from Beijing to Liangjiahe, a small village in Shaanxi Province on the Loess Plateau, as an "educated youth" to engage in arduous farm labor. Hauling a whole box of books to the village, Xi immersed himself in a diverse reading journey, exploring works from Chinese literary masterpieces to those of Shakespeare and Tolstoy, and from Chairman Mao's "Serve the People" to Karl Marx's

"Das Kapital."

Some 40 years later, the man who used to read late into the night under the dim glow of a kerosene lamp in a cave dwelling stood at a podium in the UNESCO headquarters as the president of China, sharing his views on culture and civilization. "He drew on famous poets and writers to highlight his country's long history and the importance of cultural diversity," according to media reports.

Xi refers to Liangjiahe as his "university" where he learned China's traditional virtues. Throughout his seven years in this village, Xi endured a challenging life, and shared work and meals with the poor locals. He vividly remembers the villagers' generosity, as they imparted valuable lessons about life and work and shared whatever little they had.

In return, Xi extended the same kindness. He shared his rations to help those in need, offered his spare shoes to a younger villager without any, gave his hat to someone lacking one in cold weather, and generously gifted books and notebooks to those who cherished reading and learning. The villagers used "Ren Yi," or benevolence and righteousness, the highest standards of traditional moral uprightness, to praise the young man.

Farmer Liang Yujin, now in his 70s, reminisced about making unannounced visits to Xi on four occasions after Xi had left Liangjiahe. Already a high-ranking official, Xi welcomed Liang into his home, and they ate meals prepared by his wife, Peng Liyuan.

Liang brought millet, pumpkins, and sweet potatoes for Xi, and in return, Xi offered him tea and pastries. "He asked about every family in the village," Liang said.

In 1982, Xi started working in Zhengding, a historical county in Hebei Province, first as deputy Party chief and then as Party chief. After discovering two ancient locust trees in his workplace, he had them verified for age and fenced off for protection. He also initiated a comprehensive survey of cultural relics throughout the county, and holistic conservation efforts began.

Xi's profound passion for history and culture was so intense that, at one point, he considered pursuing archaeology; however, this interest extended beyond mere personal fascination.

He often shares an ancient Chinese proverb with officials and foreign friends, advocating the use of history as a compass for present and future endeavors. He believes that drawing lessons from tradition is instrumental in formulating policy decisions.

Situated in Zhejiang Province, the archaeological ruins of Liangzhu, now a UNESCO World Heritage Site, were surrounded by mining fields in the early 2000s.

Upon learning about this situation in July 2003, Xi, then Party chief of Zhejiang, promptly ordered the closure of the mines. His dedication toward Liangzhu endured throughout the subsequent decades. As archaeologists confirmed the significance of Liangzhu as a testament to 5,000 years of Chinese civilization, he gave metic-

ulous instructions for its protection. In his congratulatory message to the inaugural Liangzhu Forum last year, Xi hailed the site as a treasure of world civilizations.

Since taking on the Party's leading role—general secretary of the CPC Central Committee—in 2012, Xi has issued over 170 significant instructions regarding cultural relics, archaeology, and intangible cultural heritage. He has also conducted over 100 on-site inspections of historical and cultural sites.

Xi also harbors a deep love for “Red Culture.” Over the years, he has visited almost every significant historical site related to critical chapters of the revolutionary past. These locations include a lake in Zhejiang, where the first CPC National Congress was held in 1921, and Fragrant Hills in sub-

urban Beijing, where elder Party leaders laid the foundation for the establishment of New China.

“While journeying toward success, remember where we came from,” Xi said.

He is a fan of rich human cultures. Speaking about his extensive travels across the world, Xi said, “Delving into the diverse civilizations across the five continents brings me the utmost joy.”

Since assuming the presidency, Xi has visited over 70 countries. In Greece, he discussed an ancient Chinese phrase about stopping wars and Athena's contemplation of war and peace. He drew parallels between Chinese tea and Belgian beer in Belgium, highlighting the value of appreciating different cultures. In Mexico, he showed keen interest in the similarities between elements of the Maya civilization

and Chinese elements like the dragon. In the Luxor Temple in Egypt, he spoke about the origins and developments of ancient civilizations.

Xi also shared personal reflections on literature, such as his impressions of Ernest Hemingway's “The Old Man and the Sea” and his experiences visiting places associated with Hemingway in Cuba.

People familiar with Xi say that his cultural upbringing has profoundly influenced his strong sense of idealism and his pragmatic approach to work. He often refers to the philosophy of “Zhi Xing He Yi,” or “unity of knowledge and action,” advocated by the ancient Chinese philosopher Wang Yangming (1472-1529), and considers it an essence of traditional Chinese culture. **CI**

(Source: Xinhua News Agency)



An aerial view of the Liangjiahe Village of Yanchuan County in Yan'an, Shaanxi Province, on June 11, 2026 (XINHUA)

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