Tsinghua University Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Chapter 5: The General Basis for Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 建设中国特色社会主义总依据

5.1.1 Exploring the Theoretical Basis for the Stages of Socialist Development in China

Hello, everyone Today we begin Chapter 5.

The first four chapters, constituting the earlier course, principally concerned the Thought of Mao Zedong.

In Chapter 5, we begin to explore the theory of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.

The title of chapter 5 is The Basis for Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. First of all, let me ask you if you already know: What is the basis for building socialism with Chinese characteristics?

We know that it was clearly pointed out in Report to the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (2012) that “In building socialism with Chinese characteristics, our basis is the fundamental reality that China is now in the primary stage of socialism. Our general purpose is to promote economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress, and our general task is to achieve socialist modernization and the renewal of the Chinese nation.”

The Report’s statement of the basis, general purpose and general task make it clear that the starting point for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental reality that China is still in the primary stage of socialism. However, in some academic work, we also encounter an alternative formulation, which is that the basis for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the theory of the primary stage of socialism. So which of these two formulations is the correct one? Actually, they are both acceptable.

The context for the practical building of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the fact that China is still in the primary stage of socialism, and will remain so for a long time to come. Whereas the theoretical basis for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the theory that China is still in this primary stage of socialism, and will long remain in this stage. These two statements, the practical and the theoretical, interact with and depend on each other. Therefore rigorously speaking, the base on which to build socialism with Chinese characteristics must be both the reality of the primary stage of socialism as well as the theory of this primary stage. So, what exactly is the primary stage of socialism? How long will it last? What are its principal problems? What is the basic line of action that will carry us through it? And what is the basic program we should follow?

We will answer these questions one by one. To begin with, let's look at the first section: the general content of the theory of the primary stage of socialism, focusing our attention on our first question, which demands a theoretical exploration of this primary stage of socialism.

We know that the theory of the primary stage of socialism is gradually formed on the basis of summarizing the socialist development around the world especially the historical experience and lessons learned from the tortuous development of China’s socialist construction According to the Report to the Thirteenth
National Congress of the CPC in 1987: “The primary stage of socialism” was a new concept with specific content that arose for the first time during the historical elaboration of Marxism. However, theoretical explorations concerning the development stages of socialism made by the classical Marxist writers began much earlier, in Marx’s own era. For these writers, socialist construction wasn’t yet a practical problem. They put forward some fundamental hypotheses about the development stages of the future society, based on their scientific analysis of the recurrent patterns that had occurred in the development of capitalism. They believed that future society would go through the following three periods:

The first one would be a period of revolutionary transformation from capitalism to communism, which we now refer to as “interim.”

The second period was the initial stage of communist society. This stage is called “socialist society” today. The third one was the superior stage of communism, which is called “communist society” today. But Marx and Engels didn’t further explain how Communist society would progress through the first period of socialist development.

In the development history of socialism thoughts the earliest theorist to pose the issue of the development stages of socialism was Lenin. After the October Revolution, the development stage of socialism posed important practical problems. Lenin thought that in an economically backward Russia “After expropriating landlords and capitalists, we merely acquire the possibility of building up socialism in its most basic form.” And he thought Russia had not yet reached a mature or developed stage of socialism. Rather, his view implied that socialist society would also experience a developing process would subsequently develop from incomplete to complete, from preliminary to mature. Nevertheless, Lenin focused on prescribing how Russia should proceed to advance to socialism. He was unable to analyze specifically the problems that could after this initial establishment of the socialist system. Therefore, he could not offer further guidance for the development of socialism.

In 1936, which was soon after the USSR established its socialist system, Stalin didn’t analyze the problems emerging in the development of socialism on the basis of the current realities in the Soviet Union. Rather, he asserted as an arbitrary hypothesis about the direct transition to communism.

In 1939, Stalin announced on the Eighteenth National Congress of the Soviet Communist Party that USSR had entered a period during which it would gradually transform into a communist society.

On March 22nd, 1939 the USSR Pravda ran an editorial claiming that: “The Eighteenth National Congress will go down in history as a significant turning point from socialism to the great path of communism. Communism!

It is a dream that can scarcely be achieved by many people. But for us, the generation of the Eighteenth National Congress, communism is just around the corner.” But World War II broke out shortly thereafter, and this interrupted Russia’s dream of a rapid transition to communism. However, in 1946, shortly after the War ended, Stalin confidently claimed once again that “Communism within one country, particularly within a country such as the USSR, is absolutely possible.”

In 1952, Stalin announced that the party’s main current task was to transit from socialism to communism. This impetuous and unrealistic idea caused great damage to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. After the establishment of the socialist system in China Mao Zedong correctly explained the problem of the development of socialism in China.
In a conference about conceptual issues held in January, 1956, he pointed out that China had become a socialist society, but the construction of socialist system was still unfinished. Later on he clearly enunciated that China’s socialist system was “just established” but not “completed”. Unfortunately, at the time of the Great Leap Forward and the movement to establish people’s communes in 1958 an unscientific view of our socialist development and a serious overestimation of the speed of development of our productive forces led our people to a blindly optimistic sentiment and the belief that “the realization of communism in our country is no longer situated in a remote future.” This agitation placed undue faith in the role of man’s subjective will and efforts to make possible “transitioning to communism in a poor condition” and “running into communism”. This brought about a series of severely adverse consequences.

In the period of the Great Leap Forward many people regarded people’s communes as “a golden bridge reaching out for communism”. A doggerel circulated among people, claiming that: “The small peasant economy is a single-plank bridge too fragile and swaying at every step. Mutual-aid teams are stone-made bridges, inadequate in rainy and windy weather. Co-operatives are irony bridges incapable of reaching paradise. People’s communes are golden bridges, the only way to reach out for communism.”

In the late 1950’s and early 1960’s having integrated the experience and lessons learned from the process of Socialism construction, Mao Zedong came to realize the difficulty, complexity and time requirements for building up Socialism in China After reading the Soviet Union’s Textbook of Political Economics Mao stated an important conclusion: He believed that “the socialist society could probably be divided into two phases.

The first one is undeveloped socialism and the second one is relatively developed socialism.

The latter may need much longer time to be achieved than the former.” He said “In a country such as China completing socialist construction is a tough task. Hence it’s still early to say we’ve completed our socialist construction.”

When correcting the mistakes of the Great Leap Forward, he criticized those who urged a rapid transition to communism for making three mistakes:

The first one was considering socialism as communism the second one was interpreting “to each according to his work” as if it meant “to each according to his needs”

The third one was confounding “ownership by the collective” with “ownership by the entire people.” Nonetheless,

In the 1960s, the “Left” continued to establish the party’s guiding ideology on the basis that socialism was “a revolutionary switch period, from the capitalist society to the communist society.” This skewed our understanding of the development of socialism in China.

In conclusion it is the ambiguous or unsound understanding about this period of the development stage of Socialism and several wrong turns that were made, which have harmfully affected the actual process of socialist construction in China. There were three fundamental reasons for the emergence and expansion of the Great Leap Forward, the movement to establish people’s communes, and the “Cultural Revolution”. They are as follows. First, there was incorrect perception of the actual phase of China’s socialism. Second, there was a faulty grasp of the historical evolution of China’s socialism. Third, there was a wrong understanding of the principal problems of the current stage.

5.1.2 The Development of the Theory of the Primary Stage of Socialism
Now let’s focus on our second subject, how the theory of the primary stage of socialism was developed.

As early as the period of the Democratic Revolution, Mao Zedong pointed out: “understanding China’s realities is the fundamental basis for understanding all the problems of the Revolution.” Key to understanding these realities is to discern the nature and stage of development of society, and to recognize the principal contradiction within the society and its evolution. These principles of analysis are the same regardless of the revolution or state of development. After the establishment of the socialist system, there was consequently a need to gain a precise understanding of the basic realities in China. But this was long delayed.

It was not until the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP, in 1978, that this understanding was achieved. After this session, the Party, based on experience since the foundation of the PRC including experience since Reform and Opening-up, began a new exploration of the historical development of our socialist system.

The Party eventually attained a grasp of the basic conditions in China and so reached the scientific conclusion that we are still in the primary stage of socialism and will long remain in this phase.

We always say that we should base ourselves on realities to build socialism.

The most fundamental of these realities is that we are still in the primary stage of socialism. This conclusion vindicates the practical needs of Reform and Opening-Up.

The new policies which were implemented after this Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP in 1978 achieved great practical success. These policies were, however, in conflict with the socialist theory that people had previously accepted. Some people even began to doubt whether the route of Reform and Opening-up and the associated policies were consistent with Marxism. Others denied the need for us to stick with socialism. Therefore, we need to assure we have correct solution to the problem of the stages of socialism.

The theory of the primary stage of socialism didn’t spring into being by itself. Nor did it result from a single initiative by the Party. Rather, the Party passed through a relatively long process to reach a correct understanding of the primary stage of socialism. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1978 Deng Xiaoping pointed out that a poor economic foundation, large population and backward social and productive structures constituted the basic conditions in China. He emphasized that the modernization of China was necessarily a long-term undertaking. At the conference celebrating the 30th anniversaries of the foundation of PRC in 1979, Ye Jianying’s speech emphasized that socialism in our country was still in its infancy.

It was immature and incomplete Therefore, the country’s modernization must go through a process leading from inferior to superior. Adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1981, Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People’s Republic of China formally enunciated for the first time the recognition that our socialist system was still in its primary stage.

The Resolution stated: “Although our socialist system is still in its early phase of development, China has undoubtedly established a socialist system and become a socialist society.

Any view denying this basic fact is wrong”
It is worth highlighting that when people talk about “the primary stage of socialism” now, they often emphasize “primary stage”, but in the Resolution just quoted, the emphasis is instead on “socialism.” This is because after the Cultural Revolution there was a tendency to doubt and even deny the socialist nature of Chinese society, and to claim that our system was neither “real socialism” nor capitalism. What other kind of system could there be? They said it was Feudalism.

The Resolution counter-attacked against that point of view.

On September 1st, 1982 Hu Yaobang highlighted in Report to the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China that socialism in China was still in the primary stage, and that material progress was still inadequate. Adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 1986 Draft Resolution on Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Level of Culture and Ideology recognized that China was still in the primary stage of socialism. so not only did we need to implement “to each according to his work” and develop a socialist commodity economy and competition, but also we had to develop multiple sectors of the economy on the premise of the public sector as the major sector, over a relatively long period. With the objective of ultimately achieving common prosperity, we should allow some regions and some people to become prosperous before others.

In March, 1987 the head of the Party wrote Deng Xiaoping a letter about the overall layout for the Draft Report to the Thirteenth National Congress.

The letter said that only by basing our arguments on our being in the primary stage of socialism could we elucidate the nature and basis of the reform This approach is beneficial not only for uniting domestic opinion inside and outside the party, but also to enable the rest of the world to understand the persistence and continuity of our policy. Deng Xiaoping commented on this letter in five words: “This is a good layout.”

In August, 1987 Deng Xiaoping specifically pointed out that “The Thirteenth National Party Congress (1987) will explain what stage China is in, which is the primary stage of socialism. Socialism itself is the first stage of communism and here in China we are still in the primary stage of socialism -- that is, the incomplete stage. Everything we do must be driven by this reality, and all planning must be consistent with it.” Report to

The Thirteenth National Party Congress (1987) was drafted with Deng’s guiding spirit. This Report stated that “A correct understanding of the present historical stage of Chinese society is of prime importance for building socialism with Chinese characteristics and it is the essential basis on which to formulate and implement a correct line and correct policies. Our Party has already made a clear and definite statement on this subject: China is now in the primary stage of socialism. There are two aspects to this. First Chinese society is already a socialist society.

We must persevere in socialism and never deviate from it. Second, China’s socialist society is still in its primary stage.

We must work from this reality and not try to overlap this stage.”

Of the two aspects of the thesis, the first depicts the nature of our society in this primary stage—socialist.

The second clarifies the level of the development of socialist society in China's realities. Only by organically tying together the socialist nature of society and its level of socialist development into a composite scientific statement can we deeply understand and grasp China's realities. Before
The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee (1978), the Party was correct about the nature of our society but was unclear about the socialist development stage in China.

It was the incorrect judgment about our stage of development that resulted in long continued inconsistency of policies with reality, which seriously impeded socialist modernization. Therefore to correctly seize China’s realities, we must recognize the current position of our society, and respond to its nature and also to the level of its development.

The Report Delivered at the Thirteenth National Congress (1987) further explained: “What, then is this current stage, the primary stage of socialism in China?

It is not the initial phase in a general sense—that is, a phase that every country goes through in the process of building socialism. Rather it is, in a particular sense, the stage that China must necessarily go through while building socialism, starting with backward productive forces and an underdeveloped commodity economy.

It will be at least 100 years from the 1950’s, when the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production was basically completed, to the time when socialist modernization will have been in the main accomplished. All these years comprise the primary stage of socialism. This stage is different both from the transitional period in which the socialist economic basis was not yet laid, and the later stage in which socialist modernization will have been achieved.” Thus, the Thirteenth National Congress (1987) for the first time perceived the primary stage of socialism as a vital and fundamental reality and confirmed that this fact was the essential basis on which to formulate a correct line, principles and policies.

The systematic explanation, given by the Thirteenth National Congress (1987), of the primary stage of socialism and the basic line of the Party constituted a great advance in the Party’s understanding of the primary stage of socialism and the basic conditions of China Report to

The Thirteenth National Congress further laid out that under the specific historical conditions of contemporary China, to claim that the Chinese people must go through the stage of fully developed capitalism before taking the socialist road was to take a mechanistic position about the development of the revolution. This was the major cognitive root of “Right” mistakes. But contrariwise, to believe that it was possible to jump over the primary stage of socialism without our productive forces being highly developed was to take a utopian position on this question, and that was the major cognitive root of “Left” mistakes. This thesis is of great importance and is well worth careful thinking. Report Delivered at the Fourteenth National Congress in 1992 mentioned the primary stage of socialism and its theory four times. Report Delivered at the Fifteenth National Congress in 1997 further emphasized the problem of the primary stage of socialism, and pointed out that at the turn of the century, in the face of the arduous tasks of tackling hard issues in the reform and creating a new situation the key to resolving various contradictions, dispelling doubts, and achieving recognition of why we must carry out the existing line and policies, rather than any other, lies in our unified and correct understanding of the basic conditions in China today, in its primary stage of socialist development. Report to the Fifteenth National Congress (1997) demonstrated “In the four decades and more since the mid-1950’s, when China entered the primary stage of socialism, and especially in the past two decades, China has greatly developed her productive forces and made great headway in all its undertakings.

In general, however the basic conditions from which we started—the large population, the poor economic foundation, uneven regional development, and the underdeveloped productive forces—had not been radically changed.
The socialist system still needs to be perfected, the socialist market economy is immature, socialist democracy and legal system still have to be strengthened. Decadent feudal and capitalist ideas and the small-producers' force of habit still have widespread influence in our society. All this shows that the socialist society in China still remains in the primary stage."

The Fifteenth National Congress (1997) also formulated the Party's basic program for the primary stage and went one step further in unifying ideology of the whole Party and all the people. After people’s life reached a well-off standard on the whole, the Sixteenth National Congress in 2002 illustrated that “We must be aware that China is in the primary stage of socialism and will long remain so for a long time to come.

The prosperity of our lives is still modest. It’s not all-inclusive and is very uneven.

The principal contradiction in our society remains the one between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production.” Report to the Seventeenth National Congress in 2007 raised a thesis of “two things that remain unchanged.” Do you know what they are? They are that “the basic reality that China is still in the primary stage of socialism and will long remain so for a long time to come remains unchanged. Also, Chinese society’s principal contradiction--- the one between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and the low level of social production likewise remains unchanged.” Report delivered at the Seventeenth National Congress also elucidated that:

“Stressing recognition of the basic reality is not meant to belittle ourselves, to wallow in backwardness, or to encourage unrealistic pursuit of quick results. Rather, recognizing this situation will serve as the basis of our endeavor to advance reform and plan for development” Report delivered at the Eighteenth National Congress in 2012 stated a thesis of “Three Unchanged Situations”: Do you know which three? They are “the basic reality that China is still in the primary stage of socialism and will long remain so for a long time to come has not changed, nor has Chinese society's principal contradiction—— the one between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and the low level of social production. Nor has China's international position as the largest developing country in the world” Report to the Eighteenth National Congress (2012) also put emphasis that “We must bear in mind under all circumstances the paramount reality that China remains in the primary stage of socialism and will long remain so, and base our thinking on this reality in pursuing all of our endeavors of reform and development.” So, we have sketched the basic timeline for the formulation and development of the theory of the primary stage of socialism. From this evidence, we can clearly see that the theory of the primary stage of socialism was not easily established and accepted, and hence, we need to particularly cherish it. Nowadays, however there are some people in the society who take the theory of the primary stage of socialism as an excuse to be resigned to backwardness and shrink their responsibilities. They use the primary stage of socialism in defense of lagged, unreasonable and uncivilized phenomena.

The public satirizes this conduct as “the primary stage is a big basket in which you can load everything”.

In fact the theory of the primary stage of socialism has its particular connotation and great meanings. Thus it must not be generalized, defamed or vulgarized.

The paramount meanings of the theory of the primary stage of socialism can be summarized as the following two points. Firstly, as to its theoretical meaning: it is a new Marxist thesis about the stages of socialism, and serves as the basis of the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Secondly, as to its practical meaning: it is the basis of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and the starting point for formulating correct lines principles and policies. Historical experience has shown that
for pursuing the socialist road, to focus on a theory of socialism's general characteristics and tendencies, without considering the society's current level and conduct; or, alternatively, to focus on its level and conduct without considering the theoretical characteristics and tendencies of socialism traps people in confused and impractical points of view. What's worse, these aberrations can lead to “Left” or “Right” mistakes that retard attainment of the objectives of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

5.1.3 The Characteristics of the Successive Phases of the Primary Stage of Socialism

Now let’s look at the third question: the characteristics of the successive phases of the primary stage of socialism

In 1987 the Thirteenth National Congress summarized the five basic characteristics of the primary stage of socialism in China.

The five aspects are: First, the primary stage of socialism in China is one in which we shall gradually put an end to poverty and backwardness Second, it is a stage in which an agricultural country, where farming is based on manual labor and where people engaged in agriculture constitute the majority of the population will gradually turn into a modern industrial country where non-agricultural workers constitute the majority. Third, it is a stage in which a society with the natural and semi-natural economy making up a very large proportion of the whole will turn into one with a highly developed commodity economy. Fourth, it is a stage in which, by introducing reforms and exploring new ways we shall establish and develop socialist economic, political and cultural structures that are full of vitality And lastly it is a stage in which the people of the whole country will rise to meet the challenge and bring about a great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

After a decade of experience and refinements in understanding, in 1997 the Fifteenth National Congress made a new summary of the basic characteristics of the primary stage of socialism in China, identifying nine of these.

They are: First, the primary stage of socialism is a historical stage in which we shall gradually put an end to underdevelopment and realize socialist modernization by and large Second, it is a stage in which an agricultural country where people engaged in agriculture take up a very large proportion of the population and mainly rely on manual labor will gradually turn into an industrial country where non-agricultural people constitute the majority and which embraces modern agriculture and service trade. Third, it is a stage in which a society with a natural and semi-natural economy making up a very large proportion of the whole will gradually turn into one with a fairly developed market-oriented economy Fourth

It is a stage in which a society with illiterate and semi-literate people making up a very large proportion of the population and with backward science, technology, education and culture will turn step by step into one with fairly developed science, technology, education and culture. Fifth it is a stage in which a society with poverty-stricken people making up a very large proportion of the population and people having a low standard of living will gradually become one where all people are well-off. Sixth it is a stage in which a society with very uneven economic and cultural development among regions will become one in which the gap will be gradually narrowed with some regions becoming developed first and some later. Seventh

It is a stage in which, by introducing reforms and exploring new ways we will establish and improve a socialist market economy a political system of socialist democracy and other systems that are relatively mature and full of vitality. Eighth it is a stage in which the great number of people will firmly foster the
common ideal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and will make unremitting efforts to overcome difficulties build the country with industry and thrift and promote cultural and ethical progress as well as material progress. Lastly it is a stage in which we will narrow the gap between our level and the advanced world standards and bring about a great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on the basis of socialism.

Of the these nine items, the first and the last provide an overall summary of the basic characteristics and tasks of the primary stage of socialism, while the other seven give more detailed explanations of particular aspects of economic, political and cultural development. This elaboration from the 15th National Congress correctly delineates the processes required for successful completion of the primary stage of socialism. Since the new century began,

We have entered a new phase within the primary stage, where we must build a moderately prosperous society in a well rounded way, speeding up the drive for socialist modernization. Although the basic conditions and principal contradictions in the primary stage of socialism and China's international position as the largest developing country in the world have not changed, the new situations and changes we have encountered in developing the economy and society reveal new characteristics of our current phase within the primary stage of socialism. And what are they? First, our economic strength has greatly increased, yet the seriously unbalanced, disharmonious and unsustainable conditions that have been conspicuous during the process of development are still serious. For example, the disparities between the eastern and the western parts of China, between urban and rural areas, and between our political and economic systems still remain. Second, economic and social development have advanced prodigiously, but now confront new and serious structural problems. Meanwhile, the antecedent mechanical and systemic barriers to development still remain. For instance, although reform of the systems for government examination and approval has achieved obvious improvements in efficacy, problems continue to arise as a result of unnecessary flogging of trivialities, complexity, low efficiency and bad attitude. These are a negative influence on social development and equally harmfully, they can cause widespread dissatisfaction. Third, with the wider opening to the outside world we face increasingly intense international competition. Although opening up has made possible significant advances, our economic growth is now unduly dependent on international trade.

The quality and structure of our industries still haven't attained an adequately high level, and the problems of economic development and economic security for the people continue to be serious. Pressures caused by the developed countries’ economic and technologic domination will continue for a long time. Hence both predictable and unpredictable risks increase.

The primary stage of socialism is a relatively long historical development stage and it would display different periodical attributes in different stages. Only when we have firmly grasped the basic characteristics of the primary stage of socialism as a whole and have also analyzed the specific characteristics of its component phases can we then draw sound conclusions applicable to the basic conditions of Chinese society as the basis for formulating correct development strategy and policy.

5.1.4 How Do We Know that China Remains in the Primary Stage of Socialism

Let’s look at the fourth question: Why do we say that China is still in the primary stage of socialism?

In 2015, the Korean TV station KBS broadcast a documentary called Super China
The documentary had seven segments, and presented the current situation in China from the standpoints of population, economy, diplomacy, military, land, culture, and politics, commenting on how China has changed the world. This documentary aroused heated discussion in China, Korea and many other countries. People were astonished by China’s great achievements, reflected in the documentary. Indeed, no one can deny China’s development achievements today. China has become the second largest economy in the world, after the USA. Some people call China and the USA “G2". Some others even raise theses like “century of China” or “era of China". Based on opinions such as these, some people think that China has already completed the primary stage of socialism, and is no longer a developing country, but rather, a developed country. What do you think? Personally, I don’t think this point of view is correct. Currently, China is still in the primary stage of socialism. Here’s why: First, Although China has indeed achieved great development success, we are still faced with many severe problems. Report to the Eighteenth National Congress bluntly pointed out: “There is still much room for improvement in our work, and there are a lot of difficulties and problems on our road ahead. They include the following: unbalanced, uncoordinated, and unsustainable development remains a big problem.

The capacity for scientific and technological innovation is weak. Our industrial structure is lopsided. Agricultural infrastructure remains weak. Resource and environmental constraints have become more limiting. Many systemic barriers stand in the way of promoting development in a scientific way.

The tasks of deepening reform and opening up and extending the growth model remain arduous.

The development gap between urban and rural areas and between regions is still large and so are income disparities. Social problems have increased markedly. There are many problems affecting people's immediate interests in education, employment, social security, health care, housing, ecology and environment, food and drug security, workplace safety, public safety, law enforcement, administration of justice, and more. Some people still lead hard lives. There is a lack of ethics and integrity in some fields of endeavor. Some officials are not competent to pursue development in a well-organized way. Some grass-root Party organizations are weak and lax. A small number of Party members and officials waver in the Party’s ideal and conviction and are not fully aware of its purpose.

The prevalence of excessive formalities and bureaucracy as well as extravagance and waste are serious problems. Some sectors are prone to corruption and other misconduct, and the fight against such corruption remains a serious challenge for us.

We must take these difficulties and problems very seriously and work hard to resolve them.” I will give a first example of this.

On February 26th, 2015 National Bureau of Statistics issued Statistical Communique of the People's Republic of China on the 2004 National Economic and Social Development, which indicated that if calculated by the standards of rural poverty alleviation, which would be a net income of 2300 yuan per person the rural poverty population in China was 70.17 million in 2014. That's more than the whole population of the UK or of France. If calculated by the standards of the World Bank the rural poverty population in China would be approximately two billion

In the Q&A sections in 2015 “two sessions” Prime Minister Lee Keqiang also mentioned about this issue If calculated by the standards of the World Bank China still had a poverty population of two billion Therefore, China is literally a developing country Now many people consider that China has eliminated poverty and ignorance altogether. That is because they only see the big metropolises such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, and not the rural areas that are still very poor and undeveloped. To better understand the
situation in rural areas of China, you can watch movies such as *Unique Schooling Not One Less* Sister Yuan Shang and Her Younger Brother and Nuan Chun. A second point is that to judge China’s current development level, we need to consider not just the value in total of each measure of development such as GDP, but also its value per capita.

In December, 2003 Prime Minister Wen Jiabao delivered a speech in Harvard University in which he pointed out: “China has a population of 1.3 billion people. I usually tell people a simple but also complex way to multiply and divide 1.3 billion. You see, however small the problem is, multiplied by 1.3 billion it could be a very big problem. And likewise, however big the aggregate figures are, when divided by 1.3 billion this could come to a very small amount per capita, implying a very low average level.” This idea is very graphic and worthy of careful thought. Third, the primary stage of socialism is a long-term historical process which may last from mid-20th century to mid-21st century. Report to the Thirteenth National Congress explicated that “It will be at least 100 years—from the 1950's when the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production was basically completed to the time when socialist modernization will have been in the main accomplished and all these years belong to the primary stage of socialism.” Deng Xiaoping also emphasized for many times the persistence of the primary stage of socialism. People may ask what stage will follow the primary stage of socialism. And what do you think? Maybe it is the intermediate stage and then the advanced stage of socialism Or, maybe we could reach the advanced stage of socialism directly. This depends on the Party’s theoretical innovations in the future. Fourth, we must be acutely aware that we get both “excessive criticism” and “immoderate praise” from abroad.

In the current period, China's overall national strength has grown considerably. This is undeniable and is recognized around the world. So, as China develops, others tend to show one of two reactions to our achievements.

The first is “excessive criticism,” reflecting the fear that “China is a threat.” They believe that China’s development has posed a great threat to the whole world in terms of geopolitics, economic order, ecological environment, political values, etc. Hence, they insist on containment and sanctions against China.

The other and opposite reaction is “immoderate praise,” which unrealistically exaggerates China’s present development situation. This point of view advocates that “the Chinese economy will save the world” and that “China is taking the lead of 21st century.” They even instigate China and the USA to form a “G2” alliance and lead the world together.

When Chinese people are exposed to either the “excessive criticism” or the “immoderate praise,” they are inclined to draw the false conclusion that China is already very strong. They think “if China is not strong enough, then why would some foreigners be so afraid of China while other foreigners so flattering to us?”

In fact, the “excessive criticism” and “immoderate praise” from abroad, while they seem to reflect diametrically opposite tendencies, in fact have a common purpose. This is to push or pull China to shoulder greater international responsibilities. Therefore, we should not be puzzled by all these kinds of “excessive criticism” and “immoderate praise.” Likewise we should react with rational skepticism to foreign expressions of both “China threat” and “China crack-up” expectations.

The “China threat” story exaggerates China’s development achievements and national power. “China crack-up” theory overstates the price and political social problems in the process of development in China. Neither of them is correct about the basic conditions and outlook in China. To deal with “excessive criticism”, “immoderate praise” and the “China threat” and “China crack-up” scenarios, we should firmly
stick to the base line of the primary stage of socialism and the base line of China as a developing country
Neither be conceited nor belittle ourselves Go our way with calm and faith.

5.2.1 Thesis of the Principal Contradiction in the Primary Stage of Socialism

Now let’s start to learn the second section of Chapter 5, which concerns the principal contradiction in the
primary stage of socialism. Let’s look at the first topic: the origin and subsequent development of the
thesis of the principal contradiction in the primary stage of socialism

The principal contradiction in the primary stage of socialism is one between the ever-growing material and
cultural needs of the people and the backward production. This thesis is familiar to many people. However
it did not spring into existence spontaneously or instantaneously. Convergence to this thesis was the result
of a long and contentious process. After the socialist transformation in China was basically completed, in
September, 1956, Resolution (not Report) to the Eighth National Congress illustrated “The principal
contradiction in China has been one between the demand for establishing an advanced industrialized
society, and the reality of a poor agricultural society.

It has been one between the people’s demand for rapid economic and cultural development and the fact
that dissatisfies the people.

The nature of the contradiction under the condition that socialist system had already been established in
China, was one between an advanced socialist system, on the one hand, and a backward production on the
other.” This thesis was a reasonably accurate reflection of the reality in China at that time, and was also
close to the more precise formulation of the thesis that was achieved later on. But, it was soon opposed by
many people due to various reasons. At the Third Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party held during September to October in 1957, two different opinions were voiced in
the discussions about the principal contradiction in China. Some people believed that because of the need
to combat Rightists, the conclusion about the principal contradiction that had been voted in the Resolution
of the Eighth National Congress was no longer suitable.

In their view, the contradictions between proletariat and the bourgeoisie as well as between socialism and
capitalism were now the principal contradictions in China. Other people contended that even though the
main task was now to combat the Rightists, we nonetheless should not consider the principal contradiction
in domestic politics in this one particular period as the principal contradiction for the entire primary stage
of socialism. Hence they held that the conclusion drawn in the Resolution of the Eighth National Congress
was still correct.

As supporters of these two different views stuck to their positions, Mao Zedong then spoke at this 3rd
Plenary Session. He denied that the analysis adopted in the Resolution of the 8th National Congress was
correct, and firmly said that the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as well as
between socialism and capitalism were undoubtedly the principal contradictions in current situation. Third
Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee accepted Mao Zedong’s opinion

On the Second Meeting of the Eighth National Congress held in May, 1958 (not Second Plenary Session of
the 8th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party) Liu Shaoqi made the following analysis about
domestic principal contradictions in his political report. He said: “In the whole transition period — that is,
until completion of the establishment of a socialist society— the combat between the proletariat and the
bourgeoisie and the combat between socialism and capitalism has always been the principal contradiction
in domestic China. This contradiction reflects as intensive contradictions between ourselves and the enemy in some areas.” This statement symbolized an official change in the Party’s National Congress, after Mao’s speech on Third Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the correct conclusion about the principal contradiction in China given by Resolution to the Eighth National Congress

In April, 1969, Lin Biao said in his Political Report to the 9th National Congress that earlier, before the Chinese Revolution progressed from a new-democratic revolution to a socialist revolution, which was in March, 1949, Chairman Mao once clarified in the report to Second Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party that after the proletariat seized political power the domestic principal contradiction was the one “between the working class and the bourgeoisie”

The emphasis of combat was still related to political power.

In August, 1973, Zhou Enlai said in Report to the Tenth National Congress that everyone knew that the political report to the Ninth National Congress had actually been drafted by Chairman Mao himself. Before the Ninth National Congress, Lin Biao, together with Chen Boda, had drafted a political report They were opposed to continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and believed the main task after the Ninth National Congress was to develop productivity. This domestic principal contradiction forced into Resolution to the Eighth National Congress by Liu Shaoqi and Chen Boda was not the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but a reprint of the revisionism fallacies “a contradiction between advanced socialist system and backward social production” under the new situation. This draft of the political report written by Lin Biao and Chen Boda was objected by the Central Committee undoubtedly. Lin Biao secretly supported Chen Boda, who publicly opposed the political report drafted under the guidance of chairman Mao. Only after these efforts were frustrated did Lin Biao reluctantly accept the Central Committee’s political line and read the political report of the Central Committee at the meeting.

In August, 1977, Hua Guofeng asserted in Report to the 11th National Congress that the principal contradiction in socialist society was between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between socialism and capitalism And this contradiction would inevitably be reflected inside the Party, where certain powerful persons in power within the Party would have emerged as taking the bourgeois road.

On March 30th, 1979, however, Deng Xiaoping explained in his speech titled “Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles” that “As for the question of what is the principal contradiction in the current period— what is the main issue or central task confronting the Party and the people in the current period-- actually this question was answered by the decision of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee.

The answer was to shift the focus of our work to socialist modernization. “Our productive capacity is very low and is far from meeting the needs of our people and country. This is the principal contradiction in the current period, and to resolve it is our central task.” This set things right on the issue of the principal contradiction of the society.

In June, 1981 Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People’s Republic of China adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, highlighted that: “After socialist transformation was fundamentally completed, the principal contradiction our country has to resolve is that between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backward production.” This was the first normative statement on the principal contradiction in current stage
The Party Constitution adopted by the Twelfth National Congress stated that: “The principal contradiction in our society is that between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and backward production.

Any other contradictions need to be resolved as we solve this principal contradiction in the same time.” Report to the Thirteenth National Congress elucidated “The principal contradiction we face during the present stage is the contradiction between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and backward production. Class struggle will continue within certain limits for a long time to come, but it is no longer the principal contradiction.” Report to the Fourteenth National Congress retained the thesis adopted at the 13th National Congress, saying that “The principal contradiction we face during the present stage is the contradiction between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and backward production.” Report to the Fifteenth National Congress again reiterated the thesis on the principal contradiction during the current stage, but clarified its role as “the principal contradiction in the primary stage of socialism.”

The report pointed out “The principal contradiction in society is the one between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backward production. This contradiction will remain throughout the China's primary stage of socialism, in all activities of society.” This provides a scientific and holistic statement of the principal contradiction in the primary stage of socialism.

The succeeding Reports to the 16th, 17th and 18th National Congresses of the CPC all concur that the principal contradiction during our current stage remains unchanged, and is still “the one between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and backward production.”

5.2.2 How to comprehensively understand the principal contradiction

Let’s look now at the second topic in this section, how to gain a comprehensive understanding of the scientific connotations of the principal contradiction in the primary stage of socialism.

The principal contradiction in the primary stage of socialism is the one between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and the inadequate production. This thesis seems to be very simple, but actually it contains considerable scientific ramifications that we need to understand fully and dig into to explore like an excavator. To begin with we are talking here about “material and cultural needs” rather than just “material need”.

The material and cultural needs include spiritual needs. Indeed, they must be understood to encompass all the needs of the people.

The American psychologist Maslow put forward a theory called “hierarchy of needs”. He divided all human needs into five priority classes. First, physiological needs; second, safety needs; third, love and belonging needs; fourth, esteem needs; and last, self-actualization needs. People’s needs should not be seen as encompassing only their material needs, the need to make ends meet. Normal people's needs also include all the other needs that Maslow categorized. Therefore to resolve the principal contradiction, it will not be enough merely to achieve economic development, it will require development in other important areas. Some people often take the theory of principal contradiction in the primary stage of socialism as the theoretical basis for “making economic development our central task”. Technically, this point of view is incorrect. Secondly, the “people”, referred in the theory of the principal contradiction, includes people of all ranks and classes. There are similarities in everyone’s needs, but also diversity, for instance between people of the different classes.
The needs of every class ought to be satisfied.

We should neither satisfy only the needs of one or some specific classes, nor should we create opposition among different needs of the various classes. For example we should neither using the needs of the farmers to frustrate the needs of the intellectuals, nor use the needs of the intellectuals to frustrate the needs of the farmers.

In addition to diversity between classes, there also exists individual diversity of needs. And these individual needs, different in thousands of ways, should be satisfied as well. Third, there are many reasons why we say “ever-growing” in stating this contradiction. First of all, with the establishment of socialist system, people’s social needs which had been depressed in the old society have now been released and thus become ever-expanding.

In addition, anyone’s needs inevitably rise and expand as they are progressively met, targeting ever-higher levels. Hence, these needs are “ever-growing.” And lastly, other factors such as demand stimulated by advertisements, a social atmosphere of competition and comparison, despising the poor and currying favor with the rich, will further stimulate the ever-growing needs of the people. Therefore, we need a concrete analysis of the ever-growing needs. Fourth, not all the needs of the people are entirely natural and reasonable. Some irrational needs, for instance, some morbid needs, perverse needs and surrealistic needs should be corrected by education rather than satisfied. Fifth, when we refer to “inadequate production,” we mean both backwardness in the level of individual productivity and backwardness in organization, operation and management. Often, the latter causes the former, so that the former is the consequence of the latter. Sixth, the backwardness we talk about here is not “absolute” backwardness, but “comparative” backwardness. Since the establishment of socialist system, social production has not been absolutely backward, and meeting the people’s basic living requirements is certainly insured. That’s why what we must address is “comparative” backwardness-- compared to two reference systems. One is the people’s expectations of the advantages of socialism.

The other is the comparison with social production in developed countries. Seventh, generally speaking, our emphasis in resolving the contradiction is on “the inadequate production” rather than “the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people”.

In other words, the desirable solution to resolve this contradiction is to expand production rather than to compress the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people. However, a fundamental resolution of this contradiction requires efforts to address both sides of it.

On the one hand, we definitely should improve social production by reforming organization and strengthening the economic base.

On the other hand, we should also regulate the scope and adjust the structure of the people’s diverse needs.

In conclusion, only when we do both the addition and the subtraction and when we transform both the objective world and the subjective world can we resolve this contradiction efficaciously and fully. Eighth, in order to resolve this contradiction we should not only focus on quantity but also on quality. For example, we must not only provide an adequate quantity of food to meet basic physical needs, but also improve the quality of the food. Meanwhile, we should resolve not only overall contradictions but also specific contradictions within the structure of the economy and society. Ninth, this contradiction is the primary contradiction, but not the only one. There are many other social contradictions in the primary stage of
socialism, such as contradictions between the poor and the rich, the workers and the capitalists, the minorities and majorities, rural areas and urban areas, the public and the Party, the public and the cadres, and so forth. These contradictions need to be prudently resolved one by one. Do not think that when we solve the principal contradiction, the other contradictions will simply disappear. Tenth, in the primary stage of socialism, given the international and domestic factors, contradiction between classes and “class struggle” will long remain in existence, to a certain extent. They may even be intensified under some respects.

We must have a clear perception of those potentially harmful tendencies, have correct attitudes and take proper measures to overcome them. However, “class struggle” is no longer the principal contradiction, so it is no longer taken as the “key line”.

The solution to the principal contradiction will also be beneficial to relieve the contradiction between classes. Eleventh, this principal contradiction covers the whole period of the primary stage of socialism, which runs from the mid 20th century, when the socialist transformation was basically completed, to the mid 21st century, when socialist modernization is expected to be basically accomplished. For at least a hundred years, the principal contradiction of Chinese society will have been the one between the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the people and our inadequate production. Only after the primary stage of socialism is finished may the principal contradiction of Chinese society change. Twelfth, although this thesis is correct up to now, we shall continue to see changes in our society.

The statement of the “three unchanged situations” made in the Report to the 18th National Congress is correct. But Report to the Eighteenth National Congress also put forward a thesis of “three profound changes” as follows: “At present, as the global, national and our Party's conditions continue to undergo profound changes, we are faced with unprecedented opportunities for development as well as risks and challenges hitherto unknown.” Hence, as we stick to this thesis about the principal contradiction, we should also recognize the various new characteristics that this principal contradiction presents during current stage. For example, the “ever-growing” needs of the people have become an increasingly serious problem.

The non-material needs are more and more important.

The structural contradictions in society weigh increasingly heavily in sustaining the principal contradiction against our efforts to resolve it. With respect to these new characteristics, we should plan ahead and take precautionary measures, rather than turn a blind eye and deaf ear to them.

5.3.1 To Fully Understand the Basic Line for the Primary Stage of Socialism

Now let's begin to learn the third section of this chapter, concerning the basic line and program for the primary stage of socialism. Let's begin with the first question: How to fully understand the basic line for the primary stage of socialism.

The basic line of the Party is the course of conduct that has been formulated as the means to resolve society's principal contradictions in this stage.

In any particular period, the line is the fundamental guiding principle for gaining overall control over that problem.
The basic line of the Party has been gradually worked out, based on experience and the lessons accumulated in formulating and then implementing the basic line in the past, as well as based on the process of Reform and Opening-up and socialist modernization.

On the eve of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee in 1978 Deng Xiaoping pointed out that achieving modernization amounted to accomplishing a great revolution.

We would undertake comprehensive and profound reform in economic aspects.

In the mean time, we would transform the relations of production and superstructure in multiple ways.

The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee issued a preliminary statement of the principle of Reform and Opening-up. Later on, reacting to incorrect ideological trends that denied the socialist system and the leadership of the Communist Party as well as Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping soon enunciated the Four Cardinal Principles. At the 12th National Congress, in 1982, Deng Xiaoping introduced the concept of “building socialism with Chinese characteristics” for the first time. Later, the idea of “one central task, two basic points” was gradually developed and established as the core content of the Party’s basic line. After the Twelfth National Congress, the Party has been has continued to deepen its understanding of the main content and implications of the basic line in the primary stage of socialism. Based on Deng Xiaoping’s thinking, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee (1986) established the overall blueprint for the modernization of China. These were to make economic development our central task; unswervingly implement the reform of China’s economic and political structure; and unswervingly reinforce the building of socialist culture and ethics.

It is critically important to conduct these endeavors in an integrated and consistent way. Not only did

The Thirteenth National Congress (1987) convincingly explain the theory of the primary stage of socialism, but in addition it also officially proposed the Party's basic line for this stage of socialism, which is as follows: Lead the people of all our nationalities in a united, self-reliant, hardworking effort, to turn China into a prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and modern socialist country by making economic development our central task, while adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles and persevering in reform and the open policy.

The Party Constitution adopted by the Seventeenth National Congress (2007) introduced “harmonious”, along with “prosperous, democratic, and civilized” into the basic line.

The Eighteenth National Congress (2012) further emphasized the Party's basic line is the lifeblood of the Party and country. People have tended to summarize our basic line in the primary stage of socialism as “one central task, two basic points” or even simplify it as “one task, two points”. But in fact, the content of the basic line is not simple at all.

It abounds with logical and practical implications that we must fully understand. First of all, the phrase “to lead the people of all our nationalities” highlights the leading and the supporting forces which will achieve our objective of socialist modernization.

The Communist Party is the leading force in building socialism in China, while the Chinese people of all nationalities provide the supporting power to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This phrase also makes clear the two tasks of the leading power: the Party should not only lead the Chinese people of all nationalities, but also unite them. Only when the Party leads the people well can it unite the people. At the same time, stronger unity among them will help the Party lead the people more effectively. Second, the
phrase “making economic development our central task” reflects the fundamental task for building socialist society, and embodies the crucial demand for developing productive forces. “Making economic development our central task” replaces the prior dictum which was “taking class struggle as the central task.”

In doing so, it shows the Party’s improved understanding of our fundamental task, and shifts the focus of the Party’s work accordingly. “Making economic development our central task” is to be understood from a macroscopic, strategic point of view.

It does not imply that the Party and the government will carry out economic activities and dominate the allocation and distribution of all kinds of goods by themselves. Likewise, we should not consider “making economic development our central task” as “making economic development our only task” or “making economic development our entire task”.

It does not at all imply that progress in other fields will be unimportant. Third, “Adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles”. This provides the political guarantee for releasing and developing the productive capacity of the economy and stipulates the requirements of our basic socialist system. So, what are the Four Cardinal Principles? They are “We must keep to the socialist road;

We must uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat;

We must uphold the leadership of the Communist Party;

We must uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.” Subsequently, the words “We must uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat” were replaced by “We must uphold people’s democratic dictatorship”.

The Four Cardinal Principles are also called “Four Hold-ups”.

It was raised on March 30th, 1979, when Deng Xiaoping delivered his speech on the forum on the principles for the Party’s theoretical work.

The topic of the speech was Uphold The Four Cardinal Principles.

The speech was in response to “Democracy Wall” and some extreme remarks at the forum. These unacceptable comments usually started by criticizing the “two whatever.”

The “two whatever” had been enunciated by Hua Guofeng in 1977 as: “Whatever decisions Chairman Mao makes, we should resolutely safeguard them. Whatever instructions Chairman Mao makes, we should unswervingly follow them.” But the rejection of these extraordinary propositions extended to criticizing Mao Zedong and the Communist Party of China., which reflected a Rightist ideological tendency. Many people think that Deng Xiaoping put forward the Four Cardinal Principles merely to oppose this Rightist ideological tendency. This viewpoint is incorrect.

The Four Cardinal Principles in addition opposed the ultra-Leftist trend of thought. Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out in his speech that: “As we all know, far from being new, these Four Cardinal Principles have long been upheld by our Party.

The Central Committee has been adhering to these principles in all its guidelines and policies adopted since the smashing of the Gang of Four and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee.” Deng Xiaoping further explained: “Nevertheless, the Central Committee believes that there is still a tremendous need today to emphasis propagating the four principles. This need continues
because some Party comrades have not yet freed themselves from the harmful influence of the ultra-Left ideology of Lin Biao and the Gang of Four. A handful of people have gone so far as to spread rumors and calumnies, attacking the principles and policies adopted by the Central Committee since the toppling of the Gang of Four and particularly since the Third Plenary Session, by claiming that those run counter to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

It is necessary to continue emphasizing the Four Cardinal Principles also because a handful of people in our society are spreading ideas which are are contrary to the four principles or at least cast doubt on them, and some Party comrades, instead of recognizing the danger of such ideas, have given them a certain degree of direct or indirect support.”

The first group to which he referred were ultra-Left, and the second were Right or ultra-Right.

In restating the Four Cardinal Principles, Deng Xiaoping aimed at opposing both those groups of people, but aimed mainly at the second group, the Right. Later on, the focus in applying the principles targeted bourgeois liberalization. Therefore we must understand the Four Cardinal Principles holistically, as refuting both the Left and the Right deviations. Specifically speaking keeping to the socialist road requires us to not only to avoid the capitalist road, we must not take the old feudalist road. but also the feudalist road. Steering away from the capitalist road, we must not take the old feudalist road. Upholding the people’s democratic dictatorship requires us to oppose not only a fully democratic system with general election of government officials or representatives but also to oppose all-encompassing dictatorship.

We should oppose not only “The Dictatorship of Talent” but also “The Dictatorship of the People”. Meanwhile, we are also called upon to resist the “great democracy” which, in the Cultural Revolution, by means of “great airing of opinions, great freedom, big character posters, and great debate”. Upholding the leadership of the Communist Party requires us to object to not only multi-party system and two-party system but also to dictatorship and feudalism. Upholding the leadership of the Communist Party requires us uphold the collective leadership of the Communist Party, rather than to uphold the leadership of a particular leader.

In the mean time, we must object to the behavior that shoved aside the Central Committee and instituted revolution against it during the Cultural Revolution. Upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought requires us to resist not only the bourgeois decadent ideas, but also feudalist decadent ideas.

We must not revive and spread feudalist ideology when we oppose capitalism. For instance, we must cannot bring back the idea that “power is everything” when we fight against the idea that “money is everything.” Fourth, “adhere to Reform and Opening-up”. This identifies both the driving force of socialist development and the external condition that it requires, highlighting the fundamental requirements for liberating the productive capacity of our economy. “Adhere to Reform and Opening-up” requires not only adhering to reform but also to opening-up.

We cannot replace opening-up with reform, nor reform with opening-up. Adhering to Reform and Opening-up entails moving ahead with reform and opening-up, whether circumstances are favorable or not. Adhering to Reform and Opening-up represents not only conducting Reform and Opening-up positively but also continuously deepening them. Many people believe that principal purpose of adhering to Reform and Opening-up is to maintain vigilance against attacks from the “Left.” This point of view is partial. Adhering to Reform and Opening-up not only helps us maintain vigilance against the “Left” but also helps us against the Right.
It helps to maintain vigilance against the “Left” because Reform and Opening-up would emancipate our minds, enabling us to continue replacing the old way of life by the new. Hence, we can push aside a conservative and inflexible social foundation that limits us to the beaten track.

It is beneficial to maintaining vigilance against the Right, because Reform and Opening-up could improve the people’s living standard, and thus protect us against any tendency towards embrace of a westernized social environment that worships everything foreign. Fifth, a strong connection binds “one central task” with “two basic points.” They cannot negate each other, nor even conflict with each other. First of all, “one central task” can’t be an argument for denying the “two basic points.”

It would be wrong to abandon everything else in order to pursue “taking economic development as the central task.” “Taking economic development as the central task” cannot be separated with Reform and Opening-up, because Reform and Opening-up provides it with strong driving forces. “Taking economic development as the central task” cannot be separated with the Four Cardinal Principles either, because the Four Cardinal Principles offers it the correct track.

In addition, we should not take “upholding the Four Cardinal Principles” as an opinion to deny the thesis of “taking economic development as the central task”, because only by means of “taking economic development as the central task” can we uphold the Four Cardinal Principles better.

Of course we should not take “upholding the Four Cardinal Principles” against “adhering to Reform and Opening-up”

We shall not regard the former one as “class” and the latter one as “order”, because if we do not adhere to Reform and Opening-up it is impossible to uphold the Four Cardinal Principles with efficacy. Lastly, we can’t take “adhering to Reform and Opening-up” as an argument to deny “taking economic development as the central task” since Reform and Opening-up is comprehensive and “taking economic development as the central task” does not repudiate comprehensive development. Meanwhile, we should not use “adhering to Reform and Opening-up” as an argument to deny “upholding the Four Cardinal Principles” because without the latter one the former one would stray from the right direction. For example “one central task” resembles a cart while “two basic points” acts as the wheels of the cart “One central task” is like a bird and “two basic points” resembles two wings of the bird. Therefore they are in an organic unity among which “taking economic development as the central task is vital to invigorating our nation and is the fundamental requirement for the robust growth and lasting stability of the Party and the nation.

The Four Cardinal Principles are the very foundation for building our country and the political cornerstone for the survival and development of the Party and the nation Reform and opening up are the path to a stronger China and the source of vitality for the Party and the nation in development and progress” Some people may ask in terms of value sequencing which one is the most important one among one central task and two basic points? What do you think? I’ll leave this question for you to think about Sixth “self-reliance, hard working” is the Party’s fine tradition and also the fundamental basis for realizing the objectives in the primary stage of socialism. Summarizing the principle of “self-reliance, hard working” into the basic line of the Party not only satisfies the need for changing the undeveloped situation in China but also represents socialist striving spirit. However we must not narrow down “self-reliance hard working” and oppose “self-reliance” against “opening-up” or oppose “hard working” against “ameliorating life standard” Seventh to build a “prosperous, strong, democratic cultural advanced, harmonious and modern socialist country” This is the Party’s objective, set by the basic line in the primary stage of socialism which shows the requirement for holistic development in the socialist society. Among this goal, “prosperous and strong” mainly describes
the objective and requirement in economic aspect “democratic” basically specifies the objective and requirement in political aspect “cultural advanced” mainly provides us with the objective and requirement in culture and ideology aspect And “harmonious” is mainly about objective and requirement in social aspect

The reason why we say “mainly” instead of “only” is that the relations among them are not as simple as one-to-one correspondence For instance “cultural advanced” reveals not only the objective and requirement in culture and ideology aspect but also that of other aspects After the Eighteenth National Congress raised the overall approach to promote economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress the theoretical circles have been debating whether to add new words in besides “prosperous, strong, democratic, cultural advanced and harmonious” If necessary, which word is appropriate to add? Please think about these questions above

We must uphold the basic line of the Party in the long run Hu Jintao demonstrated in his speech delivered on the 30th anniversary of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee “The basic line of the Party is vital to national renewal foundation of the country and building a stronger China

It provides the political guarantee for scientific development and it is the lifeblood of the Party and the country and the happiness line of the people

We must unswervingly adhere to the basic line of the Party deeply convinced in mind and unwavering determined in action

We must reject both the old and rigid closed-door policy and any attempt to abandon socialism and take an erroneous path Instead, we must unswervingly follow the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics” Deng Xiaoping also repetitiously emphasized that “We should adhere to the basic line for a hundred years with no vacillation That is the only way to win the trust and support of the people” Some people might ask why to adhere to the basic line for a hundred years? Should we sway after a hundred years?

In fact, the answer is quite simple

The basic line we discuss about means the basic line in the primary stage of socialism And the primary stage of socialism lasts for approximately a hundred years

As for what the basic line will be in the intermediate and the advanced stage after the primary stage of socialism it will depend on the basic conditions in China at that time Let’s wait and see

5.3.2 The basic program for the primary stage of socialism

Let’s concentrate on the second question the basic program for the primary stage of socialism.

As we saw, the basic line for the primary stage of socialism had its origin in the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee in 1978, and was officially formulated at the 13th National Congress, nine years later.

The basic program for the primary stage of socialism also is rooted in the this same plenary session of the Central Committee, but around 20 years passed before the program was officially adopted at the 15th National Congress (1997). Consequently, the party’s basic program for the primary stage of socialism is logically derived from considerable experience in the Reform and Opening-up and in the modernization in
China, since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, in 1978. After the Fourteenth National Congress (1992) when we adopted the objective to form a socialist market economy, further reform in difficult areas has confronted deep-seated problems. Various confusions have appeared among the cadres and the people. Wrong tendencies have aroused new disturbances in society as well.

The Party has held several Central Committee conferences.

The resolutions adopted by those conferences, especially those that provide thorough explanations for twelve major relationships in the overall modernization endeavor, further confirm the basic objectives and policies with respect to economic system, economic and social development strategy, and cultural and ethical progress in the current stage.

The resolutions also preliminarily answer questions like “what are the economy, politics and culture in the primary stage of socialism?” and “how to build them?” These resolutions provide the fundamental basis for formulating the basic program in the primary stage of socialism. Given the requirements established by the basic line for the primary stage of socialism, the Fifteenth National Congress (1997) laid out the basic program of the Party for the primary stage of socialism. centered on the overall topic of modernization.

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth National Congress further enriched and developed the material.

The basic program for the primary stage of socialism is as follows: Building a socialist economy with Chinese characteristics means developing a market economy under socialism and constantly emancipating and expanding our productive capacity.

We should uphold and improve the basic economic system, in which the socialist public ownership is dominant and different types of ownership develop side by side.

We should uphold and improve different modes of distribution, with distribution according to work remaining dominant.

We should uphold and improve opening up ensuring that the national economy will develop in a sustained, rapid and sound way and that the people will share the fruits of economic prosperity. Building socialist politics with Chinese characteristics means managing state affairs according to law and developing socialist democracy under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, and with the people as the masters of the country.

We should create a political situation in which we have social stability, a clean and efficient government and unity, harmony and livelihood among the people of all our nationalities. Building a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics means taking Marxism as our guide, aiming at training people with high ideals, moral integrity, a good education and a strong sense of discipline, and developing a national, scientific, and popular socialist culture geared to the needs of modernization of the world and of the future. To promote vigorous development and prosperity of socialist culture and build a harmonious socialist society is in accordance with the general requirements for democracy and the rule of law equity and justice honesty and fraternity vigor and vitality stability and order and harmony between man and nature and the principle of all people building and sharing a harmonious socialist society With the focus on improving people’s livelihood we should spare no effort to solve the specific problems of the utmost and immediate concern to the people and strive to create a situation in which all people do their best, find their proper places in society and live together in harmony. To promote socialist ecological progress with Chinese characteristics is to remain committed to the basic state policy of conserving resources and protecting the environment. Strive for green circular and low-carbon development.
We should preserve our geographical space and improve our industrial structure way of production and way of life in the interest of conserving resources and protecting the environment.

We should address the root cause of deterioration of the ecological environment so as to reverse this trend work hard to build a beautiful country and achieve the lasting and sustainable development of the Chinese nation.

In order to achieve the basic program in the primary stage of socialism we must gain a full understanding of and correctly deal with the relationship of dialectical unity between the maximum and minimum programs Communism is the ideal and conviction of Communists and sustains them in all tests. Realizing communism is the maximum program of a proletarian party. But the realization of communism is a historical process which needs us to go through specific objectives in certain periods and take systematic phased efforts to improve.

When dealing with the relationship between the maximum and minimum programs we should keep in mind the following aphorisms:

The first one is what Lao Zi stated in his article Daode Jing “The tree which filled the arms grew from the tiniest sprout.

The tower of nine layers rose from a (small) heap of earth.

The journey of thousands of miles commenced with a single step.”

The second one is what Confucius said in The Analects of Confucius “More haste less speed.” And the last one is stated by Xun Zi in An Article for Advice to Learn “A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step. An ocean with enormous basin gathers from every stream.” That’s the end of this class. Thank you all.

6.1.1 Five hundred years of socialism how did it come into being

Hello dear friends Today let’s learn Chapter Six The Essence of Socialism and the General Task of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. Speaking of Socialism, I’m sure you’ve all heard of what is called “Five Hundred Years of Socialism”. This statement is a hard one to understand for a lot of people because in their eyes, if we trace the history of Socialism back to Russia’s 1917 October Revolution it is only a hundred year. If we say Socialism emerged in 1871, the year that witnessed the uprising of the Paris Commune that would be roughly a hundred and forty years. Even if it started from 1848 when

The Communist Manifesto was published, the development of Socialism lasts no more than a hundred and seventy years. Well, what is the reason for the popularity of “five hundred years of Socialism”? Let’s keep this question in mind and start our study of this chapter. First, we’ll have a look at the first section The essence of socialism.

The first question is what is the reason for the emergence of the statement “five hundreds of Socialism”?

On January 5th, 2013 President Xi Jinping at the seminar where members and alternate members of the new Central Committee studied and implemented the spirit of the Eighteenth National Congress expounded profoundly from aspects of thought source and practical course the twists and turns socialism around the world had gone through in the five hundred years and illuminated the history of the development of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics. From six periods of time he gave an analysis of the development of socialist ideology from the time it was brought up to the present stage.
The first period is the emergence and development of Utopian Socialism

The second is when Marx and Engels established theoretical system of scientific socialism

The third is when Lenin led October Revolution to victory and put socialism into practice

The fourth period is the gradual formation of the Soviet Model

The fifth period came after the establishment of the new China when our party started the exploration and practice of socialism And the last one started when our party made the historic decision of implementing the policy of reform and opening up and determined to initiate and develop Socialism with Chinese Characteristics After President Xi’s speech was reported Five hundred years of Socialism turns from a “little-known” statement to a “well-known” one now Around the time when President Xi’s speech was delivered society’s attention has been focused on four books all of them about “Five hundred years of socialism”

The first book is co-authored by Yu Youjun and Li Yuanjiang

It is called Five hundred Years of Socialism and published by Guangdong Education Publishing House in June 2011 This book consists of three volumes

The first volume is Socialism from Fantasy to Science

The second volume is Socialism from Theory to Reality

The third volume is Socialism in China (1919-1965) This book is written in the form of traditional Chinese novels where each chapter is headed by a couplet giving the gist of its content

It packages the history of the world's socialist ideology the history of socialist movement and related modern world history into one narrating in a literary style For example the first chapter of the first volume is “Upside down, sheep outweighed people in Britain “Turn around, Moore laid hope on Utopia”

The first chapter of volume two is “Vladimir cut his teeth Bolshevik stood out Chapter one of volume three is “An October Revolution artillery sound sent the Marxism to China People of vision came together from North and South Contributing to the emergence of Communist Party of China as the time required This is an interesting writing pattern that is worth of our attentions

In fact as early as in 1985 Guangdong People's publishing House had already published Four hundred years of socialism coauthored by Yu and Li

The birth of Five Hundred Years of Socialism is based on the previous Four Hundred Years of Socialism plus amendments and revisions Well, the second book is composed and compiled by Beijing civil propagandistic department of CPC CPC Beijing civil lecturers society and Beijing TV station

The book's title is The Change of Seas into Lands is the True Way – Five Hundred Years of Socialism and it was published by Beijing publishing house in January 2014 This book is based on a full-length documentary series of the same title This documentary centers on the important events, figures and thoughts in the development of socialism in the five hundred years with 50 episodes in total 15 minutes per episode

In the form of “one figure, one story, one conclusion” namely, by telling a complete story of a core figure and by explaining entry by entry like looking up words in dictionaries the book tries to clarify one
theoretical argument This TV series is based on historical facts and adopts three patterns: narrations of the host, video clips and interviews with authorized experts.

It creates suspense through figures tells stories in reply to suspense and gives conclusions at the end of stories.

The documentary truly demonstrates the exploration and practice in the progress of socialism.

In addition, it contains a large number of historical materials that was little known before and treasurable scenes which gives a vivid and accurate illumination of significant historical events as well as figures. After the documentary was given on television in May 2013 strong reaction arose in the society.

The video views on Internet surpassed 210 million. You can watch it on the internet if you are interested in it.

The third book is composed and compiled by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPC called Five Hundred Years of Socialism around the World (readings for party cadres). This book was published by Xuexi publishing house and Party Building Books Publishing House in January 2014.

The forth book is Ji Ming's Revelations of Five-hundred-year Socialism (readings for party cadres).

It was published by People's Daily Publishing House in February 2014. Once you complete the reading of the four books we've mentioned above you will understand why there exists the statement of “five hundred years of socialism.”

In fact the statement “five-hundred-year socialism” can be traced back to 1516.

In the year 1516 the British Thomas More Published a book called Utopia whose full Latin title is Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia.

In this “golden book” More made up a navigator who sailed to a remote and exotic island called “Utopia” and recorded what he saw.

In Utopia property belongs to the public; everyone is equal; and all of the goods are distributed according to one’s need. Everyone wears the same labor suit and has his meals in public dining halls. Government officials are elected by the public. More believed that private ownership was the root of all evils so it had to be eliminated. Utopian is the representative work of Utopian socialism and More is therefore regarded as the founder of utopian socialism.

In this case, dating back to 1516 the statement of “five hundred years of socialism” is reasonable. Well what is Utopia?

The English version of 乌托邦 is Utopia the famous translator Yan Fu translate it as “乌托邦” into Chinese.

The translation is a terrific combination of transliteration and paraphrase. Look at the word “乌” means “none” in Chinese “托” is the abbreviation of “bailment” “邦” refers to “country” Together “乌托邦” means “a place without bailments” or “a virtual place”. After a long period of evolution “the implication of utopia” has become more complicated and diversified. Now people basically interpret the concept of utopia from the following three aspects. First it can be interpreted as a positive word referring to a perfect “different world.”

In this sense Utopia is an equivalent of what we Chinese call “land of idyllic beauty” or what the westerners call “the Garden of Eden.” Second it can be interpreted as a neutral word that refers to wonderful things yet...
fail to turn into reality

In this sense “utopia” is of no difference from “ideals”, “imagination”, “fantasies” and so on. Finally, it can be a negative word as well which refers to a totalitarian society under supervisions and controls everywhere.

In this case “utopia” equals to “tyranny”, “a living hell”, “totalitarianism” and so alike “Utopia” in this sense is actually an opposite against the original “utopia” Instead, it is “dystopia” This derogation of utopia has a lot to do with <1984> written by the British author George Orwell Aldous Huxley’s Brave New World and Russian author Yevgeny Zamiatin’s We Actually the utopia described in these three novels are all “the negative side of utopia” or “the abnormal utopia” instead of the positive side of utopia or the real utopia.

It is because of this that they are regarded as “dystopian trilogy” However not a few people consider them as “anti-utopia” trilogy making the word “utopia” a derogatory one.

Of course, the connection between “dystopia” and “anti-utopia” is quite delicate.

The things we talked about above are about the word “utopia” Let’s focus on “socialism” now.

The root of “socialism” originates from a Latin word meaning “society” (sociare)

It refers to combination or sharing.

The word “society” has got two distinctive meanings One is an official contractual relationship among free citizens based on the law Another refers to an emotional bond that connects companions and friends by Thomas More is considered as the origin of socialist ideology but it didn’t mention the word “socialism” About the earliest use of the word “socialism” the academic world holds three different opinions.

The first one is that the first person who brought up the word is a German theologian, the Catholic Benedict priest Anselm Dessin.

In his argument with others in 1753 he called those who follow the natural law as “socialists”.

The second version is that the word “socialism” first appeared in 1803 when the Italian missionary Renato Giuliani attacked in his book Refuting dystopia the then prevalent “individualism” and promoted “socialism” Giuliani explained that “socialism” was “a traditional social system arranged by god”.

The last view is that the word “socialism” first appeared between 1920s and 30s on Owenistic magazine Cooperation and Saint-Simonistic magazine Globe Attention, not Global Times They placed socialism in a position opposite to yet higher than capitalism and made it a proper noun for a specific social form.

In 1840 Owen published his notable work Socialism or Rational Society Utopian socialists used the word “socialism” to express their dissatisfaction towards individualism prevalent in capital society and expected to realize their ideals of collectivism Which one of these three views actually consists with the facts? Those who are interested I encourage you to explore by yourselves.

In 1940s Marx and Engels started to use the word “socialism”.

On October 15th 1842, in his article “Communism and the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung” Marx first used the word “socialism” Engels, in his 1843 article “Progress of Social Reform on the Continent” mentioned the word “socialism” Both of them gave the word “socialism” a scientific definition.
In 1970s the word “socialism” showed up in Japanese books and magazines for the first time Japanese scholar Hiroyuki Kato in his 1870 work シンセイ タイイ used katakana to transiterate the English word “socialism” Another Japanese scholar Xizhou in his 1871 Encyclopedia translated it as “the theory of society” Fukuchi Genichiro translated the word into Chinese for the first time on Mainichi Shimbun He used the word “社会主义”

The Chinese magazine Xiyang Zazhi transliterated socialism as “索普阿利司”

In 1899, Globe Magazine gave it a free translation as “a new theory of giving peace to the public”, “the theory to maintain people’s lives” Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao tried free translations between the year 1901 and 1902 like “the theory of the public” “theory of the masses” From September 25th 1902 when the 18th issue of Xin Min Cong Bao was published Liang Qichao started to transplant the word “socialism” which was popular in Japan to China From then on

The word “Socialism” has been gaining wider usage by Chinese books and magazines

The prevalence of its usage lasts to today

The word “socialism” has more than one referent For instance we have socialism as a school of thought socialism as a political movement socialism as a societal form socialism as a policy-oriented one and so forth What we speak of as socialism nowadays usually refers to a type of social system namely socialist system

In China whenever socialism is mentioned Scientific Socialism will always pop up in people’s mind first But in fact socialism is a large pedigree a large family Mr Xu Juezai of Shanghai Academy of Social Science wrote a book called A History of Schools of Socialism

In this book he listed twenty five different schools They are: Utopian Socialism Feudal Socialism Christian Socialism Workshop socialism Farmer socialism Anarchism Real Socialism Scientific Socialism State Socialism Academic Socialism Fabianism Parliamentary Socialism Syndicalism Ethnical Socialism Guild Socialism Whole Socialism Overall Socialism Trotskyism Democratic Socialism Autonomus Socialism Function Socialism Fund Socialism Eurocommuism Ecological Socialism Market Socialism

In fact the number of Socialist schools far exceeds the listed twenty-five

It is obvious that the scientific socialism we usually talk about is only one little member of this big family of socialism

It cannot represent all of them definitely If you are interested in these diverse schools of socialism it will be a good start to read Mr Xu’s book Through this book we can see that though the connotation of socialism is relatively loose its denotation is far from narrow which means to grasp the essence of socialism is not an easy work at all

6.1.2 Deng Xiaoping’s theory of socialist essence

Now, let’s have a look at the second issue about the theory of socialist essence brought up by Deng Xiaoping A short story first

On the morning of July 18th, 1981 Deng Xiaoping, as vice president of central committee of CPC, met with Jin Yong Jin Yong therefore became the first Hong Kong compatriot that Deng Xiaoping met with at the Great Hall of the People after entering the new historical period, alone and officially
During their meeting Deng took out a Panda cigarette, handed it to Jin Yong and lit one with a match for himself. Then he asked Jin Yong, "Mr. Zha, how many types of socialism do you think are there in the world?" Jin Yong replied, "I guess since the first time when the French Fourier, Saint-Simon and the British Owen brought up the theory of socialism, there have been various kinds of socialism around the globe. President Deng, I would appreciate it if you could tell me your opinions." Deng Xiaoping laughed, "It doesn't matter if you don't know, I'm not sure I have a clear idea after all." He continued, "From my perspective, there are at least more than a hundred different socialism in the world. Here you are one more cigarette." He handed Jin Yong another Panda cigarette, giving words of great significance. "Well, there's no fixed standard." This experience impressed Mr. Jin Yong a lot and he had a recall of it after that. Let's have a look at what he said:

In July 1981, Jin Yong arrived in Beijing.

The one who met with him was a big figure, Deng Xiaoping. At that time, the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee just ended.

The plenary session adopted the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of CPC since the establishment of PRC.

The reunification of China through peaceful means was a key issue under discussion at the conference. You came to Beijing in 1981 for a meeting with Mr. Deng Xiaoping.

It was Deng Xiaoping who invited you there, wasn't it? Yes.

It was he and Xinhua News Agency. They asked me if I was willing to have an interview with Deng Xiaoping. I replied, "Of course." Xinhua News Agency asked you if you'd like to meet with Deng Xiaoping.

Of course, it was great. It was certainly great if there was a chance. Do you still remember what it was like when you met Deng Xiaoping? I was wearing a suit and tie while Deng Xiaoping was in a Hawaiian shirt. Hawaiian shirt? Oh, a kind of short-sleeved shirt. He said: "I'm a boor, only a boor." and he said: "Take your suit jacket off please." He was very polite. He claimed himself to be a boor and asked you to take off the suit. He said it was too hot.

It was too hot. He asked me to have a cigarette. I was a smoker at that time. Was it a panda cigarette? Right, it was a Panda one. What did you talk about? Had he also read your novel? He had. He named some of them and told me that he had indeed read some of my novels as well as my editorials. He said that our opinions may not be the same. He said: "After all, you are not the member of CPC. We'll certainly have different opinions." "That is natural," he said, "and it doesn't matter." How long did you two talk with each other? Two hours. Talking for two hours. Which part of the talk impressed you most?

When we were talking about the large variety of socialism, he asked me: "Mr. Zha, how many types of socialism are there in the world? I said: "I'm sorry, I have no idea." I said that "British socialism is unique so does socialism of Laos. Actually, Singapore also talks about socialism and it is different from the others as well." He said "that's right!" I asked how many on earth were there. He replied: "I don't know and that's why I asked you the question. No one of us knows that indeed."

It doesn't matter.

In general, there are dozens of socialism that is distinctive from one another.
It is the same that our Chinese socialism should be unique Probably he also talked about that But he did not mention how in specific were they different He said that every country has its own national conditions Some of them were great powers while some were small countries

It was impossible for a small country to have a social system that is exactly the same as that of the big ones From your perspective at that time You were working with the press then What's more, you were writing editorials

It is no exaggeration to say that you were a newsman with insights and foresights So according to your experience with Deng Xiaoping did you have a preliminary judgment in mind of what kind of leaders he was He had much of my admiration at that time, as a leader somewhat like a hero He is a great leader He asked for my opinion about the evaluation of chairman Mao which referred to "70 percent achievements and 30 percent mistakes" People for it hold that Mao contributed a lot in the period of revolution and to the establishment of a new China But he also made some mistakes in nation-building later Do you think this evaluation is appropriate He was asking for your opinions on a lot of important issues of the mainland He said:"you want me to be the chairman but I don't want to do so" Actually at that time, Ming Bao also supported him to be the chairman of the country He said:"being a chairman is troublesome There are more than a hundred countries in the world I have to meet with this country's ambassador today and that country's ambassador tomorrow I can't do this I would rather spend the time smoking and getting some rest at home He was already advanced in age then Yes, seventy eight

In fact not only in the interview with Jin Yong but also in the whole process of leading the implementation of the policy of reform and opening up Deng Xiaoping never stopped exploring the question what is socialism and how to build socialism which is of great importance What's more, he held that to answer this question was the theoretical basis of building socialism with Chinese characteristics that is primary to all

On April 12th, 1980 the day Deng Xiaoping met with Kaunda, president of Zambia Deng clearly pointed out "it will not do without opening up the public’s minds Even for the issue of what socialism is there is also a need to open up their minds If our economy has stagnated for a long time our society cannot be called socialist society If the living standard of our people has long been at a very low level we cannot say we have completed the building of socialism." After that he repeated more than once that we had to make clear "what socialism is and how to build socialism" This issue is of great significance

On April 15th, 1985 in his meeting with Mwinyi, vice president of Tanzania Deng pointed out "We Marxists have been carrying out revolutions in the past

We did that for the realization of socialism and communism which was our lofty ideal Now we are carrying out economic reform but still, we must adhere to the path of socialism

We have to stick to the lofty ideal of communism

The young generation especially must understand this

The question, however, is what socialism is and how to build it

We have a lot of lessons and experiences

The most significant of them is to make this question clear," August 28th, 1985 Deng Xiaoping pointed out when he met with Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe "We have been trying for several decades to draw experience from socialism building in the past about what is socialism and what is Marxism
We did not truly understand those questions in the past." He added "What on earth does socialism look like? Soviet failed to completely figure out after so many years of attempts Perhaps Lenin used to set up a good start with his New Economic Policy However, the Soviet mode went rigid after that." April 26th, 1987 Deng Xiaoping pointed out during his meeting with Strougal, premier of Czechoslovak "The current principle and policies result from our summoning up of the Cultural Revolution

The fundamental lesson we've learned is that we must be clear about what socialism and communism is as well as how to construct socialism Socialism construction must base on the reality of the nation." Right Chinese socialism before reform and opening up underwent twists and turns and made many mistakes

The fundamental reason for all the mistakes is that we did not truly understand these questions about socialism

The problems and confusions we met since the adoption of the policy of reform and opening up can also find its origin from our confusions about socialism

In the past we were used to talking about socialism at an abstract level without considering the actual productive forces

We misunderstand a lot of things that not only hampered the development of productive forces but also deviated from the essence of socialism we just wrongly treated them as socialist principles and stuck firmly to them

We mistook a lot of things that could promote the development of productivity under the condition of socialism as "restoration of capitalism" and opposed them strongly These practices caused severe results in our socialism construction process To deal with these problems Deng Xiaoping carefully summed up the experience and lessons of socialist construction from both within and outside China Especially after summarizing the experiences and lessons in implementing the policy of reform and opening up Deng creatively founded the theory about the essence of socialism May 5th, 1980 faced with the confusions and doubts that some people had for socialism because of the party's policy adjustments Deng Xiaoping brought up the concept of "socialist essence" for the first time He pointed out "Socialism is a great noun but if in practice we cannot understand its real meaning or fail to carry out correct policies then we cannot find anywhere the trace of socialist essence." He added "When we talk about socialism the primary thing is to promote the development of productive forces This is what matters most Only when productive forces get developed will the superiority of socialism be proved Whether socialist economic policies we are pursuing are correct or not depends, in the final analysis, on whether the productive forces develop and people's incomes increase This is the most important criterion Empty talk of socialism will not do People don't believe it." At the same time Deng Xiaoping carried out careful and profound analysis of mistaken ideas He pointed out that poverty is not socialism Development at a very low rate is not socialism either Equalitarianism is not socialism Neither does polarization August 21st, 1985 during his meeting with Lanier, president of

The United Republic of Tanzania, Deng Xiaoping again mentioned socialist essence He pointed out "To invigorate domestic economy is actually to invigorate socialism That will not harm the essence of socialism

As for absorption of foreign capital it is a supplement for developing social productive forces There is no need to worry that it will impair socialist systems." September 2nd, 1986 Deng Xiaoping was in an interview with a famous American journalist Wallace Wallace asked "To get rich is glorious. That declaration by Chinese leaders to their people surprises many in the capitalist world. What does that have to do with
communism?" Den Xiaoping replied "The main task in the socialist stage is to develop the productive forces keep increasing the material wealth of society steadily improve the life of the people and create material conditions for the advent of a communist society There can be no communism with pauperism or socialism with pauperism So to get rich is no sin However, what we mean by getting rich is different from what you mean Wealth in a socialist society belongs to the people To get rich in a socialist society means prosperity for the entire people

The principles of socialism are first, development of production and second, common prosperity

We permit some people and some regions to become prosperous first for the purpose of achieving common prosperity faster." This remark in fact set the rudiment of Socialist essence theory December 24th, 1990 Deng Xiaoping proposed in his talk "Socialism does not mean allowing a few people to grow rich while the overwhelming majority live in poverty. No, that's not socialism

The greatest superiority of socialism is that it enables all the people to prosper and common prosperity is the essence of socialism." At the beginning of the year 1992 Deng Xiaoping made a theoretical summarization of the essence of socialism in his Southern Talk He explicated "The essence of socialism is liberation and development of the productive forces elimination of exploitation and polarization and the ultimate achievement of prosperity for all." Deng Xiaoping's socialist essence theory is marked by the following distinctive features First the theory defines socialism from the angle of value goals

In reality, there are always some people who equal socialism with public ownership planned economy These are definitions of socialism based on specific means while that of Deng's socialist essence theory is based on values compared to specific means like planned economy, distribution according to work and distribution according to work Elements such as the liberation and development of productive forces the elimination of exploitation and polarization and common prosperity are all at the level of value goals

We can definitely do adjustments to the former in order to realize the latter but we'll never give up the latter for the sake of sticking to the former There is a Chinese idiom saying "meaning grasped and words forgotten"

In this idiom "meaning" is the aim and "words" are means People can't grasp the meaning and forget the words but they should not "stick to the words and forget the meaning" To define socialism from the aspect of value goals is helpful in freeing up the minds and promoting reforms

Of course we should also know that the relations of methods and targets are relative

In front of the fundamental goal of common prosperity non-fundamental goals like the liberation and development of productive forces and the elimination of exploitation and polarization naturally turn into means Second Attach importance to the liberation and development of productive forces in the progress of socialism

In the past we, for a long time, held mistakenly that as long as we constantly changed productive relations and expanded the proportion of public ownership we would definitely promote the development of productive forces and better construct socialism

We even used to replace developing productive forces with class struggles in a certain period and regarded it as our main task
The emphasis on liberating and developing productive forces by Deng Xiaoping corrected the mistaken idea which ignored the development of productive forces.

In addition Deng Xiaoping not only noticed the issue of the development of productive forces but also noticed the issue of its liberation. Before the policy of reform and opening up China's economic and political systems as well as those in other fields had a lot of weaknesses which fettered the development of productive forces. There was an urgent need to open up a broad prospect for developing productive forces through reform. Therefore Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "In the past we only stressed expansion of the productive forces under socialism without mentioning the need to liberate them through reform. That conception was incomplete. Both the liberation and the expansion of the productive forces are essential." To emphasize the significance of productive forces in the essence of socialism is helpful in debunking the ridiculous arguments that the Gang of Four publicized about socialism. For example "preferring socialist weeds to capitalist seedlings" and "rather an impoverished socialism than a rich capitalism" etc. Third emphasis eliminating exploitation and polarization to finally achieve the goal of common prosperity.

The underlying of that demonstrates the difference between the development of productive forces in socialist societies and that in capitalist ones. To develop productive forces in capitalist societies is for the benefits of the few which in no way can avoid exploitation and polarization. For socialism, however, it must eliminate exploitation and polarization to eventually realize common prosperity. Socialism aims to enable the entire people of the society to live an abundant and happy life.

The liberation and development of productive forces should be shown in how "wealthy" in material people are the elimination of exploitation and polarization aims at more to turn this kind of richness into "common prosperity." Deng Xiaoping especially emphasized "One of the features distinguishing socialism from capitalism is that socialism means common prosperity not polarization of income." Fourth define socialism comprehensively and from various aspects. Deng Xiaoping did not define socialism from only one aspect. Instead, he did this from various aspects. A lot of people usually separate Deng's words from the context. They argue that capitalism also liberate and develop productive forces. Therefore, socialism and capitalism cannot be distinguished from each other.

In fact, that opinion is an misinterpretation of Deng Xiaoping's socialist essence theory. Deng's theory consists of five aspects. One is to liberate productive forces.

The second is to develop it.

The third is to eliminate exploitation.

The fourth is to eliminate polarization.

The final one is to realize common prosperity.

Any one of the five aspects is indispensable.

The former two talk about the fundamental tasks of socialism and the latter three discuss about the fundamental goals. These two bigger aspects cannot be separated as well "the essence of socialism" is a really smart concept.

It targets at both the presentation of socialism and the misunderstandings of it.

The socialist essence theory proposed by Deng Xiaoping contributed a lot in dispelling prejudices, misinterpretations and dogmatic understanding of socialism that many people had.
The theoretical value of the theory of socialist essence is in a large part that it improves people's understanding of socialism, transforming it into a brand-new and scientific one.

In the past few decades we used to cut ourselves from the developmental level of productive forces and real national conditions stress one-sidedly public ownership and distribution according to work and we supposed the wider the expansion and the higher the degree of them the more help they would do in developing socialism.

We even left practical conditions behind and by promoting the expansion of public ownership and raising the degree of it blindly we led the construction of socialism onto a rough road.

The theory of socialist essence has deepened people's understandings of socialism and people started to be aware that by liberating and developing productive forces by eliminating exploitation and polarization we could eventually achieve the goal of common prosperity. This theory combines means and targets sweeps away the vague concepts that did not match the progress of the time and laws of social development for narrowing ourselves in a particular mode.

The theory clarifies the fundamental goal of the building of socialism.

The realistic value of the theory of socialist essence lies in its significant guidance to the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

It not only makes clear "what is socialism" but also "how to build socialism" which reveals the inner logic relation between the essence of socialism and the road of socialist construction.

It is an important theoretical basis preparing us for marching well on the road of socialism with Chinese Characteristics. At the same time, we have to be clear that after Deng Xiaoping, the theory of socialist essence is still in constant development.

In 2001, Jiang Zemin pointed out in his July 1 speech "we are now building socialism with Chinese characteristics in every field; all the work we're proceeding should be focused on people's realist needs, materially and culturally meanwhile we have to concern about the improvement of the quality of the people that is to say, we should work hard to promote the all-round development of people. That is essential requirement of Marxism about the building of new socialist society.

The exposition above is not a replacement of socialist essence theory proposed by Deng Xiaoping. Instead, it is a further step in deepening the understanding of socialist essence. What's more, Jiang Zemin claimed "Material poverty is not socialism nor is spiritual emptiness."

It is also a deepening of the understanding of socialist essence. Hu Jintao pointed out in 16th plenary session of CPC "social harmony is the essence of socialism." He proposed in Report to the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China "Fairness and justice are inherent requirements of socialism with Chinese characteristics." All of these have deepened the understanding of the essence of socialism. Once the essence of socialism is made clear, the fundamental tasks of socialism becomes clear.

In practical work, we have to liberate and develop social productive forces constantly.

We have to develop science and technology with every effort.

We have to advance the development of science actively promote the all-round development of people the harmony of the society, fairness and justice.
The theory of socialist essence is an important theoretical guidance of the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics

6.1.3 Is socialism with Chinese characters the real socialism

Now let’s move to the third issue Is socialism with Chinese characteristics the real socialism? Recently there is a trend of thought in society that questions the socialist nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics

It claims that socialism with Chinese characteristics is not the real socialism any more This ideological trend is popular with both the academic circle and ordinary people

We may carry out a small survey among the students Those who consider socialism with Chinese characteristics still to be the true one Please put up your hands Those who deny the claim that socialism is still the true socialism Please raise your hands No matter what you think it is natural But please think out what your reasons are? Let’s go on

In the twentieth issue of Qiushi Journal, 2013 a published article named “solidify the common ideological basis of the joint endeavor of the Party and the people” points out that

The ideological trend which questions reform and opening up and the socialist nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is mistaken and hard to neglect

The topic of reform has induced heated debates in recent years People holding different opinions can’t wait to throw out their arguments Some of them attribute contradictions and problems emerging in the process of development to the implementation of the policy of reform and opening up They claim that our reform in recent years is too much and “deviated from the direction of socialism” They doubt whether China is still a socialist country and they even call the current system as “capitalism with Chinese characteristics” “national capitalism” “crony capitalism” and the alike Actually these statements include two kinds of trends of thought

The first one questions the policy of reform and opening up and the second questions the socialist nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics These two ideological trends are closely connected but they are not exactly the same Here we only talk about the second trend of thought This one has various supporting reasons and they can be roughly generalized as the following six Speaking of these six reasons as long as we analyze them in a careful way we’ll find that not a single one of them is able to hold water

The first kind claims that since China now practices market economy it can’t be socialism This kind of mistaken idea results from dogmatic understanding of socialism Deng Xiaoping has already clearly pointed out at a very early stage that “A planned economy is not equivalent to socialism because there is planning under capitalism too a market economy is not capitalism because there are markets under socialism too Planning and market forces are both means of controlling economic activity”

The kind of mistaken idea above regards the market economy as the privilege of capitalism and planned economy as the essence of socialism

It holds that once we practice market economy we are walking on the road of capitalism This kind of idea, rather than defending the purity of socialism is more likely to weaken the vitality of socialism
The second type of thought contends that because of the existence of ugly phenomena like corruptions, privileges, exploitations and pornography contemporary China cannot be counted as one of the socialist countries.

The mistake of that kind of idea lies in its idealization of socialism. There's no one society in the world being the completely spotless tower of ivory. A socialist society is no exception. What's more, China now is still at the preliminary stage of socialism. Social civilization still needs improving.

It is unavoidable that this kind of ugly social phenomena exists at the present stage.

We cannot mix the ideal state of socialism with the reality. But turn around certainly we should make every effort to set rules and regulations and reduce this kind of phenomena so that our socialism will become more attractive and convincing.

The third kind of reason is that China now is far from our ultimate goal of common prosperity and this is why it does not belong to socialism.

The reason for this mistaken idea is that it fails to interpret Deng Xiaoping's theory of socialist essence. Deng Xiaoping used to explain that “The essence of socialism is liberation and development of the productive forces, elimination of exploitation and polarization, and the ultimate achievement of prosperity for all.” According to Deng's clarification, we can see clearly that common prosperity is the ultimate goal instead of short-term goal of socialism. To achieve that ultimate goal, we need a relatively long historical process. At present, we have already walked out of common poverty. This success itself is a significant prerequisite of common prosperity.

We should, by exploring various ways, to solve the problem of the gap of income and work hard to realize common prosperity and demonstrate the essence of socialism.

The fourth kind of reason holds that socialism with Chinese characteristics differs from the socialism described by classical authors like Marx and Engels. Therefore, it can't be socialism.

We give this kind of mistaken idea the name of “book worship.” Socialism has both its theoretical form and realistic form.

The realistic form may “basically equals to” “mostly the same as” the ideal form but it may be also “largely different from” the ideal one.

When there's a difference between the two forms what we have to reflect first is the situation where “theory deviates from reality” rather than “reality deviates from theory.” This kind of situation is like what Engels points out “the principles are not the starting-point of the investigation but its final result they are not applied to nature and human history but abstracted from them it is not nature and the realm of man which conform to these principles but the principles are only valid in so far as they are in conformity with nature and history.” If we take what the classical authors write about socialism as the basis, then even if the Soviet Union, the first socialist country recognized by the whole world can hardly be held as a socialist country. Let alone socialism with Chinese characteristics which goes far away from the Soviet mode. To evaluate the realistic form of socialism according to the theory is actually a behavior of pedantry like the behavior recorded in the Chinese story “Buying a Pair of Shoes.”

We should definitely avoid making those mistakes.
The fifth kind of reason believes that socialism with Chinese characteristics is different from socialism in Mao Zedong’s age which dispels it from the group of socialism This mistaken idea is the result of a kind of cognitive mistake that “regards classical socialism as the only mode of socialism” Socialism in reality has a lot of different forms

We can see from the development of different socialist countries that there are basically two forms of socialism: “classical socialism” and “reformed socialism” Stalin mode belongs to the former which is marked by “public ownership + planned economy + distribution according to work + highly centralized political system” and the alike

The latter is the reform of the former Both classical socialism and reformed ones are socialist forms that exist truly in reality They cannot deny the existence of each other Certainly we cannot negate the socialist nature of Mao’s age by glorifying socialism with Chinese characteristics At the same time we cannot deny the socialist nature of contemporary China for sticking to socialist form of Mao’s age Using Mao’s era as the standard to judge the reform period is in fact a "disregard the changing circumstances" and metaphysical way of thinking that we should put an end to it

The sixth reason is that currently, the number of capitalists in China is increasing labor relations is becoming more and more important in social relations capital control and influence is growing stronger So China is a capital country instead of a socialist one This view only focuses on the phenomenon but ignores the essence

It is therefore false

We admit that the influence of capitals in China is great but that the capital is still in the control of public power and national law which is also the fact

We should not assume that Chinese socialism has gone to depravity simply because the position of capitals in today’s society has become prominent

During the implementation of the policy of reform and opening up and the course of the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics

We have always adhered to the Four Cardinal Principles as well as “five don’t” Everyone is familiar with Four Cardinal Principles but what is “five don’t”? March 10th, 2011 Chairman Wu Bangguo claimed on his working report “Considering China’s national conditions we solemnly declare that China will never adopt a system of “multiple parties holding office in rotation we must not engage in the guiding ideology of pluralism neither engage in the separation of three powers nor bicameralism not engage in federalism not engage in privatization”.This is “five don’t”

The Four Cardinal Principles and “Five don’t” are not merely political theories They are also political practices They have the ability to ensure the socialist nature of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

The 17th National Congress pointed out “In contemporary China to stay true to socialism means to keep to the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics” “In contemporary China to stay true to Marxism means to adhere to the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics” January 5th, 2013 President Xi Jinping pointed out in his speech that Socialism with Chinese characteristics was the real socialism instead of any other -isms

We cannot abandon the basic principles of socialism Or we’ll lose our identity as a socialist nation
We can see that this ideological trend that questions the socialist nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics cannot hold water. What's more, this ideological trend has more than one hazard which is worth people's intense attentions. First,

It is very likely that this kind of thought will cause confusions and loss of beliefs among the people leading the basis of common ideology and census of reform to falling apart. Quite a lot of people will fail to recognize what is right and know not what to do. Second, this ideological trend will be used as theoretical support for those who “oppose the practice of reform under the name of reflecting the reform.” They will find excuses like “the reform is going in the wrong direction,” “reform is too much,” “reform now is corrupting” to further criticize and attack reform practices in order to negate it. Third, this ideological trend may give some people an opportunity to attack the leadership of CPC fearless and wantonly by excusing themselves as “criticizing capitalism.” This ideological trend has in fact become the camouflage for those who strongly attack the CPC and socialism with Chinese characteristics. Fourth, this ideological trend must turn into the theoretical basis for those who are calling for “the cultural revolution.”

The theoretical bases of “cultural revolution” include “continuing the revolution under dictatorship of the proletariat,” “capitalist roadster,” “revisionism,” “the restoration of capitalism,” and so on. Currently, we can see that this kind of trend has a lot in common with the theoretical bases for “the cultural revolution.”

It has already become necessary to be further considered as the theoretical foundation for those who attempt to reverse the verdict of “the cultural revolution” and turn back to the old way. Some people may ask whether these views worry too much even a bit of alarmism?

The answer is no. These opinions focus on the straw shows which way the wind blows and they are preparing for danger in the time of safety. So, what can we do to deal with this ideological trend? First, to question the right of modern citizens.

The emergence of questioning and tolerance of it is a demonstration of social progress. Besides, this kind of doubt is reasonable and understandable to some degree.

We should not silence this kind of voice but rather get some warnings and reflections out of it. Second,

We must carefully analyze the reasons behind the mistaken ideas and eliminate its cognitive source. Third, there is definitely a need to improve the quality of our development. Optimize the way of reform and efficiently improve social justice for the elimination of the social source of this ideological trend. Fourth, to clear away the historical cognitive source of this trend, we have to evaluate the age of Mao and the age of reform with the means of dichotomy and earnestly implement “two no negations.” Finally, it is important to take precautions preparing for danger in the time of safety.

We should not only take notice of the definitive property of the socialist nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We should also see the flexibility of it preventing it going on a wrong way either gradually or abruptly.

6.2.1 What is Three-Step Development Strategy

Now let’s have a look at the second session.

The General Task of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics
The Report to the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China points out that the general task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is to achieve socialist modernization and the great renewal of the Chinese nation.

Besides to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects is also an important task in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The general task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is closely related to the development strategy of building it. So let’s start from the development strategy.

The first question is what “three-step” development strategy is? To realize the modernization of our country has been a dream that Chinese people earnestly long for since the start of modern time. Before the establishment of the new China, the Second Plenary Session of the 7th CPC Central Committee had already had a blueprint that aimed to turn a agricultural nation into an industrial one realizing the modernization of China. After the establishment of the new China, the party mentioned the goal of modernization a lot of times. Speaking of modernization, the first thing pops up in the heads of many people will be “the four modernizations.” I still remember when I was in primary school.

The most frequently-heard phrase was probably “the four modernizations.”

The most common slogan seen might be “the realization of four modernizations.” I did not quite understand what “the four modernizations” refers to at that time. Now when people are talking about “the four modernizations” many of them assume that “the four modernizations” was first brought up in the age of reform. But that is not true.

As early as in September, 1954, Premier Zhou pointed out to the first People's Congress in his Report on the Work of Government “Our goal is to make our national economy march on the path of socialism, progressing orderly and rapidly construct a strong modernized industry. Modernized agriculture, modernized transportation industry and modernized national defense.”

It should be the first time that the words “the four modernizations” appeared in the Party’s documents. September 26th, 1956, the Eighth National Congress of the CPC also mentioned “the mission of the Communist Party of China is to develop national economy with plans for the realization of national modernization as soon as possible to complete the technological transformation of national economy. Systematically and gradually turning China into a strong country with modernized industry, agriculture, transportation and national defense.” These are not completely the same as what we talk about today. “Modernized transportation” mentioned previously is replaced by “modernized science and technologies.”

December 21st, 1964, Premier Zhou, at the third people’s congress, declared in the Report on the Work of the Government that “The major task of the development of national economy in the following years generally speaking is to build our country into a great socialist power with modernized agriculture industry, national defense and science and technologies in a relatively short time to catch up with and even surpass the now advanced countries. For the realization of this great historical task starting from the third “five-year plan” the development of our national economy can be divided into two stages.

The first step is to build an industrial system and national economic system that is independent and relatively complete.
The second step is to realize the modernization of agriculture industry national defense and science and technologies in all aspects enabling our national economy to take its place in the front ranks of the world. This is the specific content of “two-step” strategy for development. But it is a pity that because of “cultural revolution” and other reasons “two-step” development strategy was not put into practice. January 13th, 1975 Premier Zhou, at the fourth people’s congress, restated in Report on the Work of the Government the “two-step” development strategy. He said “According to the instructions of chairman Mao, Report of the work of the government for the third people’s congress used to state that from the third “five-year plan” the development of our national economy can be divided into two steps.

The first step is to spend fifteen years before the year 1980, completing the construction of a relatively independent and complete industrial system and national economic system.

The second step is that within this century to realize the modernization of agriculture industry national defense and science and technologies in all aspects enabling our national economy take a place in the front rank in the world.”

It can be seen that “the four modernizations” has already there in Mao’s age.

Besides Mao’s age also proposed the “two-step” development strategy. After the implementation of the policy of reform and opening up Deng Xiaoping explored further on the issue of the modernization of China. At the same time he continues to thinking about the issue of development strategy of modernization.

In March, 1979 Deng Xiaoping stressed “the construction work we do now must be in accordance to Chinese national conditions opening a path of modernization with Chinese characteristics.”

In October, 1979 Deng Xiaoping for the first time required amendments to the specific goals that were set before reform. He said “We used to have the ambitious goal of realizing the four modernizations by the end of the century. Then we change it a little bit.

We added before the modernization “Chinese-way” which in fact is lowering our standard. Especially for GNP. If we look at it from the perspective of the average number, it would not be very big.” December 6th, 1979 Deng Xiaoping pointed out in a talk recorded as “China’s goal of this century is to build a well-off society.” “the goal of four modernizations was set when chairman Mao and premier Zhou was there.

The so-called four modernizations is in essence aiming at helping China to get rid of poverty in order that not only will people’s living standard be raised but also China is able to regain its position that it should have in international affairs. Then China may contribute more to the human world. A backwatered country is open to bullying. 1982 the 12th national congress of CPC proposed the development goal “to quadruple” that is “within the twenty years, namely from 1981 to the end of this century the general goal of the construction of our economy is based the growing economic efficiency to quadruple the output of the national industrial and agricultural” To be specific, to rise from seven hundred and ten billion yuan in 1980 to about two trillion eight hundred billion yuan in 2000”

The report further proposed the “two-step” development strategy. That is “to achieve our goal in the next twenty years we have to take two steps in terms of the strategy.

In the first ten years, what we should do is lay a solid foundation gather strength and create conditions.

The second half is a period for the new revitalization of economy.” What deserves special attention is that the “two-step” strategy here is different from what premier Zhou has mentioned September 23rd, 1985.
When Deng Xiaoping was delivering a speech at the national meeting of CPC, he mentioned “three changes” saying “People are saying that notable changes have taken place in China I said to some foreign guests recently that these were only small changes

When we have quadrupled the gross value of our annual industrial and agricultural output and are comparatively prosperous we can say there have been bigger changes By the middle of the next century when we approach the level of the developed countries then there will have been really great changes At that time the strength of China and its role in the world will be quite different

We shall be able to make greater contributions to mankind”

The three changes that Deng Xiaoping mentioned there was the rudiment of “three-step” development strategy April 26th, 1987 Deng Xiaoping mentioned the last two steps in the strategy during his talk with foreign guests April 30th, a few days later Deng Xiaoping officially came up with the “three-step” development strategy when he was meeting Alfonso Guerra Deputy General Secretary of the Spanish Workers’ Socialist Party and Vice-Premier of Spain He said “Our original goal for the first step is to reach by 1990, a per capita GNP of US$500 that is to double the 1980 figure of $250

The goal for the second step is, by the turn of the century to reach a per capita GNP of $1,000

When we reach that goal China will have shaken off poverty and achieved comparative prosperity

When the total GNP exceeds $1 trillion the national strength will increase considerably although per capita GNP will still be very low

The goal we have set for the third step is the most important one: within another 30 to 50 years quadrupling the $1 trillion figure of the year 2000 That will mean a per capita GNP of roughly $4,000 in other words a medium standard of living That target may not seem high but it is a very ambitious goal for us and it won’t be easy to achieve” After that Deng Xiaoping restated this strategy for many times

In the October of 1987

The Thirteenth National Congress of CPC adopted the “three-step” strategy brought up by Deng Xiaoping officially stating that Our goal for the first step is to reach, by 1990, a per capita GNP of US$500 doubling the 1980 figure and solve the problem of food and clothing for our people

The second step is by the end of this century to double it again thus enabling our people to lead a fairly comfortable life

The third step is by the middle of the next century to quadruple it again to reach the per capita GNP level of moderately developed countries This will mean that modernization has been basically accomplished Then on this basis, China will continue to advance

The key word of the first step is “food and clothes” the second is “comfortable life” and the third is “modernization” Therefore Some people generalize the “three-step” strategy as from “food and clothes” to “comfortable life” and then to “modernization” This strategy seems to be easy to achieve but it is the opposite in reality

As Wang Anshi wrote in his poem “what seems to be ordinary is actually abnormal What seems to be easy to do is actually the most difficult” For example nowadays the majority of Chinese have already got rid of
poverty and realized the abundance of food and clothes. But in some areas there are still some people who can’t meet the basic standard of living.

We should never forget them. Another example: Presently, moderate prosperity has been achieved in China, but we are still far from an all-round well-off society. What’s more,

It is even harder to realize modernization. I remember when I was little, there was a propaganda saying that we will achieve modernization once we enter the 21st century. After this goal has been achieved, we’ll be... But later we find that the realization of modernization would be prolonged to the middle of the 21st century.

Besides,

It is a rudimentary modernization that we can achieve until that time not an all-round one. An all-round modernization needs more time.

It can be seen that this “three-step” is not as easy as a “one-two-one” process. 1997

The fifteenth national congress of CPC further particularize the third step of the strategy proposing three periodical goals: First in the first decade the gross national product will double that of the year 2000; the people will enjoy an even more comfortable life and a more or less ideal socialist market economy will have come into being. Second, With the efforts to be made in another decade when the Party celebrates its centenary the national economy will be more developed and the various systems will be further improved. Third, by the middle of the next century when the People’s Republic celebrates its centenary the modernization program will have been accomplished by and large and China will have become a prosperous, strong, democratic and culturally advanced socialist country. Report of the eighteenth national congress brought up the goal of “two one-hundred-years.” That is to say “when the Communist Party of China celebrates its centenary we will surely complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects and when the People’s Republic of China marks its centennial, We’ll turn China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious.” A lot of people assume that this passage is a creative point of the 18th national congress.

In fact this statement can be traced back to the Report to the 15th National Congress.

### 6.2.2 Origins and evolution of the “moderate prosperous society”

Now let’s look at the second issue.

The origin and evolution of the “moderately prosperous society.” Having talking about the “three-step” development strategy someone may ask since achieving the second step means that a moderately prosperous society has come into being, then why are we always talking about building a well-off society in all respects?

It is a seemingly simple question but in fact a complicated one. Let’s figure out the origin and evolution of the moderately prosperous society.

The phrase “moderately prosperous” can be traced back to the ancient world.

The meaning of it has changed a lot.

As early as in the piece “labor” in the Book of Songs there is a sentence “The people indeed are heavily burdened, but perhaps a little ease may be got for them.” recorded meaning that people are so heavily
burdened that they only wish for a little bit more comfortable life “a fairly comfortable life” here refers to “a little more peace and comfortability”

It refers to a life pattern where people can have rest instead of bustling in and out

In the Book of Rites compiled in the Western Han Dynasty “small tranquility” appeared as a comparison object of the “the great harmony”

In terms of “the great harmony” this is what

The Book of Rites says

When the great principle prevails the world is a commonwealth in which rulers are selected according to their wisdom and ability mutual confidence is promoted and good neighborliness cultivated Hence men do not regard as parents only their own parents nor do they treat as children only their own children Provision is secured for the aged till death employment for the able-bodied and the means of growing up for the young Helpless widows and widowers, orphans and the lonely, as well as the sick and the disabled, are well cared for Men have their respective occupations and women their homes They do not like to see wealth lying idle yet they do not keep it for their own gratification They despise indolence yet they do not use their energies for their own benefit

In this way selfish scheming are repressed and robbers, thieves and other lawless men no longer exist and there is no need for people to shut their outer doors This is called the great harmony About Small Tranquility there’s a recording in Book of Rites Now that the great union has fallen into disuse and obscurity the kingdom is a family inheritance Everyone loves (above all others) his own parents and cherishes (as) children (only) his own sons People accumulate articles and exert their strength for their own advantage Great men imagine it is the rule that their states should descend in their own families Their object is to make the walls of their cities and suburbs strong and their ditches and moats secure

The rules of propriety and of what is right are regarded as the threads by which they seek to maintain in its correctness the relation between ruler and minister in its generous regard that between father and son in its harmony that between elder brother and younger and in a community of sentiment that between husband and wife and in accordance with them they frame buildings and measures lay out the fields and hamlets (for the dwellings of the husbandmen) adjudge the superiority to men of valour and knowledge and regulate their achievements with a view to their own advantage Thus it is that (selfish) schemes and enterprises are constantly taking their rise and recourse is had to arms and thus it was (also) that Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, Cheng Wang, and Zhou Gong obtained their distinction

Of these six great men every one was very attentive to the rules of propriety thus to secure the display of righteousness the realization of sincerity the exhibition of errors the exemplification of benevolence, and the discussion of courtesy showing the people all the normal virtues

Any rulers who did not follow this course were driven away by those who possessed power and position and all regarded them as pests This is the period of what we call Small Tranquility

The “small tranquility” here refers to a social mode where “kingdom belongs to a particular family” which is in dramatic contrast with a society with great harmony where the kingdom belongs to all Confucianism claims that the society with small tranquility is at a lower level than that of “great harmony” We, however cannot extend the meaning to that Small tranquility is a negative word Small Tranquility is a historical choice when we fail to pursue great harmony successfully
In the book Yi Jian Zhi compiled by Hong Mai of Song dynasty there’s a sentence “when people are trapped in poverty for so long a time, they would expect small tranquility” Small tranquility here refers to a fairly abundant economic state in a family Kang Youwei pointed out in his Book of Great Harmony Looking back on the two thousand-year course that China has waked on Lots of dynasties, including Han, Tang, Song, Ming if we are not too critical about their stability and chaos They can all provide the people with a fairly comfortable life looking back on what the ancient men with wisdom have said such as theories brought up by Xun Zi, Liu Xin and Zhu Zi If we take all of their authenticity and falsehood, roughness and delicacy, and beauty and ugliness into consideration Generally speaking, they are talking about means to a moderately prosperous society Kang Youwei combined “Gongyang’s three-phased theory” with the theory of great harmony and small tranquility recorded in the Book of Rites and brought up a new “three phased theory” His theory divides the human society into three phases namely the troubled times peaceful times in formation and the ultimate peaceful time According to Kang

The period where peaceful times is being formed is small tranquility and the ultimate peaceful time is the great harmony Mr. Sun Yat-sen used to describe his ideals of revolution through the concepts of “small tranquility” and “great harmony”

In his opinion the true three people’s principles is a world with great harmony where the society belongs to all a world expected by Confucius

When the ideal of great harmony fail to be realized Sun Yat-sen expected that under the rule of Yuan Shikai the construction cause of the Republic of China can progress He described that situation as “small tranquility” He said the reason why I resigned from the position of temporary president and gave it to Yuan Shikai was that I expected a society with small tranquility would emerge So I with my colleagues retreated as a party out of power Mao Zedong mentioned the great harmony that corresponded to small tranquility for a lot of times However, it seemed that he had never mentioned “small tranquility” Deng Xiaoping mentioned “small tranquility” for a lot of times and he added rich modern meaning to this traditional concept What’s more, he raised it to a significant strategic goal Mao Zedong always talked about “great harmony” while Deng Xiaoping loved to mention “small tranquility” Some people therefore claim that the difference between Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping lies in the difference between “the chase for great harmony” and “the chase for small tranquility” This generalization is interesting and worth further discussions Well How did Deng Xiaoping propose the goal of realizing small tranquility? Deng Xiaoping brought it up on the basis of “modernization program”

On December 6th, 1979 Deng Xiaoping met with Japanese prime minister Ohira Masayoshi, he pointed out “the modernization we are striving for is modernization of a Chinese type

The modernization we think of is not the same as what you have in your mind but a society with ‘small tranquility’” January 16th, 1980 Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his speech titled “The Present Situation and Tasks before us” “Whenever I have interviews with foreigners I’ll stress that our modernization program is a Chinese type Not long ago when I talked with a foreign guest he asked what on earth does your modernization program refer to? I replied by the end of the century if the average per capita GNP reaches US$1000 then we shall have a society in which people lead a fairly comfortable life” August 6th, 1982

During Deng’s meeting with Fraser, Australian premier, he said

In 1979’s talk with Japanese prime minister I used to say that by the end of this century we’ll enter a society where people lead a fairly comfortable life with the average per capita GNP reach 1000 dollars However, after our further research we find perhaps a thousand dollars is a little bit too much
We must take the factor of population growth into consideration. So we reset our goal of per capita GNP at the level of 800 dollars March 25th, 1984 Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his meeting with Japanese premier Nakasone Yasuhiro the annual gross value of industrial and agricultural output being quadrupled and the average per capita GNP reaching US$800 meant that by the end of this century a society in which people lead a fairly comfortable life would be built. This fairly comfortable society can be called modernization with Chinese characteristics. Quadrupling production attaining a fairly comfortable level of life and Chinese-style modernization are all new concepts we have formed. October 22nd, 1984 Deng Xiaoping claimed on the third plenary session of the central advisory commission that quadrupling the gross national product would be an achievement of great significance.

It meant by the year 2000 an annual GNP of US $1 trillion would be reached. At that time China’s GNP will place it in the front ranks of countries.

In terms of the people’s living standards $1 trillion will mean a comfortable life and in terms of national strength China will be quite powerful. June 18th, 1986 Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his meeting with the Rong family that China’s first objective was to make the nation comparatively well-off by the year 2000.

We couldn't set our sights too high. We had to be realistic. Being comparatively well-off didn’t mean that we shall live in affluence, but we shall live better than we do now.

We can see from above that the small tranquility that Deng Xiaoping talks about is inclusive in meaning. Such as to reach a GNP of US$1 trillion and an average per capita GNP of 1000 or 800 dollars like to quadruple products. Such as not living in affluence but live a better life. Such as bigger changes and Chinese-style modernizations. The four modernizations are also like a well-off family a moderately prosperous society a relatively comfortable life a well-off level and so on. Deng Xiaoping proposed that we shall by the end of 2000 build a well-off society. Well have we reached that goal? Basically we have realized it, but not thoroughly.

In the September of 1997 the report delivered at the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China read.

We could now say for certain that the goal of building a fairly comfortable society by the end of this century would be achieved on schedule.

In the November of 2002 about the issue of well-off society.

The report delivered at the sixteenth national congress of CPC pointed out the following things: First.

On the whole the people have reached a well-off standard of living.

Second, the well-off life we are leading is still at a low level it is not all-inclusive and is very uneven.

Third we need to work hard over a long period of time to consolidate and uplift our current well-off standard of living.

Fourth, the next step is to build a well-off society in an all-round way. “Building a well-off society in an all-round way” is a key word in the report.

The title of the report is “Build a Well-off Society in an All-round Way Create a New Situation in Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics.” “Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects” is also a key word for the 17th national congress of CPC.
The title of that report is "Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism With Chinese Characteristics and Strive for New Victories in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects"

The report delivered at the 17th national congress points out that

We have made steady progress toward the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects set at the Sixteenth National Congress and we will continue to work hard to ensure its attainment by 2020. A lot of people assume that “building a moderately prosperous society” was first brought up at the 18th National Congress.

In fact that has already appeared in the report delivered at 17th National Congress.

In the November of 2012 the report delivered at the 18th congress adjusted “building a moderately prosperous society in all respects” into “complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects”.

The title of 18th congress report is "Firmly March on the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive to Complete the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in all Respects". After a quick review of the origin and evolution of a society with “small tranquility” we can mainly grasp the following things. First the concept of “small tranquility” in the explanation of Deng Xiaoping was limited to “Economic Category” Gradually it extended as a “comprehensive category”.

It does not only involve economics but also include the field of politics culture society ecology and so on.

In the process of the extension the requirement of a moderately prosperous society becomes more demanding and the content of it becomes richer. Second on the whole the development of the word “well-off” can be roughly summarized as the following “secure in general a relatively comfortable life” at 15th National Congress “build a well-off society in an all-round way” at 16th National Congress 17th National Congress holds “strive for new victories in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects” and eventually turns into “complete the building of a moderately prosperous society” at 18th National Congress.

Third there is a close relation between a well-off society and modernization. Well-off society is a concept with Chinese characteristics and it was first brought up as a pronoun of “Chinese-style modernization”. Later “a well-off society” has been developed and it includes some content about modernization. Fourth A well-off society has a lot to do with socialism with Chinese characters. These two concepts are the key words of the reports to National Congresses since the 16th congress. What’s more, they can be seen from the title of congress report from time to time. By the way my concern for the national congress started from 14th congress I was Junior 3 at that time I went to the duty room for water at break time when I saw the scene where Chairman Jiang Zemin was doing the report on the duty room television.

When 15th National Congress was held I was a sophomore at university.

When 16th congress was convened I was a third-year graduate.

When 17th congress opened I was a postdoctoral at the department of philosophy, Tsinghua University.

When 18th congress was held I became a teacher at the school of Marxism, Tsinghua University. You can also ask yourselves when every national congress of CPC is held what I am doing I believe, as a Chinese there is a need for us to take the opening of national congress as a full stop of the last personal five-year plan and the start of the next five-year plan.
6.2.3 To realize the Chinese Dream of great national renewal

Now let’s look at the third issue That is to realize the Chinese Dream of great national renewal

On November 29th, 2012 General secretary Xi Jinping delivered an important speech as he was watching “Road to Revival” with the new central collective leadership at National Museum of China

On that day I was watching News Network just in time

The following two things impressed me a lot First General secretary Xi quoted three lines in poetry in his speech Do you know which three lines he quoted? Let’s see what he said

We have visited the exhibition of Road to Revival This exhibition has reviewed the past of the Chinese nation presented the present of it and blueprinted the future of it I feel so much after visiting the exhibition

It was impressive and it educated and enlightened us

The yesterday of the Chinese nation was what we say “The strong pass of the enemy is like a wall of iron” Our nation since entering modern times has suffered a lot from various difficulties

The sacrifices we have made is unparalleled even in the world history Chinese people, however, have never given in we have been fighting continuously until we finally take our own destiny in control

We started the great cause of the construction of our country These are all strong demonstrations of our great national spirit of which patriotism is the core Chinese nation today is exactly “an ever-changing world” Since the implementation of policy of reform and opening up we Chinese people have summarized historical experience explored hard and continuously Eventually we find a correct path to the realization of the great renewal of the Chinese nation That very path is socialism with Chinese characters

The future of the Chinese nation is believed to be “a time when we can ride the wind and cleave the waves” Since the year 1840 we have kept struggling

On the land of China a promising prospect of the great renewal of the Chinese nation emerged Everyone can see that we are now closer to the goal of the great national renewal than any other historical period

We are now more confident than any other point in history that we have the ability to achieve this goal Second General Secretary Xi Jinping proposed the Chinese dream officially Everybody has their own ideal and pursuit

We say that everybody has a dream Today everybody is talking about the Chinese Dream What is Chinese dream? I believe the greatest dream of the Chinese nation in modern history is the great renewal of the Chinese nation Because this very dream is a cohesive substance that several generations of Chinese people put their hopes on

It presents the overall interests of the Chinese nation and Chinese people

It is the common wish of every Chinese citizen A lot of people cannot understand what President Xi Jinping say by “nowadays everyone is talking about the Chinese dream” They assume that

It was president Xi who first brought up the topic of Chinese dream and after that people started to talk about it But that is not true Before that some scholars did begin their discussions on the Chinese dream
For example as early as in the June of 2006 Professor Li Junru at Party School of the CPC published a book called *The Chinese dream: China's Peaceful Development* by New World Press.

In the same year Famous scholar Zhao Tingyang's paper on the American dream, the European dream and the Chinese dream was published in the eighteenth issue of *Intercultural Dialogue*, annual edition.

On March 31st, 2009 the famous host Bai Yansong delivered a speech titled *My Story and the Chinese Dream behind it*.


On August 1st of the same year the famous scholar Yi Zhongtian delivered a speech at Peking university titled *The dream of great harmony, of a strength and of happiness* That speech focused on the Chinese dream.


We can see from the works and writings we have mentioned General secretary Xi’s proposal of the Chinese dream has its academic and public bases. After the speech delivered by president Xi the discussion on the Chinese dream became increasingly heated.

The word “dream” was therefore rated as one of “2012 China’s annual characters”.

When I was in Junior school I used to listen to a song sang by Fu Disheng called “Wish”.

In fact that song described the Chinese dream that all Chinese people had. Though at that time the word “Chinese dream” was not prevalent yet.

The lyrics of that song is great and the rhyme is beautiful.

It is worth our appreciation at the moment “Wish”.

In those days I poured out my wishes as I was beating my waist drum. Men of simple nature expected with their heads raised.

The dream of affluence and strength was sowed in the soil of every heart. Flowers bloom for beauty competitions on the land emancipated. Although the chilling winter extends so long that it freezes those exciting smiles. Mountain Thai still stands upright and Spring is still eternal. Generations after generations go after another for the exploration of tomorrow. Rough roads are covered with sweat and blood.

The moment this giant dragon is about to fly its heavy wings are telling the hardships. To reform the mountains and rivers is the wish of we Chinese nation. Our blood is forever burning and our faith never falls.

We promise the sun that our expectation will never change.

We promise the Yangtze River that our pursuit will never change.

We say to the land that poverty will eventually be changed.
We say to the yellow river that life will eventually change
We say to the sun that our expectations will never change
We say to the Yangtze river that our pursuit will never change
We say to the land that poverty will eventually change
We say to the Yellow River that life will eventually change This song is pleasant to hear, isn’t it Now let’s go on

In the discussion process of the Chinese dream a lot of people expressed personal wishes under the name of Chinese dream which belongs to public discourse They fill the Chinese dream with various contents

In fact “Chinese dream” as a certain category has its fixed content Well What exactly does the Chinese dream mean? What is the real content of the Chinese dream?

The connotation of the Chinese dream includes the core content and the basic one

On October 23rd, 2013

When Xi Jinping was talking with the new leading body of All China Federation of Trade Union (ACFTU), he pointed out that “The Chinese Dream is a vivid expression the greatest common divisor and a view that can be readily accepted by the public Its central meaning is the great renewal of the Chinese nation which can be expanded as appropriate but should never become detached from the theme of the great renewal of the Chinese nation this theme

We must firmly focus on this theme and use it to activate and circulate positive energy

On March 23nd, 2013 Xi Jinping delivered the speech “Follow the Trend of the Times and Promote Peace and Development in the World” at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations “Achieving the great renewal of the Chinese nation has been the greatest dream of the Chinese people since modern times we call it the Chinese Dream Its basic idea is to make the country prosperous and strong rejuvenate the nation and make the people live a happy life”

We can see from the above that

The core content of Chinese dream is the realization of the renewal of the Chinese nation

The basic content of Chinese dream is to make the country prosperous and strong rejuvenate the nation, and see that the people are happy First let’s look at the core content of it To realize the renewal of the Chinese nation has been the continuous pursuit of people with lofty ideals since modern times

As early as in 1894 Mr Sun Yat-sen already brought the slogan “revitalize the Chinese nation”

In the November of 1894 Sun Yat-sen has established Revive China Society, the first revolutionary group against Qing Dynasty among the Honolulu overseas Chinese

In the constitution that Sun drafted for Revive China Society He clearly pointed out that “the aim of the establishment of this society is to revive the Chinese nation and maintain the national system” This is the origin of the slogan “revive the Chinese nation”
As Sun Yat-sen brought up the slogan “revive the Chinese nation” he also clarified his idea of how to achieve that goal First in order to “revive the Chinese nation” we must fight against the invasion and looting by the imperialist countries.

We have to “reconsolidate the building that is about to collapse” Namely, to protect national independence and sovereignty Second to “revive the Chinese nation” we have to carry out a revolution against the Qing Dynasty overthrowing the rule of Qing Dynasty so that the Chinese people are able to be emancipated from the suppression of feudal autocracy Third to “revive the Chinese nation” we must learn from the West developing capitalist economy carrying out political revolution and “establish a united government” Zhou Enlai, in his teens, had his brave words like “study for the development and prosperity of China” and “wish to meet on the day when China takes off in the world” He also wrote a famous poem Having finished the song of Remembrance of the Tale of the Crimson Cliff by Su Shi, I turned around and headed east To save the present endangered China, I determined to learn various sciences in Japan Immersed in study for ten years simply for success one day A hero has to study overseas and shoulder his responsibilities This poem has fully demonstrated a lot of hot-blooded youth at that time are passionate pursuers of the great renewal of the Chinese nation Deng Xiaoping’s speeches mentioned some words similar to “the great renewal of the Chinese nation” many times like “revitalize China”, “revive the Chinese nation” and “national flourish” For example

On September 23rd, 1985 Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his speech at the national conference of CPC “If we did our society would be plunged into chaos Stability and unity would be out of the question and the construction, reform and reviaval of China would become no more than empty words” Another example

On April 7th, 1994 Deng Xiaoping explicated in his speech named "We are Working to Revitalize the Chinese Nation" “Forty years have passed since the founding of the People's Republic of China and we have laid a good foundation for economic development Since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee we have been concentrating on modernizing the country so as to revitalize the Chinese nation” What’s more

On September 15th, 1990 Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his speech named "We Should All Strive to Reunify the Motherland" “Our compatriots on the mainland those in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and the overseas Chinese are all descendants of the Chinese nation

We should all strive to reunify our motherland and revitalize our nation”

The earliest emergence of the issue of “the great renewal of the Chinese nation”, however, is in the report to 13th National Congress of CPC

The report illuminated that “(the primary stage of socialism) is a stage in which the people of the whole country will rise to meet the challenge and bring about a great renewal of the Chinese nation”

The report to 15th, 16th and 17th National Congresses of CPC all mentioned the concept “the great renewal of the Chinese nation” many times These words can be claimed as the origin of Chinese dream’s core content Another thing is how to understand “the renewal of the Chinese nation” First the great renewal of the Chinese nation Should be the unification of the rejuvenation of the country its people and culture

The subjects of Chinese dream not only include the nation but also include the people and culture
We cannot simply interpret literally regarding “the great renewal of the Chinese nation” as the rejuvenation of a particular ethnic group Second speaking from the aspect of what will be like the great renewal of the Chinese nation means that China’s overall national strength will be grown considerably international standing will be raised international strength will be strengthened and international image will be improved.

It also means that the comprehensive quality of Chinese people will be raised especially their level of civility the civic right of Chinese people will be enhanced the reputation of Chinese people will be improved the influence of Chinese culture will be increasingly greater and so forth Third speaking from the aspect of what will not be like the great renewal of the Chinese nation means that we will not suffer from beating hunger and insults.

It means that we will say a forever farewell to weakness poverty and the history of being bullied Before the emancipation we were always under attack After the founding of People’s Republic of China we were no longer under attack but we suffered from starvation from time to time After the reform we suffered from neither attacks nor starvation but insulting started.

The great renewal of the Chinese nation aims at abandoning the “three suffers” Fourth we have to watch out for the misunderstandings of the great renewal of the Chinese nation we do not revive the nation simply for the renewal of the nation Neither do we do it for national revenge.

We do not do it for our domination of the world Neither do we do it to go back to the prosperous periods like Han and Tang dynasty where all other countries come to show admiration.

The great renewal of the Chinese nation itself cannot be taken as an appropriate aim Ultimately speaking, the renewal of the nation is to realize the stability and security of the Chinese society and to strengthen the sense of happiness and respect of the people Without aiming at the realization of social harmony and people’s happiness anything under the name of national revival and rising of the great power is dangerous and worth our heightened alertness Fifth as the core content of Chinese dream “the great renewal of the Chinese nation” though has something in common with “the flourish of the nation”, one of the basic contents of Chinese dream they are not exactly the same National flourish is for contemporary China while national renewal is for modern China Comparing the two concepts the extension of the latter is richer than that of the former.

The core connotation of Chinese dream is “to realize the great renewal of the Chinese nation” rather than “the great flourish of the Chinese nation”.

The basic content of the Chinese Dream is to “make our country prosperous and strong the nation flourish and the people live happy lives rather than “make our country prosperous and strong renew the nation, and bring happiness to the people” Next Let’s have a look at the basic idea of Chinese dream.

It includes to make our country prosperous and strong the nation flourish and the people live happy lives. We’ll look at making our country prosperous and strong first.

The prosperity and strength of a country is not limited in the economic field National prosperity and strength does not mean the country lives in affluence National prosperity and strength is a comprehensive category How prosper and strong a country is can be evaluated by its overall national strength and its rank globally I have a question for you What is the opposite side of prosperity and strength? What is it? Probably the majority of people will answer with “poverty and weakness”
In fact, apart from “poverty and weakness” the opposite side of “prosperity and strength” can be “affluence and weakness.” Namely, rich but weak “poverty and strength” is another possibility. Namely, poor but tough.

We can divide the countries at all times and in all over the world into four types according to the degree of prosperity and strength. A country that is rich but weak; One that is rich as well as strong; One that is poor and weak; And one that is poor but tough. You can have a guess which countries are the four types refer to separately.

The prosperity and strength that Chinese dream is pursuing is the unity of both significant features. Strength grows on the basis of affluence and vice versa. To achieve the dream, it has to cut off with several situations including “poor and weak” “rich but weak” “tough but poor.” A country in poverty can never realize the renewal of the nation. A weak country can never achieve that also. Only if China grew into a country with prosperity and strength can the Chinese dream of the renewal of the Chinese nation be realized. Then let’s talk about the blossom of the nation. This category has richful connotations.

It at least includes the following five aspects.

The first is independence and freedom of the nation. A nation that is controlled and slaved by its colonies and invaders is not qualified to speak of flourishing the nation.

The second aspect is the rise of national standing. A country that is ignored or even despised by the international world cannot claim to be in blossom.

The next aspect is the strengthening of international influence. A country that only focus on itself, not willing to or fail to influence other nations in the world has no opportunity for national flourish.

The fourth aspect is the improvement of international image. There are some countries with great national power. High international standing and huge international influence. However, their international images are not good.

It is hard to say that this kind of countries realizes the blossom of the nation. Only if a country gains both reputation and appreciation. Only if it is both influential and amiable can we say that it has realized national blossom.

The final aspect is that national culture being attached importance and identified by the world. “national blossom”, as a value goal means a lot in the cultural dimension. If a country’s soft power is not strong enough and its cultural influence on other nations is too little, it is still hard to say that that country has achieved the value goal of “national blossom.” even if it has strong economic, technological, and military hard power. For China only if the influence of Chinese culture on the world grew wider and deeper can we claim that the Chinese nation realize its own blossom. At last, let’s look at the happiness of the people. Happiness of the people covers the following aspects. First, on the whole people’s basic needs materially and spiritually have been satisfied. Second, negative social mentalities such as cynicism, pessimism, and hatred are uncommon to see. Third, people feel highly and continuously satisfied with the environment they are living in, including big environment and small one. Fourth, the emotions and feelings of the people are positive, optimistic and pleasant on the whole.

The three basic ideas of Chinese dream are closely connected. First, the prosperity and strength of the nation and national blossom is the basis and safeguard of people’s happiness. China’s humiliating history since modern times has already proved that without independence of the nation and prosperity and power...
of the country there is no way to guarantee the survival of the people let alone their happiness Second people’s happiness is the essence and inevitable requirement of national prosperity, strength and flourish

The people are the root of a country, and only when the root is firm, the country can be tranquil National prosperity and blossom must guarantee people’s rights benefits and happiness and take them as the basic demand To enable people lead a happy life should be the starting point and goal of national prosperity and blossom Well How can we realize the Chinese dream?

On March 17th, 2013 General secretary Xi Jinping pointed out in his speech at the First Session of the Twelfth National People’s Congress China must take its own path to realize the Chinese Dream This is the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics This hard-won path came from more than 30 years of great experience in reform and opening up

It came from the continuous explorations in the 60-plus years of the People’s Republic of China

It came from a thorough review of the Chinese nation’s development in its 170-plus-year modern history and it came from the inheritance of Chinese civilization through more than 5,000 years This path is deeply rooted in history and broadly based on China’s present realities

The Chinese nation has extraordinary creativity with which it has created our great Chinese civilization and we can also expand and continue on the development path suitable to China’s own conditions

The people of all ethnic groups throughout the country hen their confidence in the theory, path and system of socialism with Chinese characteristics and steadfastly and courageously forge ahead along the correct Chinese path To realize the Chinese Dream we must foster the Chinese spirit This is the national spirit that has patriotism at its core and the spirit of the times that has reform and innovation at its core This spirit rallies the people and pools their strength and it is the basis for reviving and strengthening the country Patriotism has always been the inner force that binds the Chinese nation and reform and innovation have always been the inner force that spurs us to keep up with the times in reform and opening up

The people of all ethnic groups must foster the great national spirit and the spirit of the times constantly strengthen their inner bond of unity and motivation for self-improvement and always vigorously march into the future To realize the Chinese Dream, we must coalesce China’s strength that is, the strength of the great unity among the people of all our ethnic groups

The Chinese Dream is the dream of our nation and of every Chinese person

As long as we are united closely in the struggle to fulfill this common dream the strength to achieve it will be so overwhelming that each one of us will have more space to achieve our own dreams

The Chinese people who live in our great motherland in this great age all share the opportunity to accomplish something great in their lives share the opportunity to make their dreams come true and share the opportunity to grow and progress along with the motherland and the times With a dream opportunity and effort all beautiful things can be created

The people of all our ethnic groups must bear their mission in mind and direct their thought and action to the same goal

We should coalesce the wisdom and strength of our country’s 1.3 billion people into a majestic invincible force
In the above 25-minute speech Xi Jinping mentioned “the Chinese dream” for 9 times and “the people” for 44 times. He received more than ten rounds of applause. His clarification on “the Chinese dream” was interrupted by applause from time to time. Another thing to mention.

The realization of the Chinese dream of the great renewal of the Chinese nation is not only for the development of China but also for a greater contribution to the whole world.

The Chinese dream is a dream of peace, development cooperation and mutual benefit.

It will bring benefit to both the Chinese people and the people of the world.

The Chinese dream has a lot in common with the beautiful dreams that people in other countries around the world have.

The proposal of the Chinese dream actually develops the “three-step” development strategy into “four-step” development strategy.

The first step was from 1981 to 1990 to double the 1980 GNP figure and solve the problem of food and clothing for our people.

The second step was from 1991 to the end of the twentieth century to double it again enabling our people to lead a fairly comfortable life.

The third step is by the middle of the 21st century to quadruple it again to reach the per capita GNP level of moderately developed countries. That will mean that modernization is basically accomplished.

The fourth step is to basically realize the Chinese dream of the great renewal of the Chinese nation.

The former three steps are all on a clear timeline. The last step, however, has not been given a clear timeline yet. So what do you think is the possible time when the great renewal of the Chinese nation will be realized?

When some say 2078 is possible. That is the 100th year after reform and opening up. Some say perhaps in 2100 the end of 21st century. Some say maybe in 2121. Namely the 200th anniversary of the establishment of CPC and so on.

In fact, this question has no fixed answer.

It depends on the orientation we strive in and how hard we work for it. To realize the Chinese dream.

We must be courageous enough to take responsibilities willing to sacrifice and take action from ourselves and from now on.

We must turn our dreams into reality.

We should bear a sentence in mind, a sentence that used to be quoted by a lot of leaders. “Empty talk harms the nation practical action helps it thrive.”

As a member of Tsinghua University, we have to bear our school spirit in mind as well “Action speaks louder than words.”

6.3.1 Discussion
Having finished Chapter Six I’d like to ask you a question That is: in the society today there are people who usually say that the essence of socialism requires us to eliminate exploitation and remove polarization But in reality why there still exists exploitation and polarization? Now we invite student Fang Wenhao to talk about his view here Hello, everyone I am Fang Wenhao, a graduate student in School of Marxism Tsinghua University and also one of the teaching assistants of this online course To eliminate exploitation is the centerpiece of socialist revolutions This is unquestionable But we also know that the outburst and completion of a revolution which aims to change productive relationships fundamentally speaking depends on the actual development level of social productivity Currently China is still at a relatively low level of productivity Socialism is not completely constructed yet

It is still in the primary stage and will remain so for a long time to come So while we are sticking to and improving the fundamental economic system where public ownership takes priority there is also a need for us to encourage and guide the development of a variety of economics in non-public sectors That is to say, within a certain range and to a certain extent individual, private and foreign economics are allowed to make contributions to our productive forces

In this way it is the existence of non-public economy that makes the phenomenon of exploitation still exist in China’s realistic society

Of course we should always see that in the primary stage of socialism our attitudes toward non-public economy must include both taking advantage and limitation Today we support the development of it simply to speed up the arrival of a future when with highly-developed social productive forces all social production can and must be organized in a socialist way At that time, non-public economy will disappear and the phenomenon of exploitation will be eliminated naturally Therefore our conclusion is that the current stage that China is in where non-public economy and exploitation exist is a necessary stage of historical development and it cannot be avoided in historical development Also their extinction during this process is needless to say

As to polarization we should admit that since reform and opening up while people’s income has increased and their standard of living has been raised in terms of the whole country regional income gaps the urban-rural income gap the industrial income gap and individual income gaps have indeed been widened Besides, some problems are quite serious

We should see that, however, gaps between the rich and the poor in reality can be reasonable or unreasonable legal or illegal moderate or immoderate They cannot be across the board Reasonable, legal and moderate income gaps are inevitable and to some extent have positive effect They should be upheld and maintained While as to those unreasonable, illegal and immoderate income gaps we must pay high attention to

We must solve those problems step by step through various means, such as economic, administrative and legal means

On this issue we have a major principle namely adhering to the fundamental road of socialism and the basic direction of common prosperity and never allow the emergence of a new bourgeoisie

As to the extinction of polarization it is the same with exploitation which is based on highly-developed productive forces

The only thing we can do now is to make every effort for the realization of this condition Very well This is student Fang Wenhao’s opinion So What do you think about it You can dig deeper into this question after
Chapter 7: The Theory of Socialist Reform and Opening up 社会主义改革开放理论

7.1.1.1（Part 1）Why China Decided to Adopt Reform and Opening-up Strategy

Hi Hello everyone. Today let’s learn Chapter Seven, *The Socialist Theory of Reform and Opening up* For modern Chinese, reform is undoubtedly the most ordinary and common concept. Then, where does the concept of “reform” come from?

The common saying is that in 307 BC, King Wuling of Zhao carried out “wearing Hu Dress and shooting on Horse”, commanding his people to change their clothes from the traditional long dress and long sleeves to the jacket and pants of Hu (the northern barbarian tribes in ancient China) and to learn horseback archery. These changes were made to win in the wars. Since the costume of Hu were often made of leather then Chinese gradually called reform as “Gai Ge” (Gai means “change”, and Ge means “leather”). That is, the original meaning of “Gai Ge” was changing to leather. Later the meaning was extended to destroying the old and establish the new. I’d like to ask you another question: What’s the sign of China’s reform and opening up? Many people will answer with one voice, saying, “Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party” That’s right.

It is Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The time it lasted was from December 18th to 22nd in 1978 which was only five days. How could a meeting as short as only five days solve so many big problems? That’s because that before the third plenary session, there was a very important Central Working Conference. This meeting lasted from November 10th in 1978 till December 15th, which was as long as 36 days.

The length of this meeting was seven times long as that of the Third Plenary Session, and made a good preparation for the Third Plenary Session.

In the report of the Third Plenary Session, this is also mentioned. What discussed in the Third Plenary Session, including the shift of the work focus of the party, carrying out the reform and openness and so on, were all deeply discussed in the central working conference.

In December 13th 1978, on the closing ceremony of central working conference, Deng Xiaoping gave a speech named Freeing Mind, Seeking Truth from Facts Uniting as One Looking to the Future. This speech was a summary to the central working conference. Meanwhile, since the following plenary session did not have a keynote speech, this speech from Deng Xiaoping was actually taken as the keynote report for the Third Plenary Session. Later, this speech was called “the declaration of reform and opening up”. Now let’s have a look at the related condition.

On November, 14th, 1978, Deng Xiaoping, after going abroad for several times, with his fresh feelings about foreign countries, with his deep thoughts about China’s future, came back to China. Hereafter, he didn’t show up in public very often, yet kept paying close attention to the on-going central working conference. He, together with other leaders of central standing committee, listened to and read a lot of meeting report for several times. At this time the speeches of conventioners were surprisingly becoming increasingly specific. About the relationship between economic development and class struggle, people
had different opinions. Some said that the three revolutions, including class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment should be equally paid great attention. Some people claimed that focusing on economic development was not contradict with taking class conflict as the guiding principle. Some thought that the chief contradiction at the time was still the conflict between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Some said that the change of party’s working focus was just a shift from taking over the “Gang of Four” to the modernization construction instead of the change from taking class struggle as the guiding principle. Aiming at these opinions, Deng Xiaoping decided to make a speech on the closing ceremony. This is the speech outline found twenty years later. White paper, three pages, four hundreds of words, all written by Deng Xiaoping himself. According to the working habit of Deng Xiaoping, he seldom wrote outline, and writing such long outline was especially rare for him. Many of his thoughts were told in simple words after careful consideration. Therefore we can see that this speech was very important in his heart. Today, I mainly want to discuss one question, namely, how to emancipate our minds, use our heads, seek truth from facts and unite as one looking to the future. Only when we emancipate our minds can we be guided as we should be by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, find correct solutions to the emerging as well as inherited problems, fruitfully reform those aspects of the relations of production and of the superstructure that do not correspond with the rapid development of our productive forces, and chart the specific policies, methods and measures needed to achieve the four modernizations under our actual conditions. This is the speech of Deng Xiaoping in the closing ceremony of central working committee on December, 13th, 1978.

The title is Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future. There are about ten thousand words in the whole passage. This speech unified the thought of the whole party.

It was not only the summary of central working conference, but later also the keynote speech of the Third Plenary Session of Eleventh Central Committee. Nowadays, people consider it as the declaration of the reform and opening up in the new time.

In the speech, there are many words impressive and awakening, and remaining fresh in people’s memories till today. Without reform, our modernization career and socialist cause will be ruined.

On December, 15th, the central working conference lasting 36 days came to an end in Beijing’s Jingxi Hotel. Peace was restored, and everything was surprisingly quiet, as if people were waiting something to happen, and the whole China seemed to be waiting for something. Therefore, talking about the sign of China’s reform and opening up, we should also mention the central working conference in the end of 1978, and the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee following it.

We cannot only mention the latter one. If you are interested in these two meetings, you can read the following two books. Deng Xiaoping Shakes the World Deng Xiaoping Shakes the World An Eyewitness Account of China’s Party Work Conference and the Third Plenum Beijing; Central Edition and Translation Publishing House, January 2008. That’s it.

The second one is a documentary writing by Ye Yonglie: Deng Xiaoping Changed China---- 1978:

The Turning Point of China published by Sichuan Renmin Press and Huaxia Publishing House, September 2012. Now let’s come to the first chapter. Reform and opening up is the only way leading to socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The first problem is that Why China decided to adopt reform and opening-up strategy?
We know that China’s reform and opening up has achieved big success, and has also encountered many problems. For example, income disparity, and corruption. According to these problems, some people think that if China had not adopted reform and opening-up policy, these problems would not have occurred. To respond to such opinions, we must first figure out why China decided to reform and open up at the time. Understanding the reasons can help us develop the reform scientifically, and properly judge the gain and loss in the process of reform.

It also contributes to criticizing the historical nihilism ideas on the necessity of reform.

We know that

In 1978, the central working conference and the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party made the important decision of reform and opening up, changing the working focus to economic development with great political courage and theoretical courage. This is the strategic choice made by China at the historical turning point. Such strategic choice had its complex domestic and international background. For the domestic side, ten years of Cultural Revolution had caused the greatest difficulties and loss for socialist cause since the founding of the People’s Republic of China.

The severe political and economic situation in the state needed us to make adaptive change. Let’s first have a look at the political aspect.

The Great Cultural Revolution brought the “enlargement of class struggle” to a new level, confounding friend and foe severely, and hurting a lot of cadres and masses. According to statistics, during the ten years of cultural revolution, more than two million and three hundred thousand cadres in the state were investigated, which was 19.2% of the number of cadres before Cultural Revolution broke out, which was twelve million. According to the statistics of Supreme People’s Court in 1980, just because of the problem of Liu Shaoqi, there were twenty-six thousands of cases involved, and twenty-eight thousands of people sentenced.

The Great Cultural Revolution brought the party and government into a long-time abnormal state and paralysis. Organs if dictatorship like Public security and the organs maintaining social orders were all messed up. What’s more important is that people who were hurt in the cultural revolution were not only cadres. More of them were ordinary people. For this, we can read the book written by Feng Jicai, Ten Years of One Hundred People. Some people now think that since cadres suffered in Cultural Revolution, ordinary people must have enjoyed it. They described Cultural Revolution as “cadres’suffering” and “the masses ‘carnival’. Such opinions come from either ignorance nor prejudice, and must be abandoned. Then for the economic aspect, during cultural revolution, the mistakes made on economic development were mainly left leaning. And the anti-revolution group of Lin Biao and Jiangqing pushed these mistakes to an extreme. For instance,

On the issues of ownership, they surpassed the developmental level of productivity, cancelled individual economy, closed market places, suppressed collective economics, and pretended that the transition by means of the spirit of being poor was socialism.

In the aspect of distribution system, they carried out egalitarianism, neglected people’s life, and vastly dampened people’s enthusiasm.

In the relationship between plans and market, they thought that planned economy was the basic economic characteristics of socialism, while market economy was the patents of capitalism, and socialism should not have market economy. Therefore, they ignored the functions of market and law of value.
In the work of enterprise management, they took the series of management and regulation system that China had established as capitalism's customs pass, material incentive, putting profit in command, direct and exclusive control of enterprise by the ministry concerned, etc, and criticized them severely.

The result was the prevalence of anarchism, and chaos of economic management. Enterprises could not continue their normal production.

The economic benefit was poor, and the loss was great. According to statistics, during the cultural revolution, the annual growth rate of the total product of society was 6.8%, while that of the fourteen years before cultural revolution was 8.2%.

During the great cultural revolution, the annual growth rate of national income was 4.9%, while that of the fourteen years before cultural revolution was 6.2%. From 1967 to 1968, the time when the chaos was especially severe, GDP became to have a negative growth. According to preliminary statistics, the ten-years cultural revolution caused a loss of five hundred billion RMB in national income, which was about 80% of the whole construction investment of the thirty years since the establishment of the People's Republic of China. More than the sum of the national fixed assets of the thirty years since the establishment of the new China.

On February 26th, 1978, Hua Guofeng pointed out in the government working report of the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress that from 1974 to 1976, due to the sabotage by the Gang of Four, the nation lost about one hundred billion RMB of gross industrial output value, twenty-eight million tons of steel output, and forty billion RMB of fiscal revenue.

The whole national economy was near the verge of collapse. At present, there are many disputes about the economic conditions of cultural revolution. These disputes are mainly the statement that “the whole national economy was near the verge of collapse”, which was said by Hua Guofeng. If you are interested in it, you can have an intensive study about it. Finally let’s come to cultural and moral aspects.

The damage Cultural Revolution caused to education, technology and culture was especially serious. Traditional cultural, cultural relics, ancient books, and historic sites were badly destroyed. A large number of specialists were persecuted. There were no college entrance examinations during the ten years, so the quality of education declined a lot.

The cultural life of people was boring and dull, and people’s moral standards were also challenged.

The party building and social morality was largely damaged. Persecuting others became common in the society. There used to be a very interesting saying says that “Cultural Revolution” was actually destruction on culture. Such saying is worth pondering.

As for persecuting people, the famous writer Xia Yan, used to write when he was in prison during the Cultural Revolution, simulating in late Ming and early Qing dynasties. was written like this, For knowledge my head can be beheaded. Yet today everyone has to shave it. Everyone needs to have a haircut.

It is not a head without haircut. Just let it go if we cannot revolt them,

The head is still that of mine. One day the one who force others to shave their heads, will be beheaded at last. And written by Xia Yan was written like this: For knowledge I torture myself. Yet now they all torture me. Everyone will experience torment. People without torment are not mature human. Just let it go if they torture us. I’m still what I am. One day the one who tortured others, will be tortured in the end.
The persecution during Cultural Revolution not only includes A persecuting B, but also includes A and B persecuting each other, or A persecuting B, while B persecuting C, C persecuting D, D persecuting E. That is, the persecution may be unidirectional, and may also be bidirectional, or even catenate. Such behavior exacerbated interpersonal relationship, poisoned social morality, caused historical resentment among people, and influenced the normal development of the society. Many people nowadays say that the bad social morality was due to the application of reform and opening up.

In fact, the social atmosphere after the reform was mainly the result of Cultural Revolution. For this, we can read the novel of Yan Geling, *Lu Fan Yan Shi*. Although Lu Yanshi suffered a lot in the reform-through-labor farm after coming back to Shanghai, he was still not happy, because people around him were all calculative and they hurt him a lot.

In the end of the novel, Lu Yanshi came back to the reform-through-work farm. This novel is very profound.

It is a pity that the movie adapted from this novel *Coming Home* doesn’t express the deep thought of the novel. People today are not familiar with the Great Cultural Revolution. They always understand the Cultural Revolution from a view of romanticism. Therefore, it is necessary for us to understand the Great Cultural Revolution through a documentary. A Disaster of China—the rebel movement of Red Guard.

In May and June of 1966, students of the high school attached to Tsinghua University established Red Guard, making posters praising proletariat’s spirit of rebellion and revolution. Mao Zedong wrote a letter to the students, thinking that their behavior proved the reasonableness in punishing reactionary, and supported their actions. From then on, the slogan “Revolution is not guilty, Rebellion is reasonable” became popular around the nation. August 18th, for the first time Mao Zedong inspected the Red Guards from Beijing and all parts of the country in Tian’anmen.

The central committee of Communist Party of China, and the State Council invited teachers and students from all parts of China to come to Beijing and watch the campaign.

The nationwide campaign therefore began.

In the last ten days of November, Mao Zedong had 8 interviews in Beijing with thirteen million Red Guards in total. And Red Guard became an important power in promoting the Great Cultural Revolution in the nation. Under the name of destroying “the four dregs of society”, they violently damaged people’s works, changed names of places, ruined historical sites, burned ancient books, and destroyed a large number of gracious historical relics. They rushed in to the government, persecuted the so called “capitalist roader”, and rebelled all authorities. They broke into people’s homes, hit people, and destroyed the law and order of the society. Nearly all cadres were investigated and examined. Some Cadres, model workers and intellectuals were sent to cowshed, or even tortured to death.

The government came to paralysis or near paralysis. Party members had to stop organized meetings. A large number of state leaders like Deng Xiaoping, and Liu Shaoqi were persecuted.

In the January of 1967, Tao Zhu was framed as the biggest royalist in China and was arrested. At the time, Peng Dehua, the deputy chief commander of southwest China, was framed as the counterrevolutionary revisionist, a warlord. He was forced to come back to Beijing from Si Chuan, and was tortured until he died. There were slogans saying “Overthrow Zhu De” on the streets in Beijing.

In July of 1968, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng made a list framing the members of eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Later on, Kang Sheng made a list framing the members of the Third
National People's Congress standing committee, and a list framing the fourth standing committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

In December of the same year, Xie Zhifu made up the list of an feigned case of Chinese communist.

In these four lists, 103 members and alternate members of the eighth central committee, 52 members of the Standing Committee of the Third National People's Congress, 76 members of the Standing Committee of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. were framed as the spies, traitors, people who worked for other countries and people who rebelled the revolution. These people who were framed were all persecuted. Among these people, there were eight people who were chairman and vice chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress. twelve vice premiers of the State Council, twenty-two people who were the members or alternative members of Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist party of China, fourteen people who were General Secretary, members of secretariats and alternative secretaries of the CPC Central Committee, six vice chairman of Central Military Commission, eleven leaders of the democratic parties. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing also persecuted many local cadres, and made a lot of unjust cases. For example, the traitor group from Xingjiang, underground political workers in Guangzhou, the case of Zhao Jianmin in Yunnan, the revolutionists in Inner Mongolia, traitors in the Northeast, etc.

During the Great Cultural Revolution, the campaign was first said to be started by people, yet later became a campaign towards people. Under the misleading of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, some organizations gradually became the parties fighting against each other, and began to resort to violence.

In July of 1967, a mass organization from Wuhan criticized the activities of Wang Li, the member of committee of cultural revolution, and they were framed as anti-revolution. There were mass meeting in Beijing supporting the insurgents in Wuhan, stating in newspapers that people should overthrow the few people in armies that were capitalists. Military organs were therefore stroke. Jiang Qing came up with the slogan of “offensive by the pen and defensive by the sword”. Kang Sheng even delivered guns to the insurgents. This caused a series of massacre in Qingtongxia, Ningxia.

In August, 1967, the insurgent in Shanghai, Wang Hongwen, planed and started violent event of sieging Shanghai Diesel Engine Factory.

In order to mess up the nation, groups led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing started to interfere the work of organs of dictatorship like public security organs.

The minister of Public Security, Xie Fuzhi, claimed that he would exterminated public security organs.

In all parts of China, public security organs were destroyed, their documents were robbed and workers were hurt. Some people even broke into the prisons and tried to set the prisoners free.

In March of 1968, people led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing produced the case of Yang Chengwu, She Lijin and Fu Chongbi. They were respectively temporary chief of the General Staff of the army, political commissar of air force, and the commander of Beijing Garrison.

The Central Committee decided to dismiss them from their post and arrested Yu Lijin. Later on, the members and structure of military administrative group were changed. Huang Yongsheng became the group leader, Wu Faxian became the vice leader, and people including Ye Qun, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Hui became the members. Soon after that, the standing committee of the military commission decided to have no more meetings, and to take the administrative group as its leader. Since then, the bloc of Lin Biao
centered by administrative group had come into being. With the support of people led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, insurgents started to take over power roundly while destroying government organs. This is the Red Guard Movement. And the Red Guard Movement was just a small part of the Great Cultural Revolution. Thus, it is not hard for us to imagine how Cultural Revolution was now. If you are interested in the Great Cultural Revolution, you can read A Brief History of Chinese Cultural Revolution written by Xi Xuan and Jin Chunming of Central Party School. History of Chinese Communist Party publishing house published it in 2005. Someone may say that there were many achievements during Great Cultural Revolution. This is true. However, we have to distinguish Cultural Revolution with the time during the Cultural Revolution.

As for this point, the Historical Resolution” in 1981 pointed out that it was the efforts and common struggles of the whole party, workers, farmers, commanders of armies, intellectuals, educated youth and cadres that limited the destruction of Cultural Revolution to a certain degree. Our national economy still achieved some progress despite of the great loss. Food production kept a steady rate of growth. Industrial transportation, capital construction and science and technology had all got important achievements, including the completion of some new railway and Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge. Some technology-advanced large-scale enterprises were put into production.

The experiment of hydrogen bomb and the launch and recovery of artificial satellite all succeeded.

The achievements also includes the cultivation and promotion of Indica hybrid rice, and so on.

When the nation was all in a mess, Chinese soldiers still bravely guarded the safety of their motherland.

The work on external relationship also came to a new situation.

Of course, these were absolutely not the achievements of Cultural Revolution. Without Cultural Revolution, we could have gained more achievements. That is to say, we cannot attribute the achievements we made during the ten years from 1966 to 1976 to the success of Cultural Revolution.

Of course, we can neither attribute all the tragedies happened during the ten years, for example, some illegal and criminal cases, to the result of Cultural Revolution. For both positive and negative aspects, we all need to analyze case by case. Mentioning Cultural Revolution, I always think of two poems. One is Ascending A Height written by an ancient poet, Du Fu.

The poems says,

The sky is high, the wind is tight, and the apes cry.

The islet is clear, the sand is white, and birds are whirling in the air. A boundless stretch of leaves fall whistling on the ground, and surging waves of the Yangtze River come around. I feel deep sorrow for the autumn, as I've traveled thousands of miles in the world.

In my declining years I suffer from illness. Now I am ascending a height without cheers.

As times are hard, I hate to see white frost creeping over my head. Being ill and frustrated, from drinking I've abstained.

The bleak atmosphere of troubled times described in this poem is just like the atmosphere of Cultural Revolution. This poem is considered as the top one of the eight-line Chinese poems with seven characters to a line. And it's worth paying attention.
The next poem was written by a modern poet named Bei Dao.

The poem’s name is *The Answer*.

It was written in around the Qing Ming Festival in 1976, and was at first published in a magazine named *Today*. Later, as the first published misty poetry, it was published on *Poetry Monthly*, 1979 no.3.

The poem was written like this: Baseness is the secret knock of the base Integrity the epitaph of the noble
Look How the gilded sky drifts full of
The inverted crooked reflections of the dead
The ice age has past So why are there icicles everywhere?

The Cape of Good Hope has been discovered Why do a thousand sails contend for the Dead Sea? I came
into this world Carrying only paper, rope, a silhouette To speak aloud before the trial A voice that has
already been judged. I tell you world I-do-not-believe! If a thousand challengers lie trampled beneath your
feet Count me as number one thousand and one I don’t believe the sky is blue I don’t believe in thunder’s
echoes I don’t believe in fake dreams I don’t believe in death without retribution. If the sea is destined to
breach the dykes Let all the water of bitterness flow into my heart

It the land is destined to rise up Let humanity choose a new summit for existence again. A new turning
point and flickering stars. Embroidered now across the unobstructed heavens These are the pictographs of
five thousand years These are the staring eyes of future generations. This poem made a winding but vivid
description about the absurdity of Cultural Revolution, and was very influential at the time. Many people
nowadays are not familiar about this, so we review this here to have now the event better. Now let’s
continue. After overthrowing the Gang of Four, what the new group of leaders faced was the severe
damage of socialist democracy and rule of law.

The political situation was all in a mess. Economic stopped to grow. People suffered a lot from the lack of
goods and materials. Their life deadly needed improvement. Order needed when facing chaos, and change
is needed when facing poverty. Everyone agreed that the mistake of Cultural Revolution must be corrected,
and the bad situation must be changed.

In this sense, we can say that there was no reform without Cultural Revolution.

On September 2nd, 1986, Deng Xiaoping accepted the interview of Mike Wallace, a famous American
journalist. Wallace asked that “You’ve just mentioned Chinese Cultural Revolution. How was the experience
of you and your family at the time?” Deng Xiaoping didn’t answer the question about his own experiences.
Instead, he pointed out that the Cultural Revolution seemed to be a bad thing but was also a good thing
after all.

It forced us to think, to find out where our weaknesses were. Chairman Mao often said that we should
change bad things into good things. Indeed, if we summarize the lessons we gained from Cultural
Revolution, come up with some strategies of reform, and change our political and economic situation, the
bad things will be converted into good things. Why we could come up with a series of policies that we are
still using nowadays in the end of 1970s and 1980s? That’s because that we summarized the lessons and
experienced we gained in Cultural Revolution. June 12th, 1987, when talking with Stefan Korosec, the
member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of the Yugoslavia, Deng
Xiaoping pointed out that
We can say that since 1957, our main mistakes were left-leaning. Cultural Revolution was left-leaning.

During the twenty years from 1958 to 1978 Chinese society was actually stagnating and hovering. National economy and people's life were not improved.

We must reform.

On June 3rd, 1988, when meeting all the participants of the international meeting of “China and the World in 1990s”, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that

We have wasted twenty years since 1957, while these twenty years was a time when the world developed rapidly. This is a pity. Yet on the other hand, there were also benefits. Twenty years ‘experiences, especially the lessons of Cultural Revolution, told us that we must reform.

We must have new political, economic and social policies.

On September 5th, 1988, Deng Xiaoping met Gustav Husak, the president of Czechoslovakia, and pointed out that the past success is our wealth, and so is the past mistake.

We criticize Cultural Revolution, yet we should say that it also have one “benefit”. That is it provided a negative example. Without the lessons drawn from Cultural Revolution, we could not have come up with a series of policies and the ideological, political, and organization route after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The Third Plenary Session decided to change working focus from taking class conflict as the guiding principle to taking productivity improvement and constructing four modernizations. This was supported by the whole party and people around the nation. Why? That’s because Cultural Revolution provided a comparison. Cultural Revolution became a wealth of us.

When I was reading *The Selected Works of Dang Xiaoping*, I always found double negative sentences like “It’s not available not to reform” and rhetorical question like “Is it Ok if we do not reform?” These are actually all the statement made by Deng Xiaoping to express the necessity of reform. Hence, we can see that it is by summarizing the lessons and experiences of Cultural Revolution that the second-generation leading group led by Deng Xiaoping were able to come up with the idea of reform and opening up, and then put it into practice.

7.1.1.2 (Part 2) Why China Decided to Adopt Reform and Opening-up Strategy

What’s mentioned above is the national picture. Now let’s have a look at the international background.

As for the international context, the new scientific and technological revolution, springing up around the world, made the world economic develop faster.

The economic strength and technological strength of China had an obvious wider gap with the international advanced level.

In 1970s, Human history came to a new period. rising up worldwide luxuriantly, the revolution of new technology and science made the world economic develop in a faster speed.

In 1975, GDP of USA reached 1.5265 trillion dollars. which is 3.2 times of that of 1957.
In the twenty years between 1951 and 1971, Federal Republic of Germany had its GDP increase fivefold. And from 1955 to 1970, Japan made its GDP 7.2 times of what it used to be.

In 1976, the Great Cultural Revolution came to an end.

When we took a broad view to look the world, we deeply felt that the gap between the economic strength and technological strength of China and that of International advanced level was becoming increasingly wider. China had fallen behind the world.

In 1955, The Gross National Product (which is GNP) of China was 4.7 percent of the world.

In 1980, the ratio decreased to 2.5 percent.

In 1960, our GNP was in a fairly level with Japan, yet only one quarter of the GNP of Japan.

In 1959, our gross export value was 1.95 percent of world’s total trade volume, ranked twelfth in the world. However, the gross export value of China decreased to 0.75% in 1980, ranked thirty-second in the world.

During this period, the countries and regions around China who used to be relatively backward, for instance, South Korea, Singapore Hong Kong, Taiwan etc. also developed quickly, especially in economic aspect.

In 1950s, the economic aggregate of South Korea was about the same as that of Shandong Province in China. But in the following twenty years, South Korea created the famous “Miracle on the Han River”.

In 1980s, South Korea had changed its poor situation, with its economic aggregate far higher than Shandong Province. Such international situation brought us with great international pressure.

In the end of 1970s, China began its open strategy, and gradually took it as a basic state policy. Such action was due to five reasons: First, the profound summary of the history lessons of China’s longtime standstill and backward.

As Deng Xiaoping said, A closed-door policy prevented any country from developing.

We suffered from isolation, and so did our forefathers.

The past experience has shown that isolation can never contribute to one’s development but will only limit it, and even bring disaster to a country and nation. Second, the conclusion drawn from the seeing today’s development of world economic and technology, and the international environment. Today’s world is an open world. Opening up is the historical trend of the worldwide economic development. Based on with the help of the revolution of new technology and science, the economic relationship around the world is becoming closer and closer.

As globalization going deeper, in order to get more benefit in the international corporation and international competition, governments of different countries all adopted open strategy.

In the open world, it is impossible for a country, who wants to develop, to isolate itself with closed-door policy. Thirdly, we adopt open policy to meet the need of Socialist Modernization. To modernize the country, self-dependence is necessary. Meanwhile, one needs to explore the international market, and make use of foreign resources. Therefore, we need to open up and combine the way of exploring domestic
market and making use of domestic resources with the way of exploring international market and making using of foreign resources, combining revitalizing domestic economy with opening up to the outside world.

The fourth reason is to borrow and learn all outstanding achievement of human civilizations. Capitalism has experienced hundreds of years' development. Capitalist countries, especially developed countries, has learned a lot in aspects like economics, technology, education, culture and social management. They have obtained many historical achievements of civilization. Socialism, as a new social institution, must learn from it bravely. Learn from the civilization achievement created by human societies, including capitalist society, and make new creation according to practical experience and national condition Only in this way can we choose to enhance development and win advantageous when compared with Capitalism.

The fifth reason is related to the change of world environment. After 1970s, international atmosphere and world political situation changed vastly. Peace and development gradually became the theme of the world. And world war could not break out in a short time. China's effort in pursuing a long-time peaceful environment to develop is therefore possible. This provided China's reform and open up with an important external condition. From what mentioned above, including domestic and international two aspects, it is not hard to find that

The opening up of China was definitely not a coincidence out of but a necessary choice that Chinese had to make.

As what Deng Xiaoping said, "Without reform and opening up, our modernization career and socialist cause will be ruined. Under the pressure of "reform or death" Under the situation of "reform or be kicked out of the earth" reform and opening-up policy was the only wise choice.

The aforementioned two reasons of revolution, including domestic and international two aspects, was revealed obviously in the event of "Da Tao Gang"("Tao"means "escape", "Gang"means "Hong kong")

The so-called "Da Tao Gang" here means not escaping from Hong Kong, but escaping from mainland China to Hong Kong. According to the materials Chen Bingan, the author of Escaping to Hong Kong, has collected, in the documents that can be got nowadays, from 1955, the year when people began to escape towards Hong Kong, there were overall four big trends of escaping towards Hong Kong in Shenzhen's history. They were in 1957, 1962, 1972, and 1979. There were in all 560000 people involved in. They were from twelve provinces and sixty-two cities altogether including Guangdong, Hunan,Hubei, Jiangxi, Guangxi, etc. Most of them were farmers, and some of them were city dwellers, students, educated youth, workers, and even soldiers. For political identity, most of them were general public. Some of them were from Youth League, Communist Party and some of them were even party's cadres. A report from Shenzhen suggested that till 1978, there were 577 escapers among government workers in the city, and 183 of whom succeeded. There were 40 cadres above deputy level who fied away.

In the literature documentary Xi Zhongxun, you can find how Xi Zhongxun dealt with the event of "escaping to Hong Kong". Let’s have a look. Guangdong is near to Hong Kong and Macao

In early 1950s, due to enemy’s activities, smuggling,bootlegging and gangdom were rampant Central government decided to block frontier, establish border line, and strictly control the people passing in and out of Hong Kong and Macao. Despite of this, there were still many large-scale escape towards Hong Kong in the history. Before Xi Zhongxun lefted Beijing and headed towards southern China, one of the tasks he got from central government was solving the problem of smuggling business after arriving in Guangdong. At the time, he arrived at Chung Ying Street. He saw that several stones in the center separated the street.
The side of Hong Kong was prosperous, and crowded. And the citizens of our side all shopped in Hong Kong. Meanwhile, the part of Chinese mainland was desolate and depressed. He insisted in visiting hospices, so I brought him to one of the hospices in the army of Liantang.

The people in this hospice were smugglers from Shanwei and Shantou. There were dozens of them there. And Zhongxun asked one of them why he decided to escape from mainland. Farmers like him had no idea of who he was, so he said whatever he thought of. He said that life was hard in his hometown, while earning money was easy in Hong Kong. “It is better to go there, so we went there.”

The boundary between Shenzhen and Hong Kong was a village. Xi Zhongxun stopped his step.

It was a special village, a river in front of the village separated the farmland into two parts, one of which in was in Shenzhen, while another one was in Hong Kong. This village was named as Luofang Village, which was one of the closest villages to Hong Kong. For cultivation convenience, in the place leading to Hong Kong, Luofang village had a place for local villagers to sell the food and vegetables to Hong Kong at a high price.

During the Cultural Revolution, such method to increase income was abandoned as “the tail of Capitalism”.

During the times in Baoan, Xi Zhongxun went deep into villages, sentry posts and ports near the border. He witnessed the gap between mainland and Hong Kong and had a new understanding towards the problem of smuggling.

In Sha Tau Kok and Huanggang, he visited two factories accompanied by Fang Bao. One factory processed plastic. And another one produced wig. Those were the earliest enterprises of three import and compensation trade. These two factories solved the employment problem of local residents, and increased people’s income. And the smugglers in these two places decreased vastly. Xi Zhongxun therefore said that the problem of fleeing out seems to be mainly related to policy issues and the low level of economics. He strongly object to judge such illegal immigration standing in the rule of class struggle. He said that “smuggling” was not a proper word here. He said that Hong Kong and Macaw are both the land of China, Yet “smuggling” means escaping to foreign countries, so the word is used wrongly.

The proper word should be “outflow”. Hence, Mr.Xi corrected the word “smuggling” to “outflow”. Around the Spring Festival in 1979, due to some rumor and the connivance of Hong Kong British authorities Guangdong Province had again a big trend of feeling out. and the trend tended to be increasingly violent. Therefore, the State Council and Central Military Commission convened Guangdong Revolutionary Committee and the principle of Guangdong military to meet in Beijing and talk about the way to stop people’s escaping out of mainland. Leaders of central government claimed to adopt drastic measures, to stop the feeing-out tide within certain time. My mother and I arrived at Baoan.

We saw all these things. Women.

It was women who worked in farmland, since the males all fled outside. My mother and I saw this all the way. People’s liberation Army held their guns and took wolf dogs,

The people they escorted are all civilian who failed to smuggling. Their clothes were full of sea water. Then we met my father, who had just finished investigation.

We have nothing to say in reply. He had told us long time ago that you must improve people’s life, making them better off, which was the only way to stop them from escaping away. If we only intercepted them,
prevent them from fleeing violently, dwellers would try to escape over and over again, and there would be a
time when they finally succeed.

In about May and June of 1979, which was the most intense phase of anti-stowaway, Xi Zhongxun held the
standing committee of provincial Party committee, and made a surprising decision. That was, to release all
the escapers in prison. To make sure that the policy was carried out, he designated a member of the
standing committee to send his decision. That was, the prisoners must be freed immediately. Such
decision shocked cadres who participated in solving the problem. Those who were freed also couldn’t
believe that it is true.

On the one hand, the prisoners were released.

On the other hand, the government enhanced education on them. What was more important, led by Xi
Zhongxun, the government in Guangdong gradually issued a series of important policies to improve
economic and people’s living conditions.

The policies of opening up in special zones of Guangdong, especially, brought people with hope.

In 1980, Guangdong generally managed to stop the twenty-year trend of fleeing out of mainland To stop
people from illegal immigration, during several decades, the party and the government had used
thousands of methods, yet the results turned to be useless. However, after the applying of reform and
opening-up policy, the tide of “escaping to Hong Kong” naturally disappeared. Therefore, we may say that
reform and opening-up policy was the result of some people’s “voting with their feet”.

7.1.2 What’s the Essence of Reform

Now let’s come to the next question: What’s the essence of reform?

As for the essence of revolution, some people think that reform is to overturn socialist system. Others think
that revolution is a change in form but not in content. Both of them are incorrect.

The essence of revolution can be summarized into three sentences. Firstly, reform is the self-improvement
and self-development of socialist system Secondly, reform is the basic driving force of the development of
socialist society. Thirdly, reform is the only road to solve the fundamental contradiction of the socialist
society. Marxism thinks that human society develops in the paradoxical movement of economic base
including productive forces and production relations and superstructure. Productive force is the decisive
factor. Class struggle is the direct driving force of class societies’ development Since only through class
struggle changing the old social system and establishing a new one, can we emancipate the productive
forces, and promote productive force development and social development. Hence, class struggle is the
basic driving force of social development. Then,

In the socialist society, Whether there is still a social contradiction

As for this question, There has always been a controversy. Lenin once pointed out, "Confrontation and
conflict is not the same thing. Under socialism, the confrontation will disappear, while the contradiction will
still exist. He believed that there was still a contradiction in the socialist society, but there was no
confrontation. After Lenin's death, and in 1930s, There was a view in the world believing that “spiritual and
moral consensus” was the driving force of the development of the socialist society, and they denied the
existence of contradictions in the socialist society.
In *On Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism*, Stalin stated that production relations under the socialist system "perfect fit" the nature of the productivity. Written in accordance with the will of Stalin the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course*, states that Under socialism, Production relation fully conforms to the state of productive force, because the public nature of the production process is consolidated by the public ownership of the means of production. Later Stalin also pointed out that the conformity of production relation to the state of productive force could not be understood in an absolute sense "It should be understood that under the socialist system, Production relations and productivity are usually not in conflict.

It is possible for society to adapt the backward production relations in time to the nature of productive forces.

The socialist society could do this, Because in this society there is no decay classes that would organize resistance." Mao Zedong had made it clear and studied contradictions in the socialist society. April 25, 1956, in the famous *On the Ten Major Relationships*, Mao Zedong stated that These ten relations are all contradictions.

The world consists of contradictions. No contradiction, no world Our mission is to handle these contradictions correctly.

As to whether or not they can be resolved entirely to our satisfaction in practice, we must be prepared for either possibility; furthermore, in the course of resolving these contradictions we are bound to come up against new ones, new problems. November 15, 1956 Mao Zedong delivered a speech in the second Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee. "After all they are nothing but contradictions.

The world is full of contradictions

The democratic revolution resolved the set of contradictions with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. At present, when the contradictions with national capitalism and small production with respect to ownership have been basically resolved, contradictions in other respects have come to the fore, and new contradictions have arisen." December 4, 1956

In a letter to Huang Yanpei Mao Zedong argued that "The society is always full of contradictions even in the case of socialism and communism. But the nature of the contradictions is different from the hierarchical society. Since there is contradiction, it is required to expose and solve."

On January 1957, at the meeting of the Party committee secretary of the provincial autonomous region Mao Zedong declared that For a long time Stalin denied that exist under the socialist system contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. Until a year before he died,

In *Economic Problems of Soviet Socialism* He hesitantly talked about the contradictions under the socialist system between productive relations and productive forces and claimed that if the policy is unsuitable and cannot adjust well, it would be a problem. However He still did not put forward the view which considers contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base under the socialist system as a comprehensive problem. He still did not realize that these contradictions are the basic contradictions of promoting the development of socialist society. He thought all was secure under his rule.

We on our part mustn't presume that all is secure under our rule;
It is secure and yet insecure.

On February 27, 1957 at Supreme State Conference of the eleventh session (enlarged) Mao Zedong delivered a famous speech entitled On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People. Mao Zedong went over the verbatim record and made certain additions before its publication on the People’s Daily on June 19, 1957. This article first formally put forward the concept of “social basic contradiction”. Mao Zedong declared that “Many dare not openly admit that contradictions still exist among the people of our country, while it is precisely these contradictions that are pushing our society forward. Many do not admit that contradictions still exist in socialist society, with the result that they become irresolute and passive when confronted with social contradictions; they do not understand that through the ceaseless process of correctly handling and consolidated and resolving contradictions socialist society grows more united. For this reason, we need to explain things to our people, and to our cadres in the first place, in order to help them understand the contradictions in socialist society and learn to use correct methods for handling them.” Mao Zedong then pointed out that “Contradictions in socialist society, are fundamentally different from those in the old societies, such as capitalist society.

In capitalist society contradictions find expression in acute antagonisms and conflicts, in sharp class struggle; they cannot be resolved by the capitalist system itself and can only be resolved by socialist revolution.

The case is quite different with contradictions in socialist society; on the contrary, they are not antagonistic and by the socialist system itself they can be ceaselessly resolved.” Mao Zedong made it clear that “In socialist society the basic contradictions are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. However, from the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the old societies they are fundamentally different in character and have different features.”

On November 18, 1957 at the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties, Mao Zedong stated in the speech "Any kind of world, and of course class society in particular, teems with contradictions. Some say that there are contradictions to be "found" in socialist society, but I think this is a wrong way of putting it.

The point is not that there are contradictions to be found, but that it teems with contradictions. There is no place where contradictions do not exist, nor is there any person who cannot be analysed. To think that he cannot is being metaphysical." After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee Deng Xiaoping highly affirmed Mao Zedong’s correct views on the basic contradictions of the socialist society. He stated that "In regard to basic contradictions, I think it is still best to put the question the way Comrade Mao Zedong did in his On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." Meanwhile, he further noted that "Of course, pointing out the basic contradictions does not automatically solve the problem, and deep-going, concrete study is still required."

On the basis of summarizing the experience and lessons of history, he deeply thought on the basic contradictions of the socialist society and the principal contradiction of the primary stage of socialism and had enriched and developed the theory in the new practice. Its main contents are Firstly, To determine whether a production relationship and productivity are compatible, needs to seek truth from facts and make a concrete analysis of concrete problems mainly depending on whether it can adapt to the requirements of local productivity or promote the development of productive forces. Secondly, the basic
contradiction of socialist society, the main contradiction and the basic task are unified. They require regarding the development of economic construction as the focus of the work of the party and the country and liberating and developing productive forces. Thirdly,

In the past, we only stressed expansion of the productive forces under socialism, without mentioning the need to liberate them through reform. That conception was incomplete. Reform is the only way to liberate and develop the productive forces under the socialist system. Fourthly,

The fundamental way to solve the basic contradiction of the socialist society and the primary stage of socialism is to reform including the reform of economic system, the political system and other aspects. Deng Xiaoping made a scientific explanation of the motive force of social development issues

On the basis of this, the theory of socialist reform and opening up has been formed. Its contents can be summarized into the following points Firstly, Socialist reform refers to the reform of the premise of socialism as well as the reform of some system of socialism. Secondly,

The subject of reform not only includes the party government, enterprises, social organizations and other units and personnel, also includes ordinary people. Thirdly,

The object of reform is not the socialist system itself, but the concrete operating mechanism of the socialist system, including those unreasonable factors in the economic foundation and the superstructure. Fourthly, the object of reform includes all hindered the development of productivity and the influence of social justice Fifthly,

The target of reform in the beginning is to move from the "Cultural Revolution", and then gradually evolved to the transformation of the formation of the old body before the cultural revolution, and then evolved to the establishment of a new line of the new system. Sixthly, Just like our past revolutions, the reform is designed to clear away the obstacles to the development of the productive forces and to lift China out of poverty and backwardness. Overall, the reform is a great new revolution led by the party in the new era.

In 1978, Deng Xiaoping noted that "If the revolution aims to greatly change the current backward productive forces, it must change the relations of production, changes in and state of industrial and agricultural enterprise management the superstructure the management mode of industrial and agricultural enterprise and national administrative methods, so as to meet the needs of modern economy."

The reform is not the repair of minor details in the existing system, but a profound and comprehensive social change.

It includes economic system, political system cultural system, social system and ecological system as well as the productivity, the relations of production economic base and superstructure in terms of the system and the ideology.

It can be seen in the sense of liberating of productive forces and clearing away the obstacles to the development of the productive forces, reselecting of the policy, the profound and widespread influence of reconstructing the system, as well as the profound and extensive influence of the changes in social life and the concept of people. Reform is a great revolution. But it's not a violent revolution, or a revolution that a class raises to overthrow the other class, Nor is it not allowed to deny and abandon the socialist system we have built up.

It is the self-improvement and development of the socialist system.
7.1.3 What are the Standards to Judge the Gains and Loss of Reform and Opening-up Policy

Now let's come to the third question, the gains and loss of the policies in the reform and opening up. the gains and loss of the policies in the reform and opening up. Speaking of the standards of judging gains and loss in opening up, many people must think of the theory of black cat and white cat. and take it as the standards of judging opening up. This is actually a misunderstanding. Let's talk from the beginning.

On July 7, 1962, when meeting the all the comrades attending the Seventh Plenary Session of the 3th CPC Central Committee for China Communist Youth League, Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech. He said:"Comrade Liu Bocheng often quotes a Sichuan proverb 'It does not matter if it is a yellow cat or a black cat, as long as it catches mice.' This is talking about fighting battles.

The reason we defeated Chiang Kai-shek was that we did not always fight in the conventional way. Our sole aim is to win by taking advantage of given conditions. If we want to restore agricultural production, we must also take advantage of actual conditions. That is to say, we should not stick to a fixed mode of relations of production but adopt whatever mode that can help mobilize the masses' initiative." Deng Xiaoping's remarks were later summed up as "Cat Theory" What should be pointed out is that For no matter the initial Sichuanese or Liu Bocheng, or Deng Xiaoping himself, what they says were all black cat and yellow cat. However, when mentioning these two cats nowadays, what people think of are always black cat and white cat. Why is that?

The answer can be found in the Central Document No. 4, entitled Chairman Mao's Important Instructions on March 3, 1976.

The file on "Cat Theory" reads as follows "Xiaoping put forward 'Three Instructions as the Key Link', do not discuss with Political Bureau, the State Department, or tell me. That is to say that He did not focus on class struggle, and never mentioned this, in spite of 'white cat or black cat', or imperialism or Marx doctrine." Document No. 4 was the guidance to “criticize Deng and counter the Right deviationist trend to reverse correct verdicts". A month later on April 7th the CPC Central Committee issued a resolution on the deprivation of Deng Xiaoping's all positions inside and outside the party. And it became a nationwide criticism of Deng Xiaoping. "Black or white Cat" became well-known in the country.

The Document NO.4 in 1976 was collected by Mao Zedong's nephew Mao Yuanxin about Mao Zedong's speeches. Later, Mao Yuanxin recalled that "The Document No.4 in 1976 was collected by me."

It included not one hundred percent but not less than 90 percent of the handwritten texts of Chairman Mao. What I added were just some conjunctions, such as 'therefore', 'so' and so on. After the collection, I sent it to Chairman Mao for review. He only changed one word. That is to change the 'yellow cat' in the 'yellow cat or black cat' said by Deng Xiaoping into 'white cat'. Why did I use 'yellow cat'? Because I referred to the quote of Deng which used 'yellow cat'." Therefore, "cat theory" is not the original of Deng Xiaoping, and he even never said it.

It is "white cat or black cat". But what he said is "yellow cat or black cat".

In fact, "white cat or black cat" is the words revised by Mao Zedong. Compared with the" yellow cat black cat" this "black or white" can often refer to the impression confounding right and wrong. And in the age of reform it seemed that Deng Xiaoping never mentioned the "cat theory", expect in 1962. Neither three volumes of The Anthology of Deng Xiaoping nor A Chronicle of Deng Xiaoping(1975 - 1997) includes the
record on “Cat Theory”. Based on the modified “Cat Theory”, many describe Deng Xiaoping as a pragmatic man. They think Deng Xiaoping only engaged in reform and opening up and did not adhere to principles.

In fact, in the course of reform and opening up, Deng Xiaoping had always insisted on principles. Deng Xiaoping's utmost principle was "the Four Cardinal Principles ". Due to Deng Xiaoping's "No Argument" idea, some people believe that Deng Xiaoping is not willing to adhere to the principle. Their evidence is a passage of remarks which Deng Xiaoping made on his tour of the South. "To discourage contention is my idea, so as to have more time for action. Once dispute begin, they complicate matters and waste a lot of time.

As a result, nothing is accomplished. Don't argue, try bold experiments and blaze new trails. That's the way it is with rural reform, and that's the way it should be with urban reform."

In fact, what Deng Xiaoping said "No Argument” here doesn’t refer to no argument at any time or no argument about cardinal issues, but refer to not being thrown into fray of abstract on specific issues. By the way, at present the society’s understanding about Deng Xiaoping's Theory is over simple and vulgar. More specifically, Some summarized the rich content of Deng Xiaoping's Theory as “One Two Three Four”: One is “a stone”, that is “to cross the river, one has to be sure about stones at the bottom” Two is “Two Cats” That is the theory of “Black Cat or White Cat” Three is “three fish(yu)” That is “three favorables” Four is “four chicken(Ji)” or “four elephants(xiang)” That is “Four Cardinal Principles”

On one side, this summary is active and easy to remember.

On the other hand, it is not strict and accurate.

We should make an analysis and correction to these vulgar understandings.

In summary,

We should not regard the theory of “Black Cat or White Cat” as the standard to measure the gains and loss of the policies in the reform. This standard should be relatively certain. So, what is the standard? Many will think of the standard of " Three Favourables " . Deng Xiaoping noted on his tour of the South, “The reason some people hesitate to carry out the reform and the opening up policy and dare not break new ground is, in essence, that they are afraid that it would mean introducing too many elements of capitalism and, indeed, taking the capitalist road.

The crux of the matter is whether the road is capitalist or socialist.

The chief criterion for making that judgment should be whether it promotes the growth of the productive forces in a socialist society, increases the socialist state’s the overall strength and raises living standards."

Many consider “Three Favorables” as the chief criterion for making a distinction of what is socialist and what is capitalist. This is not right. “Three Favorables” is the criterion to measure all the moves of the reform and opening up. What Deng really referred to is that the criterion to measure all the moves of the reform and opening up is not whether it is capitalist or socialist, but the criterion of “Three Favorables”. Meanwhile,

We also need to know despite of the reference to the criterion of “Three Favorables” on the tour of the South,

On other occasions, Deng Xiaoping also put forward the criterion of a number of different meanings of the "Three Favorables" or "Three Contributions".
On August 18th, 1980, at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Deng Xiaoping delivered a speech entitled *On Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership*. He stated that "We carry out the program of socialist modernization aiming to catch up with economy of the developed capitalist countries, create the necessary political conditions that is more democratic and feasible than capitalist countries, and nurture more and more excellent talents than these countries. To attain these three objectives, it may take us different lengths of time. But as a vast socialist country, we can and must attain them. So, the merits of our Party and state institutions should be judged on the basis of whether or not they help us advance towards our objectives."

In fact, “Three Favorables” is also mentioned. First, whether it is favorable to catching up with the developed capitalist countries economically. Second, whether it is favorable to creating the necessary political conditions that is more democratic and feasible than capitalist countries. Third, whether it is favorable to nurturing more and more excellent talents than these countries. “Three Favorables” that is mentioned here is the criterion which “the merits of our Party and state institutions should be judged on”

On January 12th, 1983 in the talk with leading members of the State Planning Commission and other departments, Deng Xiaoping noted that "In short, our work in all fields should help to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, and it should be judged by the criterion of whether it contributes to the welfare and happiness of the people and to national prosperity." Here, Deng Xiaoping had put forwards the criterion of “Three Contributions” This criterion is the standard for judging all the works.

On March 27th, 1987, from a talk with President Paul Biya of the Republic of Cameroon, Deng Xiaoping said "To judge the soundness of a country's political system or structure and of its policies, there are three important criteria. First, whether the country is politically stable; second, whether the system and policies help to strengthen unity among the people and to raise their living standards; and third, whether the productive forces keep developing."

In fact, this is the criterion of “Three Favorables”. This criterion is the standard to judge “the soundness of a country's political system or structure and of its policies”

On June 12th, 1987, when meeting with Stefan Korosec, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Deng Xiaoping noted that "What is the purpose of political restructuring? Its general purpose is to consolidate the socialist system, leadership by the Party and the development of the productive forces under that system and that leadership." And this is also the criterion of “Three Favorables”: This criterion is the standard to judge whether the reform purposes have been achieved. All the above criterions of “Three Favorables” Actually, is the standard to judge the gains and loss of the policies in the reform, which we need to have a comprehensive mastery of.

### 7.2.1 How to Treat the Dispute about Reform and Opening-up Policy

Let's come to the second lesson. unswervingly pursue reform. And let's come to the first question How to view the dispute about reformation and opening. Since the reform and opening, there have always been disputes about the reform. Ma Licheng, in his book *Confrontation for Thirty Years* described the four major controversies since the introduction of reform and opening policies First, a dispute about whether Two Whatevers’ or reform and opening up policies. Second, whether planned economy or market economy. Third, whether the private economy is stagnant water or running water Fourth, whether reform and opening up policies is wrong or right.

The first three disputes have been settled basically. But the fourth hasn't been settled now.
In 2013, published by Magazine ‘Seeking Truth’ Section 20, an article entitled To Consolidate Common Ideological Foundation of the Concerted Efforts of the Party and the People’ stated that the questions about reform and opening up policies and the socialist nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics are erroneous ideological trends that cannot be ignored.

In recent years, the topic of the reform has triggered heated debates. A variety of views are expressed in competition. Some attribute the contradictions and problems in development to the reform and opening up. They believe the reform "exceed the proper limits in righting a wrong " and "deviate from the direction of socialist" And they question whether China is socialism. or simply called "capitalism with China characteristics" "state capitalism" or "crony capitalism". This actually refers to two kinds of ideological trends.

The first is questioning the reform and opening up policies.

The second is questioning the socialist nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics. These two trends are closely related but not all the same.

In Chapter Six, we have mentioned two ideological trends. Let’s come to the first trend.

We need to answer a question that even though reform and opening up has obtained great historic achievements, why there are still many people questioning the reform and opening up? Why the dispute about reform and opening up is still heated?

The British literary giant Dickens wrote in the beginning of his masterpiece A Tale of Two Cities , It was the best of times,

It was the worst of times,

It was the age of wisdom,

It was the age of foolishness,

It was the epoch of belief,

It was the epoch of incredulity,

It was the season of Light,

It was the season of Darkness,

It was the spring of hope,

It was the winter of despair, we had everything before us,

We had nothing before us,

We were all going direct to Heaven,

We were all going direct the other way

In short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.
In fact, what Dickens described is the age of the Bourbon Dynasty before the French Revolution, which is more than 200 years ago. However, this quote is used by many people to describe the reform period of contemporary China. Why it is like this sets people thinking.

As for the reform and opening up, some think it is 'very good'; some think it is 'very bad'. Some think it is 'exceeding' Some think it is 'not complete' Some 'love it and wish it longevity' Some 'hate it and wish it an immediate death'. Chinese reform seems to become Rashomon created by the famous Japanese director Kurosawa.

We stand on our own position, and evaluate the same thing fuzzily and differently.

The evaluation of China reform seem to become ‘drawing a conclusion from incomplete data’ Different people have different views because of their own ability and perspectives. At last, it turns out that both parties claim to be in the right.

The situation where opinions are divergent and no unanimous conclusion can be drawn become quite common, which reminds us of the poem by Su Dongpo that is full of philosophy, Inscription on the Wall of Xilin Temple ‘From the side, a whole range; from the end, a single peak: Far, near, high, low, no two parts alike. Why can’t I tell the true shape of Lu-shan? Because I myself am in the mountain.’

In fact, even one who is ‘in the mountain’ himself can ‘tell the true shape of Lu-shan’.

The disputes over the reform above can be explained by ‘gain’ and ‘loss’ and their complex relation to some extent. First, the reform is a process with ‘gain’ and ‘loss’.

The essence of reform is the adjustment of various relations of social interests.

In the process of reform it is impossible for people to gain without losing, to win without failing to profit without loss and so on. Such cases only appeared in the fiction. Because gain is based on the cost of payment. There are tens of thousands of principles If they are summed up into one word, That is ‘There is no free lunch’

Of course, nor is breakfast and supper. Gain with loss is normal in life. So is the reform. From the perspective of group, Reform is a process with ‘gain’ and ‘loss’: Some gain, while others lose. Some became ‘tall, rich and handsome’, while others became ‘short and poor’ Some became ‘fair, rich and beautiful’, while others became ‘dark, poor and ugly’. Some became ‘superior’ while others became ‘inferior’. Some became ‘next generation of officials’ or ‘next generation of the rich’, while others became ‘next generation of farmers’ or ‘next generation of the poor’. Some became ‘winners’, while others became ‘losers’. Some became ‘people with great wealth who spend money freely’, while others become ‘losers’ Some went into business, While others become ‘laid-off’: Some are more and more ‘competent’, while others are more and more ‘incompetent’. Individually, the reform is also a process with gain and loss. For example, one may gain more independence, but lose the existing insurance. He may get more opportunities, but lose the established stability. He may earn more money, but lose the rare leisure time. He may gain ‘a mountain of cash’, but lose “verdant hills and green waters” etc. Therefore, People of different groups and different kinds will evaluate the reform from their own specific position, and the results can be relatively or even very different. Even the same person, in different times, under different circumstances, with different moods, also tend to make an evaluation of the reform which can be quite different and inconsistent. You can make a group of people satisfied consistently, You can satisfy all the people in a short time. But you can't make everyone happy all the time. So is the life. So is the reform. This is the first
point. Secondly people have different degree of perception on the ‘gain’ and ‘lose.’ Professor Kahneman from Princeton University got Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences (2002) for his ‘Prospect Theory’. This ‘Prospect Theory’ is also called ‘Expectation Theory’ or ‘Visual Field Theory’. There are three key points. First, when faced with making profit, the majority of people tend to ‘be averse to risks’.

In other words, when faced with the income which has not been possessed, people tend to be careful and would rather miss the opportunities than take a risk. Second, in the face of loss, people tend to ‘prefer to risk’

In other words, when being about to lose people tend not to reconcile the outcomes, and would rather take a risk or even put your life to it. Three, people are more sensitive to loss than to gain.

In other words, people’s sensitivity to loss and gain is very inconsistent. For the same thing, the pain of loss is far greater than the joy of gain. For example, the pain of losing ten thousand yuan from pilferage, is usually greater than the joy of picking up ten thousand yuan. Another example, the pain people suffer from an ‘accidental criticism’ tend to be greater than the joy people receive from an unexpected praise. There is a very interesting idiom called ‘worry about personal gains and losses’.

The ‘worry about gains’ here actually refers to “worry about losing the gains”.

The idiom means Before getting it people are often worried about not getting and after having got it they will worry about losing. However, ‘worry about gains’ and ‘worry about losses’ cannot be regarded as equal. ‘worry about losses’ is usually greater than ‘worry about gains’. This is just as the case of the source of this idiom.

The idiom is from the Analects of Confucius - Yang.

It means If you worry about losing, you could do everything to avoid it.

In other words, ‘worry about losing’ can make people do everything to avoid it. However, generally speaking, ‘worry about gains’ won’t make people do anything to gain.

It can be well demonstrated by ‘Prospect Theory’. why there are so many criticize reform? Because although in the process of reform, people gain something and also lose something, they tend to care more about loses rather than gains. ‘Prospect theory’ can also explain why there is less impetus for reform but more resistance. Because the reform can increase opportunities of gains for some people. But when facing gains, people tend to ‘be averse to risks’.

The reform also increased the probability of losing for some people.

When facing loss, people tend to ‘prefer to risk’ For example, people will not fight to the death for getting a job, But they usually fight to the death for avoiding losing a job. They are seldom grateful for being employed. But they will be in fury for becoming unemployed. Therefore, the social power against the reform are usually too strong for the social power for the reform. Unless there are many more people in favor of reform than those against, unless the position of the one who advocate the reform are greatly senior to that against. This is the second point. At last, Different comparison methods may also lead to the dispute of the reform. Man is the animal which is always comparing. People always choose different frames of reference. and make a wide variety of comparison. Therefore, even if the reform makes all the people get the net income, which means the net income of the people is far more than the net loss, there will still someone criticizing the reform.
The reason is despite the comparison of current gains and losses which is called comparison between gains and losses, on the basis of this comparison, people tend to make "vertical comparison", which refers to comparison between their current situation and their previous situation or the situation of their ancestors. After the comparison, if they feel “quite cool” they will not criticize the reform. Otherwise, they will criticize the reform. Except “vertical comparison”, people are more inclined to draw ‘horizontal comparison’. That means comparing with the people around them, who include their classmates, colleagues, neighbors relatives, friends counterparts, enemies, etc. If the result is that he is superior to others or most of the others, he will not criticize the reform. Other- Wise, he will. Many psychologists have done such experiment. Offer the testers two options: A and B A means that your annual income is 100 thousand yuan and the annual income of people around is 90 thousand yuan. B means that your annual income is 200 thousand yuan and the annual income of people around is 210 thousand yuan.

The result is that most people would like to choose A rather than B, though the income of B is much higher than A. This experiment proves that People not only pursue absolute returns but relative returns. This is the subtle nature of human nature. Confucius said, the trouble lies not in scarcity but in uneven distribution, the trouble lies not in poverty but in unrest’ This is often seen as the declaration of egalitarian, and has been castigated.

In fact, it reveals the common weakness of human nature. This weakness is hard to change in a short period of time. So it should be regarded as the important basis of making public policies rather than the remolded objects of public policies. A western proverb goes, the so-called happy people are those whose income are very low, but a little higher than their neighbors. Marx wrote in the ‘Employment and Capital’ ‘A small house, no matter how small it is , when houses around are as small as it, can meet all the needs of the society. But once nearby the small house, a palace is established, the house will reduce to a poor cottage. At this time, the small house proves its occupants are careless with the living conditions or their requirements are very low. And regardless of how the size of a small house expands with the progress of civilization, as long as, the palace nearby expands with the same or faster pace then the smaller house occupants will feel more and more uncomfortable within the walls, and more and more dissatisfied and despised. Comedian Fan Wei, in the movie ‘Beg You to Praise Me’ has amusing lines: What do you think happiness is? Ah...what? What’s your name? Yang Hongqi! What did you ask me just now? What is happiness? Happiness? What is your opinion? Happiness: is I’m hungry, and see someone holding a meat bun, so he is happier than me; I am cold, and see someone wearing a thick cotton padded jacket, so he is happier than me; I want to go to the privy, but there is only one pit, and you have squat down there, so you are happier than me. Is that funny? never gone to the privy?” Although the lines are bantering, it declares the truth that “happiness is out of comparison”. and indicates that "Trouble is out of comparison" the complementary truth.

It is because of the existence of the comparison of ‘gains ‘and ‘losses, the existence of ‘longitudinal comparison’, the existence of ‘horizontal comparison’. that some people will warmly support the reform, while others criticize.

7.2.2 How to Properly Treat the Social Conflicts and Social Problems in the Process of Reform and Opening up

Now, let’s come to the second question, how to deal with social contradictions and social problems in the process of reform and opening up. All kinds of questions and controversies on the reform and opening up above is the root of social contradictions and social problems in the process of reform. For instance, the relation between the Party cadres and the masses is not harmonious; corruption and privilege are more
serious; Greater income gap is getting greater; Current tendency in society is not very good; ‘The next generation from official families’ and ‘the next generation of the rich’ profit by others’ toil.

The survival pressure of the masses is increasing; social trust is missing; Interpersonal relation is becoming indifferent, and so on.

The report to the 18th National Party Congress bluntly pointed out a variety of problems on the way forward. Therefore, how should we solve the social contradictions and social problems? First,

We must honestly face the objective existence of these problems, the serious consequences of denying the objective existence of these problems or ignoring them Or considering these questions as “one finger” compared with the great achievements of reform and opening up as ‘nine fingers’; or believing these problems are grossly exaggerating by the press and public, or regarding these problems as the defects which do not outweigh the merits and are insignificant, these views are both wrong and harmful and should be corrected as soon as possible.

We should notice that ‘Achievements won’t become less by propagating while the problem will become more serious without discussing’. Denying the problems cannot eliminate them, but miss the best time to solve them. Facing up to the problems is the premise of solving the problem. Only when facing up to the problems can we solve the problems. One common mistake in this respect is when the problem has just been in the bud and solvable, people usually will be reluctant to admit the problem, or face the seriousness of the problem. but when they have to face up to it, the problem often has been impossible to reverse and beyond cure.

We must go out of this misunderstanding. General Secretary Xi Jinping often quoted the famous remark of Su Shi in

On Yao Cuo Among the blights of the world the most serious one is the one where the world is at peace on the surface, but in fact there are unforeseen risks. If sitting there watching it change, and not wanting to solve them, I am afraid that it will develop to the point beyond cure. If conducting a tough measure in the beginning, the world will not believe us because of the habit of peace and comfort.’

We should take warning from it. To solve social contradictions and social problems

We must uphold the attitude in which ‘From one small clue one can see what is coming’.

We must avoid the attitude of “hiding one’s sickness for fear of treatment” and “muddling along”. Secondly,

We have to seriously analyze the complex roots of these problems. About the above social contradictions and social problems, some of them are new in the process of reform, and some are old problems left before the reform. Some are the new performance of old problems under the condition of socialist market economy. Some is cause by uncompleted, surficial and incomplete reform. Some are caused by improper methods of reform. Some are various common social problems exiting at all times and in all countries. Some are new ones from rise of need hierarchy. Some are those which are being solved but haven’t. For such a wide variety of social problems we should make a concrete analysis of concrete problems.

We cannot generalize them, or form preconceived opinions, or blame, with ulterior motives, these social problems on reform and opening up, the socialist market economy and the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics and then deny the reform in the name of reflection on the reform, go back to the old road in
the name of honoring the history, ‘go astray’ in the name of learning from the Western. No matter whether
it is the analysis of the achievements in the Reform Era or the problems, we need to explore the current
roots and its historical roots.

In the view of the great achievements of contemporary China we should keep in mind the fable of ‘the last
steamed bun’. After eating the last steamed bread, someone was full. But it does not mean that it was the
last steamed bread that made him full.

It is the same with this case.

In view of the serious problems of contemporary China we should keep in mind the fable of "the last straw".
After the last straw, the camel's back broke. But it does not mean that it is the last straw that breaks the
camel 's back. Regarding all the achievements of contemporary China as the product of reform and
opening up, is a kind of prejudice which lops off our history. Additionally, Regarding all the problems of
contemporary China as the product of reform and opening up, is also a kind of prejudice which lops off our
history.

We must object to these two prejudices which are both opposite and complementary to each other. At last,

We must get down to seeking solutions to these problems. To solve the above problems, we have to ‘shoot
the arrow at the target' and suit one's methods to the situation.

The causes of above problems are various. But overall, it can be divided into two categories. One is the
problem of insufficient development Another is the problem caused by improper methods in the reform. To
solve the former, we must speed up the pace of development, improve the method of development, raise
the quality of development, reduce the cost of development and optimize the consequences of the
development. To solve the latter we must orientate the reform,retain the methods of reform, adjust the
magnitude of reform, and monitor social endurance of the reform.

We need to advance the reform with the courage of ‘scrapping the bone clear of toxin' and ‘dying a martyr in
the cause of saving art'. Meanwhile, we need to protect the reform with the attitude of ‘as if skating over
thin ice' and ‘as if going through a sticky patch'. And try best to make the reform a kind of process that
'Everyone benefits, and no one lose' just like 'Pareto improvement'. And try to turn the reform into ‘positive
sum game' rather than ‘zero sum game' or ‘negative and game'. And To solve problems whether are
brought by lack of development or improper methods must attach importance to efficiency and fairness.
Under the current situation, we need to pay more attention to social equity issues.

The saying goes, 'the trouble lies not in scarcity but in uneven distribution, the trouble lies not in poverty
but in unrest.'

The true problem may lie neither in scarcity nor in uneven distribution neither poverty nor unrest but in
injustice. Social justice often wins more support of the majority of the masses than economic performance.
Comrade Wen Jiabao noted that ‘Fairness and justice is the top value of socialist system'.

When we truly solve the problem of social justice, socialism will come to life, Reform and opening up will
have hope, and Chinese dream will come true.

7.2.3 How to Push forward Reform through Scientific Ways
Now, let's come to the third question. How to advance the reform with scientific method? To propose the statement of ‘advancing the reform with scientific method’ is for the following two kinds of popular ideological trends in society.

The first is denying the need for reform and thinking that as long as it can return to the original socialist, all kinds of problems in contemporary China can be solved.

In fact, reform is necessary and essential. Taking the old road cannot solve the current problems in China.

The second is the ignorance of the scientific nature of reform, thinking that as long as the reform has been conducted, it will be all right, no matter what kinds of reform or how to reform.

In fact, if the original intention of the reform is very good while the reform methods are improper, it also tends to bring about an unexpected dangerous situation.

The methods of reform often remind people of ‘crossing the river by feeling the stones’.

It is an important reform methodology. Its essence is to gradually explore the law of reform in the process of trials and errors in the test. Many people believe that this methodology is originally created by Deng Xiaoping. However, it is not. So who? It’s Chen Yun. After the founding of China, Chen Yun repeatedly referred to ‘crossing the river by feeling the stones’. For example, on April 7th, 1950 at the twenty-seventh government meeting of Government Administration Council Chen Yun noted that ‘the rising of price is harmful to production. So is the dropping.

We need to ‘cross the river by feeling the stones’ and take reliable measures. After the reform and opening up, Chen Yun also mentioned it repeatedly.

On May 12th, 1988 in a talking with head of Zhejiang Province in Hangzhou, Chen Yun pointed out Doing a task cannot just pursue rapid speed. Keep it slow and steady, and make fewer detours.

The loss of making detours is greater than that of keeping slow. Some people criticize ‘crossing the river by feeling the stones’. But they have no sensible reasons. To cross the ‘Nine Creeks and Eighteen Gullies’, we have to cross by feeling the stones, and go in the river to try it. ‘Crossing the river by feeling the stones’ is right. Deng Xiaoping agreed with Chen Yun. Although he didn’t quote ‘cross the river by feeling the stones’, he expressed a similar meaning. For example, on September 2nd, 1986 in an interview of American journalist Wallace, Deng Xiaoping noted that ‘we are engaged in an experiment. For us, this is something new, and we have to feel our way.’

On November 16th, 1987 in the talk about ‘Two features of the Thirteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China’ Deng Xiaoping said that, ‘Ours is an entirely new endeavor, one that was never mentioned by Marx, never undertaken by our predecessors and never attempted by any other socialist country. So there are no precedents for us to learn from.

We can only learn from practice, feeling our way as we go.’ Many people in the society tend to criticize ‘crossing the river by feeling the stones’. This is not right.

We should understand correctly ‘cross the river by feeling the stones’ and not vilify or vulgarize it. Firstly, reform is a career with no predecessors.

We have to keep exploring, trial and error and learning from practice. And we have to ‘cross the river by feeling the stones’. Secondly, ‘Crossing the river by feeling the stones’ is not contrary to improving the top-
level design. Currently, many people set 'crossing the river by feeling the stones' against improving the top-level design. This is wrong. Improving the top-level design is mainly in terms of the macro level. While 'crossing the river by feeling the stones' is mainly in terms of the micro level.

The era of Deng Xiaoping is not without top-level design. While at present, 'crossing the river by feeling the stones' is not denied. Deng Xiaoping is regarded as 'the chief architect of China's reform and opening-up'. This just shows that the reform and opening up has the top-level design. 'Three-step development strategy' is the product of top-level design.

It is said that once Deng Xiaoping told jokes to Chen Yun, "They awarded me the title of 'chief architect'. I believe there's a credit to you. You should be 'the deputy chief architect!'" Chen Yun said "We are all assistants, and you are the chief architect". This story indicates that the reform is not without design.

Of course, some people dissent from the title 'chief architect' of Deng Xiaoping. For instance, So did the author of Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China American scholar Ezra F. Vogel. Once a reporter asked Vogel that, Deng Xiaoping is generally referred to as 'the chief architect' of China's reform and opening up, But you referred him as 'general manager'. Why? This is Vogel's answer. "I think the task of 'design' is bound to be based on a blueprint, so that it would be clear to know how to conduct. But Deng Xiaoping is trying the methods.

It depends. If it succeeds, they will continue. I don’t think this is an approach of 'design'. He was crossing the river by feeling the stones" He is a political leader, the country's chief leader, so I referred him as 'general manager'.

In fact, we should not set 'crossing the river by feeling the stones' against improving the top-level design. The process of China's reform includes both 'crossing the river by feeling the stones' and improving the top-level design. And the two cannot deny each other. Thirdly,

In the process of crossing the river by feeling the stones, we should prepare the 'bridge' and 'boat'.

On January 27th, 1934 when concluding for the Second National Congress of Workers' and Peasants' Representatives Mao Zedong concluded that if our task is to cross a river, we cannot cross it without a bridge or a boat. Unless the bridge or boat problem is solved, it is idle to speak of crossing the river. Unless the problem of method is solved, talking about the task is useless. 'At present, many use the remarks of Mao Zedong to refute and satirize 'crossing the river by feeling the stones'.

In fact, these two remarks are not conflicted. Without the bridge and boat, or when the bridge or boat hasn't been built, 'crossing the river by feeling the stones' is the last resort.

Of course, we cannot always satisfy with 'crossing the river by feeling the stones'.

In the process of 'crossing the river by feeling the stones',

We should gradually seek the bridge and boat, or build them. However, even with the bridge and boat, on some special occasions, we have to cross the river by feeling the stones. Then, how do we advance the reform with scientific methods?

In the afternoon of December 31th, 2012
The eighteenth the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party collectively learned about ‘unswervingly pushing forward reform and opening up’ for the second time. General Secretary Xi Jinping stressed that we must conscientiously sum up and use successful experience in reform and opening up. He proposed five proposals. These proposals are the best answers for our problem. First, Reform and opening up is a profound revolution.

We must adhere to the correct direction, along the right path. For the question about the direction,

We must have a very clear mind. Constantly promote the socialist system, improve and develop, and unswervingly take the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Second,

The reform and opening up is a new career with no predecessors.

We must adhere to the correct methodology, promote by constantly practice and exploration. ‘Crossing the river by feeling the stones’ is a reform method with Chinese characteristics and in line with China’s national conditions. To cross the river by feeling the stones is to seek the law. and learn from practice. Feeling the stones across the river and strengthening the top-level design is a dialectical unity.

The promotion of the local stage of reform and opening up needs to be conducted under the premise of strengthening the top-level design And strengthening top-level design needs to plan on the basis of the local stage of reform and opening up. To strengthen big-picture thinking and the top-level design and pay more attention to the systematicness, integrity and cooperativity of the reform. At the same time, we must continue to encourage bold experiments and breakthrough and continue to deepen reform and opening up. Third, Reform and opening up is a systematic project.

We must adhere to a comprehensive reform. and advance in the cooperation of various reforms. Reform and opening up is a profound and comprehensive social change. Every step of the reform will have an important impact on other steps. Every step also needs the coordination of others.

We should emphasize more on the mutual promotion of the reforms positive interaction, the comprehensive promotion, and breakthroughs made in key areas, so as to form a strong force to promote reform and opening up. Fourth, Stability is the prerequisite for the reform and development.

We must adhere to the unity of the reform and stable development. Only when the society is stable, can the development of the reform be continuously promoted. Only when the development of the reform is continuously promoted, can social stability have a solid foundation.

We need to balance the momentum of reform and the speed of development against the people's resilience.

We need to regard the improvement of the people's livelihood as a key point for appropriately handle the relationship between reform, development and stability. Fifth, Reform and opening up is the cause of hundreds of millions of people.

We must respect the creativity of people. Under the leadership of the Party, we must promote every breakthrough and development of the understanding and practice of reform and opening up.

In the process of reform and opening up the emergence and development of every new thing, creation and accumulation in every aspect of reform and opening up come from hundreds of millions of people's practice and wisdom.
The task of stable development of reform is arduous.

The more we want to strengthen and improve the party's leadership, the more we need to maintain the party's close ties with the masses.

We must be good at both leading the people ahead by putting forward and implementing the correct theory and line and improve the policies from the people's creations in practice and their desire for development.

We should make result of reform and development benefit all the people more and more equitably. and solidify the foundation for the masses to constantly deepen reform and opening up.

On the afternoon of December 3rd, 2013, the eighteenth the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party collectively learned about the basic principles of historical materialism and methodology.

When leading the study, General Secretary Xi Jinping pointed out ‘The reason we propose the plan of deepening the reforms in an all-round way is to solve the outstanding contradictions and problems we face.

It will be ineffective if we rely solely on a single field or a single level of reform.

We must strengthen top-level design overall plan and the relevance, systematicness and cooperativity of the reform. Only when we solve the maladjusted problem of the production relationship and the superstructure. can it produce a comprehensive effect. Meanwhile, Only when we focus on the development, the first priority, deploy all aspects of reform, and provide motivation of reform to liberate and develop social productive forces, can we promote the correspondence between the production relations and productivity as well as superstructure and economic basis: This is also the clear requirements to improve the scientific methods of the reform. At last, I want to point out that Reform is a crucial issue, and directly related to the success or failure of the reform.

We need to refute the fatalism of ‘the inevitable failure of reform’ and be wary of the blind optimism of ‘the certain success of the reform’. Proper reform can bring social stability and the peace and security for the people. Improper reform, despite a good purpose, and a kind, honest and forceful leader, tend to lead to discontentment and destitution of people. For instance, the reform of France Louis Sixteenth caused the French Revolution.

The reform of Russian Prime Minister Stolypin led to the October revolution. "White Revolution" in Iran, which means the reform without bleeding led to the ‘Black Revolution’. This black revolution is actually the Islamic religious revolution. Therefore, the question lies not in whether to reform or not but in how to reform.

As for the importance of methods, I think of two poems.

The first is written by Gao Pian the poet in the late Tang Dynasty, entitled ‘When hearing that Hezhong Wang Duo became the commandant’.

It goes: "I have worked hard to for alchemy for forty years, but I haven't become immortal. And I remain working near the furnaces. Don't know how Zijin get it. He became immortal as soon as he had learned how to play the flute."

The second is written by Zhu Xi, a famous scholar in the Southern Song entitled ‘
On Reading ' (The second).

It goes: "Last night, the river water surged.

The big ship in it was as light as a feather.

When the water used to be shallow, it wasted a lot of manpower to tow the ship. Today the ship is sailing freely in the river." From these two poems, we can clearly conclude that With right method, we can yield twice the result with half the effort. With wrong methods, we will get half the results with double the effort.

It is the same with a personal thing and reform.

The success or failure of the reform is not only related to the fate of our party but also related to the fate of each of us. I hope our classmates to earnestly learn the history of reform, and theory of reform, study methods of reform, understand the logic of reform, think about the fate of reform, give advice and suggestions for reforms, and let tree of reform evergreen!

7.3.1 Discussion

Having finished Chapter Seven, I'd like to ask you a question.

We know that in the process of reform and opening, there were indeed some problems. For example, polarization between the rich and the poor. For example, serious corruption. And moreover, the high pricing of houses, and so on. Some people took these as evidence to say that If we had known it would result in this, why did we do that at the beginning? If China had not reformed and opened up, there weren't such problems. Then how do you understand this theory? Let's welcome Zhu Zhuoya to talk about her opinion. Hello, Professor Feng, Hello fellow students. I am Zhu Zhuoya, a graduate student from Tsinghua University, College of Marxism. I'm also the teaching assistant of this course. It's my pleasure to answer Professor Feng's question. I don't think this idea is right. Reform and opening up at the time was the necessary choice to change China’s poor and backward situation and improve China’s international status,

We need to critically, rationally and comprehensively look at the achievements and problems in the process of reform and opening to the outside world. First of all, in the thirty years of reform and opening up China has made great progress in the strength and level of development in every aspect. This is the fact that cannot be neglected.

Of course, during the fast development of China's economic society, there were indeed problems that have been mentioned by Professor Feng. However, we can't just see the problems of this process without seeing the great achievements in the reform and opening-up policy.

We cannot focus just on the conflicts and problems. while ignoring its achievements and glory.

As Deng Xiaoping says There is no perfect programme for reform

It is impossible not to make mistakes, but we should try to avoid serious ones and modify the programme if problems arise. Moreover, the causes of these problems in the reform were very complex.

We cannot simply attribute them to the reform itself.

We should figure out whether the conflicts and problems we face now is the common one human economic societies are face, or the specific conflict and problem China encounters in the reform. Our
reform aims to complete the industrialization road, in which some capitalistic countries spent hundreds of years, in only several decades Some conflicts and problems are therefore more obvious, and more centralized. These conflicts and problems are not brought by reform and opening-up policy itself, but are exaggerated in the process of applying the policy. Finally, things are developing, time is progressing. Past experiences have shown that all the conflicts and problems we met in the process of opening up can be gradually solved in the process of developing and reforming.

The idea that China would not encounter difficulties if it had not reformed is incorrect. Standstill and regression both lead to nowhere. After all, to solve these problems, we have to rely on comprehensively deepening reform. Good job. This is the opinion of Zhu Zhuoya. Then what's your opinion? Please think about it after class. This is the end of today's class. Thank you.

Chapter 8: The General Plan of Building the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 建设中国特色社会主义总布局

8.1.1 The Formation of “Five in One” General Plan

Good morning everybody Today let's learn Chapter eight

The General Plan of Building the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Chen Danran, a scholar in Qing period, said in his work "Sober talk - Discussion about moving capital and establish vassals" two famous sentences

The first one is "The one who is lack of a long-term consideration doesn't deserve to be praised for doing well temporarily." This is an analysis on the relation between long-term goal and the short-term goal from the perspective of the dimension of time That is without the clear long-term goal we can not realize the short-term goal

The second one is "The one who is lack of a full visage should not be recognized for managing a single aspect This is an analysis on the relation between overall target and sectional goal from the perspective of the dimension of space That is without the clear overall goal we can not realize the sectional goal These two quotations illustrate the importance of strategical structure planning Build the overall plan of socialism with Chinese characteristics is this kind of strategical structure planning

We know that Report to the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China directly proposes the crucial three aspects of building socialism with Chinese characteristics which includes we base ourselves on the basic reality that China is in the primary stage of socialism Our overall approach is to promote economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress and our general task is to achieve socialist modernization and the great renewal of the Chinese nation Sometimes “overall approach” is called overall plan overall plan is to promote economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress Therefore what is it

It refers to economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress political, cultural, social, and ecological progress and ecological progress integration refers to the coordinated promotion of economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress

It does not refer to the combination of economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress instead, it is promoting economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress Its salient feature is well-
rounded development. If we only make effort in economic progress the well-rounded development can not be realized.

It should be noted that the ecological progress is not commonly denoted as Eco-construction.

We need to acknowledge that our overall approach does not original exist or accomplish in an action.

On the contrary, it is formed gradually Therefore, we come up with several questions: how can our overall approach form? Will it continue develop? Let’s start the learning of this chapter with these questions in our minds To begin with, let’s learn the first section.

The Lineage of the Overall Approach of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Let’s look at the first question the process of the formation of our overall approach.

As for the overall approach of socialism with Chinese characteristics our Party’s cognition towards it experiences a gradual progress what was proposed first was to focus on both of the “Two Civilizations” the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of our Party in December, 1978 decidedly terminated the “class struggle”-based fault of “leftism” and decided to move the focus of our Party to the construction of economy.

The session proposed the target of constructing economy, improving productivity and fulfill the four modernizations. A series of principles, policies, and measures about the reform and opening up. However with the advance of reform and opening up people’s ideological trend and mental outlook began to differentiate Some bad phenomena, for example, money worship, superstition, corruption, felony and “porn-gambling-drug” started to emerge in the society. I still remember when I was in elementary school, I’ve listened to a song of Zhiqiang Chi’s “Tears Behind Cage” Its name was “Money” This song reflected money worship and other social problems. What was in the song, I didn’t know until later in my life. Though this song was labeled with Chi’s name it was in fact sung by Huimin Cui.

The phenomena reflected in the song was real to the society and there were a number of other problems like these Some of the problems were newly emerged during the reform and some others were the remain of the “Cultural Revolution”. For this reason Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasized on focusing on both material civilization and spiritual civilization take care of both take good care of both.

On October 30th, 1979 Dang, in the Fourth Congress of Chinese Artistic Workers, made a congratulatory speech and pointed out that “At the same time of constructing a highly developed material civilization, we also need to improve the scientific and cultural level of the whole nation and develop noble, yet colorful cultural life in order to build a highly developed socialistic spiritual civilization” This probably is the first time the leader of our Party points out “construct a highly developed socialistic spiritual civilization” as a proposition Many people think Deng Xiaoping only cares about constructing a material civilization while ignoring the part of spiritual civilization. But in fact this is just a prejudice. Dang, regarding constructing the spiritual civilization, has a lot of precious thoughts, which could be concluded into the following points: First Deng Xiaoping emphasizes that when building our socialistic country we not only need highly developed material civilization but also need highly developed spiritual civilization we should take care of both of them in order to establish a real socialism with Chinese characteristics.

During the process of modernization, we have to insist on that constructing economy as central target. But this is not enough we can’t focus on just one target. Second Dang stresses on the construction of spiritual civilization, both morally and culturally People should be educated with “Four Haves” and officials also entail “Four Haves”.

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We should give especial care to the education of the youth and educate our decedents well I want to ask everybody a question what is “Four Haves”? “Four Haves” means have dreams, have a high moral standard, have knowledge, have disciplines I remember when I was in elementary school the slogan posted on the wall was "have dreams, have a high moral standard, have knowledge, obey disciplines" later "obey disciplines" became "have disciplines" Third Dang emphasizes that reform and opening up was the hope of solving China's problem Enacting the policy of opening up will certainly bring in some bad things affecting our people then we need to use education and juristic measures to solve the problem Fourth Dang stress that we should inherit and promote our nation's excellent traditions and our Party's outstanding traditions absorb and utilize all the products produced by human societies fight against the remains of feudalism resist the invasion of corrupted thoughts of capitalism here Dang said we need to refuse the corrupted thoughts of capitalism as well as fight against the remains of feudalism neither should be neglected this thought is very important it's still very meaningful, even at this time Fifth Dang emphasizes that we need to respect knowledge and respect the talented people foster a large number of excellent scientists educators artists and professionals in all kinds of fields all comrades working in the field of thoughts, culture, and education are all engineers of human spirits

During the "cultural revolution", "the Gang of Four" proposed a lot of erroneous theories, regarding these, on March 18th, 1978 Dang, in the opening ceremony of National Science Conference, pointed out that "the Gang of Four" slandered that "the more knowledge you have, the more reactionary you become" advocating "we would rather have those labors with no knowledge at all" setting those ignorant, reactionary clowns who turned in blank exam paper as the model of "socialist-minded" defaming those hard-working assiduous cadre, who contributed greatly to our country's science and technology development, as the models of "capitalistic-minded" For a time, this reversal of right and wrong, and confounding of the people with the enemy caused deep confusion in people's minds Sixth Dang emphasizes that ideological and political work and the staffs of ideological and political work must not be weakened For the wrong ideological inclinations we should use the measures of persuasion and education with criticism and self-criticism it should not be in a naive and crude way yet we cannot ignore and neglect them for example Deng Xiaoping's criticism towards "The Sun and the Man" was a proper model

On July 17th, 1981, Dang had a talk with the head of Propaganda Department of the Communist Party of China and pointed out “The Sun and the Man” was a movie based on the play “Bitter Love” I had a glance on it No matter what the author’s motivation was after reading it, it can only make people deduce such an image that the Communist Party is bad that the socialist system is bad defaming scaliest system in such way where is the author’s Party spirit? some people say this movie is artistically well designed but just because of this it is more dangerous and destructive Dang then pointed out that regarding “Bitter Love”, that “PLA Daily” criticized it this action was appropriate First of all, it deserved to be criticized the defect was the reasoning part of the commenting article wasn’t that sounding some methods and wording weren’t that considerate “Journal of Literature and Art” should organize some articles to comment on “Bitter Love” and other high-quality articles of related problems we can’t say criticizing in a way that is not good enough is criticizing wrongly Seventh Dang emphasizes that the Party should consolidate the leadership over the construction of spiritual civilization in a powerful way not relaxing even for a moment starting from specific cases where the central point is the construction of the Party conduct and officials making themselves as examples

As for Deng Xiaoping’s idea of “Focusing on both civilizations” and a story between Deng Xiaoping and Tsinghua University
On March 12th, 1980 Deng Xiaoping, on the Enlarged Conference of the Standing Committee of the Central Military Commission proposed that “I listened to a report in Tsinghua University this morning which put forward a extremely important question: Since the first day of the autumn beginning, students should accept political and ideological work.

The Party and the League of college and all the teachers should take part in the political and ideological work Their work was efficient Now, school atmosphere is pretty good Tsinghua University’s experience should appeal overall country’s attention Being both red and expert we can not fail to be red These sentences can reveal Deng Xiaoping’s attention to the political and ideological work and the Spiritual Civilization Construction

On June 27th, 1981 the sixth plenary session of the eleventh central committee established the Resolution on CCP’s Various Historical Issues generally summarized the content of Spiritual Civilization Construction

The Resolution pointed out that socialism must have great spiritual civilization we need to firmly eradicate the wrong concept of condemning education science and culture, discriminating intellectuals which reached the peak during the Cultural Revolution make efforts to enhance the position and influence of education science and culture during the modernization construction clarify and admit that intellectuals are equal to workers and farmers who are the socialism’s supporting power Without civilization and intellectuals the construction of socialism won’t be achieved

On September 1st, 1982 Hu Yaobang, the report to the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China “After the Party transfer the working emphasis to the construction of economy,

The Party Central Committee seriously put forward several times that when we develop material civilization we should make efforts to develop spiritual and socialist civilization This is a construction of socialism’s strategic policy Socialism’s historical experience and our country’s current situation tell us that whether insist on this policy will influence the rise and fall of the socialism” the report to the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China particularly explained the relationship of two civilization That is the socialism material civilization construction is foundation of spiritual progress Socialist Spiritual Civilization greatly promotes material civilization construction and guarantee the right direction of material civilization construction

The two cultural are mutually conditional and for purpose Socialist Spiritual Civilization is socialist society’s crucial characteristic

On June 29th, 1985 Chen Yun, on the China’s straigh-tening the Party’s general practice’s experience communication conference issued the speech of “Grasping Both two Civilization” which proposed that “Hoping that discipline inspection branch and whole Party’s comrade pay attention all the time At the same time of constructing material civilization, making efforts to build spiritual civilization construction Grasping both two civilization”

It should be the first time of the leader of the Party to propose “Grasping both two civilization”

On September 23rd, 1985 Dang Xiaoping, on the National Conference of the Chinese Communist Party proposed that “Without strength the construction of spiritual civilization the construction of material civilization will also be destructed and go through a deviated road relying only on material premises “Our revolution and construction will never accomplish the final victory”

On March 28th, 1986
When Deng Xiaoping met Lange, the prime minister of New Zealand, He pointed out “We are working on the construction of two civilizations one is material civilization the other is spiritual civilization enacting the policy of opening up will certainly bring in some bad things affecting our people as for the potential risk this is the biggest one

We are going to use the two measures, law and education, to deal with this problem.”

In order to do well on both of the “Two Civilizations”

On September 28th, 1986,

The Full Meeting of the Sixth Session of Twelfth CPC discussed and passed “The Decision about the Policy of Construction of Spiritual Civilization Proposed by CPC” This is the first decision in the Party about constructing the spiritual civilization this decision clearly defined the ultimate goal of the construction of socialist spiritual civilization is adapting to the necessity of the modernization of socialism foster citizens of “Four Haves” and improve the ideological, moral and scientific level of the whole nation After the Full Meeting of the Fourth Session of Thirteenth CPC Jiang Zemin-centered, the third generation of China’s leaders collectively insist on the policy of “Focusing on both, focusing well on both”

On October 10th, 1996,

The Full Meeting of the Sixth Session of Fourteenth CPC “The Decision on Prominent Problems on Strengthening the Construction of Spiritual Civilization proposed by CPC” navigating the construction of spiritual civilization of the new era towards a clearer direction After talking about focusing on “Two Civilizations” Let’s look at the concordant development of “Three Civilizations”

In September, 1986,

The Party’s the Full Meeting of the Sixth Session of Twelfth CPC passed “The Decision on Policy of Constructing Spiritual Civilization Proposed by CPC” which first brought up “the General Plan of the Modernization Construction of Socialism” as a new concept

The decision pointed out that “the Modernization Construction of Socialism of our country has a general plan focusing on the construction of economy while insisting on the reform of economic system and that of the political system as well as strengthening the construction of spiritual civilization and let these aspects cooperate with each other and mutually stimulate each other

On July 1st, 1991, Jiang Zemin, in the meeting celebrating the 70th anniversaries of the Communist Party of China, pointed out that “In all we are going to work through the self-improving and developing of the socialist system to build a socialist collection with Chinese characteristics including economy, politics, and culture adopting and improving the development of productivity and the overall improvement of the society fulfilling the modernization of socialism He also pointed out that Socialist economy, politics, and culture with Chinese characteristics is an completely unified inseparable entity

In September, 1997, Jiang Zemin, in the report of the Fifteenth CPC, stopped using the theoretical frame of “Two Civilizations” while instead, used the three basic programs of the primary stage of socialism of the Party which is constructing economy, politics and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics Meanwhile the report to the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China proposed that the significant proposition of “Governing the country according to law and making it a socialist country ruled by law” Although the report didn't directly point out “political civilization” and “Three Civilization” it
included the similar thought After that Jiang Zemin gradually proposed the concept of “political civilization” and the proposition of “Three Civilization”

On January 1st, 2001 Jiang Zemin, on the national propaganda minister conference proposed that “After governing a country running country according to law and running the country with morality complement each other and promote each other neither is dispensable and can not overlook either of the two running the country according to law is belong to the political progress and political civilization running the country with morality is belong to cultural progress and spiritual civilization the scopes of two are different but the position and function are extremely crucial.”

On May 31st, 2002 Jiang Zemin, on the speech in Central Party School further pointed out that “developing socialism democracy and constructing socialism political civilization are the significant goal of modernization construction

On July 16th, 2002 Jiang Zemin visited Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and summarized the concept of “Three Civilization” “Constructing the socialism with Chinese characteristics should be our country economic, political, and cultural’s over-rounded development which is our material civilization political civilization and spiritual civilization’s process”

In November, 2002 Jiang Zemin, in the report to the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, pointed out the thought of the well coordinated development of “Three Civilization” “To build a well-off society in an all-round way and create a new situation in building socialism with Chinese characteristics it is essential, under the firm leadership of the CPC, to develop a socialist market economy, socialist democracy and an advanced socialist culture keep the coordinated development of the socialist material political and spiritual civilizations and bring about the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. After introducing the “Three Civilization” Let’s learn the overall plan of “economic, political, cultural and social development” With the gradual development of the economic strength and overall national strength China’s social structure is changing profoundly Therefore Since the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China we started to concern about the harmonious society Although the report to the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China didn’t clearly demonstrate social progress the report regarded “foster social harmony” as the crucial goal of the objectives of building a well-off society in an all-round way

In September, 2004

The Fourth Plenary Session

Of the 16th Party Central Committee of the Party proposed that “we need to adapt to the profound changes of our society put the construction of harmonious society to the crucial position pay attention to stimulating social vitality promote social impartiality and justice strength the society’s consciousness of law and credit and maintain the stability and unity of the society”

The Fourth Plenary Session

Of the 16th Party Central Committee of the party regarded the ability of creating harmonious society as one of the governance capabilities of the Party

On February 19th, 2005 Hu Jintao, in an important speech with a special topic discussion group with chief provincial officials, first clearly pointed out that “Along with the development of our country’s economical society the Overall Plan of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics more clearly developed from
construction of socialist economy political construction and cultural construction, “Three in One” to the construction of socialist economy political construction cultural construction and social construction, “Four in One”.

In October, 2006, the Party’s the Sixth Plenary Session

Of the 16th Party Central Committee of the party discussed and passed “The Decision on Prominent Problems on Constructing the Harmonious Socialist Society proposed by CPC”

The decision holistically discussed the important meaning of constructing a harmonious socialist society as well as its scientific connotation, overall requirements, important principles and main tasks

It also set constructing the harmonious socialist society as an important part of the General Plan of the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

In October 2007 Hu Jintao proposed in the report to the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China that “In accordance with the overall arrangements for the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics we will promote all-round economic political, cultural and social development, coordinate all links and aspects of our modernization drive, and balance the relations of production with the productive forces and the superstructure with the economic base.” Till then the thought of overall plan of “economic, political, cultural and social development” formally formed After introducing the overall plan of economic, political, cultural and social development let’s learn the overall plan of economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress Since China began its reform and opening up our country has gotten great achievement in all aspects of society and China’s overall strength grew considerably However the resource and ecological cost of China’s economic growth is so great environmental problems became severer Ecological deterioration has become the long term strategical significance which is related to the social and economic progress Therefore, it is necessary to put ecological progress to the prominent position

The Central Party Committee Headed by the general secretary Hu Jintao during the process of leading the whole Party and the people to build and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics incisively realized the significance of ecological progress

On March 12th, 2005 Hu Jintao, in the meeting of population, resources and environment first utilized the concept of “Eco–civilization” He pointed out that one of crucial parts of our country’s environmental work is that “ Improve the ecological progress's legislation and policy system formulate the national ecological conservation rules make great efforts to carry out Eco–civilization education in the whole society.”

In October, 2007 Hu Jintao first proposed the concept of “conservation culture” in the report to the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China

The report to the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China proposed that “Promote a conservation culture by basically forming an energy- and resource-efficient and environment-friendly structure of industries pattern of growth and mode of consumption”

In November, 2012 Hu Jintao demonstrated in the report to the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China that our overall approach of socialism with Chinese characteristics bring ecological progress to the same position with economic progress political progress cultural, social, and ecological progress and social progress Apart from that, in the section of “Making Great Efforts to Promote Ecological Progress” he thoroughly demonstrated our Party’s demand of ecological progress and proposed that “We must give high priority to making ecological progress and incorporate it into all aspects
and the whole process of advancing economic, political cultural and social progress work hard to build a beautiful country and achieve lasting and sustainable development of the Chinese nation”

In addition, from four aspects as “improve development of China’s geographical space” “promote all-around resource conservation” “intensify protection of the ecosystem and the environment” and “enhance system building to promote ecological progress” he illustrated the strategic disposition on how to making efforts to promote ecological progress Till then the thought of our overall approach of promoting economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological progress formal formed Here I would like to ask you a question what is the relationship between “Five progress” and “Five Civilization”?

In fact, “Five Progress” corresponds to “Five Civilization” Concretely speaking the main result of economic progress is material civilization, the main result of political progress is political civilization, the main result of cultural progress is cultural civilization, the main result of social progress is social civilization or narrow sense livelihood civilization and the main result of ecological progress is Eco-civilization Although the relationship between them is not total one-to-on correspondence it is basic correspondence For instance although the process of economic progress can produce spiritual civilization political civilization social civilization eco-civilization and so on the main achievement is material civilization

It can also imply in other progresses

8.1.2 Will “Five in One” General Plan Expand

After talking about the first question let's then look at the second question Will “Five in One” General Plan Expand? Here I want to ask you a question Will “Five in One” General Plan Expand? From my point of view, it is very likely to be true For instance national defense and army building may be included in the overall plan which will form the “six in one” general plan some people may ask that whether national defense and army building can be included in the political construction? we can barely put it into “six in one” general plan but it is not exact national defense and army building should be independently to one part of overall plan Report to the 17th National Congress clearly pointed out that To strengthen national defense and the armed forces occupies an important place in the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Besides the construction of the Party may likely be included in the overall plan to form the overall plan of “seven in one”

In November, 2013 the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued Decision of the CCCPC on Some Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Deepening the Reform, which proposed seven “closely surrounding” These seven “closely surrounding” seven “closely surrounding” is a rudiment These seven “closely surrounding” are firstly closely surrounding the market which can play the decisive role of market forces promote the reformation of the socialist market economy insist on and improve the basic economic system and the modern market system step up the building of the modern market system a system of macroeconomic regulation and the open economic system accelerate transformation of the mode of economic development accelerate the construction of an innovative country enhance the efficiency of the economy more just more sustainable development secondly

We must deepen political system reform that features the organic unity of upholding the leadership of the Party the people being the masters of the country and governing the country according to the rule of law.
We should work harder to accelerate socialist democracy in a systematic way by adopting due standards and procedures.

We should build a socialist country with the rule of law and develop people’s democracy with wider more adequate and sound participation thirdly

We must deepen cultural system reform by centering on building the core socialist value system and developing a strong socialist culture in China

We should accelerate improvement of the system for managing the cultural sector and the mechanism for cultural production and operation establish and improve a modern public cultural service system establish the basic framework of a modern cultural market system and bring about great development and enrichment of socialist culture. Fourthly

We must deepen social structural reform by centering on safeguarding and improving the people’s wellbeing and promoting social fairness and justice.

We should reform the income distribution system and promote common prosperity.

We should promote system innovation in the social sector promote equal access to basic public services and step up efforts to form a scientific and effective social management system so that our society is full of vigor, but also harmonious and orderly Fifth

We must deepen ecological environment management reform by centering on building a beautiful China

We should accelerate system building to promote ecological progress improve institutions and mechanisms for developing geographical space conserving resources and protecting the ecological environment and promoting modernization featuring harmonious development between Man and Nature sixty

We must deepen the reform of the Party building system by centering on enhancing the Party’s capacity to govern in a scientific and democratic way and in accordance with the law

We should strengthen the building of democratic centralism and improve the leadership system and governing style of the Party

We should maintain the Party’s advanced nature and purity thus providing strong political support for reform and opening up and socialist modernization seventhly we must build the People’s Liberation Army which must be loyal to the CPC be able to win and be persistent with its good traditions the goal of enhancing the strength of the People’s Liberation Army in the new circumstance make efforts to resolve the conflict and problem of restricting the national defense and the development of the army innovating the theory of military theory enhancing the the guidance of the military affairs promote the military strategy policy constructing the military strength system of socialism with China’s characteristics These seven “centering on” concludes not only the “five in one” but also the army and national defense construction and the construction of the Party as well Somebody may ask that whether we can conclude the construction of the Party in the political construction barely but it is totally not one thing

As for the construction of socialism with China’ characteristic these seven constructions make it each other possible If assimilate socialism with China’s characteristic to a person therefore economic construction is its flesh political construction is its nerve cultural construction is its spirit social construction is its skeleton ecological construction is its respiratory system national defense and the army are its
immune system the construction of the Party is its brain However, before the CPC Central Committee proposed the “seven in one” we mention the overall plan with “five in one” somebody may ask that what the relationship between the overall plan of “five in one” and the “four comprehensive”? In December 2014

When Xi Jinping visited Jiangsu province he proposed that “promote the overall construction of moderately prosperous society comprehensively deepen reform comprehensively promote ruling the country according to the law comprehensively ruling the Party seriously promote the reform and opening up to a new stage

It is the first time that the general secretary Xi Jinping proposed the “four overall”

On February 2nd, 2015 the seminar of Major provincial leaders learning and carrying out the key points of the Full Meeting of the Fourth Session of the Eighteenth CPC and governing according to law is held in Party School of the CPC

During the opening ceremony of the seminar, Chairman Xi Jinping pointed out Since the Eighteenth CPC, the Party Central Committee set insisting and developing the socialism with Chinese characteristics as a overall baseline proposed and formed a overall plan for constructing a complete well-to-do society and deepening the reform overall while governing according to law completely and regulate the party in a complete and strict way This is the strategical layout of "Four Completes" What need to be mentioned is that the "regulating the party in a complete and strict way" in the "Four Completes" in its emerging state was also said to be "propelling the idea of regulating the party in a strict way completely" while now it should be unified into one sentence of "regulating the party in a complete and strict way" the "governing according to law completely" of the "Four Completes" in its emerging stage was also said to be "propelling the idea of governing according to law completely" but now it should be unified into "governing according to law completely" While discussing the relationships between these for "Completes", Xi Jinping pointed out that since the Eighteenth CPC of the party the Party Central Committee set insisting and developing the socialism with Chinese characteristics proposed and formed a strategical layout for constructing a complete well-to-do society and deepening the reform overall while governing according to law completely and regulate the party in a complete and strict way this strategical layout has its strategical target as well as strategical measures Each Complete has its own important strategical meaning constructing a complete well-to-do society is our strategical target deepening the reform overall and governing according to law completely while governing according to law completely are three strategical measures we need to put comprehensively rule the country according to the law in the “four overall” strategical approach to acknowledge comprehensively understand the relationship between comprehensively rule the country according to the law and other "three overall" make efforts to realize the comprehensive development of the "overall four" mutual promotion benefit by associating together here I want to ask you a question what is the relationship between "five in one" overall plan and "four overall" strategical plan? Is the affiliation? Is the Coordinative relationship? Is the complementary relationship? Is the replace relationship? Is the cross relationship? etc.

As for this question I want let you think by yourself From the initial "grasp the two civilization" to "three civilization harmonious development" then "four in one" finally now "five in one" show the construction and practice of socialism with Chinese characteristic more various more comprehensive vivid progress embody the Party's acknowledge enhancing to a new stage Nowadays, we have "five in one" which will may develop to another stage Therefore, we can abstractly conclude the overall plan of constructing socialism with Chinese characteristic as "comprehensive system" the development of "comprehensive system" show the command of “bucket principle” "Bucket principle" means that the content of bucket doesn't
determined by the longest board but determined by the shortest board. According to the "bucket principle" we must highly emphasize the "short board" of development instead of only paying attention to the "long board" of development. If we only pay attention to the economic construction means that we only grasp the longest board and ignore other shorter board the development of "comprehensive system" and show the demand of hierarchy of need theory by Maslow. American psychologist Maslow divided the need of people into physical need security need need for sense of belonging and love respect need and self-realization need. Maslow and other psychologists believed that the need structure of majority of the people in a country is direct relevant with the level of the national economic development, the level of the national scientific development the level of culture and the level of people's education in underdeveloped countries physiological needs and safety needs are major concern for most people while other advanced needs are not big concerns. However, in developed countries the situation are exactly the contrary. To satisfy people's needs thoroughly "Many-in-one" must be achieved if we only develop economy then we can only satisfy people's low level needs.

8.2.1 What Feats Has Socialist Market Economy Accomplished

After talking about the construction of the overall plan of socialism with Chinese characteristic's process now let's look at the content of the overall plan it is "five construction" the content of the "five construction" are extremely various we don't need to talk all about it.

As for each construction I will choose the particular perspective to introduce. Now, let's talk about the second chapter Building the Socialist Economy with Chinese Characteristics. Firstly, let's look at a question what are the achievements of the socialist economy with Chinese characteristics we all know that before the reform and the opening up we conducted the planned economy. After the reform and the opening up especially after the Fourteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China we gradually establish the promoting socialism market economy from planned economy to socialist market economy is a progress of history. That is what the achievements of Chinese socialist market economy.


The report introduces the main achievement from 1987 to 2013, the reform and opening up 35 years ago there are a lot of authorial statistics we are going to leam it. Firstly the large progress the overall national strength and the international influential strength realize the paramount historical changes after the reform and opening up 35 years ago this is our national economy promoting and the overall amount of economy arrives a new stage’s 35 years this is also the overall national strength and the international influential strength change from weak to strong's 35 years. This 35 years also realized the low income country to the middle and high this 35 years economy keeps quick increasing the increase speed is 9.8% per year from 1979 to 2012 our national economic increase speed is 9.8% per year however, the international economic increase speed is only 2.8% China's high speed increasing time and speed are both higher than Japan and the Four Asian Tigers during the economic boom periods created the new miracle in the history of human's economic development.

In these 35 years the economic aggregate were continuously reaching new stages the Comprehensive National Power also increased substantially the gross domestic product increased from 364.5 billion RMB in 1978 to 51.8942 trillion RMB in 2012. Let's see this graph. Within this 35 years the ranking of the economic aggregate increased steadily and the contribution towards the economic growth also increased.
In 1978 the economic aggregate of our country was only at the tenth place in the world exceeded Germany in 2008 came to be the third place in the world we passed Japan in 2010 and became the second biggest economic entity only smaller than the U.S. the percentage our country’s economy takes in the world increased from 1.8% in 1978 to 11.5% in 2012 since the international economic crisis of late 2008 Our country became a major engine that brings the world back to an economic resurgence the average annual contribution towards the world’s economic growth exceeded 20%

In these 35 years the GDP Per Capita also increased successfully leaped from a low-income country to high-mid-income country in 1978, the GDP Per Capita was only 381 RMB but in 2012 it reached 38420 RMB taking out the factor of price the GDP Per Capita increased by 16.2 times the average annual increase is 8.7 Let’s see the graph at the same time GDP Per Capita also increased simultaneously and rapidly according to the data from the World Bank our country's GDP Per Capita increased from 1978’s 190 USD to 2012’s 5680 USD according to the standards of the World Bank our country leaped from a low-income country to a high-mid-income country For a country of low starting point in economic development such as our country which has a large population can achieve such huge progress is very special this 35 years national financial strength enhancing the government’s macro-control ability becomes stronger in 1978 national financial income is only 113.2 billion in 2012 our national financial income becomes 11.7254 trillion is 103 times than it in 1978 it grows 14.6% per year let’s have a look at this picture after 35 years foreign exchange reserve increases largely realized the scarcity of foreign exchange to the largest foreign exchange reserve’s big change in 1978 our national foreign exchange is only 167 million ranks the 38th in the world per captain is only 0.17 means less than 1 yuan in 2006, it is more than 1 trillion dollars arrived 1.0663 trillion dollars exceeded Japan to be the first in the world exceeding 3 trillion dollars in 2011 arrived 3.3116 trillion dollars in 2012 be the first one for consecutive seven years let’s look at this picture secondly economic structure's profound changes the coordination and sustain of economy the 35 years after reform and opening up is the economic structure and changing of developing way’s significant acknowledge of 35 years is the economic structure's change in the economic increasing 35 years is also the development’s comprehensiveness coordination and sustainability’s strengthening’s 35 years in this 35 years the promotion of the industrial structure three industrial structure achieved great progress in the changes the basic position of agriculture industrialization realized sustainable and quick progress the development of service industry let’s look at this picture in this 35 years the level of urbanization improves quickly the level of urbanization increases from 17.9% in 1978 to 52.6% in 2012 increasing 34.7 % increasing 1.0% per year let’s have a look at this picture thirdly the ability of supply enhances greatly product and service realized from shortage to abundant’s huge change the 35 years after the reform and opening up is our country various and proper industrial system’s 35 years the products and service ability strengthening 35 years and also the main industrial and agricultural products enhancing to lead the world’s 35 years

In this 35 years the Party Central Committee and the State Council always put the agricultural production to the significant strategical position and make great efforts to promote the production of the agriculture and stabilize the production of grain not only successfully resolve the starving problem in China and realize the increase of the living level of people but also provide abundant sources for the development of the industry

In 2012 the production of the grain arrived at 589.58 million tons which was 93.5% higher than in 1978 From 2004, we have achieved the “nine continual increase” and maintain the level of more than 500 million tons in 6 years let’s look at this picture in this 35 years the production ability quickly increased and transferred from a falling behind agricultural country to a huge world manufacture country tertiary industry continually develops and increase to a new engine of the economic increase Fourthly the basic facility and
basic industry great development the support condition of the development of economy obviously promotes

The 35 years after the reform and opening up is our country realizing achievement in the basic facility and industry 35 years

It is also the relief of bottleneck of resources, traffic, communication etc. 35 years

It is also the gradual construction of perfect basic facility and basic industrial system’s merits’s 35 years

In 35 years the production ability continually increase With the development of industry our country gradually become a resource consumer country Meanwhile the ability of resource production gradually enhanced the degree of self-sufficiency a certain extent ensure the security of the national economy in 2012 our country’s the total production of resources was 3.32 billion tons standard coal which was 4.3 times higher than it in 1978 the average increase was 5.0% per year Meanwhile our country’s total resource consumption increases 5.6% per year which is similar to the increase speed of the production of resource the self-sufficiency of resource is more than 90% Let’s look at this picture

In this 35 years our country’s transport net continually promoted the ability of the transport continually enhanced the efficiency of the transport continually increased which strongly supported every industry’s development At the beginning of the reform and opening up, we didn’t have high way

In 2012 the mileage of our country’s high way was 96.2 thousands kilometers ranked second in the world

The speedy development of high way produced multiple units with the speed of 3.5 million meters per hour which marked our country’s rail way transport arriving international advanced level

In 2012 the mileage of the high-speed rail was 9.356 thousand kilometers which ranked the first in the world Let’s look at this picture

As for the high-speed rail we can not praise it more Since we had the high-speed rail China seemed to be smaller Traveling by high-speed rail is not only safe but also fast Therefore, some people even comment that the high-speed rail changes China Li Bai once wrote a well-known the poem Set off from White Emperor Town at Mom poem said that “From White Emperor Town in rosy clouds I leave at morn, Down for Jiang Ling thousand miles away I reach in a day. Along the Yangzi River comes the continuous apes' moan; Unawares, my wherry's flown o'er lofty mountains in brisk way”

In ancient it is a writing style of literature High-speed rail made the literature into reality Back to the point in this 35 years the scale of our country’s post telecommunication continually expanded and the categories of service continually became abundant which gradually enhanced the level of our country’s information

The penetration of telephone changed from 0.38% in 1978 to 103.10% in 2012

The service of the mobile phones appeared cell phones changed from the luxury in 1990s to the needy things nowadays

In 2012, the penetration of cell phone was 82.50% which almost realized every adult had one cell phone

The speedy development of the internet facility the penetration of the internet quickly changed from the 4.6% in 2002 to 42.1% in 2012 Let’s have a look at this picture Fifthly the improvement of the foreign
economy realized the great historical transformation from closed and semi-closed to the overall opening up.

The 35 years after the reform and opening up is our country gradually participating international market and expanding the width and and depth of opening up's 35 years which is also the transformation from large scale of “bringing up” to bravely “going out”'s 35 years and it is also the 35 years of our country grasping the chance of globalization to become the great international trade country.

In this 35 years the total amount of our country's foreign economy continually increased At the beginning of the reform and opening up our country's foreign economic communication activity was not very active. Besides, the marketization level was not high These created the isolation between China and international market.

In 1978 China’s import and export cargos was only 20.6 billion dollars which ranked 29th in the world.

In 2012 the import and export cargos 3.8671 trillion dollars which increased 186 times than in 1978.

The average increase of 16.6% per year which was second only to America ranking the second in the world.

The export cargos amount was 2.0487 trillion dollars which increased 209 times.

The average increase was 17.0% per year which ranked the first in the world.

The amount of import cargos was 1.8184 trillion dollars which increased 166 times.

The average increase was 16.2% per year ranking the second in the world.

In 2012 the amount of our country import and export cargos were 11.2% and 9.8% in the world Let’s have a look at this picture.

In this 35 years our country sufficiently utilized resources labour force and other merits and great potential market strength to become the hot spot of international direct investment.

The scale of the foreign investment gradually expanded Foreign direct investment became the strength that motived our country’s economic and technological improvement From 1979 to 2012 actually we utilized foreign direct investment 1.2761 trillion dollars From 1984 to 2012, the high increase speed was 18.0% per year Our country has continually become the country that attract most foreign investment in the world.

The rank in the world enhanced to the second in the world Let’s have a look at this picture Sixthly People’s lives improved quickly which realized the transformation from starving to a almost well-off society finally to a almost well-off society.

The 35 years after the reform and opening up realized that people received the most welfare and people's living level increased most. Besides, it is also the 35 years that people both in cities and countrysides realized the starving to almost well-off society and finally to well-off society.

In addition, it is also the 35 years that realized the social security transferred from low level to a well system and finally to a overall well development.

The scale of employment gradually expanded people’s incomes in cities and countrysides dramatically increased. People’s living level and condition dramatically enhanced.
The social security overall improved Poverty program achieved world famous achievement

In 2012 urban residents’ per capita disposable income was 24.565 thousand RMB which increased 71 times than in 1978

The average increase was 13.4% per year deducting the factor of price the average increase was 7.4% per year Let’s have a look at this picture

In 2012 the average income of countryside people was 7917 yuan which increased 58 times

The average increase was 12.8% per year deducting the factor of price the average increase was 7.5% per year Let’s have a look at this picture At the end of 2012 the saving deposit of people in countrysides and cities was 39.96 trillion yuan which is 1896 times than in 1978 the average increase was 24.9% per year Let’s have a look at this picture the zone of consumption continually expands

The material life was abundant

The durable consumer goods including television, refrigerator, air conditioner, telephone and so on are gradually popularized

The possession of high-level durable consumer goods, including cars and computers, had great increase let’s look at this picture it is the condition of the town Let’s have a look at this picture it is the condition of countryside Seventh social affairs achieved great progress which shown that the transformation from hysteresis of the social affairs to the overall coordinative progress of the social and economic development

The 35 years after the reform and opening up was the 35 years which achieved great achievement in the social affairs including science, education, civilization and sanitation

It is also the 35 years that consolidating and developing the harmony and stabilization of the society

It is also the 35 years that the overall coordinative progress of the economic society continually increase

The progress of the education enterprise was outstanding

The achievement of technological enterprise was great

The effect of the public health enterprise was excellent

The civilization enterprise achieved dramatic development

The sports enterprise continually promoted

In 2012 the number of the enrollment of the college was 6.89 million people which increased by 16.1 times than it in 1978 the number of college students was 23.91 million which increased by 26.9 times

The number of the graduates was 625 million people which increased by 36.9 times

It meets the command of the talent for the development of the economic society Let’s have a look at this picture

In 2012

The fee of R&D was 1.0298 trillion yuan which was increased by 28.5 times than it in 1995
The proportion of it was 1.98% in the gross domestic product which increased 1.4% Let’s have a look at this picture To sum up After 1978 our country’s socialist market economy achieved an outstanding progress These statistics above are the best symbols of it Although socialist market economy has some problems during its development its feat can not be overlook

8.2.2 How to View the Phenomenon of “Pick up the bowl and eat meat, put down chopsticks to curse”

Now, let’s look at the second question how to view the phenomenon of “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse” though socialist market economy gained great success however till now many people are still discontent towards socialist market economy and frequently question it which therefore forms an interesting social phenomenon that is “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse” “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse” which includes various meanings

It includes sophisticated regret the allegation to bite the hand that feeds you can’t help smiling smugly at the failures of others heartless ridiculing and teasing etc. Meanwhile it is also the social attitude and problem which need us to think it over

In fact, it is the vivid reflection of complicated attitude towards market economy and the reform and opening up

As for the phenomenon of “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse” we should analyze it specifically Firstly “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse” is not everybody’s attitude towards market economy and the reform and opening up

The majority of people’s attitudes towards market economy and the reform and opening up is that “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to praise mother” But the ways of “praising mother” are different Some people’s attitudes are “can’t praise more” Some people’s attitudes are “feeling gratitude” Some people’s attitudes are “love more than hatred” Some people’s attitudes are “love and hatred accompany with each other” After the reform and opening up 30 years ago Chinese force economic strength and technological strength all achieved great progress People’s living level people’s income level social security level achieved great progress comprehensive national strength national competitive strength and international influential strength achieved great achievement These all undeniable facts From personal experience the saying from old people and the long history, people feel the necessity and historical progress of the reform and opening up and the difficulty of getting the achievement of reform Their attitudes towards the reform and opening up are approval and protection Although there are still some complaint and dissatisfactory However, people who want to go the “sealed and old way” or the “changeable and wicked way” are the minority of the whole

The majority of people want to go “the right way of overall deepen reform” Apart from that “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse” reflects nowadays Chinese society’s improvement

In other words actually, “pick up the bowl to eat meat” is the resolution of starving problem and put down chopsticks to curse” is the guarantee of the freedom of expression

In a civilized society citizens have the freedom of praising the government and the freedom of criticizing the government “if the criticize is not free the praising is meaningless” If a government can only be praised instead of being criticized

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It shows that the government need to be criticized "If a government can not only be praised but also be criticized

It shows that the government needs to be praised

The phenomenon of “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse” is bitterly disappointed But comparing to the phenomenon of “pick up the bowl to eat bran and put down chopsticks to praise” it is a historical improvement Besides, comparing to the phenomenon of “pick up the bowl to eat meat and must put down chopsticks to praise” it is a historical improvement

In addition

When people are aware of the awareness of right and civil many people realized that “eating meat” is not the bestow of government Therefore, people don’t need to express the gratitude towards government because of “eating meat”

On the contrary, if people don’t have “meat to eat” or “can not eat good meat”, the government needs to be criticized These situations show Chinese society's improvement and civilization Apart from that the phenomenon of “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse” has both inrationality and rationality According to convention After the enhance of the standard of living, people should thank the government rather than blame it, which is ungrateful and is an action of returning evil for good For the phenomenon of “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse”, this is the point where it is unreasonable But it is also somewhat rational which is based on the fact that people's needs are multi-leveled "eat meat" only fulfills people's basic physiological need and if other high-leveled needs can't be effectively satisfied then people will become dissatisfied and discontent and then "curse" modern China, which is highly competitive and developing rapidly, manages to improve people's living standard but at the same time, corruption also becomes severe the income gap is also enlarged the social tradition also deteriorates living pressure aggravates and many other phenomena Among the people, there appeared to be common "relative sense of deprivation," "sense of social frustration," etc. social mentality at the same time in the process of our country’s socialist market economy there exists a lot of problems which could be concluded into the following main points the first is the lack of standard in market system gaining profit in unruly ways occurs everywhere the second is the underdevelopment of the market of production factors two circumstances that the idleness of production factor and massive effective needs both can’t be satisfied occur at the same time the third is the disunity of market rules departmental protectionism and local protectionism exist abundantly the fourth is the lack of market competition preventing the survival of the fittest and the structural change the fifth is the severity of unevenness of development For the unevenness of development Let’s see an interesting national propaganda video For this kind of propaganda video we can have two ways of viewing it the first is the sequence within the video though there are aspects that are not so good there are still aspects doing well the second way is to view in a reversed sequence though there are good aspects there still are aspects that are bad however, from either perspective we can’t deny that modern China does have problems but just because there are many aforementioned problems it produces a seemingly strange social phenomenon “eat meat” and “curse” occur together "cheering" and "clamoring" coexist finally “pick up the bowl to eat meat and put down chopsticks to curse” shows us the very importance of social fairness “pick up the bowl to eat meat” isn’t the cause for “put down chopsticks to curse” the reason for one to “curse” might be that he feels the meat he actually gained is less than what he deserves it is possible that he suspects during to allocation of meat there exists cheating behaviors it is possible that he doesn’t feel safe about the quality of the meat he eats it is possible that he is fed up with meat where there isn’t other delicacy it’s also possible that he sees
others eating better food where he can only feed himself with meat to conclude, the ultimate reason is that there are problems with social fairness Confucius said “Destitution is not as bad as unfairness, poverty is not as bad as uncertainty” eliminating the scum of equalitarianism, this sentence is actually a profound perception towards humanity people not only pursue material benefit but also spiritual benefit not only efficiency but also fairness not only absolute profit but also relative profit not only comparing to himself over the time but also comparing with other people of the same time most people can fit into a poor but fair society where it’s hard to fit into a relatively rich society where the gap between rich and poor is huge therefore in the process of reforming and developing we have to focus on both efficiency and fairness “making a cake” and “dividing a cake” are both important we can’t emphasize on one and ignore the other neither can we use one to denounce the other if the cake is too small even we spend a lot of wisdom on dividing it there will still be a lot of problems so, we need to make the cake large at first however, though the cake is large enough if the dividing process is extremely unfair for example, the one who divides the cake allocates himself a large chunk or diving the cake without considering contribution and ability but depending on status and seniority or giving the one who bribes the most the largest chunk and giving none to the one who refuses to bribe these will all lead to conflicts reform and opening up is not only going to solve the problem of “make the cake large” and “have meat to eat” but also the problem of “divide the cake well” and “allocate the meat well” our Party in the process of practice gradually recognizes that in order to solve these problems and perfect our country’s socialism and the structure of market economy the key is to deal well with the relationship between government and market the government should not govern too much nor too less market should not be too free nor too restricted there was a saying that “Give therefore to the emperor the things that are the emperor’s; and to God the things that are God’s.” Here we have to say “give therefore to the government the things that are the government’s; and to the market the things that are market’s.”

8.3.1 Persisting with the Way of Development of the Socialist Politics with Chinese Characteristics

Now, let’s look at section three Building the Socialist Politics with Chinese Characteristics building the socialist politics with Chinese characteristics must follow four aspects: firstly, insisting on the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics secondly, developing socialist democracy thirdly, ruling the country according to the low fourthly, promoting the reform of political system Firstly, let’s look at the first question insisting on the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics developing the socialism with Chinese characteristics and constructing social political civilization are the important goal of building a well-off society in an all-round way They are also the significant aspects of the overall plan of constructing socialism with Chinese character After the reform and opening up our Party conclude the positive and negative experience of developing socialist democracy Our Party continually improves the reform of political system and successfully created and insisted the way of socialism with Chinese characteristics which make sure the correct direction of the most popularized democracy Our Party continually promoted the construction of democracy and political system with Chinese characteristics Our Party must deepen political system reform that features the organic unity of upholding the leadership of the Party the people being the masters of the country and governing the country according to the rule of law.

We should work harder to accelerate socialist democracy in a systematic way by adopting due standards and procedures

We should build a socialist country with the rule of law and develop people’s democracy with wider more adequate and sound participation Among them the leading of the Party is the guarantee of the people
being the masters of the country and governing the country according to the law the people being the masters of the country is the essence and core command

It is also the basic starting point of social political and cultural construction governing the country according to the law is the basic strategy

The “three in one” system of the leadership of the Party the people are the masters of the country and governing the country according to law which can not be divided

As for the construction of socialist with Chinese characteristics democracy and politics the leadership of the Party is the brain the people are the masters of the country is the body governing the country according to law is the legs and feet They all have irreplaceable value we can not separate them or put them into opposition

8.3.2 Developing Socialist Democracy

Let's look at the second question Developing Socialist Democracy Some people put socialism and democracy in opposition They believe that there are only democracy or socialism They don't think that social democracy can exist

It is totally wrong

As for socialism democracy can not be replaced Democracy is indispensable

On March 30th, 1979 Dang Xiaoping, proposed an important proposal on the Party's theory meeting " Without democracy there would be no socialism there is no socialist modernization without democracy” Democracy is the unity of nation system and political system Socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics is the unity of the people democracy dictatorship and the socialist fundamental political system and basic political system with Chinese characteristics People democracy dictatorship is the national system of China Chinese constitution regulated that “PRC is people’s democratic dictatorship based on the leadership of the working class and worker's socialist country”. This regulation shows that people's democratic is working class led by the Party based on the leadership of the working class and worker’s carrying out democracy in people and carrying out dictatorship for enemy’s national political power All national power belongs to people People democracy dictatorship is Marxism-Leninism's the theory of dictatorship of the proletariat combining with our country’s reformation's specific practice

It is the Party's creation in the leading reforming struggle Nowadays, our country's people democracy dictatorship's essence is dictatorship of the proletariat Since its essence effect, function historical mission are same

The practice proves that people democracy dictatorship is a proper way for Chinese situation and reformation’s tradition which has distinct Chinese characteristics insisting people democracy dictatorship's essence is that we should continually develop socialist democracy make efforts to protect people’s rights protect national rights security, unity and stabilization

On the one hand we should insist that every national right belongs to people we should guarantee that people are master

On the other hand we should strengthen national political power's dictatorship based on people's democracy
We should punish all the enemies and crime activities and use power’s dictatorship to protect people’s political right and people’s fundamental rights the system of people’s congress is Chinese fundamental political system and our country’s national system the system of people’s congress is the fundamental system and the highest reflection of the Chinese socialist country’s essence which can guarantee Chinese people are the master. Meanwhile, it is the best realization for the Party to make full use of advocating democracy and follow the mass line which is the significant system reflection of Chinese political civilization.

During the process of constructing socialism with Chinese characteristics we must firmly insist on solidifying and promoting the system of people’s congress the multiparty cooperation and political counsel based on the Party’s leading is socialism with Chinese characteristics with political party system and a basic political system of China National regional autonomy is a basic policy which help the Party resolves national problems.

It is also a basic national political system Basic self-government system is a basic political system of China which is a system that people in the countryside and community electing the members of committee of people in countryside and community and carrying out self-management sele-educaiton self-service self-supervision.

It is a basic self-government and democracy management system and a popular and profound practice of socialism After the reform and opening up with the development and improvement of China every basic self-government gradually expand More and more approaches for citizens’s orderly political participation exist.

The ways of democracy’s realization increase Nowadays China has already established the basic self-government system whose main content are committee of people in countryside committee of people in community committee of people in corporation.

In the basic self-government organization people can directly utilize their rights according to the law.

Nowadays, carrying out democratic self-government has become the most direct and popular democratic practice in China.

8.3.3 Overall Governing the Country According to Law

Let’s see the third problem governing the country according to law completely for governing according to law many people would think about Aristotle’s definition towards governing by law in his Politics “governing by law has two folds of meaning established law gains common obedience and the law that everyone obeys should be the law that is well-made therefore, we can see there are two factors in governing by law the first one is good law the second one is obey the law in daily life there are four basic circumstances the first one is people obey the law because the law is good the second on is people do not obey the law even the law is good the third one is people obey the law though the law itself is bad the fourth one is people do not obey the law and the law itself is bad socialist governing by law should be that people obey the law and the law itself is good governing by law is that people under the leadership of our party according to constitution and other laws manage country affairs through multiple ways and measures manage affairs of economy and culture manage social affairs make sure all the works are done lawfully gradually fulfill the systemization and legalizalization of socialist democracy our Party proposed and enacted the strategy of governing by law has endured a torturous history after the establishment of PRC Mao Zedong himself led and participated in the draft-making work of PRC’s first constitution the Party’s Eighth National People’s Congress in 1956 passed a decision about political report, which proposed since the socialist revolution is
almost complete the country’s main task has been transferred from liberate the productive forces to protect and develop the productive forces “depending on need, the country must gradually establish a complete law systematically” but because of many reasons the correct policy the Eighth NPC proposed was not followed consistently “Cultural revolution” make the socialist governing according to law destroyed after the third Plenary Session of the eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Dang Xiaoping concluded the lessons from experience in our country’s legal system building that in order to accommodate the new requirements of reform and opening up legal system building should be emphasized after the the fourth Plenary Session of the fourteenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Jiang Zemin further emphasized on strengthening the building of socialist legal system and proposed in February, 1996 the thought of “governing according to law” the Fifteenth NPC set governing according to law as a general plan for our Party’s leading people to manage the country proposed the historical task of “governing by law and build socialist nomocracy country”

In March, 1999 the 2nd meeting of the 9th National Peoples Congress passed Amendment to Constitution of PRC placed governing by law into the constitution the Party’s Sixteenth NPC proposed to develop socialist democracy the most basic thing is to unify the idea of persisting the leadership of the Party people as master, and governing by law completely the Seventeenth NPC proposed that governing by law is socialist democratic politics’ basic requirement emphasizing that the general plan of governing by law and speed up the construction of socialist nomocracy country should be enacted completely since the Party’s eighteenth NPC the Party’s Central Committee highly focused on governing according to law emphasizing the fulfillment of the general plan of governing according to law speed up the construction of socialist nomocracy country

In 2014, the Party’s Fourth Plenary Session of the Eighteenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China “Central Committee of the Communist Party of China’s Decision About Many Paramount Problems in Fulfiling Governing According to Law” Explicitly pointed out to carry out governing according to law completely drawing the new blueprint of governing according to law set new milestone for China’s nomocracy the ultimate goal of governing according to law completely is to build a socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics build a socialist nomocracy country this is under the leadership of Communist Party of China persisting socialist system with Chinese characteristics carry through socialist legal theory with Chinese characteristics form a complete and regulated legal system effective legal execution system strict legal supervising system powerful legal protecting system form a mature inner-Party legal system insisting on governing according to law rule by law manage by law together insisting on a the 3-in-one construction of nomocracy country nomocracy government and nomocracy society achieve scientific legislation strict law enforcement fair judicature and people obeying the law promote the modernization of the country’s governing system and capability

8.3.4 Promoting Political System Reform

Let’s look at the fourth question Promoting Political System Reform What would you think of when mentioning political system reformation A lot of people can remember Deng Xiaoping’s “Speech on August 18th”

On August 18th, 1980 Dang Xiaoping, issued a speech on the enlarged meeting of the political bureau of the central committee that “The Reformation of the Party and National Leading System” This speech was passed by political bureau on August 30th, 1980 which became the programmatic document of Chinese political system reformation
In this speech Dang Xiaoping pointed out that “From the perspective of the Party and national leading system and cadre system the main defect is the phenomenons of bureaucracy immoderate centralization of power and patriarchal system

The phenomenons of lifelong cadre system and various privilege rights

In addition, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the phenomenons of bureaucracy is a big problem in our Party and country’s political activities Its main reflection and detriment are too high to reach abuse of power divorced from fact divorced from people like showing off like talking instead of doing remaining rigid thought getting into a rut overstaffing in organization having more hands than are needed doing inefficiently doesn’t care of efficiency doesn’t take the responsibility breaking faith letting documents transfer between a lot of departments shifting the responsibilities onto each other so that being puffed up with self-importance often criticizing others attacking and revenging suppressing democracy being deceit being arrogantly doing the bribery doing the venality etc.

It is unbearable in our country’ affairs and international communication These sentences are very enlightening which is still not outdated If we want to promote political system reformation we must review and carry out Deng Xiaoping’s “Speech on August 18th” Political system is the system arrangement for a country’s political system’s regular operation which include the formation system of the operation of political system structure of function system of work and arrangement of order Considering about the developing experience of all the countries in the world the establishment operation and stabilization of a country’s political system is a developing process which depend on gradually reformed and promoted political system After China established

The basic socialist political systems established by our country are very great But it is not perfect

The development of economy and society proposed new and higher command for the function and operation of political system democratic legal system can not properly adjust to the demand of the development of economy and society socialist democratic system’s mechanism, order, requirement and specific operation still have some imperfect aspect

As for the protecting people’s democratic rights and showing people’s creative spirit aspect it still has some shortcomings

During the process of overall reformation in order to construct our country to become a harmonious society, and powerful, democratic civilized and harmonious country, we must positively and steadily promote political system reformation

The overall demand of our country’s political system reformation is insisting right political direction and the way of socialist political development with Chinese characteristics to guarantee the basis of people as masters and strengthen the activity of the Party and country Its goal is realizing people’s activity expanding socialist democracy constructing socialist legal country and developing socialist political civilization the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of our Party proposed that the main task of deepening political system reformation Firstly promoting the system of people’s congress to adjust to keep pace with the times insisting people as masters promoting the creation of theory and practice of the system of people’s congress and exerting the effect of the system of people's congress as the political system Secondly promoting the systemic development of multiparty cooperation and political counsel socialist counsel democracy is Chinese socialist democratic politics’s particular formation and unique strength and also the important reflection of the Party’s mass line in the political field
In addition, it is also the significant content of deepening political systemic reformation Thirdly developing basic self-government smoothing the access of democracy promoting the systems of basic election discussion, public, report, calling to account, etc. developing various basic counsel democracy promoting basic counsel democracy systemically To sum up we need to continually promote socialist democratic politics systemic standardizing order and fully utilize the superiority of socialist political system with Chinese characteristics to provide the systemic guarantee of the prosperity and long term safety of our Party and country

8.4.1 Consolidating Cultural Construction is the Necessity of Improving

Now, let's have a look at the fourth section Building the Socialist Culture with Chinese Characteristics First, let's look at the first question Consolidating Cultural Construction is the Necessity of Improving Overall National Strength Overall national strength is the most important factor of a country's basic condition and basic resources and a overall factor measuring a country's economy politics, military and technology There isn't a unified definition or calculated method to measure a country's overall national strength or strategical resources Nowadays, the calculated method includes the factors of the ability of politics, technology, military, diplomacy resource, government's regulation and so on However, the ability of culture doesn't be included in it Nowadays, there are several ranking list of overall national strength in the world Among these ranking list China ranks in the different precedence but China firmly ranks the top ten However actually, these ranking lists don't include the ability of culture If the ability of culture is included the rank of China's overall national strength will be higher or lower? "The report of Chinese modernization—the study of the modernization of cultural strength" reveals a list of statistics in 2005 in 131 countries China ranks 57 in the ranking list of cultural modernization which means that China belongs to basic developed country China ranks 24 in the list of cultural competitiveness which means that China belongs to the medium powerful country China's cultural influence ranks 7 in the world which belongs to the powerful country in the world Therefore if including the cultural strength China's overall national strength rank must be higher Therefore in order to enhance China's overall national strength we must make efforts to strengthen cultural construction Nowadays, a lot of civilized people realize that culture is the important factor of overall national strength

The culture has important effect on a country's core value's formation and maintenance a country's spirit and cohesion and the improvement of populace's cultivation Jiang Zemin once pointed out that "socialist culture with Chinese characteristics is the important strength of cohering and stimulating people all around the country and the important symbol of overall national strength" He also pointed out that "Nowadays in the world culture and economy mingle with each other whose position and effect in the competition become more and more important That is to say culture is a kind of "strength" that is "cultural strength" cultural strength is different from the hard power like"the strength of military" "economic strength" "the strength of resource" it is soft power in other words, it is cultural soft power

The concept of "soft power" was first proposed by Harvard professor Joseph Nye in "Soft Power:

The Means to Success in World Politics" in 2004 "Soft Power" is the opposition of "hard power" "Hard power" mainly includes economy technology, military, resources and so on Usually it is forced other country involuntary to accept under the "pressure"

It is direct immediate centralized obvious This "soft power" mainly includes culture system, diplomacy, ideology and so on Usually it uses "attracting" to receive other countries's voluntary approval it is indirect,
long time, dispersed, invisible

As for the concept of “soft power” we need to explain as follow Firstly “soft power”’s English version is “soft power” “Soft power” is also translated as “soft strength” “soft right” and so on Their essences are same as “soft power” Secondly “soft power” is not equal to “cultural soft power” soft power also includes “systemic soft power” diplomacy soft power ideological soft power and so on Thirdly cultural soft power is the important element of soft power Some scholar even think that cultural soft power is the core of soft power

As for the important function of cultural soft power Let’s look at the following sayings Marx once said that barbaric conquerors always be conquered by the higher civilization of the nation that they conquered

It is an eternal historical rule Engels once said that Some barbaric conquerors even have to use the conquered people’s language Mao Zedong once said that if wanting to rebel a government we need to create consensus and conduct the work related to ideology firstly no matter in the reformation class or in the anti-reformation class English premier Churchill once said that I would rather losing an India than losing a Shakespeare Prussia militarist Mao Qi once said that

The victory of Prussia was determined in the podium of the elementary school English premier Mrs. Thatcher once said that China can not become a big country until it can export its value Germany thinker Weber once said that the concept created by thoughts always behaves as the switchman determining the moving track of the interest train Keynes, a famous economist, once said: the power of the thought of economists and political philosophers often beyond the ordinary people’s expectations.

In fact the ruler of the world, is just these ideas. Many doers think they are not affected by any academic influence. But they have been the slaves of some dead economists.

The arrogant ruler always think that they are initiated by God

In fact, their inspirations are are from one scholar in thousands years ago I am convinced that the power of vested interests is more or less exaggerated which is far less influential than the gradual erosion of the mind Obviously cultural soft power is very important However compared to the remarkable achievements of economic construction the cultural construction of our country is obviously lagging behind One obvious evidence is that China's investment in education funding is insufficient the proportion of education investment accounted for GNP or GDP is low Provisions in “Outline of China's educational reform and development” released in 1993 said: proportion of the national financial education expenditure is gradually increased in gross national product (GNP). At the end of this century the proportion comes to 4% and reached the average level of developing countries in 80s But in fact the proportion of failed to reach 4% for a long term. “Outline of the national medium and long term educational reform and development plan” released in 2010 said that proportion of the national financial education expenditure is increased in GDP and reach 4% in 2012 Through the unremitting efforts of the whole society the proportion finally reach 4% in 2012 But it has not reached the level of the world average nor the level of developed countries

The cultural construction is lagging behind which has seriously affected our country's comprehensive national strength.

In order to improve the comprehensive national strength of China we must strengthen the construction of socialist culture with Chinese characteristics Strengthened cultural construction can provide a corresponding moral guarantee for the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics, value guidance media guarantee spiritual motivation and intellectual support can promote economic
construction political construction cultural construction social construction and the construction of ecological civilization of the harmonious development can promote social all-round development and all-round development of human Finally we can summarize the relationship between cultural soft power and comprehensive national strength as follow: If hard power is not strong then one blow knock us down If soft power is not strong then we will be knocked down by ourselves If both soft and hard power are not strong then we will definitely be knocked down If both soft and hard power are very strong then nothing will knock us down Only the comprehensive national strength is unbeatable.

8.4.2 Pairs of Relations Need to be Handled in Order to Consolidate Cultural Construction

Let’s see the second question Some relationships need to be well-dealt if we want to strength cultural construction if we want to strength cultural construction and enhance cultural soft power of contemporary China To enhance cultural soft power of contemporary China first is the relationship between spreading Chinese culture and referring to imported culture Chinese culture is an important part of the socialist culture with Chinese characteristics Chinese culture must be vigorously promoted in the construction of socialist culture with Chinese characteristics Report of the 17th National Congress pointed out that the Chinese culture is inexhaustible power power of the Chinese nation life and growth in nature and striving unity spreading Chinese culture requires us to have a comprehensive understanding of traditional Chinese culture select the essence discard the dross so that to make it adapt with the contemporary society and to be consistent with modern civilization keep its national character and reflect the times Chinese excellent cultural and traditional education should be strengthened Using modern technologies to develop and utilize national culture’s rich resources

We should strengthen the excavation and protection of the national culture pay attention to cultural heritage and intangible cultural heritage protection and do a good job in the work of cultural books and records.

We should strengthen cultural exchanges absorb the achievements of the outstanding civilizations of all countries and enhance the international influence of Chinese culture

The Eighteenth National Congress of the CPC report said Chinese culture should go out and take a greater pace when discussing the target of a moderately prosperous society comprehensively building a moderately prosperous society, deepening and opening up the reform and also promote to create a new situation in the international influence of Chinese culture" when talking about how to push forward the construction of socialist cultural power firmly

The most important of developing and expanding Chinese Culture is to grasp the following three points first we should fully understand the value of Chinese culture regard Chinese culture as the important resources of cultivating national identity and enhancing the soft power second we must attach importance to the development and mining of Chinese culture and we also need to pay attention to the protection and utilization of Chinese culture third on the basis of maintaining the characteristics of Chinese culture we achieve the modernity transformation of Chinese culture Chinese culture is an important business card of the Chinese nation towards the world using and protecting this valuable business card is the duty of every Chinese people While developing and expanding Chinese Culture we should also learn from foreign culture

The scope of foreign culture is very wide.
It not only includes the western culture the culture of other countries in the East are also included it also includes cultures of Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan Foreign cultural content is very rich which includes advanced culture and useful culture the backward culture and decadent culture and even the reactionary culture so we need to carefully identify and make dialectical treatment for them Once, American News Weekly appraised and elected the most influential cultural symbols of each country. Let’s have a look

The symbols of Chinese culture are Chinese Beijing Imperial Palace the Great Wall Suzhou Gardens Confucius Taoism

The Art of War Terra Cotta Warriors Mogao Grottoes Tang Empire Silk Porcelain Peking Opera the Shaolin Temple Kung Fu Journey to the West Temple of Heaven Mao Zedong Acupuncture and Chinese cooking actually

In addition to the above I think the symbol of Chinese culture should also include the antithetical couplet

The antithetical couplet is a unique form of Chinese culture

When it comes to the antithetical couplet everyone must have known the long Chinese antithetical couplets about Daguanlou in Kunming This antithetical couplet has a total of 180 words

The first line of a couplet on a scroll describes the scenery around Dianchi Lake that is like a landscape painting the second line of a couplet narrates the history of Yunnan which is like a narrative epic Words of the couplet are antique and the artistic conception is profound So it has been hailed as “the best long Chinese antithetical couplets” now I close my eyes and recite this antithetical couplets

The vast expanse of five-hundred Dianchi Lake is in front of my eyes Opening skirts and pushing the crown the vast boundless blue waves make people happy Look: the golden horse mountain is like horses galloping in the east the chicken mountain is like a phoenix flying in the west the snake mountain is like snake winding in the north and Heshan is like a crane flying in the south Poets! Why don't you choose this time to climb tall buildings and appreciate the islands like crabs and bars like snails

The green trees weeps in the mist like a young girl combing the hair And there are also aquatic plants, the land of the reed and dotted with green bird and a few brilliant red clouds Enjoy watching! Don't waste the full of golden rice around the Dianchi Lake white beaches in the sun the graceful lotus in summer and willows in spring This is the first line of a couplet on a scroll isn’t it? Let’s look at the second line of a couplet Next couplet:

The past of thousands of years welled up in my mind I hold up my wine and sign at the sky Those hero in the past didn’t exist anymore Just think: the emperor in order to open up the southwest passage to India, gouged Kunming Lake to practice water army in Changan Emperor Zhongzong of Tang sent troops to recover Erhai Lake region, and build an iron column to record a merit Song Taizu waved hand jade axe, and facing the map draw out the southwest Kublai Khan lead the army across the Jinsha river and unified Yunnan These great achievements are really hard like moving mountains! But dynastic changed fast like a rain in the evening and the morning cloud some soon disappear even the curtain can not afford time to roll up even the broken stone tablets for merits also fall in the evening mist

In the end, just leave only a few sparse bells half river of dim fishing fire two lines of lonely autumn wild goose and a pillow of cold frost That’s right Hope you to experience the artistic conception of the couplet in earnest. Let’s continue
The symbols of American culture are Wall Street Broadway Hollywood McDonald’s NBA Coca-Cola Hilton Marlboro Disney Silicon Valley Harvard University Thanksgiving Superman the Statue of Liberty Barbie Dolls the White House football Jazz Starbucks Walmart

The symbols of British culture are English language Buckingham Palace the palace of Westminster British Museum Stonehenge University of Oxford Greenwich Observatory Darwin Newton Shakespeare the Beatles British Commonwealth the gentleman Queen Victoria Rolls-Royce Chivas Churchill BBC Beckham and Harry Porter

As for Harry Porter it reminds me a joke that talking about that fans of Rowling and Jin Yong once met Fans of Jin Yong said that our Mr. Jin was the most smart and best one with the first words in the names of his fourteen novels connected to a pair of couplets which was “hunting the white stag in a flurry of snow happily penning the tale of the divine couple amidst the green feathered birds” While the fans of Rowling said that was nothing and the first words of seven novels of our Rowling were also combined into a sentence “Hahahahahahahaha” Actually there is no need for us to make Rowling denied by Jin Yong nor Jin Yong denied by Rowling both of which just enjoys their own beauty

The symbols of French culture are French language Eiffel Tower Le Louvre Museum Palace of Versailles Balzac Hugo Hennessy Napoleon Louis Vuitton (ie, LV) Estee Lauder L’OREAL Carrefore Christine Dior (ie, CD) an eponymous fashion brand it is not the CD in VCD Pierre Cardin Mount Saint Michel Joan of arc Champs Elysees street enlightenment Chanel

The Red And the Black

As for Stendhal’s “The Red and the Black” Mao Zedong once said that there was Redology both in the East and West in which the oriental Redology referred to the a dream of Red Mansions while the Redology of the west referred to the “The Red and the Black”

The symbols of Japanese culture are the chrysanthemum and the sword Bushido emperor Toshogu Mt Fuji Sakura Horyu Ji temple Katsura the Japanese bath culture Japanese cuisine Himeji Castle sumo Karate Shinto and shrine Judo Noh kimono SONY the new main line and LSsey Miyake Maybe you can remember other things haha Well, I would like to ask you a question What the meaning of LSsey Miyake Maybe some people may understand it just as its name suggests that “staying indoors from morning afternoon to night even for one’s life” which is not the fact. “LSsey Miyake” refers to the Japanese fashion brand which is named after one’s name Go back to the main topic we must first recognize and discriminate carefully the nature of the foreign culture with learning from it

When discriminating its nature specific things should be specifically handled with and we could not take it for granted as a good or bad one

On the basis of recognizing the nature of foreign culture different attitudes and strategies should be adopted with different cultures What’s more, the advanced culture should be positively introduced and seriously absorbed and the beneficial culture should be vigorously supported and actively learned from Whereas, the backward culture should be carefully applied and actively transformed

The decadent culture must be resolutely resisted and defended with all rejections And the reactionary culture should be spared no effort to be criticized and analyzed carefully Therefore, we could not only take examples by the foreign culture to complement ours but also focus our culture on to prevent the harms of it with treating the foreign culture in a dialectical way Second, the relationship between the introductions and outputs of the culture
The cultural communication between China and foreign countries is inevitable in the construction of socialist culture with Chinese characteristics which is also the only way to promote the prosperity of the culture.

The cultural exchange consists of two basic aspects which are the introductions of the culture and the outputs of the culture. Nowadays our nation has made great achievements in the aspect of cultural introductions presently while the achievements in the aspect of cultural outputs have been relatively far less in terms of scale and quality which makes the problem of the "cultural deficit". That is the outputs of the culture in our country are far less than the introductions of the culture. Taking books for example the deficit between the import and export trade of books in our country has been about 10:1 for many years in which books have mostly imported to some countries in Asia and HongKong, Taiwan, Macau in our country. And the deficit between the import and export trade of books with the European countries and the United states is up to 100:1.

In 2004 there were 4068 copyrights of books introduced from America but with 14 copyrights of books output. There were 2030 copyrights of books introduced from England but with 16 copyrights of books output. And there were 694 copyrights of books introduced from Japan but with 22 copyrights of books output. And in 2005 the deficit between the import and export trade of books with the United states was 4000:24. There are both the objective reason and subjective reason for the production of the deficit of the culture.

In the present cultural globalization China is a great cultural nation but not a culture-powerful state comparing with the developed western countries.

The demands of cultural introductions of China are more than those of the outputs of the culture which is the objective reason.

The subjective reason is that China imports the foreign cultures with blindness and repetition lacking great awareness and abilities of cultural outputs which interactively makes the great deficit of the culture in China. If China decides to become the true great nation the deficit of the culture must be narrowed down which needs to take actions from the two aspects of the cultural introductions and cultural outputs.

As for the introductions of the culture we must spare no effort to improve the quality of the introduced cultures with keeping the amount of them.

It requires us to distinguish the good from the bad instead of blindly worshiping others. And it needs us to have a targeted destination with these properly in their orders.

It also demands us to study and relish the beauties of the foreign culture instead of choosing the wrong and pointless parts of them. And it also requires us to take the introduced culture to apply instead of the false respects of seeming love.

As for the cultural outputs the amount and quality of them should be spare no effort to improve which needs us to improve the forms and contents of Chinese culture and awareness abilities of cultural outputs.

In the process of cultural outputs the awareness that the outputs of the culture are not just the outputs of cultural productions but the outputs of values should be established. There are rich and abundant resources of values in the Chinese culture, such as the idea of "harmony" which is not only the valuable wealth of the Chinese nation but also the valuable wealth of the world. If the western countries affected the human beings with the basic values about "freedom", "equality", "love" and "human rights" China now
should create a harmonious world with the basic value of “harmony”. Third, the relationship between the cultural confidence and reflections

In the construction of socialist culture with Chinese characteristics we must have confidence in our culture

The confidence is that a person with a culture heritage has a more satisfied opinion on the values superiority and the advantages of his culture

The typical description of the cultural confidence is the Hengqu Four-Sentences of the philosopher Chang Zai in the Northern Song dynasty in China To ordain conscience for Heaven and Earth. To secure life and fortune for the people. To continue lost teachings for past sages. To establish peace for all future generations.

In addition we must have reflections on our culture

The cultural reflection is that a person with a culture heritage is crystal clear about the rooms for improvement and the improving direction of his culture

The typical description of the cultural confidence is the proverb of the famous scholar Fei Xiaotong enjoying the beauty of their own with worshiping the beauty of others enjoying the beauty of their own and others with gaining a harmonious world

The confidence and reflections of the culture are the vital parts of the development of the culture. Without confidence in our culture the national sense of cohesion and confidence is difficult to be improved. Without the reflections on our culture it is easy for us to get big-headed and self-satisfied. While, the nation only with confidence of culture will have a tendency to impose its culture on others with disaster to other nations and itself

The nation only with reflections on its culture will have a tendency to lack of the power and boldness to stand in the world. Therefore we must carefully reflect on our culture along with the confidence in our culture and have great confidence in our culture on the basis of reflections on our culture which makes a nation form a strong and healthy cultural character without any danger for other nations

The combination between the confidence and reflections of the culture is very important to a nation promoting the correct and beneficial cultural identity and the cultural consciousness eliminating the cultural hegemonism, the cultural colonialism and the cultural absolutism with the background of cultural globalization the construction of Chinese culture has to have the courage and ambition of “To ordain conscience for Heaven and Earth. To secure life and fortune for the people. To continue lost teachings for past sages. To establish peace for all future generations.” as well as the tolerance and self-consciousness of “enjoying the beauty of their own with worshiping the beauty of others enjoying the beauty of their own and others with gaining a harmonious world”

8.5.1 The Ultimate Goal of Establishing the Harmonious Socialist Society is the Wellbeing of People

Let’s look at the fifth section Construct socialist harmonious society Many people hold that currently, China is faced with many social conflicts and it is unrealistic to construct a harmonious society. Actually it is these social conflicts that require us to construct the harmonious society. Let’s see the first problem
The goal of constructing the harmonious society is to enhance people's sense of happiness.

The goal of constructing the harmonious society does not lie in the action itself. Ultimately, it aims to enhance people's sense of happiness. Enhance people's sense of happiness.

The socialist harmonious society that we want to construct is a society characterized by democracy and rule of law justice and fairness honesty and friendship energy orderliness and safety and coexistence of man and the nature. Democracy and rule of law is to give full play to socialist democracy and the fundamental strategy of rule of law is implemented practically and active factors in all-round way are mobilized widely. Justice and fairness is to properly settle the interest-related problems of various social aspects properly deal with the internal conflicts inside the society and other social conflicts Therefore, social justice and fairness will be maintained and realized indeed. Honesty and friendship requires the whole city to help each other and keep word All people should treat each other equally and friendly harmoniously Energy means any creative desire contributive to social progress is respected and creative activities are supported

In this way, creativity can be fulfilled and creative accomplishments are recognized by the society. Safety and orderliness need a complete social organizational mechanism complete social management and good social order

In addition, people live and work happily and the society maintains safety and solidarity. Harmonious coexistence between human and the nature is to realize developed production affluent life and good ecology

The six aspects above constitute the general characteristics of socialist harmonious society as well as its overall requirement. They demonstrate specific and direct significance to improve people's happiness. First democracy and rule of law protect people's happiness Under the socialist democratic conditions people can become the owner of the country in true sense which provides a guarantee for improving people's happiness. Under socialist rule-of-law conditions there are laws to abide by laws must be abided by must implement laws strictly and must punish illegal behaviors Therefore illegal crimes will be cracked down and punished to maximum degree

The people can eliminate social risks and uncertainties to the maximum degree the scope of laws so as to increase their sense of happiness. second justice and fairness is the value basis of the people's happiness Human is the sum of social relationship Pursuing justice and fairness is the basic requirement for humanity as far as the majority of people are concerned A just and fair society often often keeps its people peaceful and satisfied while an unfair and unjust society always arouses people's dissatisfaction and even take some dangerous actions. third honesty and friendship is the social capital of the people's happiness

The honesty and friendship between individuals is the important source of personal happiness A lack of interpersonal honesty and friendship will cause mutual frauds, indifference and even hostility Consequently, most members of the society society find it difficult to feel happy. fourth energy is the spiritual resource of the people's happiness Energy is a major reflection of the people's happiness as well as a crucial means to enhance it

It is less possible for a dull society to feel happy Only in the case that people give full play to their talent talent is taken best use of and the society is energetic and full of vitality can social members truly feel happy. fifth safety and orderliness is the political premise of the people's happiness No matter what's the nature of the society without a safe and orderly political environment people will lack a necessary sense of
safety and certainty To carry out socialist modernization construction and increase the people’s sense of happiness it has to create a safe and orderly social environment first

In this sense indeed, as Deng Xiaoping pointed out stability overrides everything. Surely safety and orderliness is not contradictory to a society full of energy Since an energetic society can realize the true safety and orderliness Immobility is not a feature of true safety and orderliness Similarly, the safety and orderly vitality is the true energy. Disorderly vitality is not what we need. sixth the harmonious coexistence between human and the nature constitutes the ecological premise of the people’s happiness Human, as a member of the nature can only live normally in a normal natural environment Therefore, a good natural ecology becomes the major source of making them happy Clean river and green mountains always bring more happiness to people than money or material wealth Pursuing economic growth at the expense of plundering resources and polluting environment is an unworthy practice.

8.5.2 Public Power Must Run in a Formalized Way in Order to Establish the Harmonious Socialist Society

let’s see the second problem constructing the socialist harmonious society must make sure the regulated operation of public power Constructing the harmonious society and promoting social harmonious requires us to actively engage in political system reform, realizes the scientific, democratic, legalized and standardized operation of authority and ensures the officials’ power is restricted supervised and balanced by various aspects. To guarantee the government and its official's power operation is standardized, it has to follow the following law of rights. First, it is the rule of rights delimitation

In other words, any right is limited

The “limitless rights” must be stopped from being generated and operated For officials and governments limitless rights must cause limitless harms

The delimitation of “rights of oneself and the group” is the premise of the power operation What’s the government’s power and what’s citizens’ rights? these are main contents of the delimitation of “rights of oneself and the group”

As for the questions how to define the limit of rights the public power has larger rights or the citizens enjoy larger rights they need to be settled through the democratic negotiation of all social members including officials and citizens Constructing the harmonious society has to diminish the existence and operation of limitless rights. Second, it is the rules of rights

It means any right must be restricted.

The society resolutely puts an end to the generation and operation of the absolute power. No matter how smoothly it runs, failure and disaster will be the final destination without exception. Lord Acton, the British scholar, has a famous saying in his book, Power and Freedom, “Power results in corruption. Absolute power absolutely results in corruption.” history has proved this saying which was always said to be “absolute power results in absolute corruption.”

It is not the case.

It should be like that “absolute power absolutely results in corruption”. actually the absolute power not just absolutely causes corruption but also generates mistakes wastes and disaster
The so-called “absolute power” refers to the unrestricted power. Constructing the harmonious society should necessarily stop the existence and operation of the “absolute power”.

In the long-term political activities man has identified and designed many effective rules of power which can be generally summarized as the followings: First, restrict power with power. A good example is the separation of powers proposed by Locke and Montesquieu.

The separation and mutual balance of legislation, execution and jurisdiction prevents the threats of power on the society and citizens. Second, restrict power with rights. Through conferring citizens and the society with various rights, e.g., supervising right, criticizing right and other rights to resist against the public power, it lowers the possibility of officials’ power abuse. Third, restrict power with Constitution.

It delimits the field and limits of power based on the Constitution.

It prevents the unlimited expansion of power via resolutely implementing the Constitution. Fourth, restrict power with democracy.

The people enjoy the right to vote for the various subjects of power, thereby promoting the competition and supervision of them and then preventing the alienation of power. Fifth, restrict power with rule of law. After integrating the process of public power operation into the framework of law, it reduces the randomness of power operation and ensures its public interest. Sixth, restrict power with the society.

In this way, it requires vigorously developing civilian power to effectively supervise and restrict the power operation of the government and officials.

The historic experience of power restrictions is not applicable to any occasion.

We have to select some and critically refer to them according to China’s national situations.

It is not allowed to copy the western mode of “separation of powers”. At the same time, we must create the power operation system suitable for our traditions, national situations and characteristics with an open attitude and bosom to refer to the useful experience of power restriction and power balance, thus equipping the sharp sword with a scabbard. Three, it involves the scientific rule of power.

The execution of power is not random and arbitrary or violates against scientific truths and common senses. Every link of power execution should be realized based on the objective rules.

The power operation that violates against the objective rules will inevitably result in the undesirable consequences no matter what a good goal it has set.

The scientific rule of power requires the means of exerting power to be scientific and justified. Unscrupulous use of power with a noble excuse is not allowed. Especially, it has to prohibit the execution of power in the violent and mandatory way. Forth, it refers to the value law of power.

The execution of power must aim to realize public value, rather than other purposes e.g., personal preference interest of minority and an impulsive action, etc. Besides, the power should not be exerted without any aim.

The power that does not pursue public value not just causes the wastes of social resources, but also results in alienation of power itself. Fifth, it is the accountability rule of power.
The execution of any power must be a process of accountability undertaking Accountability is an indispensable part of power

The power without accountability is illegal

The bigger the power is the greater the accountabilities are vice versa if the subject has no power, he or she needn’t to assume any responsibilities One of the Marxism view is that the rights and obligations must be consistent “There is no right without obligation as there is no obligation without right.” For public power “There is accountability without power as there is no power without accountability.”

The accountability rule of power is a refusal to large power with small responsibility or right without responsibility, small power with large responsibility or responsibility without right. Only measuring the power and accountabilities can the power be exerted cautiously and the possibility of power abuse be minimized. Sixth, it is the legitimate rule of power Power must be exerted under laws especially the Constitution

In the political system of “Separation of Legislature and Administration” in modern countries the nature of power is law enforcement power i.e., the power of enforcing laws Beyond the scope of laws the power will lose the basis and legitimacy of its presence Law is skin while power is hair with the skin gone, to what can the hair attach itself?

The powers beyond laws are illegal powers No matter what original purpose of the illegal powers is they undoubtedly will cause unexpected bad results Thus, they are not encouraged or advocated Even if laws and the constitutions have some defects to be corrected in every stage power shall not exceed them Temporary expediencies also need some procedures and aftermath remedies This rule seemingly makes power’s executive efficiency greatly decreased but actually it prevents the potential harms of power on citizens. Seventh, harmless rules of power Power would rather be useless than be harmful This books, “Guan Zhong”, says that do not do what can’t be successful do not seek what can’t be achieved do not stay at a place that can’t be kept long do not do what can’t be repeated...... Someone who does not do what can’t be successful knows the force of the civil Someone who does not seek what can’t be achieved does not force his civil to do what they evil of Someone who does not stay at a place that can’t be kept long does not seek luck Someone who does not do what can’t be repeated will not fool his people This statement is in fact an excellent description for harmless power Many people misunderstand this statement as “it can’t be successful without attempt it can’t be achieved without seeking it can’t be kept long without staying same place it can’t be repeated without ability” Those are not right If we strictly abide by the rules of power then power will be standardized operation

The positive side of the power is that can be carried forward to the maximum extent At the same time, the negative aspects of power can be eliminated in the maximum extent Power would foster strengths and circumvent weaknesses punish evil-doers and encourage people to do good in the process of building a harmonious society Only in this way can we effectively build a harmonious society

8.6.1 Basic Standpoints of Sustainable Development Concept

Let’s see the sixth section build a socialist ecological civilization Ecological civilization is closely related to the concept of sustainable development. Let’s see the first problem the basic viewpoint of sustainable development

The formation of the concept of sustainable development has experienced a relatively long process.
In this process there are a lot of landmark literatures: Like “Silent Spring” written American female writer Rachel Kason. “Silent Spring” paints us a sudden change of a beautiful village with fables initially. And it also reveals us the hazards of chemical pesticides in all direction from lands to sea and from sea to sky.

It is recognized as the foundation literature of the world environmental movement. Like “universe airship theory”, put forward by American economist Boulding Boulding holds that the relationship of man and the earth is the same as the relationship between the space crew and the spacecraft.

It not just depends on each other to survive and be mutual prosperity but also closed to outsiders and has limited capacity. Boulding thought that the earth was a huge spaceship, and that human beings were the crew of the spaceship. This is a closed cyclic system.

In addition to the energy from the sun, all the human life needs to be met through a virtuous circle on earth.

The reason why people can continuously reproduce in an endless succession is that the earth achieves self-sufficiency as an ecosystem. For example, the American scholar Barbara Ward and Rene Dubos co-authored a Book named "Only One Earth".

The book's subtitle is "Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet," which is a book talking about global environmental issues. This book makes comments on the influences of economic development and environmental pollution on different countries from the points of global development prospect, society, economics and politics and appealed to the people of all countries to pay attention to the maintenance of the planet which the human being lives on.

The book has been translated into a variety of languages which has a widely range impact on promoting to environmental protection in various countries. Like Research Report “the Limits of Growth,” a research report of professor Dennis Medos from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This book is the first report given to the world by Rome Club which is the pioneer of environmental protection movement.

It is the first alarm to the traditional development mode of human society and thus sets off a worldwide upsurge of environmental protection.

The book has been translated into various languages and reprinted repeatedly.


The basic ideas of Sustainable Development Concept can be summarized as the following: first Development is the core of Sustainable Development Concept. But Sustainable Development Concept does not reject developments in any forms abstractly. second Sustainable development does not advocate any form of development, especially against those who do not control and can not develop continuously.

The sustainable development concept holder often quote sayings of India's Sancho Gandhi to warn mankind: “Nature can satisfy human needs, but can not satisfy the human greed.” third Development should be the sustainable development of human and nature, environment, resources and ecology instead of the "control of nature" and "conquest of nature" from the perspective of human centralism. author of
“Silent Spring”, Carson pointed out that “Control of nature” this word is a product of the imagination of overbearing and is the product of the time when biology and philosophy are still in its emerging period. At that time, people think of the "control of nature" was to make the mature meet the convenience and benefit of human. fourth Development must consider the contemporary people and future generations of people in the environment, resources, ecology and other aspects of the inter-generational equity issue.

The sustainable development concept holder often quote a saying: the earth is not the legacy that our ancestors left us, but the present that we have kept for posterity.

As for where the famous saying comes from, there are different opinions. You can search on it if you are interested in it. fifth

On the basis of considering the issue of inter-generational equity, Generational equity also should be considered in countries, races, classes with different development degrees. sixth

In order to achieve sustainable development, we must control the population protect the environment, conserve resources, promote technological innovation and institutional innovation. Let's go back to China.

As early as the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the Party Central Committee put forward and implemented a "sustainable development strategy". After that, the "sustainable development strategy" has always been highly valued by the fourth generation of the central collective leadership. One of Scientific Outlook on Development's three basic requirements is "sustainable". “The 11th five-year plan about the national economy and social development made by the Central Committee of CCP” takes saving resources as a basic national policy, accelerate the construction of resource-saving, environment-friendly society, promoting economic development and population, resources, environment coordinated. 17th CPC National Congress put forward the concept of "ecological civilization" in the file for the first time.

The report of the 17th National Congress of the CPC talked about "must adhere to the development as the first priority of the party in power", compared the strategy of sustainable development and the strategy of revitalizing the nation through science and education, the strategy of talent powerful nation which is highly valued

The report of the 17th National Congress of the CPC also proposed that it should adhere to the basic state policy of "saving resources and protecting the environment". Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC, the fifth point "to promote sound and rapid development of the national economy," the fourth point "strengthen energy resource conservation and ecological environmental protection, enhance capacity for sustainable development" is a system of sustainable development of the "Chinese style" elaborate and comprehensive requirements in essence.

The report of the 17th National Congress of the CPC has put forward two concepts which are "civilized development" and "sustainable development". Those are very close to the connotation of "sustainable development". General Secretary Hu Jintao pointed out: "the 17th National Congress stressed the need to build an ecological civilization, which is the first time the party put forward it as a strategic task clearly.

The construction of ecological civilization, in essence, is to build a resource-saving and environment-friendly society as the goal of sustainable development which is based on the resources and environment with carrying capacity and the natural law as the criterion ".

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The Eighteenth National Congress of the CPC clearly put forward the overall requirements to promote the construction of ecological civilization vigorously. That is to establish respect for nature, to comply with nature, to protect the concept of ecological civilization.

The construction of ecological civilization is in a prominent position which is blended into the economic construction, political construction, cultural construction, social construction and the whole process.

We should spare no effort to build a beautiful China, to achieve sustainable development of the Chinese nation. Further emphasis on the third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee is that we should accelerate the establishment of the system of ecological civilization, improve land and space development, resource conservation and utilization, institutional mechanisms for the protection of the ecological environment, promote the formation of a new pattern of human and nature harmonious development of modernization by tightly focusing on the reform of constructing deepen ecological civilization of beautiful China. To build a socialist ecological civilization, we must put conservation resources in the first place, increase environmental protection efforts, do a good job of ecological conservation work and build a cyclical economy.

8.6.2 Perfecting the Policy System of Ecological Civilization

Let's look at the second question Complete ecological civilization system construction of ecological civilization is a revolutionary change in the mode of production the way of life the way of thinking and the value of the concept to fulfill such a revolution we must depend on rules and laws

In this regard, Xi Jinping pointed out: only the implementation of the most stringent system, the most stringent rule of law can provide a reliable guarantee for the construction of ecological civilization.

In order to construct ecological civilization, we must establish a complete system to protect the ecological environment, promote the construction of ecological civilization with institutions. to be more detailed there are three main measures first To improve the economic and social development evaluation system. To establish a complete system of ecological civilization, the most important thing is to intake the resource consumption, environmental damage and ecological benefits, such as reflect ecological civilization construction of the index into the economic and social development of the evaluation system so as to make it important guidance and constraints for promoting ecological civilization construction. Scientific evaluation system is like a "baton" which puts the ecological environment evaluation system of economic and social development in a prominent position by the establishment of target system, assessment methods, and the mechanism of rewards and punishments that embody the requirements of ecological civilization. Performance of a district and a department should be established on the basis of a good indicator of the ecological environment. Or that sentence, a certain kind of performance concept leads to a certain kind of development concept.

It is necessary to develop a reasonable assessment criteria to establish correct concept of development of the government and its officials second Delineation of the red line of ecological protection the establishment of accountability system, Ecological red line is the bottom line and the lifeline of the national ecological security, the red line can not be broken through. Once it’s broken, the people's production, life and sustainable development of the country will be in danger. Concept of ecological Red-line should be well-noted and deeply rooted. Xi Jinping pointed out: "in the ecological and environmental protection issues, we must not overstep, otherwise it should be punished. Environmental resource is a public product, it must be held accountable for its damage and destruction. For those leading cadres who ignore the ecological environment and make blind decision to cause serious consequences must be held accountable
in whole life time. Explore and compile the balance sheet of natural resources and implement the
retirement audit to leaders on natural resources assets. A system of lifelong accountability for ecological
and environmental damage should be established. third promoting laws and regulations improving the
management system of ecological environment protection, conforming to the urgent needs of the
construction of ecological civilization China's environmental laws and regulations should continue to keep
pace with the times. Process of reform and change should be accelerated

The legal system for protecting, managing ecological environment land mineral forest grassland and other
aspects shall be improved as soon as possible Contents which is inconsistent with existing laws,
regulations and the requirements of the ecological civilization construction should be mended and revised
comprehensively Laws and regulations for biological diversity protection soil pollution control nuclear
safety and others should be researched and drafted By constantly sounding and improving the
environmental legislation further strengthen environmental law enforcement and provide a reliable legal
protection for the construction of ecological civilization At the same time we should reform the ecological
environment protection management system establish and improve the strict supervision of all emissions
of environmental protection management system set an independent environmental supervision and
execution increase the authority of law enforcement Strict compensation system should be implemented
on Someone who cause damage on ecological condition and be held accountable according to law
Coming to a new era of ecological civilization and building a beautiful China are important parts of the
Chinese dream of achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation China will follow the principle of
respecting nature, conforming to nature protecting the natural environment and carry out the basic state
policy of conserving resources and protecting the environment further improve the system of ecological
civilization and the ecological civilization construction into economic construction political construction
cultural construction social construction and the whole process so as to leave living and production
environment with blue sky green land and clean water Once upon a time people desperately exchange
green mountains and clean rivers for gold and silver Later people found that green mountains and clean
rivers are much more precious than gold and silver However exchanging green mountains and clear rivers
for gold and silver is relatively easy but exchanging gold and silver for green mountains and clear rivers is
very difficult Therefore when there is the conflict of interest and environment we should make a wise
decision

Chapter 9: Theory of Achieving Complete Reunification of China 实现
中国完全统一的理论

9.1.1 Historical origin of the Hong Kong issue

Hello, everyone

We meet again Today let's study Chapter 9 "Theory of Achieving Complete Reunification of China"

As for the issue of reunification

We can surely think of the beginning sentence of the Romance of Three Kingdoms

The empire, long divided, must unite; long united, must divide the "division" here can be comprehended as
"fragmentation" the "unified" here can be comprehended as "unification" However the long duration of
time is not the reason for fragmentation

We can't say that staying united for a long time will naturally lead to fragmentation Similarly
The long time is not the reason for unification

We can't say that the long time of division will naturally lead to unification

The "long time" is just a superficial outcome of fragmentation and unification

The fragmentation and unification of a country have their own genuine and specific reasons which need to be analyzed carefully. Then, is China unified or fragmented at present? Which may be the current status?

We can say that it is unified mainly but not unified completely. So Why isn't China completely unified? Why should we achieve complete reunification of China? How can we achieve complete reunification of China? Let's study this chapter with these questions. To start with, let's look at the first section Why isn't China completely unified? Maybe you have noticed that in our life we often hear a statement called "four districts of Cross-Strait". Then Which two sides and which four districts are referred to by the "four districts of Cross-Strait"? Well

The term "Cross-strait" refers to the two sides of Taiwan Strait and the term "four districts" refers to China mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau. Maybe someone will ask "We also often hear the term 'three districts of Cross-Strait'. What's the difference between the "three districts of Cross-Strait" and the "four districts of Cross-Strait"? The term "cross-strait" in the "three districts of Cross-Strait" still refers to the two sides of Taiwan Strait while the term "three districts" refers to China mainland, Taiwan and the third one, Hong Kong. Since Hong Kong and Macau are so near in terms of culture and geography, people always consider them as a whole and call them together. Therefore the third district can refer to the "district of Hong Kong and Macau"

In this case the term "three districts of Cross-Strait" has the same meaning as that of the "four districts of Cross-Strait"

The "four districts of Cross-Strait" are the places most densely distributed with Chinese in today's world. They are all profoundly influenced by Chinese culture throughout history and they are all under the administration of the central government. However, since the modern times for a variety of reasons, the "four districts of Cross-Strait" had long been ruled and enclosed by different governments. Hong Kong had become a problem and it was the same with Macau and Taiwan. Our country is not completely unified. Then how did these problems occur? Let's look at the first question the historical origin of the Hong Kong issue. Hong Kong has been territory of China since ancient times.

As early as in 214 B.C. that is, the 23rd year of the First Emperor of Qin Dynasty Qin sent troops to conquer the coastal area of south China and established the County of South Sea. Hong Kong was brought into the territory of Qin and it belonged to Panyu County. Since then Hong Kong had been under the rule of the central authority and formally became part of the territory of Qin. From then to Qing Dynasty, Hong Kong has been under the effective rule of the successive dynasties of China.

In the 20th year of Emperor Daoguang of Qing Dynasty that is, 1840 A.D. Britain waged the Opium War.

In the 22nd year of Emperor Daoguang of Qing Dynasty that is, 1842 A.D. the Qing Dynasty was defeated and was forced to sign The Treaty of Nanking. Qing ceded Hong Kong island to Britain and allowed Britain "garrison there for the long term, legislate and dominate freely."

In the 6th year of Emperor Xianfeng of Qing Dynasty that is, 1856 A.D. Britain, along with France, waged the Second Opium War.
In the 10th year of Emperor Xianfeng of Qing Dynasty that is, 1860 A.D. Qing administration was forced to sign *The Convention of Peking* Under the provisions of the convention the "Kowloon area" was ceded to Britain.

In the 20th year of Emperor Guangxu of Qing Dynasty, i.e. 1894 A.D. after the Jiawu Sino-Japanese War invaders of some countries took advantage of the occasion when Qing was defeated They emulated to delineate spheres of influence in China.

In the 24th year of Emperor Guangxu of Qing Dynasty, i.e. 1898 A.D. Britain forced Qing Dynasty to sign *Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory* Britain compulsively "rented" the vast area of the Kowloon Peninsular on the north to the Boundary Street and south to the Shenzhen River as well as over 200 islands of the nearby water area.

The lease term is 99 years which expired on June 30th, 1997 This district is called "New Territories" of later times From then on people always called Hong Kong Island, Kowloon peninsular, and the New Territories along with the over 200 coastal islands together as Hong Kong.

When I was a university student I read a novel written by Huo Da, a famous female writer. The novel is *Patch the Split Sky*.

The book fully displays the grievous history of "Hong Kong extension" through the bumpy experiences of a scholar named Yi Junshu who ran away from Beijing to Hong Kong after the Reform Movement of 1898 failed.

The book includes his tragic and heroic rebellion against Britain with patriots of the New Territories and millions of local residents which was brutally suppressed.

It composes a tragic epic of Chinese people who resist foreign aggression and would rather die than give in.

The name of the book *Patch the Split Sky* originated from the poem of Xin Qiji *Melody to Tongfu again, in the tune of Congratulating Bridegroom*.

The whole poem is as follows: What to say at an old age Now you are as idealistic as Yuanlong and as generous as Menggong You visited me when I was ill, singing and drinking so boldly that the snow on the building was shocked to disperse and fly You laughed at those who regard wealth and honor as vitally important But who will listen to your words of integrity I remember there was only the moon outside the window at that time.

We filled the cup with alcohol again and changed the instruments Things are constant while people have diverse thoughts I want to ask them how many times of division and unification China has experienced Pedigreed horses are used to drag the salt carts without notice.

It is vain even if someone buys the bone of pedigreed horses I see that the way to the central land is broken I like your aspiration of playing the sword at midnight You said,"A man's heart is as unyielding as iron to the death " Please see me trying to patch the split sky.

The so-called "patch the split sky" means reclaiming the lost territories and achieving the reunification with the spirit of the goddess Nvwa who patched the split sky Both of the book and the poem are interesting You can pay attention to them Now let's go on.
We can say that Hong Kong was forced to be ceded and rented to the Britain colonists who threatened Qing Dynasty with the war and forced Qing to sign three inequitable treaties including The Treaty of Nanking The Convention of Peking and Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory Obviously The three treaties are all products of Britain invasion and colonizing They are all inequitable treaties All the successive authorities after the 1911 Revolution have denied these treaties After the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949 China government has declared for multiple times our principle on the Hong Kong issue

The principle is that Hong Kong is territory of China China never admits the three inequitable treaties imposed by imperialism

As for the historically reserved issue China government consistently contends to solve it through peaceful negotiations at proper time Before it is solved we maintain the present situation temporarily

Of course we also know that Hong Kong has returned to China successfully under the "one country, two systems" policy on July 1st, 1997

As a historically reserved problem, the "Hong Kong issue" has been basically resolved

9.1.2 Historical origin of the Macau issue

Now let's look at the second issue: “The Historical Origin of the Macau Issue” Macau has been territory of China since ancient times

As early as in Qin Dynasty similar to Hong Kong Macau also belonged to Panyu County Macau started to open the port in 1535

In this year Ming Dynasty moved the contemporary department of trade management to Macau and allowed Portuguese and other foreign commercial ships to do some trading activities on the sea near Macau

In 1553 Portuguese bribed the local officials and demanded that they go ashore with the excuse of airing their soaked goods They got the permission Portuguese inhabited Macau gradually since then and they resided there in the long term After that They gradually expanded their residential area and builded walls and fort barbettes They implemented Portuguese ways of management in their residential area Nevertheless

In the around 300 years from Portuguese resided Macau to the Opium War Ming Dynasty and Qing Dynasty kept the sovereignty of Macau, supervised it legally, and levied taxes regularly After the Opium War in 1840 Portuguese seized the chance of the defeat of Qing Dynasty and demanded the sovereignty of Macau But they failed Then they launched an armed attack, drove out the officials of Qing Dynasty, and destroyed the government agency and customs They gradually expanded their territory to the area of today's Border Gate They continued to occupy the Taipa island in 1851

In 1864 they occupied the Coloane island

In 1887, Portugal forced Qing Dynasty to sign Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Forgiveness and Trading which is more commonly known as Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking An important item of it is "China permits Portugal to sovereign Macau and its affiliated districts forever with no difference from other territories of Portugal"
In fact, it admitted Portugal's colonizing of Macau After the People's Republic of China was founded China government has declared for multiple times that Macau is part of China which can't be separated

It was also stated that such kind of historically reserved problem should be solved under peaceful negotiations

When the time is not ripe enough to formally resolve the question we can keep the temporary condition Therefore At the beginning of founding of the People's Republic of China on the issue of Hong Kong and Macau we adopted the special policy of "holding on temporarily" "keeping the temporary condition" and "planning it in the long haul and make full use of it"

As is known to all following the return of Hong Kong Macau also returned to China successfully on 20th December, 1999

As a historically reserved problem the "Macau issue" was basically resolved

9.1.3 Historical origin of the Taiwan issue

Now let's look at the third question “the Historical Origin of the Taiwan Issue”

In ancient times, Taiwan was called Yizhou or Liuqiu

The name "Liuqiu" is different from today's Ryukyu which has become Okinawa of Japan

The literary history of Taiwan dates back to the Three Kingdoms period

In 230 A.D. Sun Quan, King of Kingdom Wu, sent troops of more than 10,000 soldiers commanded by General Wei Wen and Zhuge Zhi to Yizhou which is today's Taiwan

The book Document of Coastal Geographoy written by Shen Ying, Head of Danyang County of Kingdom Wu, recorded the detailed living condition of Taiwan of that time

It is the earliest document on situation of Taiwan of the world According to this book Yizhou was off the southeast coast and was 2000 Chinese miles away from the county There is no snow or frost on the land and the vegetation there never withered

It was surrounded by mountains where the aborigines lived

On the top of the mountain, there was a white stone which was once shot by a king Aborigines respectively claimed to be the king and divided territory People were different from each other at the beginning of the 17th century

The Spanish colonists invaded some areas in the north and east of Taiwan who were driven away by the Dutch colonists later Taiwan became a colony of the Netherlands from then on

In 1644 the army of Tartars of Qing Dynasty entered the central land of China

In 1661 Zheng Chenggong marched into Taiwan from Quemov

In the second year that is, the year of 1662 Zheng Chenggong defeated the Dutch colonists and reoccupied Taiwan, territory of China Zheng Chenggong is honored as a national hero not mainly because he fought against the Qing Dynasty but because he reoccupied Taiwan from the Dutch colonists
In 1638

The Qing Dynasty sent General Shilang to launch an attack towards the guarded army of Pescadores islands

The Zheng administration surrendered to Qing Dynasty If you read a novel written by Jinyong The Deer and the Cauldron or watch the TV play the Kangxi Empire you will definitely think of this historical event

In 1894 the Sino-Japanese War broke out

The Qing Dynasty was defeated

In April, 1895 Japan forced Qing Dynasty to sign the inequitable Treaty of Shimonoseki and occupied Taiwan Japan started the colonial domination in Taiwan which is as long as a half a century

In 1937 Japan launched the overall invasion war against China China immediately took defense action

As the second World War went on China, along with the US, Britain, the Soviet Union and others, formed the international anti-fascist allay

During the process of the war the righteous requirement that China recover Taiwan from Japan was supported by the allay including the US

On 1st, December, 1943 China, the US, and Britain signed Cairo Declaration which seriously announced that "The Chinese territory which was stolen by Japan including Manchu, Taiwan and Pescadores islands should be returned to China"

On 26th, July, 1945 China, the US, and Britain announced again The Potsdam Proclamation and urged Japan to surrender unconditionally

The 8th article of The Potsdam Proclamation declared again that "The requirement in Cairo Declaration must come into effect"

As we know on 15th, August, 1945 Japan declared surrender

The Japanese Surrender Clause announced that "Now Japan admits the items of the Potsdam Proclamation which is signed by China, US, and Britain on 26th, July, 1945 and involves the Soviet Union

On 25th, October the Kuomintang government recovered Taiwan along with Pescadores islands and reestablished the sovereignty of Taiwan

On this historical event Mr. Chen Yinquke once wrote a poem named My Feelings About Japan's Surrender on 3rd, September, in the year of Yiyu

The poem is as followed Twenty years passed rapidly in my dreams I see the sea transformed into fields
The burning straw went out when the beans were undercooked
The fire expanded itself when it was lit to burn the forest
The situation can be more worrying in the future Who will regret the past behaviour
The flag of truce appeared on the stone wall I was deeply moved when I turned back and saw Chunfan
The Chunfan here refers to a storied building named Chunfan in Shimonoseki, Japan where the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed. According to what is stated above after the second World War Taiwan was returned to China not only legally but also actually.

In terms of the international law Taiwan is part of China which is a fact undoubtably. Then why did the Taiwan issue occur again later?

As we know after the victory of the anti-Japan war a civil war broke out between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang Party, which lasted as long as three years.

The Communist Party acquired people’s support for its justice while the Kuomintang lost it due to its depravity.

The Communist Party won the war in the end. Some officials of Chiang Kai-shek administration retreated to Taiwan.

On 16th January, 1949 Chiang Kai-shek bade farewell to Sun Yat-sen’s cemetery in Nanjing. But it turned out to be the departure from ancestral temple as mentioned in "departure from ancestral temple in panic". This period of history always reminds people of the poem Dance of the Cavalry of Li Yu, an emperor of ancient Kingdom Nantang. There was forty years of history and land across thousands miles in my kingdom.

The magnificent buildings reached the sky. Precious plants thrived in my palace.

When did I encountered the war? I was captured overnight. My waist became thinner and my hair turned grey in torment.

On the day of departure from ancestral temple in panic.

The music department was performing the farewell song. My tears rolled down when the maids were present. Now let’s return to our topic. After retreating to Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek preached "fighting back to mainland" for a long time. With help of the US, Chiang manipulated the two sides across Taiwan Straits into the situation of long-term isolation and opposition. There are two main reasons for the Taiwan issue. One is the civil war between the two parties, the other is the interference of the US.

As is claimed in the white paper published on 1st September, 1993 The Taiwan Issue and Reunification of China, Taiwan was returned to China not only legally but also actually after the second World War.

The reappearance of Taiwan question is related to the anti-people civil war which was launched by the Kuomintang Party. But a more important reason is the interference of foreign countries.

The emergence of the Taiwan issue produced numerous tragedies including separation between husbands and wives, separation between fathers and sons, separation between brothers, separation between lovers and so on.

As for this point, if we watch the movie The Knot directed by Yin Li or the movie Reunion directed by Wang Quanan or the movie The Crossing directed by John Woo. If we see the moving story of Gao Binghan, who was honored as an annual figure for the TV show ‘Moving China’ of 2012 for his attempt to send cremains of soldiers retreating to Taiwan back to their homeland, then we can fully understand that those who have never cried at midnight are not qualified enough to talk about life. I guess that what my mother hope me to do may be what I should do now. Doesn’t the times want to make me cry or make me bruised all over? Since I have survived and come ashore I need to give out some light I want to relieve the pain of people of...
this times I can't hate it From 1998 in more than 10 years Gao Bingham sent cremains of hundreds of soldiers of Taiwan back to the mainland and buried them properly

The urns of Taiwan mostly are made of marble which can weigh more than ten kilograms

The thin and weak old man was always very cautious taking care of the souls of his fellows Brother Yue I have completed the task for you I gave your cremains to your grandson and your nephew I think you are relieved now You are a man loving the hometown

We both love the hometown I hope you can rest in peace Brother Yue, let me shake your hand again and say goodbye to you again Recently I saw a moving story closely related to the Taiwan issue At the beginning of 1949 a 19-year-old girl named Xing Yulian of Henan province was introduced to make acquaintance of a young man named Zhao Guosheng Zhao Guosheng was a man of Kai feng city, Henan province He was one year older than Xing Yulian They fell in love at first sight A half year later they took marriage into consideration At the end of the year of 1949 before they got married Zhao Guosheng had gone to Taiwan Upon departure Zhao Guosheng told Xing Yulian "I will come back to marry you Wait for me" Because of this promise after Zhao Guosheng lefted Xing Yulian swore an oath secretly to wait him to come back Her waiting lasted for 40 years

During the 40 years although Xing never heard from Zhao she refused to date with others for the sake of love and promise

The 40 years of waiting changed Xing from a teenage girl to an old grey-haired women One day in 1989 Xing Yulian received a phone call which informed her of going to Zhengzhou to meet Zhao Guosheng Later on accompanied by her mother Xing went to Zhengzhou to see Zhao

It was a short meeting of about 20 minutes But they knew that they were both still single and were waiting for each other

In 1993 when Zhao returned to hometown to visit relatives Xing got a marriage certificate with him

In that year Xing was already 63 years old After the marriage Zhao went back to Taiwan

During the later 6 years they saw each other for four or five times all of which happened when Zhao came back to visit relatives Every time Zhao come back to homeland to visit relatives he only stayed for several days before leaving Normally they wrote letters to hear from each other

In 1999 before Xing finished her procedures of going to Taiwan Zhao had died

It left the poem "everlasting regret" of modern version After seeing the report I had a lot of feelings and couldn't help thinking of a poem written by Yuan Mei, a poet of Qing Dynasty

The poem is *Hillsode Mawei* Don't sing the song "everlasting regret" There is also the Milky Way on earth

When the village couple part from each other they have more tears than the emperor and his concubine in the palace Chiang's "departure from ancestral temple" was in panic While the tragedy of Xing Yulian is very moving

In fact there are more tragedies of this type which was portrayed in the poem which are all closely related to the Taiwan issue

In this sense
The Taiwan issue not only belongs to the country but also belongs to people

9.2.1 Cultural tradition

Now let's look at the second section Why should we achieve the complete reunification of China?

As for the complete reunification of China Maybe someone will ask Why must we achieve complete reunification of China? Isn't it good to keep the contemporary situation of "four districts of Cross-Straits"

On this point we shall say that the cultural sentiments of China, the national emotion of Chinese people and the historic task of the Communist Party of China all demanded that we must achieve complete reunification of China To start with, let's look at the first issue

The issue of cultural tradition John King Fairbank, a famous American sinologist, pointed out that "Since the ancient times even if temporary wars ravaged China most Chinese always firmly believed that reunification could be achieved" Therefore he concluded that Chinese people have "addiction to unification"

In fact the opposition to fragmentation and insistence on reunification are not "addiction to unification" but a fine Chinese tradition formed in the long time

In history People of all ethnic groups of China fought bravely for the complete reunification leaving a lot of touching and heroic deeds worth songs and tears

In the Chinese history of thousands of years of course there existed some periods when country divided with frequent wars But national union and country unification are always the main stream of Chinese history development

The idea of national unification had a great effect on the formation and development of our unified country with various ethnic groups

The firm belief in national unification gradually became a psychological habit and a character of Chinese Nation

It formed a spiritual bond of national cohesiveness which maintained national unification

In Chinese history anyone of those who betrayed national interests and made division were cast aside by people of all time

The people with lofty ideals who guarded national dignity and contrived to achieve national reunification were highly honored by people of all time They became figures praised by people from generation to generation Most of them expressed their patriotic emotions and ideals of pursuing national reunification in their popular and magnificent poems For example Du fu, who was honored as "Sage Poet" of the Tang Dynasty wrote a poem Hearing that Government Troops recovered Henan and Hebei

It is typical of this kind

The poem is as followed News suddenly came that Jibei area was recovered I wet my clothes with tears when hearing that I went back to see my family with distress vanishing I looked through books with wild joy I need excessive drinking to sing in the day It's proper to return hometown in the fine spring weather I will go through the Wuxia Gorge from Baxia Gorge right away and leave Xiangyang city for Luoyang city then
The poem was written in the first year of Period Guangde that is, spring of 763 A.D. Du Fu was already 52 years old at that time

In the winter of 762 A.D. the army of Tang Dynasty significantly won a battle near Louyang and recovered some cities including Luoyang, Zheng and Bian Leaders of rebellion army including Xue and Zhang all surrendered.

In the second year Shi Chaoyi, son of Shi Siming, lost the war and killed himself His generals including Tian and Li surrendered successively So far

The "Rebellion of An and Shi" basically ended Du Fu was drifting in Sichuan at that time

When he heard that "the Government troops recovered Henan and Hebei" he went wild with joy and wrote the famous poem

The poem is full of untrammelled emotions with direct enthusiasm Literary critics of later times regarded it as "the most joyful poem " of Du Fu Du Fu is a great patriotic poet who was honored as "Sage Poet" His poems are honored as "poetic history" Nowadays there are some people joking about Du Fu and saying "Du Fu is busy" It's really inappropriate Let's take another example A poem of Yue Fei, a famous patriotic general of South Song Dynasty The Whole River Red is also an excellent poem longing for national reunification

The poem is as followed Rage bristling under the cap I lean against the railing in the rain Lifting my eyes Towards the sky I let out a battle cry My blood is boiling Thirty years;rank and honor, just much dust Eight hundred leagues;travelling with the moon and clouds Don't let it slip away

When a young man's hair turns grey, it is too late to regret

The national insult is yet to be avenged My pity when will it be erased Let's ride the long chariots to crush those mountain strongholds to feast on the flesh of the invaders

We laugh and chat and quench our thirst with Tartar blood Let's start to take back our rivers and mountains and report to the heaven palace

The poem expresses the strong will to defeat enemies and the firm belief in victory of Yue Fei

The whole poem is passionate and momentous

It encouraged Chinese people for generations in hundreds of years to determine to serve the country one after another

In the 1980s The Whole River of Yue Fei was composed into an interlude song of a TV drama in 1983 That is Iron blood and Red Heart the first section of the novel Legend of the Eagle Shooting Hero

The Cantonese song is sonorous , forceful and touching Let's appreciate it together Rage bristling under the cap, I lean against the railing in the rain Lifting my eyes, towards the sky I let out a battle cry My blood is boiling Thirty years;rank and honor, just much dust Eight hundred leagues;travelling with the moon and clouds Don't let it slip away

When a young man's hair turns grey, it is too late to regret
The national insult is yet to be avenged My pity when will it be erased Let’s ride the long chariots to crush those mountain strongholds to feast on the flesh of the invaders

We laugh and chat and quench our thirst with Tartar blood Let’s start to take back our rivers and mountains and report to the heaven palace

As the drama of martial-art was played The Whole River Red became household names I came to know The Whole River Red exactly from this TV drama Then I took an interest in Yue Fei

When I went to Anyang, Henan for a meeting in 2013 I took a special trip to the temple of Yue Fei in Tangyin county to pay my respect to the patriotic hero

As for patriotic poets of our country besides Du Fu and Yue Fei mentioned above many people may think of Lu You Lu You once wrote a poem Feeling the cold as I went out of the fence at dawn of autumn and expressed the pity for not completing national reunification

The poem is as followed

The river flows ten thousand kilometers into the sea Thousands of mountains reach the sky People in the lost north land are tearful under the rule of Tartars They look forward to the south troops for a whole year again

Of course among such kind of poems of Lu You the most famous one is To My Son

The poem is as followed Everything varnishes after death I’m just sorrowful for not seeing the national reunification

On the day when our troops reoccupied the north land don’t forget to tell me it at the ancestor worship ceremony To My Son is the last poem of Lu You as well as his dying words to his son

The poem has simple and pure words without rhetoric

It expresses the lifetime wish of the poet

It is filled with his heartfelt sorrow and indignation Even read today it is still deeply moving

The poem is highly influential

On 21st, December, 1958 Mao Zedong imitated Lu You and wrote a poem Seven-Character Sentence, My Feelings

The poem is as follows Humans can travel to the space now I’m just sorrowful for not seeing a whole world of communism

On the day when imperialism is defeated don’t forget to tell it to Karl Marx at the ceremony Mao’s poem expresses a sense of communism while Lu You’s poem expresses a sense of patriotism

The former Prime Minister Zhou appraised them and said

The best poet of Song Dynasty is Lu You rather than Su Dongpo Lu You's poems have prominent patriotism Lu You was sorrowful not for himself but for the country and people He is a patriotic poet with backbone From Du Fu, Yue Fei, Lu You and other upright people of such kind
We can obviously feel it a cultural tradition of Chinese people to oppose fragmentation and safeguard unification.

The cultural tradition decides that we must achieve complete reunification of China.

9.2.2 National emotion

Let's look at the second issue: "the National Emotion"

Besides cultural tradition national emotion of China also requires that we achieve complete reunification national unity and country reunification in accordance with with the fundamental interest of Chinese people and the historical trend of Chinese society developing. Achieving complete reunification of China is a common wish of all Chinese home and abroad including Taiwan people.

On 2nd, September, 1986 Deng Xiaoping was interviewed by Mike Wallaceishe, a famous American reporter Wallaceishe asked "Is there necessity for reunification of Taiwan and the mainland?" Deng answered "Firstly it is a matter of nation about national emotion Anyone of Chinese ancestry looks forward to reunification of China fragmentation goes against national will" Definitely it is a common emotional wish of all Chinese to achieve complete reunification of China.

In the late modern history the Chinese nation experienced the Opium War the Second Opium War the Sino-France War the Sino-Japanese War the siege of the International Legation and the Japanese Invasion War, six big wars altogether.

The cruel reality of losing territories and being separated from family during the war period strengthened the national emotion of longing for national unification For example in 1895 after the Sino-Japanese War Japan forced Qing administration to sign Treaty of Shimonoseki and intended to occupy Taiwan.

When news spread to Taiwan Taiwan people were filled with indignation difficult to control Some patriotic men including Qiu Fengjia discussed to organize the anti-Japanese government of Taiwan Tang Jingsong, former head official of Taiwan, was elected to take charge of deployment of the whole troops and lead Taiwan people to fight against Japanese invaders.

The rebellion started on a grand and spectacular scale Although it ended up in failure due to incommensurable military force and lack of assistance Taiwan people's patriotic emotion of safeguarding national unity and territory integrity has already become part of Chinese national emotion.

On 29th, May, 1895 the guard failed to resist Japanese Japanese troops marched into Taiwan and occupied Keelung Seeing the irreversible situation Qiu Fengjia can't help but return to Taichung and then going to Jiaying city, Guangdong province He wrote a poem before departure "The prime minister had the power to cede territory" As a lonely subordinate, I can't help it I leave on a small boat I turned my head and saw the gloomy landscape"

The indignation with loneliness is beyond description.

When Qiu Fengjia returned his hometown, Jiaying city he named his house as "A Mansion of Taiwanese Nostalgia" and gave another name to Qiu Cong, his eldest son.
The name was "Qiu Niantai" (concerning about Taiwan) which showed that he never forgot to retrieve Taiwan.

On 17th, April, 1896 that is, one year after Taiwan was ceded to Japan Qiu Fengjia recalled "this day of last year" when Qing Dynasty signed the shameful Treaty of Shimonoseki and ceded Taiwan to Japan. Thinking of today and recalling the past he wrote the popular patriotic poem Distress in the Spring.

The poem is as followed Unable to relieve my distress, I watched the mountains reluctantly

The memory frightened my tears to drop Four billions people all cried Taiwan was ceded on this day of last year

On 25th, February 1912 Qiu Fengjia got ill from overwork and finally died in Zhenping county, Guangdong province.

As he lay dying he told his family "Bury me towards south I can't forget Taiwan" At his funeral ceremony "There were thousands of people holding the white cloth and crying"

We talked about several great patriotic men above They have a feature in common They are all male

In fact in Chinese history there are also many patriotic heroines who are "competitive with men"

In literary dramas there are Hua Mulan and Mu Guiying.

In reality there are Liang Hongyu and Qin Liangyu Such patriotic heroines not only existed in the past but also appear nowadays They not only existed in ancient times but also exist in modern times There was a patriotic heroine named Qiu Jin in modern times who was a revolutionary fighter honored as "Female Warrior of Jianhu" Qiu Jin once wrote a famous patriotic poem named Meeting a Japanese Man on the Ship on the Huanghai Sea and Seeing the Map of the Russo-Japanese War.

The poem is as followed I rode the wind for a thousand miles and returned again I am in the East Sea in thunder alone I am not hardhearted enough to see the colors on the map changing How can I let the landscape burn to ash

The turbid alcohol can't stop my tears for country There should be heroes in the hard times

The nation must be saved Even at the cost of one hundred thousand lives

The first two lines of the poem expresses her ambition of finding the truth of revolution which can save the country and people Later lines are feelings about the map of Russo-Japanese War which expresses the determination to save motherland with blood even at the cost of life.

It is Qiu Jin's appeal to all Chinese as well as her sincere aspiration which she acted in practice Let's go on.

In 1949 Some officials of the Kuomintang Party retreated to Taiwan yet most of them were unwilling to reside in Taiwan They hoped to return to homeland at every moment.

As they became older Many of them felt homesick more intensely of which Yu Youren was a typical representative Yu Youren is a famous politician, educationalist, calligrapher and patriotic poet in modern Chinese history His ancestral hometown is Jingyang, Shanxi province He was born in 1879 in Sanyuan, Shanxi province He is my provincial fellow Yu Youren was an early member of the United League of China.
After the Republic of China was founded he worked as senior government official for years From 1930 to 1964 he held the position of chief procurator

In November, 1949 Yu Youren had intended to see a doctor in Hong Kong but Chiang Kai-shek commanded an airplane to shift him from Chongqing to Taiwan Yu Youren died in 1964 in Taipei He lived for 86 years While in Taiwan especially at his old age Yu Youren desired to return to homeland strongly limited by the political condition his wish didn't come true in the end Yu Youren expressed his homesick in his famous poem Gaze at the Homeland it is also called Gaze at the Mainland or National Pain

The poem is as followed Bury me on the top of the high mountain to enable me to gaze at my hometown I can neither see my hometown nor forget it Bury me on the top of the high mountain to enable me to gaze at my mainland I can't see the mainland and can only break down

The sky is vacant

The feild is boundless

On the top of the mountain is the national pain Yu Youren wrote in his diary on January 12, 1962 "After I die, I hope to be buried on the higher part of the Yushan Mountain or Alishan Mountain where trees thrive and I can see the mainland at every moment (It was noted aside that the mountain should be high enough and the tree should be big enough) What is that distant land It's my homeland My homeland is the mainland of China After Yu Youren died

The Taiwan authority established a statue of him on the main peak of the Yushan Mountain to show respect for him

The last wish- "Bury me on the top of the mountain" of Yu Youren and his pure emotion of desiring to return to the mainland are deeply moving Yu Guangzhong, another famous poet of Taiwan wrote a poem Homesickness which also has moved people of several generations

In 1971 off the mainland for more than twenty years Yu Guangzhong was really homesick

In the old house of the Xiamen Street in Taipei he wrote the poem Homesickness

The poem is as follows

When I was little homesickness is a small stamp I was here and my mother was over there

When I grew up homesickness is a narrow ship ticket I was here and the bride was over there And then homesickness is a small tomb with me outside and my mother inside But now homesickness is a shallow strait I am on this side and the mainland is on the other side

The poem is sincerely emotional

It expresses the wish of reunification of China as well as the pure and full homesickness

Besides the Homesickness Yu Guangzhong has written another poem Four Melodies of Homesickness which was composed and sung by Luo Dayou, a famous singer Let's appreciate it Give me a gourd of water of the Yangtse River which is alcohol-like water

The drunk taste is the taste of homesickness Give me a gourd of water of the Yangtse river Give me a patch of crab-apple flower red the blood-like red
The burning pain of boiling blood is the pain of homesickness Give me a patch of crab-apple flower red
Give me a patch of snow white the letter-like white

The waiting for letters from home is the waiting of homesickness Give me a patch of snow white Give me a
hint of wintersweet scent the mother-like wintersweet scent

The scent of my mother is the scent of my homeland Give me a hint of wintersweet scent

The two poems about homesickness of Yu Guangzhong left so deep an impression on me that I always
hope to see the writer

On 21st, April, 2012 Yu Guangzhong came to Tsinghua University to deliver a speech I attended it so my
wish came true

Besides the works mentioned above *Song of Seven Songs* of Wen Yiduo is also an outstanding example of
this type *Song of Seven Songs* is not one poem but a series of poems written in March, 1925 when Wen
Yiduo was studying in the US There are seven poems in all They are separately about Macau, Hong Kong,
Taiwan Weihai, Guangzhou Bay, Kowloon and Lv-Da

The seven places at that time belonged to Chinese territories which were invaded and occupied by
foreigners

The Lv-Da is the combination name of Lvshun and Dalian

In the series of poems Wen Yiduo compared the seven places to the seven sons drifting outside
motherland Therefore it was called *Songs of Seven Sons* Now let's look at three poems about
Macau, Hong Kong, and Taiwan of the series Let's see *Songs of Seven Sons, Macau* first *Songs of Seven
Sons, Macau* was adapted and chosen as the theme song of *Macau Years* which is a television
documentary and had a big influence

On 20th, December, 1999 Macau returned to China *Songs of Seven Sons, Macau* was elected as the theme
song of the ceremony

The song is so famous that a lot of people regard *Songs of Seven Sons, Macau* as the whole *Songs of
Seven Sons* Let's listen to it Do you know that Macau is not my real name I have been away from you for too
long mother But what they captured is just my body You still keep my soul in my heart My mother who I
never ever forgot in past three hundred years Please call my infant name call me "Aomen" once Mother,
mother I want to come back Mother Mother Let's see *Songs of Seven Sons, Hong Kong*

The poem is as followed I am similar to a yellow leopard watching at night at the palace gate Mother
Although I am humble my location is important Now the ferocious sea lion pounces on me eating my flesh
swallowing my grease Mother I cry out I yell at you without response mother let me hide in your arms quickly
Mother I want to come back Mother Let see *Songs of Seven Sons, Taiwan*

The poem is as followed

We are a bunch of pearls coming out from the East Sea Loochoo islands are my brothers I am Taiwan My
chest is still filled with the heroic spirit of Zheng

The royal blood dyed my genes Mother the scorching summer is burning me to death Give me a command
I can fight again Mother I want to come back Mother
Of course the three poems are all touching. If you have the interest you can find the other four poems of Songs of Seven Sons. Behind the poems which move people to tears there is the Chinese national emotion of longing for reunification of country.

The fully natural national emotion urge us to achieve complete reunification of China.

9.2.3 Historic task

Let's look at the third issue the issue of historic tasks.

We must achieve complete reunification of China not only because of the two important factors of cultural tradition and national emotion but also because achieving complete reunification is a basic task in order to achieve the great renewal of the Chinese nation.

It is one of the three historic tasks of the Communist Party of China to achieve complete reunification of China.

It is an important section and a basic task of achieving the great renewal of the Chinese nation.

The complete reunification of China is an important symbol of national renewal. Without complete reunification of China there is no national renewal of true meaning.

The great renewal of the Chinese nation is the process of modernization leading to prosperity as well as the process of achieving complete reunification of China. Only if we achieve complete reunification of China can we achieve stronger cohesiveness of the whole nation and accelerate national development. Then we can display the Chinese national image of unity, progress and prosperity and enable Chinese nation to stand rock-firm in the family of nations of the world.

The three historic tasks of the Communist Party of China at the new stage of development are "advancing modernization, reunifying the country and upholding world peace and promoting common development."

The statement experienced several stages at every stage "reunifying the country" is an essential part of it.

On 1st, September, 1982,

In the opening speech at the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "Advancing modernization, reunifying the country including Taiwan opposing hegemonism and upholding world peace are the three major tasks in the 1980s."

On 1st, July, 2001 Jiang Zeming delivered a speech at the 80th Anniversary of the Founding of the Communist Party of China. "In the new century continuing advancing modernization, reunifying the country and upholding world peace and promoting common development are the three major historic tasks our Party are shouldering. Faced with the complex domestic and international developments our Party must keep up with the pace of the ever-developing world.

We must unify and lead people of all ethnic groups of China.

We must meet the challenges and accomplish the three historic tasks successfully.

We must firmly apply the thoughts of "Three Represents"
In November, 2002, in the report of the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China Jiang Zeming stated that, "Our Party must firmly stand at the front of the times trend

We must unify and lead people of all ethnic groups of China

We must accomplish the three historic tasks of advancing modernization reunifying the country and upholding world peace and promoting common development

We must achieve the great national renewal on the path of socialism"

On 19th September, 2004 passed in the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Strengthening the Party's Governance Capacity states that "In the complex domestic and international conditions with opportunities and challenges together, our Party must lead people of all ethnic groups of China to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects

We must accomplish the three historic tasks of advancing modernization reunifying the country and upholding world peace and promoting common development

We must Strengthen the Party's Governance Capacity"

In October, 2007, in the report to the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China Hu Jintao stated that, "Looking ahead we have full confidence in fulfilling the three historic tasks of advancing modernization drive achieving national reunification and safeguarding world peace and promoting common development"

In November, 2012, in the report to the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China Hu Jintao pointed out that "Shouldering heavier responsibilities and tasks on our new journey forward we must become firmer in our conviction make more determined efforts to accomplish the three historic tasks of advancing modernization reunifying the country and upholding world peace and promoting common development"

In order to accomplish the historic task of reunifying the country generations of leaders of the Communist Party of China have been constantly caring about it and striving for it Mao Zedong once seriously stated that we should recover the whole Taiwan, Pescadores,Quemoy and Matsu and reunify the country

It is a holy task of Chinese people

It is domestic affairs of China Deng Xiaoping stated that

The reunification of China is the common wish of Chinese people for more than a hundred years

It has been one and a half centuries since the Opium War

The reunification of China is the common wish of Chinese nation including Taiwan people

It doesn't only belong to any single party or group but the wish of the whole nation Jiang Zeming also stated that Chinese people will firmly achieve the reunification of China

It is the common wish and determination of Chinese people which we unswervingly adhere to Hu Jintao stressed that achieving complete reunification of China is the wish of all Chinese people, both here in the country and overseas,
It is the will and determination of China government and people without vacillation

It accords with the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation including our 23 million compatriots in Taiwan

On the path to reunification of China no matter how big difficulties we may encounter no matter how the enemies obstruct us we will never vacillate our firm belief and strong will of reunifying the country Xi Jinping stated that the political differences cross straits should be gradually addressed

We shouldn't pass the issue from generation to generation

It is the responsibility of the new authority of the Communist Party of China to advance peaceful reunification across the Straits Xi Jinping also stated that national reunification is an irresistible historical process on the path to the great national renewal of China

On the issue related to national reunification we hold a clear-cut banner and take a firm stand we will never compromise or vacillate

The peaceful growth of relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits is the correct way to peaceful reunification

We will never tolerate any separatist attempt of China Stepping into the new century

We actively advance modernization as well as advance peaceful relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits

We have made historical breakthrough

We should grab the opportunity acclimatize ourselves to the situation and advance development of the relations between the two sides

We can say that now we have a solid substance foundation to achieve the great national renewal

We also have more conditions to advance the process of national reunification

9.3.1 The formation and development of the principle of peaceful reunification and one country, two systems

Now let's look at the third section “How to Achieve Complete Reunification of China” How to achieve complete reunification of China? To answer the question we need to know the principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems"

It is the principle that has provided us with effective theoretical guidance to achieve complete reunification of China and it enabled us to realize the returning of Hong Kong and Macau

It will definitely continue to guide us to address the Taiwan issue finally and achieve complete reunification of China Let's look at the first question the formation and development of the principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems” At the mention of the "one country, two systems" many people will think of Hong Kong first

In fact the principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems" was proposed for Taiwan at first
The principle of our Party on addressing Taiwan issue experienced the process from "liberate Taiwan by force" to "liberate Taiwan peacefully" and finally to "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems"

In the late period of the China's War of Liberation especially after our Party won the three campaign of Liaoshen, Huaihai and Pingjin the Kuomintang Party is destined to fail

In March, 1949 the Xinhua News Agency published a comment titled

It states that "Chinese people (including Taiwan people) shall never tolerate that the reactionaries of the Kuomintang Party make Taiwan their base of their final struggle

The task of the People's Liberation Army of China is to liberate the whole China until liberating Taiwan, Hainan and the last square of land of China"

It was for the first time that the Communist Party of China raised the slogan of "liberate Taiwan"

In the following April Mao Zedong wrote the famous poem To the Tune of Seven-Character LvShi, The People's Liberation Army captured Nanking

The two sentences of it "We now should pursue the defeated foe with our remaining power Ape not King Xiang for a fame of mercy in a lucky hour" expresses the thoughts of "continue the revolution to the end"

In December, 1949 the Party Central Committee published the article To the Forefront and Compatriots Across the Country

It stated that the task in the year 1950 was to liberate Hainan island, Taiwan and Tibet and to annihilate the remnant force of Chiang Kai Shek After the Korean War broke out the Seventh Fleet of the USA entered the Taiwan Straits and hindered the People's Liberation Army from liberating Taiwan

The plan of liberating Taiwan ran aground

The Korean War ended in July, 1953

The authority of Taiwan press on with signing the "Mutual Defense Treaty between the USA and ROC" with the USA

In July, 1954 the Communist Party and government of China put forward the task of liberating Taiwan again and announced a denial of the military interference of the USA

The People's Liberation Army started firing bomb at Quemoy showing our determination and position of liberating Taiwan to the international society, especially the USA

The USA government and Chiang Kai Shek administration signed the "Mutual Defense Treaty between the USA and ROC" which placed Taiwan and Pescadore islands under the "umbrella" of the US and impeded reunification of China

On this issue Zhou Enlai stated that the so-called "Mutual Defense Treaty between the USA and ROC" was completely illegal and invalid

In the middle period in the 1950s the domestic and international situation related to Taiwan issue changed a lot

The international situation got relieved
The voice for world peace turned louder in the Asia-Pacific countries.

We were carrying out the socialist transformation and economic construction under the First Five-Year Plan domestically which needed the peaceful international environment. At the same time, contradiction appeared between the US and Chiang in their cooperation. With the situation changing and developing, our Party adjusted policies on Taiwan in time.

We put forward the proposal of liberating Taiwan peacefully and took measures from two aspects: One is to advance negotiations between the US and China.

The Sino-American Talks at Ambassadorial level was carried out first in Geneva and then in Warsaw. From August, 1955 to 1970, it took 15 years and consisted of 136 talks.

The core of the Taiwan issue is troop withdrawal of the US.

The other one is to offer the authority of Taiwan the proposal of liberating Taiwan peacefully.

In May, 1955 Zhou Enlai stated that in public first at the Fifteenth Session of the First Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. There were two possible methods of liberating Taiwan. That is to say, war and peace. Chinese people were willing to liberate Taiwan peacefully in possible conditions. Mao Zedong even proposed a third cooperation with the Kuomintang Party.

In April, 1956 Mao Zedong proposed "cherishing peace", "loving the country as a family", "patriotism without time difference" and other political principles.

During this period, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai also further illuminated specific principles and policies of liberating Taiwan on different occasions.

The main points were summarized as follows: not restraining the tour of visiting friends and relatives, forgiving the past misdeeds and acclaiming present deeds cooperating with the Kuomintang Party and loving country as a family liberating peacefully without damaging each other.

As early as 24th, May, 1949, Mao Zedong instructed that "When liberating the Fenghua county we must tell the troops not to damage Chiang's house ancestral temple or other buildings."

In 1956, Zhang Shizhao, a famous patriotic democrat, was deputed by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai to write a letter suggesting peaceful reunification to Chiang Kai Shek.

The letter said "The house and tomb in Fenghua are still what they were before so do the flowers and grass in Xikou". Prime Minister Zhou added several sentences in the end of the letter "Taiwan, Pescadores, Quemoy and Matsu rely on each other like the mouth and teeth. Gazing far into the south sky, we hope you take care of that". Mao Zedong changed "Gazing far into the south sky" into "Gazing far into the south clouds".

The letter proposed the method of returning Taiwan to China and accomplishing the national reunification. But it was a pity that the authority of Taiwan didn't make enough positive response to the letter.

In August, 1958, in order to smash America's plot of "dividing China by the Straits", the People's Liberation Army fired bombs on Quemoy intensely. After it started on the one hand, the US required that the mainland cease fire and abandon applying force on Taiwan but on the other, the US persuaded Taiwan authority to withdraw troops from Quemoy and Matsu. Then it could lead to the legalization of the US occupying Taiwan.
and the "actual existence" of "two Chinas" However Chiang was determined to firmly defend Quemoy and Matsu and even decided to "fight independently"

The fire on Quemoy effectively discouraged America's schemes of "two Chinas" and "dividing China by the Straits" which aggravated the contradiction between Chiang and America

It also indicated the existence of "common language" between Chiang and the mainland on the position of safeguarding one China To safeguard the fundamental interests of the country and people the Communist Party of China timely proposed the strategy of "allying with Chiang to resist America" Later on both sides of the Taiwan Straits modified their policies

The relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits changed from the previous intense military conflict to a stalemate with dominating political opposition and subordinate military conflict

In October, 1958 Mao Zedong stated that if Taiwan returns to China they can live in their own ways

The "they" here refers to Chiang and others

On the issue of their army Mao Zedong said that it can be reserved I don't demand his disarmament or that he slash his administration Let him continue applying the Three Principles of People After that our Party continue to propose many important principles of addressing the Taiwan issue Zhou Enlai summarized the series of thoughts, policies and principles of liberating Taiwan peacefully into "One Principle and Four Orders"

The "One Principle" is that Taiwan must be reunified into China

The "Four Orders" refers respectively to the following items (1) After Taiwan returned to China all power of military, political and personnel affairs should be deputed to Chiang Kai Shek except that diplomatic power is delivered over to the central authority Chen Cheng and Chiang Chingkuo hold office according to Chiang's will (2) All shortage funds for military affairs, political affairs and construction programs were appropriated by the central authority (We know that the deficit of Taiwan at that time was around 8 billion dollars per year) (3) The social reform of Taiwan could be delayed until the time was ripe and Chiang Kai Shek gave his permission (4) The two sides would not sent spies to each other or commit behaviors damaging the unity Mao Zedong said again and again that as long as the present authority of Taiwan keeps Taiwan from separating from China the mainland doesn't change the present principles of Taiwan issue Through the efforts of various aspects we have made progress on the work of Taiwan issue China government compressed the area dominated by Chiang administration to the districts of Taiwan, Pescadores, Quemoy and Matsu and smashed America's scheme of "dividing China by the Straits"

We tried to liberate Taiwan peacefully and achieved normalization of diplomatic relations with many countries

We established the one-China principle which were generally acknowledged by the international society

It created indispensable conditions for resolving Taiwan question finally Since we have talked about the transformation from "liberating Taiwan by force" into "liberating Taiwan peacefully" now let's look at the formation and establishment of the principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems"

In the 1970s the domestic and international situation changed significantly which provided new beneficial conditions for the establishment of the principle of resolving Taiwan question peacefully
In October, 1971 the 26th United Nations General Assembly passed a decision with the overwhelming majority which reestablished the legal seat of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and expelled the illegal representatives of the Taiwan authority

In December, 1978 China and the USA decided to establish the diplomatic relation from 1st, January, 1979

The USA acknowledged that the government of the People's Republic of China is the only legal government of China

It also acknowledged the position of China that is, there is only one China and Taiwan is part of China

In this background based on the fundamental interests of the country and people and the thoughts of contriving to liberate Taiwan peacefully which is proposed by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai the Party's second generation of central collective leadership with Deng Xiaoping at the core creatively proposed the scientific principle of "One Country, Two Systems"

We need to point out that At the beginning of the founding of the People's Republic of China in order to resolve the Tibet question peacefully the central government once applied the policy similar to the policy of "One Country, Two Systems" Agreement on Peaceful Liberation of Tibet states that "The central authority does not change the present political system in Tibet"

It provided the reference for the scientific proposal of "One Country, Two Systems"

In December, 1978, the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China stated "We must accomplish the great cause of reunification of China by getting Taiwan to return to the embrace of the motherland" instead of the words "liberate Taiwan" for the first time

On the first day of 1997 the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress published which formally announced the political principle of contriving to accomplish the peaceful reunification of China Since then, the relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits turned to a new historic page

It symbolized that our theory and practice of resolving Taiwan question stepped into a new historic era

In September, 1981 Ye Jianying delivered a speech to reporters of the Xinhua News Agency which was called "Nine Items of Ye"

It further illuminated the principle and policy of resolving Taiwan question

In January, 1982 Deng Xiaoping stated that "The nine items was put forward in the name of vice-chairman Ye

It is actually one country, two systems"

It is the first time that Deng Xiaoping proposed the statement of "one country, two systems"

In 1982 Liao Chengzhi wrote a letter to Chiang Chingkuo suggesting peaceful reunification of the two sides of the Taiwan Straits

On 24th, July of that year The Letter to Chiang Chingkuo From Liao Chengzhi was sent to Taipei by telegraph and was published on 25th, July on People's Daily
The letter said that peaceful reunification of China is a great cause of thousands of years Taiwan must return to the motherland

It is beneficial in every aspect to resolve the question early Compatriots in Taiwan can live a prosperous and contented life People of all ethnic groups across the Straits can relieve their pain of family separation.

The old generation and people in Taiwan who are from mainland can be properly placed

It can benefit the stable situation of the Asia-Pacific area and world peace My brother, you should encourage yourself with the principle that "make plan beneficial to the world and gain reputation for long time" If the cause is accomplished with your effort you will definitely be respected by the whole country and be esteemed by all people

It is a great contribution to the country You will be honored in the history

We need to explain that the sentence cited by Liao Chengzhi "make plan beneficial to the world and gain reputation for long time" is a famous couplet written by Yu Youren and presented to Chiang Chingkuo Chiang Chingkuo always encouraged himself with it

The drafting and publishing of the letter was carried out under the leadership of Deng Yingchao, head of Taiwan Work Directorate of the Central Committee

It was a big measure on Taiwan affairs and attracted prevalent attention home and abroad But it is a pity that the contemporary authority of Taiwan stressed "no contact, no negotiation, no compromise" Therefore Chiang Chingkuo himself didn't reply But he published a letter in the name of Song May-ling

It refused Liao's suggestion

The two letters are important literature of the history of united front and reunification of China and is worth our attention

In December, 1982 the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress passed Constitution of the People's Republic of China

The 31st article states that

The state may establish special administrative regions when necessary "The systems to be instituted in special administrative regions shall be prescribed by law enacted by the National People's Congress in the light of specific conditions"

The "establish special administrative regions" in it refers to applying the principle of "one country, two systems"

It means that applying the principle of "one country, two systems" is based on the constitution

On 23rd, June, 1983 at the meeting with Yang Liy, a Chinese American scholar Deng Xiaoping further illuminated that principle of "one country, two systems" of reunifying Taiwan and mainland

It was called "Six Items of Deng" later

The main points are as followed First the core of the Taiwan question is reunification of China
We hope that the two Parties accomplish national reunification and make contributions to the Chinese nation together.

Second, we shall adhere to the one-China principle. Systems can be different, but what represents China in the international society must only be the People's Republic of China. Third, we don't agree with the proposal of "complete autonomy." Autonomy shall be limited to a certain degree.

The prerequisite is not to harm the interests of the national unity. Fourth, after reunification as a special administrative region, Taiwan can apply a different system from the mainland and possess some particular rights which other provinces, cities, and autonomous regions do not possess. Taiwan can possess its own army as long as it does not threaten the mainland. Fifth, peaceful reunification does not mean that mainland annexes Taiwan or that Taiwan annexes mainland.

The so-called "the Three Principles of People reunifies China" is unrealistic. Sixth, the two Parties hold equal talks and carry out the third cooperation.

We do not refer it as negotiation between central and local government.

We never allow interference of foreign countries.

The "Six Items of Deng" enriches and crystallizes the principle of "one country, two systems." One 22th and 23th, June, 1984 Deng Xiaoping respectively met the Hong Kong industrial and commercial sector delegation to Beijing and Zhomg Shiyuan, a celebrity of Hong Kong. He stated that "Our policy is to apply the principle of 'one country, two systems.' Specifically speaking, we apply the socialist system in the mainland which has a population of ten billion in the People's Republic China while Hong Kong and Taiwan adopt the capitalist system.

In March, 1985 the Third Session of the Sixth National People's Congress formally established the principle of "one country, two systems" as a basic state policy.

On 19th, December, 1984 at the meeting with Lady Thatcher, British Prime Minister Deng Xiaoping mentioned applying peaceful measures to resolve the Hong Kong issues.

The actual situation of not only Hong Kong but also China and Britain all need to be taken into consideration. That is to say, our solution shall be acceptable to the three parties. If we apply socialist system to achieve reunification it is not acceptable to all three parties. Even if it is accepted reluctantly, chaos will be caused. Even if no force conflict happens, Hong Kong will become a depressed Hong Kong with a lot of sequel effects which we do not expect. Therefore in terms of the Hong Kong question, the only solution acceptable to three parties is "one country, two systems." Hong Kong is allowed to continue to apply the capitalist system and reserve the status of the free port and financial center. There is no solution except it. With the drive of our Party and government from the end of the 1970s, the relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits loosened. After the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress published A Message to the Compatriots in Taiwan, on the one hand, the authority of Taiwan slandered the principle of peaceful reunification as "united front intrigue."

It forbidded Taiwan compatriots from discussing peaceful reunification and responded with the "three-no" policy of "no contact, no negotiation, no compromise."

On the other hand.
It took relevant measures including stopping firing on mainland to relieve the intense situation of the Taiwan Straits Since the end of the year 1986 there appeared a large-scale trend in Taiwan which claimed the return to homeland to visit relatives Under the pressure from various parties in November, 1987 Taiwan authority allowed its citizens to visit relatives in mainland

The isolation between the two sides of 38 years was finally broken Many relatives separating for decades finally saw each other again

9.3.2 The basic contents and important meaning of the principle of peaceful reunification and one country, two systems

Now let’s look at the second question “the Basic Contents and Important Meaning of the Principle of ‘Peaceful Reunification and One Country, Two Systems’”

The main points of the contents of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems" are as follows

First the “one-China principle” is the core of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems"

It is the foundation of development of the cross-Strait relations and the peaceful reunification There is only one China in the world Taiwan and mainland belong to one China China's sovereignty shall never be infringed China’s territories shall never be divided Second two systems exist together With the prerequisite of national reunification the mainland applies socialist system while the original system and the way of life in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau shall remain unchanged in the long term Third highly autonomy After the reunification of China as special administrative regions, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau enjoy a high degree of autonomy which is different from other provinces, cities and autonomous regions of China

The various legal rights and interests of compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau should be fully respected and protected They can fully exercise their rights of choosing social systems and their ways of living and participate in managing national affairs more directly and widely Fourth

We make every effort to contrive peaceful reunification without promising to abandon using force To achieve peaceful reunification we need to negotiate to resolve the question Therefore we actively promote the negotiation But we do not promise to abandon using force

It is aimed not at compatriots in Taiwan but at the foreign interference with reunification of China and those who advocate the "Taiwan independence"

We are set against any behavior or speeches of "Taiwan independence"

We are set against foreign force which interferes in the Taiwan question Fifth the hope of resolving the Taiwan issue and achieving complete reunification of China is entrusted to Taiwan people Compatriots in Taiwan have the glorious tradition of patriotism which is important power in developing the cross-Strait relations

The tradition of patriotism of Taiwan compatriots can be fully felt by us as long as we see the movie directed by

We Te-sheng, a Taiwan director

It is a soul-stirring and deeply touching epic work which is worth seeing
The important meaning of the principle of "peaceful reunification and and one country, two systems" can be summarized as follows: First the principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems" creatively developed the Marxist doctrine of the state. Second the principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems" is beneficial to upholding peaceful domestic and international environment that the socialist modernization requires. Third the principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems" provided new inspiration to resolve the international conflicts and historically reserved problems.

The successful practice of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems" in Hong Kong and Macau proved that scientific quality of the principle.

It not only created the promising future of peaceful reunification of China but also provided new methods to resolve international conflicts and world's reserved problems of such kind.

On this point Louis Cha made a comment at the talk with Daisaku Ikeda, a Japanese scholar. He said, the principle of "one country, two systems" is a great proposition of Deng Xiaoping.

When he put it forward I wrote an article on People's Daily and praised it as "a principle that can be learned by the world". Two different social systems and economic systems can peacefully coexist in a country thrive together and cooperate with each other.

It can resolve the question of upholding present situation of Hong Kong after its returning as well as the question of reunifying Taiwan peacefully.

In the wider range the socialist camp and the capitalist camp have possibilities to coexist and cooperate with each other.

It is not necessary to be like the situation in the 1950s and 1960s where the two camps "hated to live together under the same sky" and fought against each other as a life-and-death struggle.

The paragraph is a precise comment on the principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems". By the way the document of the talk between Louis Cha and Daisaku Ikeda is named To Explore a Bright Century.

It was published by Peking University Press in 1999.

The book is interesting and worth attention.

9.3.3 The practice of the principle of one country, two systems

Next let's look at the third question: "the Practice of the Principle of 'One Country, Two Systems'". Hong Kong and Macau returning to China successively is an important step to achieve complete reunification of China according to the principle of "one country, two systems".

It has an important exemplary effect on resolving the Taiwan question. Let's first look at the resolving of the Hong Kong question. After the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China with the international situation changing the time is ripe for our country to foster a new environment for modernization and resolve the Hong Kong question peacefully. According to the principle of "one country, two systems", Chinese government and British government conducted 22 hard negotiations on the Hong Kong question from September, 1982 to September, 1984. Now let's see an episode of the negotiations.

What would happen when "iron lady" met "steel company"? At the mention of the confrontation between Thatcher and Deng Xiaoping the people present at the meeting all knew that Thatcher encountered an
opponent Although Thatcher was called "iron lady" Deng Xiaoping was a man named by Mao Zedong as "steel company" Nevertheless, in face of the toughness of Deng Xiaoping, Thatcher didn't give in as she talked Some words were even threatening.

Besides that the three inequitable treaties were "effective" she also mentioned that China could not unilaterally abolish the treaties She also said a strong word with a threatening tone She said that if we claimed to recover Hong Kong it would cause disastrous consequences.

The negotiations on the Hong Kong question appeared intense at the beginning Deng Xiaoping reacted strongly to Thatcher's words The Daily Telegraph of Britain later covered it in the following way Deng Xiaoping complained to an assistant in undertones: "I simply couldn't talk with that woman She was not reasonable at all." Deng Xiaoping said.

We must resolve the question together in two years.

It can't be delayed any longer If big unrests occurred in Hong Kong during the period or we can't reach an agreement on some matters of principle.

We shall reconsider the time and method of recovering Hong Kong.

The words is polite but weighty If reconsidered, the time is not waited to 1997 and the method is not peaceful negotiations I saw Thatcher's face turning pale suddenly after she heard the words She understood and got nervous So Deng Xiaoping refuted it strongly at that time Deng Xiaoping laid a foundation for the HK question in this meeting Thatcher had heard that Deng was pragmatic before the meeting She fully knew Deng's persistence People noticed that when thatcher walked out of the Great Hall of People the meeting was 50 minutes longer than the original schedule Besides, Thatcher, a lady who was very careful about her appearance and behaved very properly in normal time, wore a pensive expression and fell down at the stairs.

The dramatic scene appeared Someone said that she was absent-minded.

It was unexpected that the "iron lady" met the "steel company" Upon arrival in Diaoyutai State Hotel that evening Thatcher met Corridor and said Deng Xiaoping is so cruel Although Deng Xiaoping clearly stated our firm position that the issue of sovereignty is non-negotiable and China government must recover Hong Kong Thatcher didn't change her attitude After leaving Beijing, she still claimed that the three treaties of British governing Hong Kong were effective according to the international law and that it was not allowed to unilaterally abolish the treaties Therefore the negotiations fell to a stalemate.

In the meeting with Thatcher Deng Xiaoping strongly said that "If China does not recover Hong Kong in 1997 when the People's Republic of China is founded for forty-eight years no leader or government of China can give a satisfying answer to Chinese people or even to the people of the world If it is not recovered it means that China government if the late Qing Dynasty government and that the leader of China is Li Hongzhang.

We have been waiting for thirty-three years If added fifteen years it will be forty-eight years.

It is based on the full trust of people that we wait for so long If we can't recover Hong Kong in fifteen years people will have no reason to believe us Then any government shall leave the political arena There is no other choice.
As for the statements claimed successively by Britain such as the three effective treaties treating the New Territories and Kowloon differently the transfer of sovereignty and so on China government carried out struggle with reasons, benefits and morality

We insisted that the issue of sovereignty be non-negotiable There was no compromise

We must recover Hong Kong in 1997 and guarantee the stable transition before its return

In September, 1984 China and Britain reached an agreement and initiated Joint Declaration of the Government of the UK and the Government of PRC on the Question of Hong Kong and three documents appended thereto

On 19th, December of the same year, government leaders of two countries signed Joint Declaration of the Government of the UK and the Government of PRC on the Question of Hong Kong in Beijing and three documents appended thereto which declared that China should resume the exercise of sovereignty of Hong Kong in January,1997

In April,1990 the Third Session of the Seventh National People's Congress passed The Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China

It insists on reunification of the country and sovereignty and territorial integrity

It clearly states that the previous capitalist system and way of life Hong Kong special administrative region shall remain unchanged

On 1st,July,1997 governments of China and Britain held the handover ceremony of Hong Kong China government resumed the exercise of sovereignty of Hong Kong Hong Kong returned to the embrace of motherland At that time I was a freshman in the university At that night the school organized us to watch the handover ceremony of Hong Kong in the auditorium People were all excited including me What impressed me deepest was the scene when the national flag of Britain was lowered and the national flag of China was raised

It really made us hot-blooded

The Union Jack waving for over a hundred years was lowered slowly

The Britain's colonial regime in Hong Kong lasting for one and a half centuries was ended At 0 o'clock on 1st, July,1997 the bright Five-Starred Red Flag was slowly raised in company with the regional flag of Hong Kong on which the bauhinia flowers were in blossom

The powerful and ablaze March of the Volunteers rendered the prelude of new era of Hong Kong

In April and May of 2006 I paid academic visit to Hong Kong Baptist University I felt the civilization, high efficiency, strict law system of Hong Kong society as well as the citizens' hospitality I made acquaintance with a person named Wu Jiaqing when I was asking the way He guided me to visit many scenery spots and experience various local customs which left a deep impression on me Although recently some new conditions and new problems came about in Hong Kong they are all problems after reunification They can all be solved

We should see it with the sight of "not blocked by the clouds " Nothing can be solved once and for all in the world New problems will appear in the future development of Hong Kong and Macau
We should have a constructive attitude of "building a road when meeting mountains and building a bridge when meeting rivers" to treat the problems. Now let's look at the process of resolving the Macau question. After the negotiation on the Hong Kong question started the various preparations for the returning of Macau started to be carried out.

In May, 1985 China government and Portugal government reached an agreement to conduct negotiations on the Macau question.

The key points of the negotiations were "when to hand over the sovereignty" "By which means to hand over the sovereignty" From June, 1986 to March, 1987 China and Portugal conducted four negotiations.

On 13th, April, 1987, Joint Declaration of the Government of the Portugal and the Government of China on the Question of Macau was signed in Beijing, which declared that China government shall resume the exercise of sovereignty of Macau on 20th, December, 1999 and that China shall establish Macau special administrative region.

On 20th, December, 1999 China and Portugal government held the handover ceremony of Macau having experienced vicissitudes of more than 400 years Macau retuned to the embrace of motherland finally. At that time I was a senior in the university I was preparing the national entrance examination for postgraduate.

The time is pressed. But I paid attention to the event all the same. I was excited despite the fact that I was more peaceful than I had been when watching the handover of Hong Kong. What impressed me most was the Songs of Seven Sons, Macau.

It moved me a lot. I made a decision right away that I must go to see Macau in the future. But it is pitiful that the wish has not come true until today. Let's return to our topic.

The return of Hong Kong and Macau is an important monument on the path to the cause of reunification of China as well as a great historic contribution made by the Communist Party of China to the Chinese nation.

It has an important exemplary and advancing effect to resolving the Taiwan question.

The return of Hong Kong and Macau put the principle of "one country, two systems" into practice.

It fully proved that the principle of "one country, two systems" is correct and practical. Since Hong Kong and Macau returned to China they have stepped onto the wide road where they and the mainland benefit each other and make common development.

9.3.4 Resolving the Taiwan issue and achieving complete reunification of China

Now let's look at the fourth question: "Resolving the Taiwan Issue and Achieving complete reunification of China." Since the late 1980s and the early 1990s the domestic and international environment surrounding the Taiwan issue has changed a lot.

In 1992, the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits and the Straits Exchange Foundation reached an agreement. They respectively orally stated that "both sides of the Taiwan Straits insist on the one-China principle " which is the "agreement in 1992" They conducted talks on the cross-Straits affairs.

In April, 1993 the "Wang-Koo talks" was held.
The development of the cross-Straits relations took a historic step. However, the separatist forces of "Taiwan independence" were gradually strengthened later. Faced with the enormous change of the environment home and abroad, Jiang Zemin delivered an important speech on 30th, January, 1995. That is "Continue to Struggle for the complete reunification of China"

It precisely illuminated the essence of principle of "peaceful reunification and one country, two systems"

It put forward eight proposals to develop the present cross-Straits relations and advancing the process of peaceful reunification of China.

It was a New Year's Eve; I heard the speech on the radio the next day that is, the Spring Festival of 1995 and I felt inspired.

In May, 2000, the Democratic Progressive Party which contends "Taiwan independence" came into power and stubbornly insisted on the position of "Taiwan independence".

It refused to accept the one-China principle and denied the "agreement of 1992".

It even audaciously announced the statement of "one country on each side". Opposing and impeding the "Taiwan independence" became the most important and urgent task of cross-Straits compatriots.

In November, 2002, the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China put forward the guiding theories and general requirement in a period of future. Later on our Party successively put forward views and proposals on important issues of the cross-Straits relations.

In March, 2005, Hu Jintao proposed four opinions on the development of the cross-Straits relations.

We insist on the one-China principle and shall not vacillate.

We shall not give up the struggle for peaceful reunification.

We apply the principle of basing our hope on Taiwan people and shall not change.

We are set against the separatists' activities of "Taiwan independence" and shall not compromise the Third Session of the Tenth National People's Congress deliberated and passed Anti-Secession Law.

It declared Chinese people's strong will of safeguarding national unity and territorial integrity by means of state law for the first time.

It further solidified and highlighted the fact that "the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China".

It effectively impeded and cracked the separatist forces of "Taiwan independence".

In April and May of the same year, the Party Central Committee and Hu Jintao invited Lien Chan, chairman of the Kuomintang Party of China and James Soong, Chairman of the People First Party to bring a delegation to visit the mainland and carried out the communication between the cross-Straits Parties. They published reports and reached a number of agreements. At that time, James Soong came to Tsinghua University to deliver a speech. I didn't attend it for some reasons which is a pity. Then in September of the year, Lee Ao delivered a speech in Tsinghua University. I was honored to attend it and had various feelings.

In 2008, the situation of Taiwan changed vitally and positively.
The separatistic forces of "Taiwan independence" was seriously defeated in the election and stepped down.

The Kuomintang Party which came into power again was against "Taiwan independence" and acknowledged the "agreement in 1992".

The cross-straits relations met historic opportunities and made a huge breakthrough Based on the spirits of shelving the controversy expanding common ground and setting aside differences and creating a win-win situation.

The cross-straits association recovered based on the "agreement of 1992".

The "three direct links" came true.

The cross-straits compatriots visited each other more frequently.

The economic connection became more close.

The cultural communication became more active.

The common interests became wider.

The cross-straits relations began stepping into the rail of peaceful development After the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China Faced with the new situation in which the cross-straits compatriots visited each other more frequently the economic connection became more close, the cultural communication became more active and the common interests became wider our Party stated for multiple times that we should cherish the historic opportunities and keep the positive momentum of cross-straits relations developing.

In June, 2013 Xi Jinping proposed four opinions on following the path of peaceful development of the cross-straits They are as followed First.

We shall be insistent on holding the general cross-straits situation at the height of the whole interests of the Chinese nation Second we shall be insistent on holding the general cross-straits future by clearly recognizing the trend of history development Third.

We shall be insistent on improving the mutual trust and the virtuous interaction expanding common ground and setting aside differences and being realistic and pragmatic Fourth, we shall be insistent on steadily advancing the development in all aspects of the cross-straits relations.

As long as we put the four opinions into practice the Taiwan issue will definitely be resolved Finally I want to talk about my relations with Taiwan.

When I was young, I listened to many songs of Teresa Teng and watched many TV dramas of Taiwan such as The Stars of Last Night Priceless Emotion Legend of Pearl and so on They left a fine impression on me I also watched some Taiwan movies such as Love Me Once Again, Mom

It was simply a tear bomb and impressive.

When I was at middle school I liked songs of Zheng Zhihua so much that now I always like to sing his songs when I go to the karaoke From songs of Zheng Zhihua especially Big Citizen and New Green Island Serenade I developed an interest in Taiwan society.
In March, 2005 when I was a Ph.D. student in Tsinghua University I received the Friend-of-Tsinghua Fagushan scholarship I was invited to visit Taiwan along with several students of Tsinghua and Peking University I saw the Master Shengyan, the founder of the Fagushan Buddhism Base I visited the Taipei National Museum Taiwan University Tsinghua University in Hsinchu and other cultural institutions Particularly

It was also in Taiwan that I saw the sea for the first time

The tour in Taiwan left a good impression on me

In June, 2005 Master Shengyan came to Tsinghua University to deliver a lecture I accompanied him on the trip in Tsinghua as a tour guide

In 2009 After Master Shengyan died He Shunshun, "mainland bride" of Ling Feng, a Taiwan actor interviewed me about my impression of Master Shengyan I often think that achieving complete reunification of China is not only business of the government but also business of each son and daughter of the Chinese nation Each son and daughter of the Chinese nation should automatically become an envoy of the positive communication and peaceful reunification of the two sides of the Taiwan Straits

It is frequently said that "Each ordinary person shall be responsible for the prosperity and depression of the country" Here I want to say that "Each ordinary person shall be responsible for the reunification and division of the country"

Chapter 10: Socialist Diplomacy and International Strategy with Chinese Characteristics 中国特色社会主义外交和国际战略

10.1.1 Why Do We Say “Peace and Development are the Underlying Trends of Times”

Nice to meet you My dear fellow friends Today let’s take a close look at Chapter 10

The socialist diplomacy and international strategy with Chinese characteristics Speaking of diplomacy, two sayings may naturally come to our minds

The first saying is, “Nothing is minor in diplomacy” And the second is, “There is no true diplomacy for inferior countries” If we think it over we may find these two sayings to be mutually contradicting “Nothing is minor in diplomacy” means that diplomacy is of major significance and it must not be dealt with perfunctoriness even on the slightest events While “There is no true diplomacy for inferior countries” means that diplomacy is actually not of vital importance what really matters is whether a country gains “hard power” Therefore Does diplomacy really matter? Let’s try to figure out this problem While going through the contents in this chapter First of all, Section 1

The forming foundations of the socialist diplomacy and international strategy with Chinese characteristics

The socialist diplomacy and international strategy with Chinese characteristics can be generalized as adhering to an independent foreign policy of peace, safeguarding state sovereignty, security and developing interests maintaining cordial relationship with all nations on the basis of remaining on the paths of peaceful development persisting on advocating the opening policy of win-win situation. keeping on constructing a harmonic world that is constantly peaceful, in which countries boom together. developing
our own country by safeguarding a peaceful world as well as offering peace to the world by further developing ourselves.

The forming foundations of the socialist diplomacy and international strategy with Chinese characteristics can be generalized as the following three aspects First of all peace and development are the current main themes Secondly:

The globe is developing tortuously in the course of world multi-polarization and economic globalization Thirdly Seize and utilize important phases of strategy and opportunity So how should we understand the forming foundations in these aspects? To begin with Let’s look at the first question Why do we say the peace and development are the main themes in the current age?

The term "the main theme in the current age" describes the problems that reflects fundamental properties of the world in a certain historic period of time and exert a global influence on the world trend which are of strategic importance.

In other words, the problems are the major questions remaining to be solved in the course of development of history.

As the conflicts and world trends gradually develop and alter over time the main theme may change Having a scientific understanding and seizing the time theme are a major basis in setting the right developmental strategy and internal and external policies For example if we believe the major time theme is war and revolution our major goal is to augment our army to prepare for the war and to prevent internal conflicts or incur revolution from within But if we believe the major time theme is peace and development then we should safeguard the peace and seize the time to develop ourselves After WWII the problem of war and peace has become a significant problem for the world society Mao Tsetong stated that the reactionary forces are preparing for the third world war we are indeed under the peril of war However, the democratic forces among people over the world have exceeded the reactionary forces and are developing forward which is destined for overcoming the peril of war.

On the basis of analyzing the problem of war and peace scientifically Mao gradually postulated the strategy of two transitive path and three worlds.

On August 6, 1946, during a conversation with Anna-Louise-Strong an American journalist, Mao pointed out that "A vast area lies between the United States and the Soviet Union in which there are various countries from Europe Asia and Africa, including capitalized colonized and semi-colonized countries Upon 1960s,

As various kinds of political forces over the world differentiated and reorganized." Mao further pointed out that "We hereby present a point of view which defines two 'intermediate zones'.

The first intermediate zone includes Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The second one includes Europe, Canada and Oceania Also, Japan belongs to the second intermediate zone." According to such judgments Under the general pattern of international relations Not only did China remain active in sustaining relationships with countries from Asia, African and Latin America, but also paid enough attention to establishing and improving relationships with western countries.

In 1974, Mao put forth the strategy which divides the globe into three different "worlds"
During Zambia president's stay, he said “The United States and the Soviet Union are from the ‘first world’
While the centrists: Japan, the European countries, Australia and Canada are from the second world. and
we are from the third world.” He also pointed out that the third world countries had a large population All
Asian countries except Japan are from the third world All African countries are from the third world

The Latin American countries are also from the third world

The way Mao postulated the strategy that divides the world into three pieces is quite similar to “Longzhong
Dui”, written by Zhuge Liang which advocated dividing the ancient China into three parts and was of great
importance

The “Three-world strategy” has answered an important question in international arena, which is “Who is
our friend” and “Who is our enemy” Under the guidance of “three-world” strategy China has made the
following strategies: Firstly, China would stand beyond the third-world countries, strengthening
relationships among third world countries Secondly, China strove to reconcile the second world countries
to fight against the hegemons. Thirdly, China would continue to establish normal relationship with America
and Japan Such decisions played a vital part in uniting people over the world fighting against hegemony
Changing the political power over the world improving China's international environment and enhancing our
country's international reputation Mao also formulated a series of important thoughts based on the
postwar international situation For example, people should be entitled to governing their own country and
that we should strongly oppose imperialist countries that intervene or dominate other countries For
example, nations are equal, regardless of their sizes or power and that those who intimidates inferior
countries by their superiority should be strongly opposed under the Mao's guidance, China supported the
liberation campaign of the suppressed peoples, revolutionary struggles of people from various countries,
Such as that a united and international front should be established in order to fight against the imperialists
and hegemons and so forth After the late 1970s Deng Xiaoping postulated his novel insights on the
question of war and peace He firstly proposed that as the international situation is favorable we might
strive to prevent war from happening

In the meantime we should also take precautionary steps in case the enemies take an untimely and
destructive siege Afterwards as the international situation continued to develop Deng, for another time,
pointed out that A major alteration has occurred in the competition of world political forces the increment
of peaceful factors has outgrown those pertaining to the wars thus it is impossible for another war to break
out and it is possible to maintain a stable and peaceful environment

On March 4, 1985, While greeting the chamber of commercial and industry of Japan(JCCI), Deng Xiaoping
pointed out that the real big problem remaining on this world are worldwide strategic issues. One is the
peace problem the other is economy problem, or rather development problem Peace problem is a “East-
West problem” Development problem is a “North-South problem” To generalize, it includes four direction:
North, South, East and West North-South problem is the core problem

During the thirteenth national congress of the communist party of China in 1987, Based on Deng
Xiaoping’s statements a profound insight was proposed, that “peace and development are the outstanding
issues in the world today” So how should we understand the profound statements that “Peace and
development are the outstanding issues in the world today” First of all, world war can be prevented from
occurring in a relatively long period of time we might be able to secure a peaceful environment for a
relatively long period of time Secondly, Peace and development are two major strategic issues that are
global over the world. which intensively embodies the global conflict between developed countries and
developing countries Thirdly peace and development mutually contribute to each other world peace is a prerequisite for countries to develop together Also, common progress among different countries is an important foundation for preserving world peace Fourthly, that peace and development have become the outstanding issues in the world today does not mean that these problems are already solved, we should remain sober and alert that neither of the world peace and development issues have been solved in the world today the success of which requires people from over the world to endeavor in union persistently we must realize that ever since historic times war has taken on its diabolical look engulfing humans’ lives and fortune According to professional statistics from 3200 B.C. to 1964 A.D. 14513 wars have broken out during the 5164 years within which only 329 years are free from wars

During these wars people had paid a bloody price at about 3.64 billion people had died from warfare

The gold equivalent to the value of the properties that were lost may be paved as a gold-belt which is 150 km in breadth, 10 m in width and is able to rotate the globe eight times War has decimated cities galore Human civilization and art have suffered unprecedented annihilation 33 countries were involved in the first world war including 1.5 billion people more than 40 million people have died or injured, with direct economic loss being more than 270 trillion dollars

During WWII, 61 countries were involved, accounting for 80% of the world population About 1117 trillion USD was spent on military expenditure with an economic loss exceeding 4000 trillion dollars Also, it claimed direct death of more than 57 million people in which 20.6 million are from the S.R 6 million are from Poland 7.3 million are from Germany 2.22 million are from Japan 810 thousand are from France 380 thousand are from America 330 thousand are from Italy However, among those who were dead during World War 2 more than 200 million people are from China 200 million! What a dreadful figure Behind this figure are innumerable tragedies and calamities Even in contemporary society peace is still not a prerequisite but an “issue” Upon 1990s, regional conflicts and wars continued to arise 25 wars of different scales broke out in 1991

In 1992, there were 30,
In 1993, there were 34,
In 1994, there were 38
In 1995, there were 45 Upon recently, wars frequently break out in certain places of the world even in nations or regions that are relatively peaceful the peril of war still remains

As a result it is our duty to keep in our minds the lessons of war and to strive for peace for the mankind Speaking of peace, its value bears a vivid resemblance to the air People might not be able to sense the value of air However, once separated from the air people will be severely threatened from living

As we all know the year 1986 is “International Year of Peace”

During the international year of peace, the Chinese people has written two songs that have far-reaching interpretations

The first one is “Tomorrow would be better”, sung by various artists in Taiwan let’s take a look at it

The second one is “Let the world be full of love” sung by various artists in Chinese mainland let’s also have a look □ So how do everyone like those two songs These songs fiercely expressed the repellence to the war and cravings for peace Both of the songs are meaningful and deserve our close attention
In the meantime, the names of these songs are quite meaningful and they are interrelated. Only by "let the world be full of love" can we "have a better tomorrow". If we "let the world be full of loathe" we may never "have a better tomorrow".

The act of showing affection is usually misinterpreted as clichés of sentimentalism. However, if we do not show our love and affection are we going to show our hatred? To get to the point, the formation of the socialist diplomacy and international strategy with Chinese characteristics is based on the premise that peace and development are the outstanding issues today. Nowadays, despite the world is going through major revolutions and modifications, peace and development are still outstanding issues in the world today. World-polarization, the through development of economic globalization, cultural diversification, the gradual informatization of the society, science revolution begets novel breakthroughs. Global cooperation becomes more complicated and thorough. New markets and developing countries are gaining their overall strengths. The comparison of international forces is showing a tendency for maintaining a peaceful world. More favorable conditions are warranted to stabilize the international situation. However, we may realize that the world is still in an unstable state. The international financial crisis has a far-reaching effect. The world economic growth is becoming more and more unstable and unpredictable. The growing imbalance in the world has intensified hegemony. Power politics and neo-interventionism have rejuvenated security hazards. Has become continually comprehensive, complicate, and multi-lateral. Frequent breakouts are common due to territorial and marinal conflicts. Terrorists, separationists, and extremists are becoming more and more active. Regional conflicts are becoming frequent. More problems have arisen in the global issues such as food security, resource security, and cyber-security. So how shall we generalize and predict the basic trend of world situation? I think we may make our generalization in three sentences. Firstly, the world is mainly peaceful and only parts of it is involved with war; Secondly, the international relationships are mainly relaxed and few of them are mounted with tension. Thirdly, the world is mainly stable partially unstable. Therefore not only should we realize the positive side in general but also the troublesome parts of the world. For those who think we may immediately sheath all our weapons and graze out horses we should in particular emphasize the negative side.

On the other hand, for those who think we are to prepare for the imminent wars and battles, we should emphasize the positive side.

In general, on the issue of peace and development, we should see both sides of a coin. Not only should we stay calm and poised but also we should be vigilant in the peaceful time.

10.1.2 How Do We Understand the World’s Trends towards Multi-polarization and Economic Globalization

Now let’s have a look at the second question: How do we interpret world multi-polarization and economic globalization? First of all, what is world multi-polarization?

The term “world multi-polarization”

The term “world multi-polarization” describes the trend in which countries and groups of states that prominently affect international relationships interact with each other. Which usually forms a multipolar world. World multi-polarization reflects how major political forces are distributed over the world. World multi-polarization is a necessary sequence to the ongoing development of international relationships which is an inevitable trend, regardless of our wishes. Those countries would find themselves daydreaming if they wished to dominate the world. And here comes another question: What is the counterpart for world multi-polarization? World multi-polarization is in contrast with mono-polarization and with bi-polarization the
term “mono-polarization” describes the situation in which a nation dominates the world And the term “bi-polarization” describes the situation in which two superpowers rule over the world such as the United States and the Soviet Union Currently, the world pattern is neither mono-polar nor bi-polar; Quite conversely, it is multi-polar So, how come this kind of multi-polar world situation come into being? Ever since World War II, the transition of the world has gone through the following three phases First of all, the phase in which two major political forces are against each other After the World War II, the bi-polar world pattern based on Yalta system has brought the age when capitalism powers ruled the world to the end which also brought the time when the world pattern was centered around Europe to the end

In the 1950s

The capitalist countries led by the United States and socialist countries led by the Soviet Union are in sharp contrast with each other:

In politics, they held completely different positions in military, they remained aggressive to each other in economics, they implemented a series of sanctions, enforcing blockades and counter-blockades on each other and in ideological fields, they took the strategy of evolution and anti-revolution. Such are the competition between the superpowers in the first phase. Every time I tried to explain how those two sets of countries are opposed to each other the stories of Zoroastrianism (A religious sect in ancient China) and the six major schools in The Heavenly Sword and the Dragon Saber a novel of Chinese ancient martial arts, written by Jin Yong would naturally occur to me it would also remind me of the stories about the sun-moon holy cult and five-mountain sword sect alliances in The Legendary Swordsman Afterwards, the phase in which these two superpowers competes to dominate the world After 1960s the great-nation chauvinism that the Soviet Union had adopted in its foreign strategies was gradually transformed into hegemony Therefore, the Sino-Soviet relations began to rupture the socialism countries began to collapse After that

The competition between these two superpowers—Soviet Union and

The United States has replaced the contrasting states of two camps Speaking of the struggle for hegemony between the United States and the Soviet Union it reminds me of a Singaporean TV series Lotus Competition which I used to watch and enjoy when I was young This is an interesting TV series if you are interested, you might as well take a closer look at it

The third phase marked the time when the bi-polar world pattern came to an end and the world tend to be multi-polar

As some countries started to gain its economic and political forces and soon became new strategic power that is of great significance to the world a major change has occurred in the international arena

The situation of major differentiation and reorganization has revealed the fact that the world is continually developing towards multi-polarity Between the end of 1980s and the beginning of 1990s drastic changes in Eastern Europe took place and the ensuing collapse of Soviet Union marked the end of bi-polar world pattern that had existed for more than 40 years Since the end of the Cold War various kinds of political power continue to interact with each other it has become evident that the world pattern is tending towards multi-polarity Nowadays, a great many emerging market economies and developing countries have been progressively developing Many development centers have gradually come into being in all parts of the world However, the world is not developing in balance the situation in which the superpower —

The United States coexists with various political powers is a general world pattern before the multi-polar world finally come into being That is to say the current world pattern is not actually multi-polar, in fact, it is
approaching multi-polar the process in which we approach multi-polar world is actually a process where “Eight Gods exhibit their power to go across the sea” (an ancient Chinese idiom) and is also a process in which “The Liangshan gallants take their seats” (also an ancient Chinese idiom)

As is known to all the term “BRICs” is common in international politics the “BRICs” is actually a representative of the emerging economies So, how is the term “BRICs” coined?

In 2001 Jim O’Neill, the head economist of Goldman Sahms originally coined the term “BRICs” to denote the representative countries of emerging market economies the “BRIC” includes Brazil, Russia, India and China, taking their initials as an abbreviation

As the way it is pronounced is similar to that of the word “brick” Hence it is called “BRICs”

As a matter of fact “Brick” means “building blocks” in English

We are calling it “the gold bricks” only because it sounds better as merely calling it “bricks” seems a little weird From 2008 to 2009, the countries involved have held a series of meetings and established the system of summit meetings Since then, the BRICs have extended its meaning from a mere concept to an international political entity

In 2010 After South Africa joined the organization, the name of which became “BRICs” and the countries were hence called “BRICs” countries

The symbol of the “BRICs” is a circle containing five different colors each representing the color of a member’s national flag indicating the collaboration and cooperation among “BRICS’ countries Currently, there are five “BRICS” perhaps the number of the members may change and it is very likely the more countries may join this organization because many countries are developing rapidly however, it is also possible for the number of member nations to decrease because the current “BRICS” are not indeed developing progressively After “BRICS” the terms “VISTA” and “CIVETS” have been put forward the “VISTA” Countries the “VISTA” Countries the “VISTA’ Countries includes Vietnam Indonesia South Africa Turkey and Argentina

The initials of the countries constitute the word “Vista” which means “Outlook” the term “VISTA” was initially put forward by Akashi Kadokura, the responsible person for the research institute of “BRIC” countries in 2007 the “VISTA” countries are considered to go through a rapid progress in economics

The “CIVETS” countries originally consists of Columbia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Egypt, Turkey and South Africa Six countries with emerging and promising market economies

The so-called term “CIVETS” is composed of six initials of the member nations

The common features of the countries include having a large young population, the national economy being both heterogeneous and vigorous and being considered emerging markets and focuses for investments

The term is put forward by EIU, the Think-tank of The Economist in 2009.

When the term was initially put forward, “C” stands for Columbia, “E” stands for Egypt yet they are now replaced by China and India, that is to say currently, the term “CIVETS” means China, Indonesia, Vietnam, India Turkey and South Africa Contrary to “BRICS” there is also a term that is widely used internationally, which is “PIIGS” the “PIIGS” are initially called “PIGS” in which “I” means Italy, -it also means Ireland very
soon, "PIIGS" also means "a group of pigs" or "Five European Pigs" which is a pejorative term widely used to describe five European countries that have lower sovereign debt ratings.

The countries involved are Portugal, Italy, Ireland, Greece and Spain. Especially, such term describes the dysfunctional status in the sovereign bond markets. Also, the financial deficit of these countries have exceeded 3%. Currently, there are five “PIIGS” countries, the numbers of which may vary.

The emergence of “BRICS” and “PIIGS” is a typical representation of interacting international political powers.

As some emerging economics emerge, some old capitalism countries are going through crises.

The world pattern is going through a thorough change which we have to be aware of Now that a multi-polar world pattern has come into being.

It is important to know what the poles are in this world.

The U.S. is one of the poles, because

The United States has become the only superpower and endeavors to construct a unipolar world led by itself.

The European Union is another polar the release of Euro marked an elevation in the internal cooperation inside EU which contributed positively to EU’s international status. Also, Japan is another status. Japan has considered the collapse of bi-polar world as a great chance to become a political power. Japan plays an active part in international affairs in order to become a political power. Russia is another polar after the collapse of Soviet Union the Russian Federation substituted the Soviet Union as a member in UN and owned a tremendous amount of military weapons tantamount to that of

The United States. Russia also takes an active role in all kinds of international affairs which is an important polar in the world.

As the old Chinese saying goes “A lean camel is bigger than a horse”

Of course China is also a pole and deserves to be recognized by the world. China has become the second largest economy in the world only after that of the United States. Moreover

It is only a matter of time for China to replace the USA as the largest economy in the world.

Besides those five poles are there any other poles in the world? Is India one of the poles? Many of us have enjoyed India films, such as Slumdog Millionaire Three Idiots the sensational Indian movie OMG:

Oh My God! and Life of Pi an India-related film directed by Li An. Those who have watched these films usually hold a complicated attitude towards their feelings about India. Some may say India is a pole in the world while others deny such saying.

In my opinion currently speaking India is not a pole in the world but is very likely to become one of the poles.

On this point as a neighbor of India we must be fully aware that many compare the relationship between China and India to “A competition between the Dragon and the Elephant”
As a matter of fact the normal relationship should be “A dance between the Dragon and the Elephant” So, how shall we describe the common features of the current world pattern Many people think that it is a society for example, we are all too familiar with the term “International society” Some may also regard it as “Tianxia” (a traditional Chinese term) for example, Mr. Zhao Tingyang has written a monograph on such theme with the name of The TianXia system: An introduction to the Philosophy of World Institution Others also regard it is an empire such as the American scholar Michael Hart and the Italian scholar Antonio Negri the authors of a monograph with the name of Empire—the Political Order of Globalization However, I think the world is actually a “Jianghu” a society which pays respect to both prowess and rules

The existing “poles” in the world can be also compared to various masters in “JiangHu” For example in Jin Yong’s martial art novel The Legend of

The Condor Heroes the five masters are “Dong Xie, Xi Du, Nan Di, Bei Gai, Zhong Shentong” For example the new five masters in “The Return of Condor Heroes” are “Dong Xie, Xi Kuang, Nan di, Bei xia, Zhong Wantong”.

The same as “Bei Qiaofeng, Nan Murong” in “The Semi-Gods and

The Semi-Devils”

As an another example, four masters: “Nan Canghai, Bei Tieshan” “Yi yue, Qingtianjueshijian” in Another Visit to the Tiger Mountain a TV series I used to watch in my childhood So let’s get back to the business the multi-polar world contributes to forming a complicated system of various kinds of political powers in which they not only learn from each other but also cast restraints on each other preventing a new world war from happening which greatly hampers hegemony and power politics and contributes to a new international politico-economic order which is unbiased and reasonable Moreover, it helps people pursue a world that is peaceful, stable and prosperous and also helps a great many developing countries to seize the chance of developing themselves But we should also be aware that such a multi-polarization process is bound to be complicated and time-consuming People may go to extremes to argue whether the world should be uni-polar or multi-polar More and more countries are desiring collaboration against all kinds of problems and issues

In the meantime Some countries practicing unilateralism and are becoming more and more bold in intervening other countries’ politics

In the multi-polarization process it has become an issue of time to safeguard international justice and fair

Now that we have discussed about world-polarization let’s come to economical globalization Currently speaking, economic globalization has become an important background of the world issue

The economic globalization process and world polarization process are interrelated and interacting Ever since 1990s after the end of the cold war the foundation of WHO and the rapid development of information technology have accelerated the trend towards economic globalization Three issues are of major significance in economic globalization First of all What are the fundamental intentions of world economic globalization?

The revolution of science and technology and the development of productivity are the fundamental intentions of economic globalization

As the economic life is becoming more and more international communications between nations have become frequent and intense the economic globalization process optimizes the factors of productions and
resources in the range of global markets which contributes to the rapid progress of world economy Secondly What are the outcomes of economic globalization? Economic globalization is a "double-edged sword" While accelerating the world economic growth by developing global productivity it may lead to a series of negative outcomes by bringing about some common socio-economical issues intensifying international competition increasing international risks and badly affecting the national sovereignty and national industries in developing countries

The process of economic globalization happens under the general international economic situation where many unreasonable and unfair factors still exists which is a developing process mainly led by western developed countries for developing countries economic globalization is a precious historical chance and is also a great challenge Although Western developed countries are the main beneficiaries in the process of world economic globalization they are also facing a series of emerging challenges in the socio-economical fields If we have fully understood why economic globalization is like a "double-edged sword" it will be no wonder for us that why many people are actually against it

In Dec 2005 the demonstrators from Korea have caused fury and chaos while they were chanting in HongKong interfering the WTO ministerial conference This event indirectly explains the complexity of globalization process which also explains that not everyone is welcoming the process of economic globalization thirdly how should we face the challenges brought by World economy globalization? Facing the challenges brought about by economic globalizations

The developing countries should take progressive steps in opening themselves moreover, they should continually try to strengthen their ability to prevent and defense the risks For example

In 1997, the Asian financial crisis broke out in Thailand if China had adopted the free exchange rate system we are bound to be involved in such crises Fortunately, we didn't adopt such system so we were free from such a disaster

The economic globalization trend has intensified the interdependence and interaction among national economics If economic crisis broke out in some countries or nations not only the developing countries are affected the developing countries cannot stay away from it Since 2008 the financial crisis caused by subprime crisis in America developed from several regions to the whole world causing an international financial crisis which was rare in history and impacted the world widely and severely Under the impact of such crises the world economy began to grow slowly the growth rate of international trade also declined the international financial market fluctuated severely some countries were also having prominent sovereign debt crises all kinds of crises were happening Currently, the world economy is still complicated and severe the rejuvenation of world economy is becoming increasingly unpredictable and unstable facing a global crisis we are supposed to promote international cooperation each nation should increase international cooperation with a spirit of responsibility and risk-shoudering promoting international economic order to become fair and reasonable constructing a multi-lateral economic system which highlights a win-win situation for all countries creating favorable countries for all countries

In a word, the economic globalization process requires all nations to be equal, mutually beneficial, win-win and coexisting

10.1.3 How Do We Seize and Make the Most of the Important Period of Strategic Opportunities
Now, let’s look at the third question: How do we seize and make the most of the important period of strategic opportunities for China’s development? First of all, what is “the period of strategic opportunities“?

The term ”period of strategic opportunities“ describes a period in which a country or a nation is met with major breakthroughs in living and development

The period of strategic opportunities is an outcome of all kinds of interacting factors and relations

It is an objective entity which acts beyond our wishes People should be highly aware of and make the most of the period of strategic opportunities Those who seize and make the most of the strategic opportunity period are very likely to achieve new development and breakthroughs If we ignore it we might lost the chance to develop ourselves

The implications and conditions of the period of strategic opportunity may vary according to the situation which requires people to correctly analyze and seize

The period of strategic opportunity may be continued and prolonged as long as our theories, line, principles and policies and strategies are correct we may continue and prolong our period of strategical opportunity

The Party and the leaders of the country are paying unique attention to the period of strategic opportunity

In 2002, Jia Zeming pointed out in the 16th Report: ”Considering the overall situation the first 20 years in the 20th century is an important period of strategic importance which our country must seize carefully and in which much may be achieved.”

In 2007 Hu Jintao pointed out in the 17th Report ”The world today is undergoing changes that are wide are profound Also, revolutions are happening in China that are wide are profound

We are faced with unprecedented opportunities along with unprecedented challenges However, the opportunities are greater that challenges the whole Party must unswervingly hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics lead people to start from a new historical start seize and make the most of periods of strategic importance be realistic and pragmatic be active in developing ourselves keep working to fulfill the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects work harder to advance socialist modernization in order to carry out the great missions assigned by the current time.”

In 2012 Hu Jintao pointed out in 18th Report: “An examination of both the current international and domestic environments shows that China remains in an important period of strategic opportunities for its development, a period in which much can be achieved

We need to have a correct understanding of the changing nature and conditions of this period seize all opportunities respond with cool-headedness to challenges and gain initiative and advantages to win the future and attain the goal of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020.”

On Sept 9th, 2014 Xi Jinping gave a speech on the opening ceremony of the Sino-US economic seminar, stating that “Almost 1000 years ago, Sushi, an ancient litterateur said in Song dynasty: ‘What comes and we must not lose is the time, and what happens and we must not ignore is the opportunity’ While developing Sino-US relationship, we should act according to the current situation and improves ourselves as long as the world develops”
The famous idiom of Sushi quoted by Xi Jinping is actually a perfect interpretation of period of strategic opportunity.

In a new world situation the implications and conditions of important strategic opportunity have varied greatly. Under an international perspective the active aspects of important periods of strategic opportunity are as follows. First of all,

The comparison among international powers are beneficial for a more peaceful world and a mainly stable world situation. And now I would like to ask all of you a question will there be a third World War? What do you think of it?

In my opinion, though it might be hard to judge in the long run, the third World War may not break out within a short time period.

As long as the World War does not break out, we must seize the chance to develop ourselves. Secondly, despite the heterogeneous and increasingly severe protectionism under the international financial crises, has made it troublesome to liberate multilateral investments. However, the trend of economic globalization is not going to pause beneficial factors that contribute to mutual development are augmenting. Thirdly, as the new technological revolution is in the ascendant, our country are enjoying the benefits as a late-comer. For there are more conditions that contribute to development, speaking of the late-mover advantage, there have always been theoretical controversies. Some believe that there are early-mover advantages rather than late-mover advantages and there are late-mover disadvantages instead of late-mover advantages.

Actually, being an early-comer is not bound to be an advantage, and being a later-comer is not bound to be a disadvantage, which actually depends on what and how we act. Forthly, the international financial crises have caused a profound change in the world political and economic pattern. Our country is facing new opportunities in pursuing a greater say in international affairs. Currently, speaking institutes such as the organization of international monetary and fund and the World Bank have made a significant progress. Especially the G20, replacing G8 as the core mechanism in monitoring the world economics has first broken the long-term monopolization. The western developed countries have imposed on world economic affair, causing developing countries to have a greater say in world economics management and giving them rights to set the rules which benefit China greatly.

In the meantime, we are facing challenges and disbenefits from over the world. To itemize, firstly it is highly unlikely for the world economy to improve in a short period of time which may cause difficulties for our country to have a steady import. Secondly, the world is facing fiercer competitions in all kinds of aspects, Both developed countries and developing countries are faced with great pressure in the transition of economic structure. Thirdly, the market of international financial product may continue to fluctuate.

As there is great difficulty in world economy rejuvenation, and the confidence in market is hard to recover international capital flow greatly intensifies causing massive fluctuations in international foreign exchange and bond markets.

In the current trend, international fluidity is mainly in surplus. The price of bulk commodities may continue to fluctuate on a high level, which not only increases the cost of import resources of our country, but also leaves our country in a state where the input inflation pressure is relatively high. Forthly, Strategic pressure and geopolitical risks are prominent in the periphery of our country. Incidents are frequent in East and South China Sea, affecting the surrounding situation of our country which used to have a good development. Such as the Diaoyu Island issues and Huangyan Island issues. Speaking of the Diaoyu Island issues, it is important for us to know about Japanese author Kiyoshi Inoue who has written a book called
The History and Sovereignty of Diaoyu Island This book scientifically substantiates that Diaoyu Island has been the dominion of China since the dynasties of Ming and Qing. Kiyoshi Inoue stated the intention of Japanese’s acts to occupy Diaoyu Island by force and revealed the process how Japanese gradually occupied Diaoyu Island and Liuqiu island and the book also refuted the Japanese arguments that “Diaoyu Island belongs to Japan” and “Diaoyu Island is formerly occupied by no one” Combining with the new trends in Diaoyu Island issues Kiyoshi Inoue pointed out that it is necessary to confirm that Diaoyu Island is the dominion of China.

We should be aware that this is the thesis of a Japanese scholar to whom we should offer our hail And we should really spend some time reading this book Domestically the positive aspects of important period of strategic opportunities are listed as follows: Firstly, the substantial and technical foundations of economic growth have been firmer and firmer.

The 60 years’ construction and development since the founding of New China especially the later 30 years since the reform and opening up the economic power and overall national strength have grown considerably meanwhile the substantial and technological foundations and the endogenic motivation that guarantees sustainable growth have been increasingly strengthened. Secondly, the is an enormous amount of potential in market demand.

In the current and ensuing period our country is still in the phase where the industry structure is continually optimizing and upgrading. Especially, as the urbanization continues to advance not only an enormous amount of investment in civic infrastructure and housing will be stimulated but also there will be more consumption as a great many rural people become citizen during this process. Thirdly, as the macro-regulatory system has been steadily improving the government will be considerably more capable of handling complicated situations.

In this aspect China is, beyond doubt, “a successful country” but not “a failing country” seen on some lists ranked by some western countries. Fourthly the structural advantages are becoming increasingly evident.

As the economic political, cultural societal and ecological systems are becoming more and more advanced.

The new and better structural bonus and developmental potential will continue to be created and released. China will have a greater and greater influence on the world. Meanwhile we are faced with some difficulties and challenges listed as follows: Firstly as the down economic growth pressure is becoming greater. Chinese economic growth has been in a new state: “China’s New Normal”. Currently our country’s economic growth rate has returned to a former state which is both the result of macro-regulation but also a natural response to the variations in market demands especially as our country is impacted by insufficient and even decreasing demands. Secondly the structural modification of national economy has been progressing slowly even though the structural modifications have been continually progressing and advancing our country does not have a steady foundation in the first industry and the core competition of our second industry is unsatisfying the third industry is still progress significantly slowly.

As the economic growth rate begins to slow down more issues began to occur in terms of unreasonable industrial structure especially on the issue of capacity surplus for parts of the commodity. Thirdly our country is lacking competence in scientific innovation the overall technology level of our industries is unsatisfying the innovational system which centers upon corporation directed by the market combined with production and research still remains to be developed.
As our country lacks our own intellectual property and famous brands the emerging markets are still incompetent in leading the trends. Based on the aforementioned situations

We may probably say that the period of strategic opportunity is also a period of strategic challenge.

The period of strategic opportunity is a “double-edged sword” for China but in overall the benefits outnumber the disbenefits.

As the period of opportunity is ephemeral it is useful only if we seize and make the most of it. Seizing and making the most of the periods of strategic opportunity requires us to discover and make the most of every resource and relationship that contributes to the development of our country. Domestically, we pursue development in a scientific way. Internationally, we pursue development in a peaceful way.

We should pay attention to both domestic and international situations build up a world perspective strength our strategic minds. Moreover, we should seize the development opportunities face the risks and challenges and construct a satisfying international situation. There will be no opportunities if there are no risks likely, there will be no benefits provided there are no risks.

We will have to face the challenge and face the risks.

10.2.1 What Are the Reasons and Meanings for China to Strive for Peaceful Development

Now let’s move on to Section 2. Keeping to the Path of Peaceful Development. First of all what are the reasons and meanings for China to keep to the path of peaceful development? To keep to the path of peaceful development is Chinese people’s sincere wish and unswerving pursuit.

During the 60 years after the founding of new China especially during the 30 years of reform and opening-up. China has followed a path of peaceful development that is commensurate with our country’s specific conditions and the underlying features of our times. So, What is the path of peace development?

In essence, the path of peace development refers to the following: Developing oneself while maintaining world peace and maintaining world peace through one’s own development. Opening wider to the rest of the world and learning from the experiences of other countries while pursuing development through one’s own efforts, reform and innovation following the trend of economic globalization and seeking mutual benefit and common development with other countries and working with the international community to build a harmonious world with lasting peace and common prosperity.

The most evident characteristic of this path is scientific development, self-development, opening development, peaceful development, cooperative development, and common development. China’s path of peaceful development is a path that balances between domestic development and opening-up and is a path on which we are brave to join the process of economic globalization and insist on cooperating widely and seeking mutual benefits. While pursuing the path of peaceful development, our country should never forgo our legal rights. Never should we sacrifice the core interests of our countries. No foreign country should expect us to trade our core interests or to accept damage to our sovereignty, security, or development interests. While China is following a path of peaceful development, other countries should follow the path of peaceful development only when every country follows the path of peaceful development can all nations develop together. We can coexist with other nations peacefully. So what are the reasons for China to follow the path of peaceful development? The reasons can be categorized as the
following four aspects Firstly to follow the road of peaceful development is to inherit and develop the outstanding cultural traditions of our nation

The Chinese nation is a peace-loving nation Our ancestors had clearly known the proverb that “No matter how large a country may be it is bound to failure if it is prone to war” Since ancient times Chinese nation has been actively trading with other countries rather than declaring war against or even occupying other countries

We tend to patriotism that protects our country rather than the colonialism that invades upon other countries’ lands 2100 years ago Chinese have discovered “the Silk Road” which prompted the West and the East to communicate with each other in terms of their cultures leaving traces indicating the spirit of cooperation which benefits all the people along the Silk Road 600 years ago Leading the most powerful fleet across the Pacific and West Indian Ocean for 7 times the Chinese legend, Zheng He has paid his arrival to more than thirty countries and regions However, he did not invade on a single piece of foreign land instead, he spread the seed of peace and friendship leaving his descendants legendary stories about friendly communication with people along his voyages and disseminating our civilizations

In Chinese traditional culture many verses are against war and yearning for peace such as the "Three Officials and Three Aparts" written by Du Fu, the Saint of poetry "Three Officials" means Xin An Official Shi Hao Official and Tong Guan Official “Three Aparts” means Apart Between Newly-Married Couples Apart Between Old Couples and Apart From Hometowns "Three Officials and Three Aparts" are all verses depicting agony of common people in ancient China While agony was mainly triggered by wars. Two Poems Written in the Year of Ji Hai written by Cao Song, a poet in Tang Dynasty is also a reflection on war

The first poem writes: "Now that war is imminent around the rivers

The common people are in severe sufferings So please do not consider confer me any nobility For a general’s success is based on ten thousand bleaching bones!" This poem is the first poem that I have read since college

As a result it leaves me a deep impression

The proverb “A general’s success is based on ten thousand bleaching bones“ is actually generated from this poem

The second poem writes: "It is said that even hundreds of gods will be worried in wartime And now war has never stopped around the rivers If anyone dares to say it is peace and stable along the water He shall see that the flowing waters are blended with soldiers’ blood!" A Trip towards Western Shanxi Province by the poet Chen Tao in Tang Dynasty, is a famous “Anti-War” poem it writes: "The soldiers forgot their own lives in order to conquer the foreign enemies Yet hundreds of thousands of them died in the war

The white bones that bleached cold far off along the Wuting stream Still come and goes as living men somewhere in the loved ones’ dreams:" How painful and mournful are the last two lines: "The white bones that bleached cold far off along the Wuting stream!" Still come and goes as living men somewhere in the loved ones’ dreams How grievous it is! How sorrowful it is!

The wives were in reminiscent of their husbands However, their husbands have sacrificed their lives to the war even a single piece of their body remains cannot be found Similar poems are many and various such anti-war poems clearly states that peace-loving is an important tradition of Chinese tradition and a national sentiment of Chinese nation which all are culture genes explaining why China pursues the path of peaceful
Secondly to keep to the path of peaceful development is the inevitable conclusion derived by Chinese people based on the miserable experience since the neoteric days.

The Chinese recent history is a miserable and shameful history full of war underdevelopment and persecution is a history during which Chinese nation fought against foreign invaders for national independence.

The once-crucified Chinese people cherish peace and will never pose the miserable experience they have gone through on other nations. Eliminate wars to pursue peace is the profoundest wish of Chinese people in modern history. Chinese people have unforgettable memories about sufferings and pain brought by wars and we are seamlessly pursuing peace cherishing a life that is peaceful and stable. There are no genes of invasion or domination in Chinese people’s blood. Chinese people object to the view that “If a country is powerful, it is bound to be a superpower” and is willing to get along with people from all over the world to develop harmoniously and pursue concerted efforts in promoting, safeguarding and sharing peace. Thirdly, to keep to the path of peaceful development is an inevitable choice of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The path of peaceful development is not easy to realize. Its formation has been due to the arduous discovery and continuous practice by our Party since the foundation of new China especially since the reform and opening up. Our party has been always holding the banner of peace which has never wavered.

During the long-term practice we have put forth and stuck to the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and have established and pursued the independent foreign policy of peace and have made the solemn promise to the world that China will not interfere in other countries’ internal affairs and will never seek hegemony or engage in expansion.

We highlight that China is always a firm power that safeguards world peace which we should unwaveringly pursue and we should never falter. Fourthly, to keep to the path of peaceful development is an inevitable choice based on today’s development trends. Having an overall look at world history, we shall find that outward invasions by force are doomed to failure.

The German Fascism is an example and Japanese Fascism is also an example which are the same for all warmongers and war-maniacs. This is an iron law in history. A booming and stable world is an opportunity for China and a developing China is also an opportunity for the world. Whether we can keep to the path of peaceful development largely depends on how we transform the opportunity of the world to the opportunity of China and how we reversely transform the opportunity of China into the opportunity of the world enabling our country to interact positively with the countries around the world and advance ourselves through mutual benefit. So what are the meanings for our country to keep to the path of peaceful development?

The path of peaceful development is an emerging path of development that China has discovered based on its national conditions.

As time goes by, this path has manifested its meanings and is going to display its consequences worldwide. Firstly, the peaceful development of China counters the paradigm which considers a powerful country to be a superpower and evaded the traditional capitalism way in which powerful countries establish colonial system and invade externally by force.

On Jan 22, 2014 The World Post has published an exclusive interview with China President Xi Jinping.
During the interview Xi Jinping pointed out that “We should try not to fall into 'the Thucydides Trap'

The advocacy that powerful countries have to pursue hegemony does not apply to China and we do not carry the genes that instruct us to carry out such actions.”

The “the Thucydides Trap” quoted by President Xi was originated from theses of Thucydides, a renowned historian in ancient Greece who believes that when a rising superpower starts to challenge the current dominating power such challenges often end up in wars. For example

In 5 B.C. the abrupt rising of Athens shocked the dominating power on land, Sparta

The threats and anti-threats between both countries triggered competitions and wars. After having fought for more than 30 years both of the countries were devastated. Thucydides summarized that “What makes war inevitable are the ever-growing power of Athens and the horror it triggered for Sparta”

The essence of “the Thucydides Trap” is that an emerging major country is bound to challenge the current major country and the current major country is bound to respond to such threats. War is consequently made inevitable. “The Thucydides Trap” is almost seen as an iron law in international relations. However, the path of peaceful development of our country is going to outlaw the so-called “iron law.” Secondly, More opportunities are brought to the world as China keeps to the path of peaceful development. China insists on combining domestic interests and common interests of people over the world and taking a more active part in world affairs playing our role of a major responsible country and work jointly with other countries to meet global challenges.

The development and rising of China not only benefits Chinese people but also benefits people around the world such as the strategy of “the Belt and Road Initiative”

In September and October, 2013 Chinese President Xi Jinping separately pointed out the strategic framework of “the Silk Road Economic Belt” and “the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road.” “the Belt and Road Initiatives” is a abbreviation for “the Silk Road Economic Belt” and “the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road” Currently, some people who have ulterior motives regard “the Belt and Road Initiatives” as “the Chinese Marshall Plan” which is utterly ridiculous.

The Belt and Road Initiatives not only benefits China but also contributes to the world. Thirdly, our keeping to the path of peaceful development will tip the balance of international forces towards a state that is much more balanced causing changes in world pattern and international systems. A China that is booming democratic, law-based harmonious and stable is bound to contribute significantly to the world.

10.2.2 Pursuing an Independent Foreign Policy of Peace

Now let’s move on to the second question “Adhering to an Independent Foreign Policy of Peace” China is currently pursuing an independent foreign policy of peace.

The basic four principles of pursuing an independent foreign policy of peace are itemized as follow. Firstly the principle that we handle all world affairs independently. Secondly the basic principle that we consider the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the fundamental principle of international relations. Thirdly we pursue the principle that we strengthen unity and cooperation with developing countries. Fourthly, we pursue the principle that we combine patriotism and carrying out our international duties. So how did the independent foreign policy of peace form and develop? Shortly before the founding of People’s Republic of
China Mao Zedong highlighted that China has to seek independence and self-reliance and we do not allow any interference from other capitalist countries.

The real independence and an equal international status of our countries should not rely on the bestowal of other foreign countries. Instead, it requires us Chinese to seek for ourselves. From the founding of new China to the middle of 1950s the core duty of Chinese diplomacy is to strengthen the nascent to seek an international situation which is of benefit to construct a peaceful socialism society. Shortly after the founding of New China Mao Zetong presented three main diplomatic principles: "set up another stove", "invite guests after cleaning the house" and "one-sided policy".

The so-called "set up another stove" means that the people’s government in New China disproved any former diplomatic relations with all foreign countries established by the Kuomintang government. Instead the Chinese government was going to establish diplomatic relations with other countries on a new basis.

The so-called "invite guests after cleaning the house" means that the founding of New China was bound to clear the remaining international relations that the Old China had left in order to establish a good domestic situation and we are bound to establish amiable relationships with a new look.

The so-called "one-sided policy" means that China could only seek communication among the socialist camp while the capitalism countries remain opposed to the emerging people’s government. These three policies laid a foundation for the independent foreign relations in the New China.

The "one-sided "policy that China decided to carry out does not mean that China forsake the principle of independence.

In December, 1953 during a meeting with the Indian Government Delegates Zhou Enlai for the first time put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. And it was soon accepted by many African countries after the万隆 Conference in 1955. These five principles are later completely expressed as the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence which have become the fundamental principle on which China deals with foreign relations. Our party pursues to develop cordial relationships with every country on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. After 1960.

The world is still in a state where countries are influenced by the Cold War. Considering that the United States imposed isolation blockade and embargo on China and that major changes took place inside the camp of Socialism.

The focal point of Chinese foreign policy has changed from "one-sided policy" to opposing against the hegemonic policies implemented by the United States and the Soviet Union who invaded almost everywhere and interfered other countries’ domestic policies.

In the meantime China was actively supportive of National Liberation Campaigns strengthening relationships among countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and China insisted on promoting friendship and partnership with our neighbors safeguarding national sovereignty and territorial integrity safeguarding world peace and improvement.

In the 1970s the Soviet Union began to gain the initiatives in the struggle for hegemony between American and the Soviet Union posing intensified armed forces in the Sino-Soviet borders and in Mongolia attempting to besiege China in North, South and West directions.
The United States contracted its army allocation hoping to retreat from Vietnam soon in order to initiate Sino-US relations. Having considered the situations carefully, Mao Zedong decisively started communication between China and the US and formulated the strategic line of defence which represented a line stretched out from the east including countries from Japan, China, the European countries and the United States and the third world countries on the same line who work in joint efforts to combat the Soviet hegemony. That was a major strategic modification in Chinese foreign policy which made a great difference in mitigating the tensioning situation faced by our countries and protecting the fundamental interests of Chinese people and people around the world. After the Third Plenary Session of Eleventh Central Committee China had progressed into the new historical phase of socialist modernization.

On the basis of analyzing and judging the International trend Deng Xiaoping, for another time made a major modification on Chinese foreign strategies and policies.

In a new historical period we succeeded and developed Mao Zedong’s theory of foreign diplomacy. Since the 1980s there has been drastic changes in global situations the struggle for hegemony between American and the Soviet Union tends to be in a balanced state where two countries are in a stagnant status.

In the meantime, China became an important power in the world as a developing country by carrying out the reform and the opening up policy and enhancing our overall strength. According to changes in world situations Deng Xiaoping decisively and timely instructed our Party to change the existing strategy and established the policy of “true nonalignment” informing the world that Chinese pursued the independent foreign policy strongly opposed to the superpowers who struggles for hegemony and would never affiliate any superpowers or groups.

It is indeed a major change from “the line of defense policy” to “truly non-alignment” which is a major decision that corresponds to the national and global trends. Deng Xiaoping formulated a series of important theories concerning foreign and international strategies such as safeguarding world peace and striving for a long-term international peaceful environment for our country’s socialist modernization. For example, China strived to develop friendly and cooperative relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. For example, China thought highly of the strategical importance of third world countries and highlighted unison and cooperation with them. For example, China promoted the new International politico-economic order which is peaceful, stable, justified and reasonable. For example, China highlighted unswerving carrying out the opening up and reforming policy. For example, China formulated the principles that we should judge soberly and take careful steps and we should settle issues with composure and be quiescent in unfavorable times and we should make some difference as well as being modest and humble and we should never take the lead. For example, China established the inter-party relation of independence, complete equality mutual respect and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs; Promoting a new look in the Party’s foreign works. For example, China highlights that we are the force that brings stability and peace to world and we will make greater progress to the human advancement and so-on.

In my opinion those important theories not only instruct our nation to handle with international relations but are also thought-provoking in helping us to deal with personal relationship. For example, in a complicated social network we should inspect soberly, stabilize our motives settle issues with composure, conceal our capability in unfavorable times make a difference when time is permitted and never take the lead. After the cold war facing the ever-changing world situation, Jiang Zeming succeeded and developed the foreign theories of Deng Xiaoping and kept on opening up new prospects in Chinese foreign works. Jiang Zeming
pointed out that peace and development remain the main themes we should seize the period of important strategic opportunity and the developing trend of global multi-polarization and economic globalization.

We should safeguard world peace promote mutual development and unswervingly pursue our independent foreign policy of peace opposing hegemony and power politics in order to protect our nation's independence, sovereignty and dignity.

On the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence China should establish a new International politico-economical order strengthen unison and cooperation with developing countries and strive to develop long-term friendly and cooperating relations between powers According to the developments and changes in the new century in global situation Hu Jintao kept on pursing independent foreign policy of peace and highlighted that Chinese development is also a development that is global, open and cooperative Insist on a path of peaceful development is to develop ourselves by striving for a peaceful international environment and also make the world more peaceful by developing ourselves China will also be a steadfast power in safeguarding world peace and mutual development China advocates democracy in international relations and diversification in developing modes pushing the economic globalization towards a direction that benefits mutual development and pushing world order towards being justified and reasonable in order to make contributions for constructing a harmonic world that is peaceful and mutually beneficial. Since the 18th CPC National Congress the Party Central Committee led by Xi Jinping will continue pursue peace, development cooperation and win-win and will unswervingly pursue to safeguard world peace and mutual development Xi Jinping pointed out that China will develop itself by striving for a peaceful international environment and promote world peace by developing herself China will continue to take contributive parts in handling international and regional issues China will also pursue peace talks and strive to handle relating issues via conversations That China will steadfastly carry out the independent foreign policy of peace is determined by the socialist nature of our country and our international status To pursue the independent foreign policy of peace is to prioritize national sovereignty and safety over any other issues To safeguard our country's national interest and to oppose any country who damage our country's independence, sovereignty, safety and dignity requires us to consider the fundamental interests of Chinese and people around the world for all kinds of international affairs we ought to judge our positions and policies objectively and unbiasedly.

We should be justified and righteous Never succumbing to any kind of external pressure requires that each country's own affairs should be dealt by its government and civilians Things happening in the world should be equally discussed by each government and its civilians To oppose any kind of hegemony and power politics requires us to solve international conflicts and issues peacefully To object to settling problems through military forces or threatens to object to undermining other country's legal governments and to object to any kind of terrorism require us not to determine international relations based on the difference or similarities of social systems or ideologies yet to establish and develop friendly relationship on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and to insist on not allying with any power or power group not to be involved in military groups not to take part in arms race not to expand military forces and never to seek hegemony Carrying out the policy of the independent foreign policy of peace seems to be easy yet is difficult to put in practice which requires us to gain enough strength patience and wisdom in dealing international relations.

10.2.3 Striving to Establish a New Type of International Relations Centered with Mutually Beneficial Cooperation
Now, let's move on to the third question: promote establishing the new international relations based on mutually beneficial cooperation. Safeguarding world peace and promoting common development are the manifestoes of Chinese foreign policies. Promoting the new international relations based on mutually beneficial cooperation is our Party’s strategical decision based on the trend of our times and our country’s fundamental interests.

It manifests the common wishes of Chinese and people around the world. New model of international relations is novel for it highlights mutually beneficial cooperation and combines national interests with common interests of all countries in the world in order to expand the common interests among all countries.

We should not enjoy our benefits while intruding upon other countries’ interests. Only when we consider each other can we develop and benefit mutually.

We should establish the new idea of win-win and all-win and churn the prototype that there can only be one winner.

We know that handling international relations is actually a game. Games can be classified as zero-sum game, negative sum-up game, and positive sum-up game.

The new model of international relations, on the basis of mutually beneficial cooperation, pursues the positive sum-up game.

In the epoch of globalization, different nations are relying unprecedentedly close to each other. Moreover, mutual interests tend to deepen between nations.

In face of the challenges, no country may flourish without the help of others. As a result, cooperation among nations is indispensable. Such is the backgrounds of putting forth the objective of establishing new model of international relations on the basis of mutually beneficial cooperation.

In 1967, Canadian communication scientist McLuhan first coined the term of “Global Village” in his monograph *Understanding Media*:

*The Extension of Man*. Back then, “Global Village” was only a concept. By now, however, our world is developing towards the so-called “Global Village”.

In the world today, shouldering the responsibilities together, sharing the interest and establishing a new type of global development partnership that is more equitable and balanced, and corresponds with humans’ common interests.

The long-term world development cannot be based on the situation that a couple of countries are becoming richer while others poorer. Only when all countries are developing together, the world may develop better. Which is similar to the Chinese saying “It is good only when everyone is good.” So how should we promote establishing the new model of international relations on the basis of mutually beneficial? Firstly, we should embody our concept of mutually beneficial cooperation in terms of the political, economic, secure, and cultural aspects that involve external cooperation.

In political field, we should establish new concepts of forming partnerships in order to exceed traditional international relations which contains either friends or foes and we should try to converse but not to oppose to accompany but not to ally.
In economic field we should pursue an outlook of mutual development every country should realize and establish the notions of global community While mutual developing we should maximum our mutual benefit

In safety field we should pursue a new situation in which every country is safe churn the “cold-war mentality” and advocate the concepts of common, comprehensive cooperative and sustainable security in order to construct a world in which every country develop, share and win mutually

In cultural field we should form the new trend that different cultures are tolerant of and learn from each other

It is not hard for people from different culture to “nourish together while not harming each other” They can treat other equally instead of condescendingly they can appreciate instead of depreciating others they should be tolerant instead of repellent Secondly we should unswervingly pursue cordial cooperation with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence Thirdly we should steadily safeguard our country’s core interests Fourthly we should improve foreign legal work by perfecting our foreign laws and regulations systems

In face of the rapid changes in global trends and the objective demand that all nations have to cooperate with each other countries should promote establishing the new model of international relations on the basis of mutually beneficial People from all nations ought to safeguard world peace and promote mutual development

In 1957 Mao Zedong participated the International Meeting of Communist & Workers’Parties in Moscow, the Soviet Union as the leader of delegation of the Communist Party of China

In the meantime the Parties differed with each other greatly on major questions such as global situations and the international communist movement

In the closing ceremony Mao Zedong gave an improvisational speech He said: “We had two meaningful congresses we should stand in unison which is a historical need

As an old Chinese saying goes ‘Two Buddhas made of mud smashed and mixed blended with water made into another two buddhas You have a part on me and I have a part on you’” Such words touched a great many listeners which originates from a Yuan Sanqu I Had Words a literary work by Guan Daosheng wife of the famous Chinese Calligrapher Zhao Mengfu

In my opinion such words also apply to the new model of international relations on the basis of mutually beneficial

As long as “You have a part on me I have a part on you” Chinese may success in mutual benefit in foreign diplomacy and international strategies and may success in sustaining peace

In December, 1990 the world-renowned sociologist Fei Xiaotong delivered a speech about his Sixteen-Character motto on his 80th birthday anniversary His sixteen-character motto can also be seen as an excellent explanation of the new model of international relations on the basis of mutually beneficial Let us keep those words in mind: Appreciate the values of others as do to one's own and the world will become a harmonious whole.

Chapter 11 Theory on the Fundamental Goal and Relying strength of Building the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 建设中国特色社
11.1.1 National Power and Prosperity

Hello everyone Nice to meet you again Let's learn Chapter 11 together The Fundamental Aim and

The Depending Strength of Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics

In this chapter actually, we need to answer two basic questions These are Firstly Whom do we work for in building socialism with Chinese characteristics? Secondly Whom do we rely on in building socialism with Chinese characteristics? Well in another word we can regard these two issues in another aspect Firstly Why do we build socialism with Chinese characteristics? Secondly What do we rely on in building socialism with Chinese characteristics? Lets keep these two questions in mind and begin our today's lesson To begin with lets look at the first section the fundamental aim of building socialism with Chinese characteristics Its quite essential for us to precisely understand this basic question This is something like when you are on the journey the most thing you need to keep in mind is your destination Otherwise either you will head in the wrong direction or will you travel a tortuous road Marxism considers that people's practical activities not only have external standard but also have inherent standard They not only have objective scale but also have subjective scale

In practice, the previous one manifests itself as principle of truth which means people must reform the world according to its original nature and internal relationship

In practice, people must obey the truth and submit to the objective law

In practice, the latter one manifests itself as principle of value which means people must reform the world according to their own standard and needs This makes the world more suitable for people's survival and development People must pursue value in practice Actually, the principle of truth is the principle of regularity Similarly, the principle of value is the principle of intention

In practice, people need to not only obey the regularity but also pursue their goal For example, when we are in college we must follow the principle of regularity Moreover, we need to obey the principle of intention

We shouldn't go to college for the sake of going to college

On the contrary, we must attend university with clear and feasible goals and should be persistent in pursuing these goals

It is the same for building socialism with Chinese characteristics Clearly, we are not just building for the sake of building

We are pursuing for some certain goals during the construction Then what are the fundamental aims of building socialism with Chinese characteristics Just as the saying goes the donkey means one thing, and the driver another

The answers for this question are varied For example some think the aim is the realization of communism some think the aim is to prove the superiority of the socialism some think the aim is to promote the development of productive forces Some think the aim is to achieve common prosperity some think the aim is the realization of fairness and justice still others assume the aim is promoting well-rounded development of a person and so on
On one hand, these answers are all reasonable in certain aspects

On the other hand we should also know that the prescriptive answers towards this question can be found in the relevant documents of the Party Which says, in the final analysis the aim of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is to achieve the country's prosperity national rejuvenation, social harmony and people's well-being

The great cause of building the socialism with Chinese characteristics is under the leadership of the Communist Party of China Thus the overall goal of strengthening the Party's governance capacity to a great degree can also be considered as the fundamental aim of building socialism with Chinese characteristics

On September 19th, 2004 The Decision on Strengthening the Construction of the Party's Ability of Being in Power by the Central Committee of the CPC which is passed on the Fourth Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee of the CPC pointed out that the overall goal of strengthening the construction of the Party's ability of being in power is through the coordinated efforts of the whole Party to make our Party always be founded for the public good and exercise state power for the people to make our Party govern in a scientific and democratic way and in accordance with the law to ensure that our Party is truthful, practical efficient, honest and upright

We must always implement the important thought of Three Represents always maintain the advancement of the Party to make our Party withstand various tests in the history

We should lead the people of all ethnic groups to achieve the countrys prosperity national rejuvenation, social harmony and happiness of the people

On January 11th, 2005 in the Fifth meeting of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection Comrade Hu Jintao pointed out that

The Communist Party ruling the country is to lead, support and ensure that the people are the masters of the country and to lead people of all ethnic groups to achieve the country's prosperity national rejuvenation, social harmony and the peoples happiness

On July 10, 2006 in the National Conference on United Front Work Comrade Hu Jintao pointed out that the path of political development under the socialism with Chinese characteristics fits our national condition and conforms to the trend of the times Its a path of political development that can provide fundamental political guarantee for the country's prosperity the national rejuvenation, social harmony and the people's happiness

It is to the fundamental interests of the people of all ethnic groups

On October 11th, 2006 the Sixth Plenum of the CPC Central Committee was held in which Resolutions of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues Regarding the Building of A Harmonious Socialist Society was adopted

It further pointed out that social harmony is the intrinsic nature of the socialism with Chinese characteristics and an important guarantee of the country's prosperity, the nation's rejuvenation and the people's happiness Written by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPC and published by Study Published Community in 2009
The book *Socialist Core Value System to Learn Reader* explicitly pointed out that Socialism with Chinese characteristics is the ideal, a sure route to the country's prosperity, the nation's rejuvenation the society's harmony and the people's happiness.

It also pointed out that the Common Ideal of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics "reveals the only way to the country's prosperity the nation's rejuvenation, the people's happiness and the social harmony". Based on the literature above, we can see that the country's prosperity, the nation's rejuvenation the social harmony and the people's happiness are not only the goal of government but also the fundamental aims of building socialism with Chinese characteristics Among them, the country's prosperity the nation's rejuvenation and the people's happiness are also the basic content of Chinese dream.

It should be noted that these four fundamental aims are not indefinite but all ostensive Each has its specific meaning.

We need to analysis them carefully Let's first look at the first issue the country's prosperity This is often associated with economy However, it isn't merely restricted to it.

The term the country's prosperity consists of two aspects Firstly, the country is rich Secondly, the country is strong These two aspects are indispensable Deng Xiaoping once said "poverty is not socialism." Similarly, we can also say "puniness is not socialism." Specifically speaking the term "the country's prosperity" consists of the following aspects Firstly

The overall country is rich This can be measured by the growth rate and international ranking of gross domestic product (GDP) Secondly

The individual people is rich This can be measured by per capita income and Gini coefficient A higher per capita income and a lower Gini coefficient imply greater prosperity A lower per capita income and a higher Gini coefficient imply lower affluence Thirdly

The people's living standard is high

The standard of living can be measured by the Engel's coefficient Engel's coefficient was advanced by the German statistician Ernst Engel in the nineteenth century

It refers to the proportion of total expenditure on food to that of the total individual consumption Generally speaking

The lower Engel's coefficient indicates the higher living standard Similarly, the higher Engel coefficient indicates the lower living standard This is quite intuitive For a person who spends most of his income on foods his standard of living is bound to be low Fourthly

The comprehensive national strength is strong

It is an overall representative of the national prosperity This can be measured by the scores and ranking of comprehensive national strength made by those domestic and foreign research institutions for various countries in the world

In reality many people misunderstand the country's prosperity

We need to emphasize the following points Firstly wealth and power are not the same thing A rich country doesn't mean it is strong For example Before the First Opium War
The Qing Dynasty is quite rich actually However, that doesn't necessary indicates it is strong People often say backwardness will lead to defeat However backwardness isn't just restricted to the economic field but also includes other fields

It doesn't merely refer to poverty but also refers to weakness Here is another example nowadays, we can say those Middle East countries which are abundant in oil are quite rich However, hardly can we say they are strong

The national prosperity in terms of building Socialism with Chinese characteristics doesn't merely mean the country is rich but also includes the country is strong Secondly the country's prosperity doesn't merely mean the overall country is rich but also include the individual people is rich

The previous one is so-called wealth of the nation the later one is called wealth of the people A country should leave wealth with the people instead of scrabbling for profits with people

We should know wealth of the nation is based on wealth of the people

We should prevent the situation of rich countries with poor people from happening

The rich country based on poor people can not be durable Many thinkers from China and abroad have been aware of this For example King Wen of Zhou once asked Jiang Ziya how to govern the country Jiang replied that

The country that makes the people rich can rule the world

The country that makes the army rich can dominate the world

The country that makes the scholar-officials rich can only maintain the rule

The country that only makes the government rich will be abandoned by history

The prime minister Guan Zhong who helped the king Qi Huanggong unite the country and build hegemony once pointed out Those who are good at governing the country must first make the people rich and then they can rule the country well

In the Confucius Analects You Ruo once said to Lu Aigong If the people have plenty their prince will not be left to want alone If the people are in want their prince cannot enjoy plenty alone

In The Works of Xun Zi, there is a saying For a country in which the field is barren while the barn is full the people are poor while the national treasury is abundant Such a country is about to be toppled

In The Works of Xun Zi, there is also a saying A wise monarch protects the normal order of production and gives full play to all sources of social wealth Thus the king and the people can all be rich their property can be so abundant that there is no place to store This is the key to the management of national finance Xun Zi also pointed out in his book "Those who make the people rich can rule the world Those who make the army rich can dominate the world Those who make the scholar-officials rich can maintain the rule Those who only make the government rich will be abandoned by the history." Wang Anshi, a famous statesman in the Northern Song Dynasty, also pointed out that Its the people who support the country rather than the country to pay to feed the people

In the eighteenth century French Enlightenment thinker Montesquieu once asked Is the country first enrich itself at the expense of the poverty of its people or it makes the people get rich first and then realizes its
own prosperity?

The answer is Only when the people are rich can the prosperity of the country be quickly achieved.

The relationship between wealth of the nation and wealth of the people is similar to that of river and stream.

On the one hand, when the river is in spate, so is the stream when the river runs dry, so does the stream.

On the other hand, when the stream is in spate, so is the river.

When the stream runs dry, so does the river.

We cant regard wealth of the country as being conflict with wealth of the people.

When building socialism with Chinese characteristics we should pursue the wealthy people based on the wealthy country as well as the wealthy country based on the wealthy people. Thirdly.

The term a powerful country should not only include the country’s strong hard power but should also include the country’s strong soft power. Nowadays, the hard power of china is pretty strong. However, its soft power is quite weak.

We should pursue the balanced development of both aspects. Fourthly.

The term a powerful country should not only include the country's strong power it should also reflect in the people and their rights.

We should prevent the phenomenon which separate country from people from happening. For example, a strong country with weak people a big country with few people. Fifthly.

In the final stage, the national prosperity should be reflected in the improvement of the people's living standards. If the people's living standard is not high enough the prosperity of the country will be an empty word. Sixthly the country's prosperity isn't merely restricted to the economic field.

It is a comprehensive category system.

The prosperity of the country can be measured by gross domestic product that is, GDP. GDP per capita. Gene coefficient. Engels coefficient. Human development index that is, HDI. Comprehensive national strength and its world ranking and other various indexes.

11.1.2 Renewal of the Chinese Nation

I have already talked about the country's prosperity. Let's pass onto the second question the nation's rejuvenation. National rejuvenation is often associated with external relations. However, it is not merely restricted to it. Since modern times China has always been under the invasion of the western countries.

In order to escape from this historical destiny for over a hundred years, the Chinese people have made unremitting efforts toward the goal of rejuvenating the nation. Eventually, Chinese nation at last stood up again in the second half of the 20th century. However.

The founding of New China doesn't necessary indicate that we have fully achieved the renewal of the Chinese nation.
In the course of building the socialism with Chinese characteristics national rejuvenation remains a tough and glorious task. Just as the report of the 18th CPC National Congress went:

The ongoing reform, opening up and socialist modernization drive undertaken by the people of all ethnic groups under the Party's leadership are a continuation and development of the great cause of socialist construction since the founding of the People's Republic and the great cause of the Chinese people's struggling for national independence prosperity and strength since modern times. More specifically the term national rejuvenation consists of four aspects:

The initial meaning is national freedom and independence. For a nation under the control and invasion of the colonialists and invaders it would almost be meaningless to talk about national rejuvenation.

The second meaning is the enhancement of international status and improvement of international image. A nation which is ignored or even despised by the international community can never boast itself as national rejuvenation.

The third aspect is the improvement of international influence. A nation which is unwilling and unable to influence the world can never achieve national rejuvenation.

The final aspect is the national culture being valued and accepted by the world.

The fundamental aim of national rejuvenation is highly associated with national culture. For a country with a weak soft power and has little impact on other cultures no matter how strong its hard power (economic, military, etc) is it's still hard to say whether it has achieved national rejuvenation. For China only when the Chinese culture has had a wide and profound influence on the world can we assume that we have eventually achieved the renewal of the Chinese nation. Personally, I think international status and image are two important indicators of the degree of national rejuvenation. A country with high international status and a good international image is probably a country which has achieved national rejuvenation. Nowadays, China has greatly enhanced its international status. For example, China has become the largest developing country in the world. China has become the second-largest economy in the world. China is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. China is one of four major ancient civilized countries. What's more, it is the only one whose culture has never been paused. China is one of the "Five Golden Flowers" in the socialist world (that is, China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba and Laos). Among them, China's development is the best. China is also one of the best developing countries in BRICS countries and so on. Compared with international state, there's still potential for China's international image. There are a number of organizations in the world doing surveys about the international image of various countries. A well-known one is undertaken by BBC. This survey mainly examines four indicators:

The first is the positive reviews that isthe degree of favorability. More specifically, how much percentage of people hold positive attitude towards this country.

The second is the negative reviews that is the degree of aversion. More specifically, how much percentage of people hold negative attitude towards this country.

The third is the sense of existence. That is, the sum of the percentage of both the positive and negative reviews. This index means how much percentage of people can't ignore this country's existence no matter which opinion they may hold.

The fourth is the net international image. That is, subtracting the percentage of negative reviews from that of the positive. You may wonder what about China's performance in this survey. Let's take a look at it...
In 2006 the positive reviews is 42% the negative reviews is 32% the sense of existence is 74% the net international image is 10%

In 2007 the positive reviews is 45% the negative reviews is 33% the sense of existence is 78% the net international image is 12%

In 2008 the positive reviews is 39% the negative reviews is 40% the sense of existence is 79% the net international image is -1%

In 2009 the positive reviews is 41% the negative reviews is 38% the sense of existence is 79% the net international image is 3% 2010

In 2010 the positive reviews is 40% Other indexes of this year have not been found

In 2011 the positive reviews is 44% Other indexes of this year have not been found

In 2012 the positive reviews is 50% the negative reviews is 31% the sense of existence is 81% the net international image is 19%

In 2013 the positive reviews is 42% the negative reviews is 39% the sense of existence is 81% the net international image is 3%

In 2014 the positive reviews is 42% the negative reviews is 42% the sense of existence is 84% the net international image is 0% From the index above we can say China always has a strong sense of existence Maybe it will be improved later

Of course

The system of this survey is not perfect and many of the respondents hold prejudice against China so the result may not be convincing enough Despite that, we can learn something through the results Only when China occupies a prominent international status and a fantastic international image can we say the renewal of the Chinese nation has been achieved For the nonce it is still too early to say so

11.1.3 Social Harmony

The above is about national rejuvenation Let’s look at the third question social harmony

The harmony of society is often associated with social construction However, it isn’t merely restricted to it

The basic idea of this term is harmony

It is an idea of society administration with the idea of negotiation, balance peace and tolerance at its core This is distinct from those ideas of society administration which focus on fighting, conflict, life-or-death struggle and so on Social harmony is the nature of socialism with Chinese characteristics Its the basic requirement for developing socialism with Chinese characteristics It’s also one of the fundamental aims of building socialism with Chinese characteristics

The meaning of social harmony consists of the following aspects Firstly, there is no war, no unrest, and no turbulence

The social conflicts and disharmonious phenomena are kept under control Secondly, members in the society whatever their ranks are can get along well with each other Thirdly, various types of legitimate
social groups can achieve mutually beneficial, diversified and balanced state Fourthly, various kinds of social relationships such as relation between officials and the people, labour and capital the rich and the poor, the strong and the week, men and women, etc These relationships should be handled fairly and reasonably Fifthly, the stability and unity of the overall society There are several ways to evaluate the degree of social harmony From my perspective, we can use index such as crime rate abnormal death-rate the number of letter petitions, and the number of mass contingencies and so on to measure the degree of harmony in a society

The fewer these phenomena are, in another word, the lower the amount is the more harmonious the society will be And vice versa, the more these phenomena are the higher the amount ism the less harmonious the society will be

In terms of social harmony we need to be aware of the following issues Firstly

The social harmony can be divided into relative harmony and absolute harmony Relative harmony is based on the existence of contradictions and differences This harmony is often associated with disharmony

On the contrary, the absolute harmony can be achieved only when all the contradictions and differences being eliminated completely that is to say, any of the disharmony is ruled out

The absolute harmony seems rather wonderful Actually, it is quite problematic

In order to achieve absolute harmony some improper methods such as violence will be used to eliminate the contradictions and differences Such a strategy is often counter-productive

In reality, the imaginary Utopian will always broke and turn to Dystopia Since the contradictions and conflicts exist objectively and can't be avoided If you deny their existence and even try to wipe them out it will only result in more conflicts and more serious social crisis British scientist, Huxley famously said best is the enemy of good He made a great point I would myself expand the old saying so that it runs best is the enemy of good, perfect is the trap of beauty

We should always remember that Perfection is just a product of the spirit Whereas imperfection is a normal state of a society

The relative harmony means controlling the contradictions and conflicts within a range that is acceptable to the general public This can not only be dreamed for but also be planned for

The harmony in terms of socialism with Chinese characteristics should be relative harmony Secondly

The social harmony can be divided into true harmony and false harmony

The true harmony is achieved through properly institutionalized means whereas the false harmony is made through violent crackdown, suppressing public opinion advocating a false peace stooping to deception and so on This kind of harmony is not based on freedom and free will Thus, is always called being harmonized and pseudo harmony

The true harmony is something like the way King Yu combating the flood which is based on persuasion

The false harmony is something like the way Gun combating the flood which is based on coercion

The pervious one makes a permanent cure while the later is just a temporary solution Clearly, the harmony we have been chasing after is true harmony Thirdly
The social harmony can be divided into positive harmony and negative harmony. Positive harmony refers to the harmony that is created in the process of development and progress while negative harmony is created by those who worry that development and progress may lead to disharmony. And they are willing to pursue so-called harmony at the expense of the speed and efficiency of development.

The previous one is ambitious and diligent. Though it may be difficult to implement in the long run, it is beneficial to the realization of people's happy life.

The later one is a harmony based on inaction.

It may be easy to carry out but in the long run, it may do harm to people's well-being. Actually, positive harmony is dynamic harmony.

It is created. Whereas the later one is static harmony.

It is maintained. Harmony can't be regarded as the sole goal.

We can't stop developing simply because of it.

The harmony in the pursuit of socialism with Chinese characteristics should be positive harmony. Fourthly, social harmony can be divided into harmony as a process and harmony as a consequence. And social harmony is not only a process but also a consequence.

As a process, social harmony is actually a transition from a state of not so harmonious to a more harmonious state. It's also a process from quantitative changes to qualitative changes.

As a consequence, social harmony is actually a state of being as a society at one point. It's a consequence from quantitative changes to qualitative changes. They are closely intertwined.

We should be aware of the fact that building and promoting a harmonious society is a long-term historical task. Neither can it be accomplished at one kick nor can be tackled once and for all. Since solving the old contradictions itself is quite an arduous task. What's more, new contradictions will emerge in the process of solving the old ones. Taking other potential contradictions into account, the road to a harmonious society is riddled with contradictions. And solving this problem is quite an arduous task. Sometimes, these contradictions interact as both cause and effect. Sometimes, old problems collide with the new so its unreasonable to dream that we can build up a harmonious society in a short period of time. Social harmony can only be realized step by step.

Any ideas and practices seeking short-term success and quick profits will degrade to the opposite side of original intentions.

11.1.4 People's Well-being

I have already talked about social harmony. Now let's look at the fourth question: people's happiness. This is often associated with people's livelihood. However, it isn't merely restricted to it. Happiness refers to social individuals' profound satisfaction with their living conditions.

The essence of happiness is the relative balance between the individual's ability and his desire.

In other words, happiness refers to the proper satisfaction of reasonable needs. Happiness is subjective, durable, practical, and measurable. Nowadays, there are many ways to measure happiness in academic.
circles

The relationship of people's happiness and happiness is similar to that of the special and the general. People's happiness refers to the state and degree of satisfaction of the people in a country with their overall living conditions. Specifically speaking, the meaning of people's happiness includes the following aspects. Firstly, the basic needs of the masses of the people can be met both spiritually and materially. Secondly, it's rare to see those who are cynical, pessimistic, querulous in the society. Thirdly, people have a high degree of satisfaction towards their living environment, including the environment and the small environment. Fourthly, the mood and feelings of the people in general are positive, optimistic, and cheerful. People's happiness can be measured by direct and indirect methods.

The direct method is by using the domestic and foreign research data about China's happiness index and life satisfaction. However, the indirect method measures the well-being of people in the society by using various indexes such as the suicide rate, the divorce rate, the rate of mental illness, the insomnia rate, the unemployment rate, and so on. Generally speaking, the smaller the product of these indicators, the higher the degree of happiness is and vice versa. Speaking of the happiness of the people, we have to mention the TV program Are you happy? This special program was broadcast by CCTV during the National Day holiday in 2012.

It led to a long hot debate. What more, this brought about many disputes and was even criticized by some people. Generally speaking, this program has both advantages and disadvantages. I like this program. Time flies. Today it seems that this program has the following four advantages. Firstly, it is down to earth. This program is close to reality to life and to the masses. It grasps the deep-rooted problems in China's reformation and development process.

It seizes the issue that the masses care about most but are too timid to ask.

It seizes the issue that governments and officials at all levels should concern about most, however, be too jaded to care about. "Are you happy?" is a hot issue as well as a focused and a tough problem. This CCTV program exactly grasps the pulse of the beating of contemporary Chinese society.

The authorities successfully shed much of its dignity and make them popular among the masses. This also illustrates why this program is so popular. Some people think the question are you happy is too sophisticated too sentimental and divorced from reality. Actually, this question is not about the theoretical understanding of the general happiness but about your personal understanding of the happiness in your everyday life. That’s to say, respondents do not need to figure out others view on happiness. Also, they don’t have to care about whether their understandings are consistent with others. Respondents simply need to express their feelings accurately.

The second advantage of this program is without modification. Both the reporter's questions and respondents' answers are very real, very natural, and very witty. From this program, we can get to know a lot about national conditions, social conditions, public opinion, and popular sentiments.

It can increase the audiences understanding of the contemporary Chinese people's living conditions. There are some well-known flaws in the program. Some regard them as laugh points while some other think they are bright spots. And its enlightened and smart for CCTV to broadcast the program with these flaws without any deletion.
In other words, this program is without modification and that’s one of the important reasons why this program became heatedly discussed. Thirdly, this program is instructive. Some people believe that the purpose of this survey is to prove that Chinese people are very happy" Therefore, they think the survey is meaningless and merely a "groundless praises" Actually, this program mainly focuses on investigating the concept and situation of happiness among Chinese people.

We can’t look at such a meaningful program with our own prejudices. Some people think that in front of the CCTV's camera, it is difficult for people to make a negative reply to the question, are you happy?

As a matter of fact, even under such circumstance, there are still people who are willing to express their true feelings. A lot of answers are indeed truthful and wonderful.

We should admit that this program has been scratched to the itch of the modern Chinese people. Therefore, leading to a strong interest and high attention. For many interviewed, the question, are you happy" is a secret sorrow. So when asked about such question, they either tried to evade it by changing the subject or made a very poor lie which reveals the truth or just talked ambiguously and answered it carelessly. For many Chinese people, it’s quite an arduous task for them to make no attempt to conceal their true feelings to this straightforward question. They prefer to tease the interviewer by asking them what’s the meaning of happiness? They either dared not or were unwilling to listen to their inner voice. This exactly shows that people should really calm down to think about the well-being of the society and their own.

The fourth advantage is the resounding response. After this TV program, there has been a hot debate in which different people have different kind of view. Some of the answers have quite insightful ideas. While some have some personal prejudices. Many ordinary people have been inspired by the program and then reflected on their everyday lives. Many companies and businessmen have been inspired by the program and then reflect on their corporate culture and business philosophy. Many governments and officials have been inspired by the program and then reflect on their governing philosophy and administrative policy. For a moment, the public are all talking and thinking about questions that are concerned with happiness. "Happiness" even became the annual hot word of the year 2012. This hot debate continues till today.

On the other hand, some people’s misunderstanding, prejudice, irony and ridicule towards the question, are you happy actually stimulate, strengthen and inspire people to focus and reflect on this issue. This in turn caused the huge impacts of this program. Before this program, many scholars have been calling on our society to attach great importance to the issue of people's happiness and don’t simply GDP focuses on GDP and income. But the effect is very limited. Being broadcast for only nine days, the effect of this program is greater than the appeal by a lot of scholars for many years.

It contributes a lot to the public.

Of course.

The problem of this program is also quite obvious. This lead to the consequence that it is heatedly discussed more than widely praised.

The main problems of the program are as follows. Firstly, Some reporters' way of asking is stilted, oversimplified and lacking in necessary background information. Imagine a reporter coming up and asked "are you happy". This way of asking has its own advantage that is, the reporters are able to know the first reactions of the respondents. But the disadvantage is also quite obvious.
It is easy to make the respondents feel awkward and be all at sea which results in a variety of strange and reasonable reply Some people think that the question are you happy is a kind of discourse violence

It is simple, direct, impolite and also violates people's privacy They believe that whether they are happy is their own privacy and cannot be arbitrarily revealed to others especially to the reporters This view also makes sense To ask is the right of the reporters However, whether to answer is the freedom of the interviewees

It is quite understandable if there are certain concerns for those interviewed They could simply say a word no comment in front of the camera

The second problem is that this question are you happy is easy to be misheard and misunderstood Lacking necessary background information when facing such a short question people often mistake it for Is your last name Fu (because Fu carries various semantic meanings in Chinese) or Is your last name Fu or Do you believe in Buddhism and so on Because of this, rather than deliberately tricky respondents there are lots of amusing answers My last name Zeng is one of them

In fact even without much background information if the reporters adjust the question to be do you feel happy the probability of misunderstanding will certainly be greatly reduced

Of course this program will also lose many haha points and bright spots

The third problem is that this simplified question exacerbate some people's misunderstanding and prejudice against the issue of happiness Those who study the well-being of the people no matter what position they hold utilitarianism or nonutilitarianism often suffer from all kinds of misunderstandings and criticisms Since I'm now participating in a research program funded by National Social Science Fund Research on People's Happiness in the Process of Reform and Development of Contemporary China I can identify the feeling of being misunderstood and criticised Although John Stuart Mill, the English philosopher who is also master in the field of utilitarianism has made some clarification for all sorts of misunderstandings and criticisms related to the issue of happiness in his book Utilitarianism These misunderstandings still stubbornly exist even some pretty brainy scholars are of no exception These misunderstandings and criticisms are mainly established on the basis of pride and prejudice

The survey made by CCTV on one hand aroused the interest of some people on the other hand solidified and even strengthened the existing prejudice of many others From those strange answers in the program they draw the conclusion that different people have different opinions on happiness and these are quite changeable

It is hard to say and also there is no need to say Thus it cant be regarded as a serious academic subject This is an important source of those misunderstandings and criticisms

In fact despite all these problems the program has we can't deny the meaning and value of studying on the issue of happiness

In fact the issue on people's happiness is of great importance It's not only one of the fundamental aims of building socialism with Chinese characteristics also, we can say, it’s the most fundamental aim of building socialism with Chinese characteristics No matter what it concerns, national prosperity national rejuvenation or social harmony in the final analysis, it is for the happiness of the people Maybe someone will say happiness is merely a sense of feeling how can it become the fundamental aim
In fact being a sense of feeling and being the fundamental aim are not contradictory at all

The reason is quite simple just like the saying goes feeling good is the real good

The leaders of the Party have attached great importance to the issue of the people's happiness

In December 1925 the article The Reason to Issue Political Weekly (Zhengzhi Zhoubao) was published in which Mao Zedong pointed out Why revolution?

It is to make the Chinese achieve national liberation to make people be masters of the country to ensure people's prosperity and well-being

In On New Democracy Mao Zedong pointed out the present revolution is the first step which will develop into the second step That is socialism And China will attain true happiness only when she enters the socialist era Deng Xiaoping also attached great importance to the issue of people's happiness

On January 12, 1983 in the symposium with the head of State Planning Commission, State Economic Commission and Agriculture Department Deng Xiaoping pointed out that

In short various work should contribute to building socialism with Chinese characteristics

It should be judged by the criterion of whether it contributes to the welfare and happiness of the people and to national prosperity Here Deng Xiaoping introduced the metrics three contribute to to evaluate various work And this three contribute to is the prototype of the three benefit to

The second of the three contribute to refers to the welfare and happiness of the people Deng Xiaoping put forward here welfare together with happiness

On the one hand, this implies that welfare is put on a par with happiness

On the other hand, this implies that welfare and happiness are not the same thing

On November 2, 1993 in the report session of learning the volume three of Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping Jiang Zemin delivered the speech Equipping the Whole Party with Deng Xiaoping's Theory of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in which he pointed out Comrade Deng Xiaoping respects the masses and loves the people and always concerns about the interests and wishes of the majority of the people He put forwards the Four People Criteria that is, whether people are supportive, whether people are favorable whether people are happy whether people are agreeable These four criteria act as the starting point as well as the final goal for formulating the principles and policies Actually these Four People Criteria are highly consistent with the the principle of people's happiness Jiang Zemin also spoke highly of the issue of people's happiness

On December 6, 1989 he pointed out Since the founding of the Communist Party of China its goal has been achieving the people's democracy and realizing the people's happiness

In the speech delivered on July 1, 2001 Jiang Zemin also pointed out

The fundamental aim of building socialism is to realize the welfare and happiness of the people This is a very important statement and worth our attention Hu Jintao also attached great importance to the issue of people's happiness

On April 21, 2006 when making a speech in Yale University, he pointed out
The Chinese civilization has always given prominence to the people and respected for people's dignity and value. Centuries ago, the Chinese already pointed out that people are the foundation of a country, when the foundation is stable, the country is in peace. Nothing is more valuable in the universe than human beings.

The ancient Chinese emphasized the value of serving the people, enriching them, nourishing them, and benefiting them.

We are pursuing today a people-oriented approach toward development because we believe that development must be for the people and by the people, and its benefits should be shared among the people.

We care about people's value rights and interests and freedom, the quality of their life, and their development potential and happiness index. Our goal is to realize the all-around development of the people. Ensuring the right of survival and development remains China's top priority.

We will vigorously promote social and economic development, protect people's freedom, democracy, and human rights according to law. Achieve social fairness and justice, and enable the 1.3 billion Chinese people to live a happy life. This is the first time Chinese leaders have officially proposed the concept of "happiness index". At the same time, it also shows that the issue of happiness has come into the horizon of national leaders.

It is the same for Wen Jiabao.

On December 10, 2003, when speaking at Harvard University, he pointed out. By 1978, with the adoption of the reform and opening-up policies, we had ultimately found the right path of development that is the Chinese people's path of independently building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The essence of this path is to mobilize all positive factors, emancipate and develop the productive forces and respect and protect the freedom of the Chinese people to pursue happiness.

In this speech, Premier Wen made it clear that the essence of the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics is freedom and freedom is interpreted as the freedom to pursue happiness.

On March 16, 2007, in the press conference after the closing of the Fifth Session of the Tenth National People's Congress, when answering the journalist's questions, Premier Wen pointed out that to solve the problems of people's livelihood and to make people live a happy life, we need to protect the people's democratic rights and maintain the fairness and justice in the society. You may wonder what is happiness. I can answer it by quoting a sentence from Ai Qing. Go and ask the thawing land to go and ask the thawing river. Here, Wen Jiabao regards to make people live a happy life as an important goal of solving the problems of people's livelihood.

In the speech made during the Spring Festival of 2010, Wen Jiabao said, Everything we do is to ensure that the people live a happier life with more dignity. Shortly thereafter, in the Government Work Report made on the Third Session of the Eleventh National People's Congress, Premier Wen pointed out that everything we do is to ensure that the people live a happier life with more dignity and to make our society fairer and more harmonious. Premier Wen pointed out here a quite essential statement which is worthy of our serious consideration. After being elected, President Xi Jinping has also repeatedly referred to the issue of happiness.

On November 15, 2012, when meeting with Chinese and foreign journalists, he pointed out that our people have an ardent love for life. They wish to have better education, more stable jobs, more income, greater social...
security better medical and health care improved housing conditions and a better environment They want their children to have better growth have better jobs and lead a more enjoyable life To meet their desire for a happy life is our mission Every bit of happiness in the world is created by hard work To fulfill our responsibility we will rally and lead the whole Party and people of all ethnic groups in China in making continued efforts to free up our minds carry out reform and opening-up further release and develop the productive forces work hard to resolve the difficulties the people face in both work and life and unwaveringly pursue common prosperity

The happy life by President Xi is actually what we have discussed in this section

On April 28, 2013 at a discussion session with national model workers President Xi pointed out "Happiness does not fall out of the blue and the dream will not come true by itself

We need to be down to earth and work hard Our work to create a bright future must be done by the people and for the people must rely on hard honest and creative labor He also added that

We must advocate labour bring the benefit to our workers Labour is the source of wealth also the source of happiness

On June 5, 2013 in the Senate of Mexico President Xi delivered the speech Seek Common Development to Create a Better Future in which he pointed out China remains the largest developing country in the world

It is by no means an easy job to ensure a happy life of 1.3 billion Chinese people All in all Building socialism with Chinese characteristics itself is not a purpose

The purpose is to achieve national prosperity national rejuvenation, social harmony and happiness of the people To achieve these goals

We must pursue common prosperity pursue the unity of social and economic development and all-around development of the people And peoples happiness is the most essential part among these fundamental aims So now Let's back to the question at the begin of this chapter Whom do we work for in building socialism with Chinese characteristics? Why do we build socialism with Chinese characteristics?

In a word for the people's happiness Then I also want to ask you a question Are you happy?

11.2.1 Workers, Peasants and Intellectuals are the Fundamental Strength of Building the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Let's look at the second section the depending strength of building socialism with Chinese characteristics Let's look at the first issue Workers, peasants and intellectuals are the fundamental strength for building socialism with Chinese characteristics First let’s talk about the working class

The working class is the leading class of our country

When we build socialism with Chinese characteristics we should adhere to the guidelines of wholeheartedly relying on working-class This is determined by the nature of the Party and our country the characteristics of the working class and its historical position To begin with China is a developing socialist country

The working class is the leading class of the country
It is also the most solid foundation and reliable class of the Party

In all the practice and the whole process of leading the revolution construction and reform the Party must rely on the working class and consolidate its class foundation. This is the fundamental guarantee for the socialist cause. What's more, the Chinese working class is the product of the social development of China, especially, the development of mass production in modern times.

It is also the representative of China's advanced productive forces and advanced production relationship.

It has always been ahead of the times promoting the development of advanced productive forces and advanced production relationship.

The working class is good at conforming to the trend of social progress and developing its own advanced nature. Finally, the working class is the main force in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and also the backbone of building and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In contemporary China.

In order to put the reformation and opening into practice to carry out the modernization construction to release and develop our productive forces and to adhere to and develop the socialism with Chinese characteristics, we must rely on the working class wholeheartedly and consolidate the leading position of the working class. Make the working class be able to play their full role as the main force. Due to its leading position in modernization construction and its characteristics of highly centralized and unified, the working class has always been a strong social force to maintain the stability of the country and society. Also, we should notice that since the reform and opening up, the working class in China has experienced a significant change and there also appears many new characteristics.

Firstly, the rapid growth in number. This is consistent with the rapid development of the productive forces. Secondly, the significant changes in the internal structure. This is mainly reflected in the following two points.

The first one is that the intellectuals have become part of the working class and such number is growing.

The second one is that migrant workers have become an important part of the industrial workers in China. They have greatly promoted the industrialization, urbanization, and modernization of our country. These workers are known as migrant workers. Here I want to ask you a question: Do migrant workers belong to the peasantry or the working class? Considering the identity they belong to the peasantry. However, considering the occupation they belong to the working class. Such a unique title, "migrant workers" actually is a peculiar product of urban and rural dualistic system in China. Thirdly, more job mobility.

The "iron rice bowl" which exists under the managed economy has long been disappeared.

In the early 80s, the community spread such doggerel: "Those who go to work are poor; those who don't go to work are rich. Those who have been fired will immediately own a myriad yuan household. Those dealers who ride a motorcycle with two frame will earn more than Hu Yaobang (the Chinese president at that time). Let's ride a Suzuki with a steelyard, follow Deng Xiaoping to carry out the revolution."

In the nineties, many public officials resigned and went into business "leave without pay" became a hot word in those days. All these phenomena reflect the dependence of the workers on the unit has been greatly weakened and autonomy has been greatly enhanced. Despite these changes, in the working class, the status of Chinese working class as the country's master won't change.
On April 28, 2015 in the speech made at an award ceremony commending national model workers ahead of Worker's Day on May 1 President Xi Jinping pointed out China's working class is the most solid foundation and the most reliable class of the Party

The Chinese working class has a glorious tradition of standing in the forefront and taking on heavy responsibilities

The labor movement in China has always been closely linked with the central task of the Party

In modern China the working class and the laboring people have always been the fundamental forces in promoting China's political and economic development and maintaining social stability and unity

Any ideas that neglect the progress of the working class that ignore the main force of the working class in our country that consider the working class as becoming less and less important under the condition of scientific and technological progress are dangerous and vicious No matter how time changes no matter how the society changes we cannot forget and dilute the fundamental policy of our party which depends on the working class wholeheartedly

The status and function of the working class in our country should neither be shaken nor ignored

We should study this speech carefully

In order to make the leading role of the working class work at full capacity we must ensure the legitimate rights and interests of all workers, including migrant workers

We should protect their economic rights and interests such as employment, income distribution social security, labor safety and health

We should solve the living and working problems of laid-off workers and poor workers After the third plenum of the 18th CPC Central Committee state owned enterprises are carrying out the reform towards mixed ownership

When such companies introduce measures that are related to the vital interests of workers they must be discussed and approved at the worker's congress Now let's talk about the peasantry Peasants are the basic power to rely on

When we build socialism with Chinese characteristics we should firmly rely on the vast number of peasants This is due to the important position and function of the problems related to agriculture, farmers and rural areas Since the reform and opening up the rural areas of China have undergone historic and profound changes Under the leadership of the party the vast number of farmers showed a valuable spirit of innovation and entrepreneurship They carried out the household contract responsibility system They have made great achievements in the reform and construction of the rural areas and also helped promote the reform and construction of the whole country

The reform and opening up as well as the modernization construction are in the fundamental interests of the farmers They sincerely support the path, principles and policies of building socialism with Chinese characteristics Nowadays, peasants have become an important force to rely on in the reform and opening up as well as modernization construction

The CPC Central Committee has always attached great importance to the issues of farmers agriculture and rural areas which is known as "Three Rural Issues"
We all know that from 1982 to 1986 issues related to "Three Rural Issues" were published as the Central Committee's Document No. 1 for five consecutive years. These documents have made specific arrangements for rural reform and agricultural development. From 2004 to 2015, issues related to "Three Rural Issues" were again published as the Central Committee's Document No. 1 for twelve consecutive years. Emphasizing on the "three rural issues" is of great importance especially in China's socialist modernization period. To rely on the majority of farmers and to encourage the enthusiasm and creativity of them are closely related to the overall situation of reform and opening up and socialist modernization. This is not only a major economic issue but also a major social and political issue.

In the process of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and realizing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, we must enhance the understanding of the importance of the issues related to agriculture, rural areas, and farmers.

We should ensure the legitimate interests and democratic rights of farmers.

We should ease the burden of farmers and improve their living standard. Meanwhile, we should also educate and guide the farmers to improve their cultural and scientific levels as well as ideological and moral standards to enhance their sense of mastering the country.

We should cultivate new farmers through training, promote the development of agricultural modernization, and build new socialist countryside. Finally, let's talk about the intellectuals. Intellectuals are part of the working class in China.

In Chinese democratic revolution, the advanced intellectuals are the first to acquire the political consciousness. Without the participation of intellectuals, the revolution victory is impossible.

It is well-known that there were thirteen representatives who attended the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China. They are Li Da, Li Hanjun from Shanghai group, Dong Biwu, Chen Tanqiu from Wuhan group, Mao Zedong, He Shuheng from Changsha group, Wang Jinmei, Deng Enming from Jinan group, Zhang Guotao, Liu Renjing from Beijing group, Chan Kung Pok from Guangzhou group, Zhou Fuhai from resisting Japan group, Bao Huiseng from Huhan Group. None of these thirteen representatives were workers at that time, most of them were intellectuals. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, our party has some correct understanding and wise policies to the intellectuals. For example, in around 1956, CPC Central Committee has repeatedly raised the correct judgment that the intellectuals are part of the working class. However, due to some deviations in cognizance of the intellectuals class, attribute the government also carried out some improper even erroneous policies. An extreme case in point is that during the Cultural Revolution, where intellectuals are listed after the landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, bad elements, rightists traitors, spies, and capitalist roaders and were called stinking Number Nine. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, the party learned from the experience and lessons in the treatment of intellectuals after the founding of new China and drew the conclusion that the intellectuals are part of the working class.

In modern China as the part of working class who master more knowledge in science and culture and are mainly engaged in mental labor, intellectuals are the pioneers of the advanced productive forces and the backbone in the development of education, science, and culture. They have irreplaceable function in the socialist modernization construction. They are closely related to the statement that science and technology are primary productive forces.
The important position of the science and technology determines the important role the intellectuals play in economic development and social advancement.

In a word, workers, farmers, and intellectuals are all the fundamental forces in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In the process of modernization drive, we should pay equal attention to any of them without prejudice.

11.2.2 People in the New Social Strata are the Constructors of Building the Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Let's take a look at the second issue people in the new social strata are the constructors of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Since the reform and opening up, there have been some new social strata in our country. They include entrepreneurs and technical personnel in private enterprises, management and technical personnel employed by foreign-invested enterprises, self-employed businessmen, owners of privately-run enterprises, employees in the intermediary organizations, freelancers, and so on. These new social classes are growing rapidly with the development of the non-public owned economy in our country.

The 14th National Party Congress decided to change the orientation for non-public owned economy from the important supplement for public owned economy to an important component of socialist market economy.

In the Resolutions of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues Regarding Comprehensively Deepening Reforms, which was adopted at the Third Plenum of the 18th CPC Central Committee, such statement was converted into both the public owned economy and the non-public owned economy are important components of the socialist market economy.

As a result, these employees in the non-public owned economy are all the builders of the socialism with Chinese characteristics. These new social classes appeared under the conditions of reform and opening up. Most of them are derived from the ranks of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and cadres. Most of them have made their own contribution to the development of socialist productive forces through honest labor and legal management under the guidance of the Party's principle and policy. Some of them even though they occupy capital goods and hire workers, they are still different from those private industrialists and businessmen before the socialist transformation. They are builders of the socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The emergence of new social strata meets with the requirements for the developing social productive forces in the primary stage of socialism. To begin with, institutional innovation in the economic field is an important condition for the emergence of the new social stratum. China has changed from the previous single public owned economy to the basic economic system in which public ownership is dominant and different economic sectors develop side by side. Such basic economic system enables many people to leave their previous job and engage in the non-public owned economy domain. Some started their own business, some entered the private or foreign owned company, some became freelancers. They together formed the new social strata. What's more, the development of productive forces and the change of economic structure make the social division of labor become more and more sophisticated and this provides the working conditions for the emergence of new social stratum. Finally, the changes of industrial structure have fostered the change of employment structure and social stratum structure.
The proportion of the first industry output in GDP is declining gradually and that in secondary and tertiary industry increases step by step A large number of the diverted workers and farmers have transferred to the secondary and tertiary industry Some of them became owners of privately-run enterprises or self-employed businessmen To build socialism with Chinese characteristics it is necessary to create an environment of respect labor, respect knowledge respect talent and respect innovation in the whole society rather than in a specific group Among this Four Respects to respect labor is the core Only when we have a correct view of the various forms of labor and recognize the legitimate rights and interests of workers can we bring every positive factor into play widely and fully All labor, whether its physical or mental whether it’s simple or complex as long as its useful to the people and society as long as it contributes to the socialist modernization of our country is glorious and should be recognized and respected All legal labor income and legal non labor income should be protected

When I was in junior high school I once listened to a song Tenth Class Citizens Actually its not a song but a jingle

It reflected the people's indignation and satire towards the social privilege and class injustice After that I became interested in the issue related to social strata I notice that there are a lot of books on social strata For example, Research Report on Contemporary Chinese Social Stratum compiled by Lu Xueyi which was published by Social Sciences Literature Press in 2002 An Analysis of Contemporary Social Stratum in China written by Yang Jisheng 2011 which was republished by Jiangxi University Press in 2011 Another book is An Analysis of all Social Strata in China written by Liang Xiaosheng which was republished by Culture and Art Publishing House in 2011 If you are interested in the issues related to social class and strata in Chinese society at present you are recommended to read these books

11.2.3 To Consolidate and Develop the Great Unity of All Ethnic Groups in China

Let’s look at the third question to consolidate and develop the great unity of all ethnic groups in China China is a united multi-ethnic country

It is widely known that there are 56 ethnic groups in China Then I want to ask you a question can you tell me the name of every ethnic group Han Hui Tibetan Miao Yi Zhuang Manchu Dong Yao Bai Dai Li Va She Shui Tu Qiang Nu Jing One of my postgraduate students Wang Xiaolong is from the Jing group Mongolian Bouyei Korean Tujia One of my postgraduate student Yang Kun is from the Tujia group Hani Lisu Gaoshan Lahu Dongxiang Naxi One of my university classmates Li Xuefeng is from the Naxi group Jingpo Mulam Blang Salar Maonan Gelo Xibe Professor Han Dongxue at Tsinghua University School of Marxism is the Xibe and he is very talented in language Achang Pumi Deang Bonan Yugu Drung Hezhen Menba Lhoba Jino Uighur Kazakh Daur Tajik Tatar Oroqin Russian Uzbek Kirghiz Evenki Talking about Evenki the famous writer Chi Zijian in her novel The Right Bank of Ergun River describes the living conditions and the long history of Evenki people

The novel won the seventh Mao Dun Literary Prize and is known as China's One Hundred Years of Solitude This book is scored 9 on the Douban and worth our attention Tang Pingliang once wrote a wonderful poem Four-Word Poem on National Unity This poem consists of 160 sentences and 1280 words and draws a picture of the cultural characteristics folk customs and spiritual outlook of the 56 ethnic groups comprehensively, systematically and vividly This poem consists of three parts each part involving 56 sentences which implies that the fifty-six ethnic groups unite as one big family

The first part mainly talks about the history of the national unity chronologically
The second part introduces the characteristics of the fifty-six ethnic groups by specifying their history, cultural relics, characters special products, customs, costumes, food, construction, dance, landscape and other aspects.

The third part is a summary of the outstanding achievements made by the Chinese nation since ancient times which illustrates the importance of national unity. Then let's have a look at this poem.

The first section

The universe is boundless the land is broad.

The sun rises on the east enlightens the land of China All nationalities united from the ancient till now Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns (in ancient China) abdicated and handed over the crown to another.

In Xia, Shang, Zhou, Qin Dynasties a number of states existed in China.

In Han, Jin, Sui, Tang Dynasties China was developing gradually.

In Song, Yuan, Ming, Qing Dynasties all the nationalities combined as one. From the west to the east from the north to the south all nationalities united together.

We may split for a short time but eventually we unite as a whole. This is the general trend of history.

We are people's republic the consultation between parties is based on equality.

The close relationship leads us to work together. People of all ethnic groups work together for the national expansion.

We fish along the ocean in the east we grow rice and produce silk in the south.

We hunt in the north we shepherd in the west. Different cultures combine as one. There are many stories about uniting in the history. Mao Shang meeting is the beginning of nationalities combination. An emperor of Zhou traveled to the west and sang in Yao Chi Zhang Qian went to the Tibet leaving imprints on the map. Princess Xi Jun was married to a king in the west and made the name of Han Dynasty famous. An emperor in Bei Wei Dynasty carried out the reformation to promote the nationalities combination. Princess Wen Cheng was married to a Tibet ruler thus enhancing the relationship between China and Tibet and it lead to a flourishing on business.

We use silk and tea to trade their horses.

The stone which marks the friendship between Tang and Tibet is still standing on the snow land. After Emperor Taizong in Tang dynasty died headmen of national minorities cut their faces to express the condolences. Through the 7 times catches and 7 times releases both Meng Huo and people of the Yi nationality were finally influenced Huang Daopo learned how to grow cotton and do spinning from the Li nationality which greatly improved the living standard of central plains people. Tudu maintained the stability of the country by utilizing galloping horses Torghut turned to the Qing Dynasty which became an instructive anecdote in the history.

The alignment in Yihai with the Yi nationality is a big success in the development of ethnic relations.

We donated many goods and materials to support Xinjiang. Because of the efforts made by Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme Xinjiang was peacefully liberated. Du Guima raised 28 orphans.
The scholars spread love and kindness preventing hundreds of kids from tragedy. Wang Yanna donated her kidney to save the life of a young Uighur. Whenever Kong Fansen went out he took a medicine chest with him to help the tibetans Bai Ke Ri rescued a child from the deep river. Students from Tibet and Xinjiang went to school in the mainland. China Tripods were bestowed by the central government and auspicious clouds appear in five districts.

The whole country work together to help build Xinjiang and Tibet.

The fifty-six ethnic groups are the powerful strength that can overcome any difficulty. After the earthquake in Wenchuan and Yushu, people contributed to the reconstruction of the earthquake in various ways.

The friendship of the 56 ethnic groups is like the river which is long-lasting is like the flower which is exuberant and fragrant is like the lichens which depend on each other for thriving.

The solidarity among China's different ethnic groups is as firm as a rock. Different ethnic groups depend on each other intertwine with each other trade with each other live with each other work with each other and help each other. Their customs are similar. Their settlements are near. Their dialects are familiar. Their fates are bound up with each other. They face prides and challenges together. People from all ethnic groups get along with each other in harmony. Next, let's look at the second section.

In this part, the poet describes the characteristics of different ethnic groups one by one.

The four treasures of study and the Silk Road. This refers to the Han ethnic group. Meeting at the Yurt and shepherding with singing songs. This refers to the Mongol ethnic minority. Beautiful cheongsam and handsome guys. This refers to the Manchu ethnic minority. Walking with a bowl on head and playing springboard. This refers to the Korean ethnic minority. Hunting with eagles on the plateau and the hometown of hockey. This refers to the Daur ethnic minority. Reindeers in the mountains and the mouth organ. This refers to the Oroqin ethnic minority. Respecting the fire and dancing like swan. This refers to the Evenki ethnic minority. Skis drawn by dogs and clothes made by the fish skin. This refers to the Hezhen ethnic minority. Folk songs and traditional meals with nine bowls and three rows. This refers to the Hui ethnic minority. Muqam (a musical form) and the song by Dao Lang (a pop singer). This refers to the Uighur ethnic minority. Dombraa plucked string instrument and playing girl chasing game. Refer to the Kazakh ethnic minority. Swinging in the air and wrestling on the horse back. This refers to the Kirghiz ethnic minority. Moved to the west (in Qing Dynasty) and riding and shooting. This refers to the Xibe ethnic minority. Eagle flute and eagle dance. This refers to the Tajik ethnic minority. Embellished cap and colorful riding boots. This refers to the Uzbek ethnic minority. Matryoshka doll and tap dance. This refers to the Russian ethnic minority. Cultivating in spring and hoping for a bumper harvest in autumn. This refers to the Tatar ethnic minority. Eating with Fazi on the lid and lamb in the pot. This refers to the Dongxiang ethnic minority. Producing the Broadsword and consisting of three villages. This refers to the Bonan ethnic minority. Camel dance at the wedding and camel songs. This refers to the Salar ethnic minority. Flagon with white wool and drinking three cups at a time. This refers to the Du ethnic minority. Eating saddle of lamb and having three cups of milk tea and one meal a day. This refers to the Yugur ethnic minority.

The glorious Potala Palace. This refers to the Tibetan ethnic minority. Producing wooden bowls and famous for their drinking songs. This refers to the Menba ethnic minority. Wearing helmet made by the bear's skin with various kind of decorations. This refers to the Lhoba ethnic minority. Drinking barley wine with a bamboo pole and building blockhouses and stone walls. This refers to the Qiang ethnic minority. Celebrating the Torch Festival and dancing with the dishes. This refers to the Yi ethnic minority. Market day in Sanyue Street and sculpture arts. This refers to the Bai ethnic minority. Building the terraced fields and growing rice. This refers to the Hani ethnic minority.
minority Celebrating the Water-Sprinkling Festival rowing the boat and raising peacocks refers to the Dai ethnic minority Enjoying the hot spring together and celebrating the Arbor Day refers to the Lisu ethnic minority Playing the wooden drum and drinking bitter herbal tea refers to the Wa ethnic minority Playing the Husheng (pipe wind instrument) and hunting tiger refers to the Lahu ethnic minority Frescos in Lijiang And Dongba dance refers to the Naxi ethnic minority Mu Nao Zong Ge a traditional festival and wearing bamboo skirt refers to the Jingpo ethnic minority Scented tea in bamboo box and sword dance refers to the Blang ethnic minority Eating rice noodles and celebrating the Waterloo Festival refers to the Achang ethnic minority Wearing new clothes on the 13th birthday and eating lute meat (pork that looks like lute) refers to the Pumi ethnic minority Suspension cable in the snow capped mountains and frame houses refers to the Nu ethnic minority With rattan around the waist and playing the water drum refers to the De'ang ethnic minority Using blankets as clothes and no one pockets anything found on the road refers to the Drung ethnic minority Wearing tapered hat and earrings and playing the drum refers to the Jino ethnic minority Wearing colorful and silver clothes and living in the Diaojiao buildings refers to the Miao ethnic minority Singing with eight syllables and living in the silver stone buildings refers to the Buyi ethnic minority Drum towers and flower Bridge as well as the fantastic wine refers to the Dong ethnic minority Eating fish and chives as well as wine made in Nine Qian refers to the Shui ethnic minority Playing the lion dance and eating Liuhe feast refers to the Gelao ethnic minority Singing the folk songs and holding singing party refers to the Zhuang ethnic minority Celebrating the Panwang Festival and throwing colorful bags refers to the Yao ethnic minority Blind dating on the hill and playing the game elephant step and tiger palm refers to the Gelao ethnic minority Making delicious dishes and raising beef cattle refers to the Maonan ethnic minority Playing waving dance and making tea all year round refers to the Tuja ethnic minority Drinking green liquor and dressing like phoenix refers to the She ethnic minority Dancing Tinikling and its buildings like boats refers to the Li ethnic minority Living on three island fishing and cultivating pearls refers to the Gin ethnic minority Wearing long hair and with betel nuts in the baskets refers to the Gaoshan ethnic minority Next, let's look at the third section

The fifty six ethnic groups have a long history From the ancient time they overcame various obstacles Finally they cultivated a great place to live as their beautiful hometown Fifty six ethnic groups created various forms of arts such as fantastic dances as well as wonderful paintings There are many great poems as well as some classical works such as the Analects of Confucius Fifty six ethnic groups are quite creative constructing the Three Gorges Dam building the Great Wall They are constructing a happy homeland all over the country Fifty six ethnic groups grow stronger by learning science and technology

The four great inventions are the dawn light of the civilization

The size of China's integrated circuit market excesses trillion

We have also made great progress in space technology Fifty six ethnic groups have many delicious food

We have eight styles of foods and each contains many wonderful dishes There are many great Chinese in the history shining like stars They devoted themselves to a stronger China

We fight together to protect our land

We sweat and bleed to serve our country Even the young and the old work very hard and make excellent achievement

During the time of Qing, Han, Tang Dynasty as well as the middle period time of Qing Dynasty we were strong and powerful in the world
We overcame the difficulties and rushed to a bright future All the ethnic groups love each other and share the honors together Like the trees in the forests we grow up together Like the birds in the skies we are free to go anywhere Month after month and year after year from the land to the sea people form different ethnic groups live together in harmony With the same idea with the same aim we work and live together we share weal and woe together Uniting leads to success whereas splitting leads to failure One can hardly achieve anything however, when we team up, we got more power

When we devote ourselves into the mass we win the permanent strength

We should show respects and be polite to others Otherwise it may lead to unrest Aripa Alimahan who raised 19 orphaned children is the role model for every one of us

We should respect the local customs to promote mutual understanding and trust Since we cannot do without each other we should help each other Equality is the foundation of communication Mutual assistance is the guarantee of unity we work together towards a bright future

We should strengthen the education of ethnic policy and national unity and clear up national misunderstanding thus holding together the nation's power

We work together with one heart and share the benefits together My great motherland is fantastic

In the lofty mountains in the mighty Yangtze in the island of Taiwan in the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau in the Hulunbuir grassland in the South China Sea People from different ethnic groups win glory for the country in various ways Under the common goal we fight our way through all manner of obstacles and overcome all kinds of difficulties

We work for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation

We work for the Chinese Dream China has achieved remarkable results and captured world attention the vast nature the grand dream is composed by tiny and subtle objects People from 56 ethnic groups work together for a bright future Interesting, right? I hope you can read this Four-Word Poem on National Unity Over a long period of time China's ethnic groups have lived together over vast areas while some live in individual concentrated communities in small areas China's minority nationalities account for 64 percent of its territory in which the south-west and north-west are two regions with the most concentrated distribution of ethnic groups This the basic national circumstance in China which determines the national issue that has always been a major issue in the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics

It also determines that the national work has always been a major task in the overall development of the Party and the people

The fifty-six ethnic groups are just like fifty-six flowers distributed on our beloved motherland I once heard a song Fifty-six ethnic groups and fifty-six flowers Its quite meaningful Lets enjoy it together Fifty-six ethnic groups are like fifty-six flowers All these flowers are in full bloom in the sun

The Party is just like the rain which enriches all living creatures These flowers grow together and bloom together All of them add color to the spring All of them help decorate the motherland Oh, hey - Oh, hey Oh, hey - Oh, hey All of them help decorate the motherland Fifty-six ethnic groups are like fifty-six flowers All these flowers are in full bloom in the morning

The Party brings happiness to every one of us People from all ethnic groups are united as a whole family Our friendship is just like the evergreen tree just like the evergreen tree Hope our great motherland be
always spring Wish we will always be together Oh, hey - Oh, hey Oh, hey - Oh, hey Wish we will always be together Hope our great motherland be always spring Wish we will always be together Hope our great motherland be always spring Wish we will always be together

The history of Chinese nation has repeatedly shown that whenever there is the national unity there is harmony and prosperity Whenever there is the breakup and ethnical turbulence there is decline and suffering

In the enlightened administration of the Wen and Jing (174-143 B.C.), of Zhenguan (627-649 A.D.) in the Flourishing Kaiyuan, Yongle and Kangqian Reign Period there was always national unity as well as frequent economic and cultural exchanges in which all ethnic groups live in harmony

On the contrary Ethnic strife in the Wei, Jin and the southern and Northern Dynasties and the long period of war in the Liao, Song, Jin and Yuan Dynasties brought grave disaster to the people of all ethnic groups Nowadays the minority nationalities in our country mostly live in the frontier so the issue of ethnic groups is closely related to the issue of border areas thus strengthening the unity of all ethnic groups is of great importance for ensuring the national security and developing the friendship with neighboring countries If the ethnic minorities live in harmony, the border areas will be stable then the country will be prosperous and stable Nowadays in some ethnic groups, the development level of economic and culture is still relatively low This requires the country to support them

In January, 2015 during the meeting with seven representatives in Derung-Nu Autonomous County Gongshan President Xi Jinping pointed out A well-off society requires the well-off of all ethnic groups

We can't leave anyone behind Clearly Promoting economic and social development in ethnic minority areas is not only an important goal of China's socialist modern construction but also the inevitable requirement for enhancing the cohesion and realizing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation

In other words to consolidate and develop the great unity of all ethnic groups in China is the lifeline of the Chinese people in all ethnic groups

11.2.4 To Consolidate and Develop the Patriotic United Front

Let's look at the fourth issue to consolidate and develop the patriotic united front

The United Front is one of the three magic weapons of the Chinese revolution

The basic function of the united front is illustrated by the famous saying of Mao Zedong to make more and more friends to make less and less enemy

In different historical periods the United Front has different nature and content with the change of the class relations, the social stratum relationship and the central task Since the Third Plenary Session of its Eleventh Central Committee China has entered into a new period of reform and opening-up and socialist modernization construction

The united front has also entered a new stage of historical development

In the new era the essence of the patriotic united front under the leadership of the Communist Party of China is under the guidance of a common goal to realize the unity of all ethnic groups, political parties people of all classes and all aspects to promote the harmonious relations among different political parties, different ethnic groups different religions and different classes between domestic and overseas
compatriots. Compared with the United Front in the past, the Patriotic United Front in new period of time experienced great changes in terms of its class structure and internal relationship. Under the leadership of the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, the Patriotic United Front embraces all socialist working people, all constructors of Chinese characteristic socialism, and all patriots who stand for the reunification of the motherland.

In new period of time, the Patriotic United Front consists of alliances of two ranges. One is within the scope of the mainland which consists of all workers, constructors, and patriots based on patriotism and socialism. This is the main body as well as the foundation of the united front.

The other is outside the scope of the mainland, based on the patriotism and reunification of the motherland, which consists of the compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and the Chinese residents abroad. This is an important part of the united front. These two aspects combine with each other, promote each other and are integrated as a whole, which reflects the unprecedented universality of the United Front in the new era.

The fundamental tasks of the united front are to hold high the banners of patriotism and socialism to unite all forces that can be united to mobilize all positive factors to turn those negative factors as far as possible into positive ones to promote the development of the socialist economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological civilization construction to promote the long-term prosperity and stability of Macao and Hong Kong, and the peaceful reunification of the motherland to maintain world peace, and to promote common development.

In the new historical period, although the nature, task and internal structure of the United Front have experienced great changes, we must adhere to the leadership of the Communist Party of China on the United Front. This is the core issue in the United Front.

The leadership of the Communist Party of China is the common choice of all Chinese people, including the various democratic parties, all social groups, all ethnic groups, all classes, and people from all walks of life.

It is also the most essential feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Only under the leadership of the Communist Party can we form an unbreakable united front. Can our united front have the right direction, blooming vitality and bright future? Can the united front work at its full capacity?

We know that on May 18, 2015, the CPC Central Committee's Work Conference on United Front was held in Beijing. Before that, this conference was called National Conference on United Front Work.

The change indicates its important role. This conference is of great importance and has greatly marked significance.

It sent a signal that authorities plan to strengthen work on united front. President Xi Jinping delivered an important speech at the conference and provided basic guidelines and action directions for the work of united front in new era. Let's talk a bit more about this speech. Xi Jinping pointed out in the various historical periods such as the revolution, construction, and reform, our Party has always paid great attention to the work of the united front.

In order to do the work well, we should uphold the leadership of the Party correctly handle the relationship between consistency and diversity, consolidate the common ideological and political foundation. At the same time, we should also promote democracy, respect and accept different opinions, make as many friends as possible, and strengthen the force of socialism construction. Xi Jinping also pointed out that in order to uphold and improve the system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the
leadership of the Communist Party of China and to play the role of the system better the most important part is to give full play to the democratic parties and independents and to improve the content and form of political consultation to achieve the goal of building consensus and optimizing the decision-making

We should protect and improve the political participation and democratic supervision from the system explore effective ways to carry out political participation and democratic supervision

We should support the democratic parties to strengthen self construction improve their ability to grasp political ideas to participate in to organize to cooperate with the ruling party and to solve their own problems Xi Jinping pointed out that

The work of the non-party intellectuals is the basic and strategic work of the United Front

In order to finish this task not only should we enhance the sense of responsibility increase the workload but also improve the working method and learn how to get along with the non-party intellectuals especially how to do ideological and political work

We should attach great importance to the work of intellectuals in new economic and social organizations and guide them to make contributions to society

The government supports students and scholars to study abroad, encourages them to return to China guarantees them the freedom of coming and going, and supports them to use their talents Scholars are warmly welcomed if they return to China If they stay abroad, the government should also support them in serving the country in various ways

We should strengthen and improve the work of the new media make the new media help carry forward socialist spiritual enlightenment Xi Jinping also pointed out that to promote the healthy development of the non-public economy and the healthy growth of the people working in non-public economic fields we should adhere to the principles of uniting, serving, guiding and educating

We should pay attention to their thoughts and difficulties

We should guide them, especially the younger generation to be socially responsible and unceasingly enterprising though we are getting richer and richer and guide them to be patriotic, dedicated, innovative, law-abiding honest, helpful Work of the united front should include that of the chamber of commerce

We should also exert the guidance and service function of the association of industry and commerce to the chamber of commerce and ensure the healthy development of the chamber of commerce Xi Jinping also added that we should pay attention to the spirit of the Central National Work Conference and promote the harmonious development of all ethnic groups to make them live together in peace, work together with the same goal

We need to implement the Party's policy on freedom of religious belief administer religious affairs in accordance with the law adhere to the principle of self-administration, running religious affairs independently and actively guide the various religions to adapt to socialist society

In order to achieve this goal we need to adhere to the direction of chinization increase the level of rule of law in the religious work treat the social role of religion dialectically pay attention to the role of religious people and guide the religious force to help promote economic development social harmony, cultural prosperity, national unity and the reunification of the motherland
We must meet the need of new situation need do the work related to Hong Kong and Macao, Taiwan and overseas Chinese well Xi Jinping emphasized that training and appointing those non-Party representatives have always been a consistent policy of our Party

We need to increase the training, selection and employment of the non party personages cultivate a non party personages team which consciously accepts the leadership of the Communist Party of China unswervingly takes the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics and also has strong representation and ability of political participation Xi Jinxing pointed out the work of united front is the work of the entire Party the Party must pay attention to it and work together for it

The Party committees at all levels should put it in an important position Leaders in these committees should take the lead in learning, promulgating and carrying out the relevant policies and regulations

We should adhere to the working pattern in which the Party committee takes the lead the United Front Work Department coordinates the work other related sections take their own responsibility

In this way we can form an amalgamated force Officials should carefully study the theory and policy about the Party's United Front and carry forward the fine work style Only in this way, can we win the respects and recognitions from the non-Party people and work with them in the course of building socialism with Chinese characteristics

11.2.5 Modernization of National Defense and the Armed Forces

Let's take a look at the fifth issue the modernization of national defense and the armed forces National defense and the armed forces provide a strong guarantee for upholding China's security Without any of them peaceful development can not be guaranteed the dream of building a powerful country will be difficult to achieve

In the future if we want to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation if we want to ensure the peace and tranquility of the motherland and the people we must make effort to consolidate national defense and build a strong army At present the balance of international forces is shifting in favor of maintaining world peace and on the whole the international situation remains peaceful and stable

The trend of peace, development, cooperation and win-win situation gained stronger momentum However, the world is not totally peaceful

The international system has entered a period of accelerated evolution and profound adjustment A variety of world forces are experiencing a new split and realignment Major-country relations has entered into a new stage of all-round competition There is also a trend towards hegemonism, power politics and new interventionism

The world is still faced with the actual or potential threat of war

The complexity and variability of the perimeter security of our country tend to be obvious U.S. has moved its strategic core into Asia and has carried out the so-called U.S. rebalancing toward Asia-Pacific U.S. plans to deploy 60% of the its navy warships to the Pacific Region and also deploy 60% of the air force outside its native land to the Asia Pacific Region which increasingly makes the Asia Pacific region become the focus of the international strategic competition Regional terrorism, separatism and extremism are rampant in central Asia which cause a negative impact on the security and stability along China's periphery Marine security environment is becoming more and more complex
On the issues concerning China's territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests, some neighboring countries are taking actions that exacerbate the situation and Japan is making trouble over the issue of the Diaoyu Islands.

The possibility of the occurrence of war in the periphery of our country increases. Meanwhile the "Taiwan independence" "Xinjiang independence" and "Tibet independence" separatist forces are seriously threatening our national security and social stability.

The pressure to maintain national territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests is increasing. Terrorism, energy resources, security, financial security, information security, natural disasters and other non-traditional security issues are becoming more prominent and the security risks of China's overseas interests is increasing. Changes in the form of war from mechanization to informationization are accelerating. Major powers are vigorously developing new and more sophisticated military technologies so as to ensure that they can maintain strategic superiorities in international competition in areas like outer and cyber space.

In this complex situation, the military capabilities are in a special and important position. Only by accelerating the modernization of national defense and the armed forces and preparing for the military struggle can we effectively safeguard the national sovereignty, security, and territorial integrity. Can we ensure that if a war really breaks out we can win the fight? Building strong national defense and powerful armed forces that are commensurate with China's international position and meeting the needs of national security and development is a strategic task of China's modernization drive. Our military should not only ensure the traditional security such as land, air and sea but also protect the safety of the marine, space cyberspace and other new security areas.

We should not only defend national security interests but also safeguard national development interests. To ensure that where there is the national interests there is our military power.

We should not only maintain the security and development interests of our own country but also maintain international and regional security and stability in order to provide public security product for other regions. To consolidate national defense and build a strong army is quite a huge systematic project and requires a scientific and rational planning.

In 1997, The Central Military Commission put forward the three-step strategy for the modernization of national defense and the army.

The first step will be finished in 2010.

The focus is to reduce the size, optimize the structure, and develop advanced weapons and equipment thus laying a good foundation for the future development.

The second step will be finished in 2020. The goal is to make significant progress in mechanization and IT application.

The third step is after 30 years' efforts by the middle of this century to realize the historical tasks of mechanization and IT application. This three-step strategy clearly plots out a route for consolidating national defense and building a strong army and is of great and profound significance. Up till now, we have successfully achieved the first development goal and we are carrying out the second step construction.
task To accomplish this glorious and arduous task we must work hard to accomplish the historical tasks of
teachetization and IT application reducing the gap between us and military powers thus laying a solid
foundation for the realization of the modernization of national defense and the armed forces Finally Let’s
go back to the initial question Whom and what do we rely on in building socialism with Chinese
characteristics?

In short we should rely on the workers, peasants intellectuals and the new social strata

We should rely on people of all ethnic groups the patriotic united front the national defense and the armed
forces

In a word to rely on all forces that are available

11.3.1 Discussion Section

We all know that China is a socialist country under the leadership of the working class

In another word, the working class is the leading class of the country For the time being there are a lot of
people in the society who assume that the working class is gradually marginalised and its leading position
is merely nominal What do you think of this? Let’s welcome Zhang Chu who have taken my course to share
her comment Hello Professor Feng Hello, everyone I am a postgraduate student from Tsinghua University
School of Journalism and Communication My name is Zhang Chu I once took this class

It is my pleasure to answer this question Since the reform and opening up there have been great changes
in China’s working class These changes are concentrated on the improvement of the overall quality and the
strength of the working class Nowadays our country is devoted to developing the socialist market
economy and establishing the modern enterprise system and the new economy system Some people find
it difficult to understand and accept the changes and this leads to some misunderstandings For example,
some assume that in the environment of market economy it’s the enterprisers who decide the enterprise
development in the future while the production workers make little difference others assume that the
quality of workers is low thus cannot be relied on

In response to these comments we should notice that although there are changes in the working class this
doesn’t influence its historical position Workers remain the major constructors of socialist modernization
the major creators of the fortune representatives of the advanced productivity as well as the leading class
in our country

The advancement of the working class lies in the fact that its the representative of the advanced
productive forces

As the leading class in our country the leading and master's position of the workers is a political judgment
defined by the constitution

The working class has always been the basic force to promote the development of China’s society Both
developing socialist market economy and establishing modern enterprise system are unified with our
party's policy of adhering to the guideline of relying wholeheartedly on the working class

When building socialist market economy works status as masters of the enterprise havent been changed
workers status as leading class of our country haven’t been changed
The reasons are quite obvious, from the nature of the socialist market economy it is socialist From the aim of the socialist market economy it is for the development of productive forces and meeting the needs of the people From the effects of the socialist market economy it promotes the rapid development of social productive forces and the significant improvement of people's lives This fully indicates that developing the socialist market economy relying on the working class wholeheartedly and realizing the master's position of the workers are completely unified and coherent

As for those problems such as workers being laid off that arise in this process these are impossible to avoid with the deepening of the reform Though it may bring temporary difficulties to some of the workers fundamentally it is beneficial to the economic development and to the interests of the working class

In the long run building socialist market economy can help to improve the overall quality of workers and better play their leading role Good Well This is Zhang Chu's opinion What is your view? You can think it over after class That is all for today's class Thank you all

Chapter 12 Theory on the Leading Nucleus of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics 中国特色社会主义领导核心理论

12.1.1 The Nature and Purpose of the Communist Party of China

Hello everyone Today we’re going to learn Chapter Twelve

It is also the last chapter of this course Theory of the Central Leading Force of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics What is the central leading force of building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics?

It is the Communist Party of China

We know that Comrade Xi Jinping has cited a well-known paragraph from Su Shi's Comments on Chaocuo for many times "Among all the disasters and worries in the world, the toughest to solve is the situation which seems to be peaceful, while actually contains unexpected worries If we sit and watch the changes without taking actions then the situation might develop into a point where no one could ever solve it If we stand up and take rigid actions then since people are accustomed to peace, they won't believe in us" This paragraph actually indicates that among the disasters and worries in the world the most difficult thing to solve is the ostensible peace and harmony but actually with unexpected lurking dangers

In terms of these lurking dangers if we "sit and watch the changes" without taking any actions then the disaster might deteriorate to an incurable point but if we "stand up and take rigid actions" at an improper time and with improper measures then the people will not be convinced either

As a result the governance of a country requires superb wisdom

In contemporary China it is the Communist Party of China who has this superb wisdom

It is constantly said that "The high speed of a train is credited to the locomotive"

The Communist Party of China is the locomotive of this train of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics Then Why does the Communist Party of China become the locomotive? Let's put this question in mind and begin the learning of this chapter Let's learn the first section the Party's leadership is the fundamental guarantee of the socialist modernization Let's look at the first point the nature and purpose of the Communist Party of China Concerning the nature of the Communist Party of China
It is explicitly stipulated in the Constitution of the Communist Party of China that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class at the same time, it is the vanguard of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation and is the central leading force of the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics.

It represents the demands for the development of China's advanced productivity represents the orientation of China's advanced culture and represents the fundamental interests of the most vast majority of Chinese people.

The highest ideal and ultimate goal of the Party is to realize communism.

It is widely known that parties bear the nature of class. Every party represents the interests of a certain class.

It has a class foundation to depend upon for existence and development. Since its foundation, the Communist Party of China has always been the party of China's working class.

It always maintains its nature as the vanguard of the working class. Why do we say that the Communist Party of China is the vanguard of the working class?

The reasons can be concluded into the following three points: Firstly, the class foundation of the Communist Party of China is China's working class.

The Communist Party of China emerged from the integration of Marxism Leninism with Chinese workers' movement.

The emergence and development of the working class is the essential condition for establishing the party. Since modern times, Chinese working class has been the result of our country's social development especially the development of the large-scale production of the society.

It represents the advanced productivity and productive relations.

It has many good virtues such as selfless having a rigid sense of organization and discipline, and the perseverance and thoroughness of a revolution.

The Party embodies the characteristics and good qualities of Chinese working class. Secondly, the members of the Communist Party of China are the vanguard fighters with communist political consciousness within Chinese working class.

The class foundation of the Communist Party of China is the working class, but it does not mean that people from other classes cannot join the Party. Neither could we say that absorbing the qualified people from those classes will change the Party's nature as the vanguards of the working class because only when people from other classes become the vanguard fighters of the working class can they join the Party. To judge the nature of a party mainly we need to consider its theories and to consider which class's interest its principles and actions represent.

The theories, principles and actions of the Communist Party of China represent the interests of the working class and they also represent the basic interests of the most vast majority of people. Thirdly, the Communist Party of China sets Marxism as its theoretical foundation and guidelines. Marxism represents the correct orientation of Chinese social development.
The Party highly emphasizes on constructing the Party ideologically insists on arming all the members of the Party with the education of Marxism

It requires members to join the Party not only organizationally but also ideologically at the very beginning

It directs them to fight for the realization of the Party's guidelines and tasks

The reason why the Party and the cause which it leads could constantly develop strongly is closely related to its continuous consolidation of its class foundation and its continuous insistence on its nature as the vanguards of the working class

The Communist Party of China is the vanguard of Chinese working class but why is it at the same time the vanguard of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation

It is for the reasons that Firstly the fundamental interests of Chinese working class is congruent with the fundamental interests of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation Only the working class can represent the interests of the people and the nation Secondly becoming the vanguard of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation is the internal requirement for a Marxist ruling party Thirdly to become the vanguard of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation is an essential choice for the Party in order to take the responsibility of the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation "Two vanguards" is an inseparable continuum

On one hand to be a consistent vanguard of Chinese working class is the political prerequisite for the Party to become the real vanguard of Chinese people and the Chinese nation Only when the Party becomes the vanguard of Chinese working class takes the initiative to set Marxism as its basic guiding theology and sets the realization of communism as its ultimate goal to fight for can it indeed possess the essential scientific guidelines the political vision and the broad mind for being a good vanguard for the Chinese people and the Chinese nation

On the other hand taking the initiative to become the vanguard of the Chinese people and nation is an essential prerequisite for the Party to be the vanguard of Chinese working class Only when the Party consistently insists on representing the requirements for interests of the whole Chinese people and nation can its nature as the vanguard of the working class be fully embodied Since China's reform and opening up new changes have taken place in the structure of our country's social class New social classes have propped up While developing its own Party members among labors, farmers and intellectuals the Party also takes notice of admitting from other classes eligible excellent members to the Party Insisting on the Party's nature as the vanguard of Chinese working class as well as the vanguard of the Chinese people and nation contributes to continuously strengthening the Party's class foundation enlarging the Party's mass basis enhancing the Party's potency in the entire society tying people of all ethnic groups in the country around the Party and completing the grand mission entrusted by history and era The Communist Party of China is Always with You on the Way After talking about the nature of the Party let's learn the purpose of the Party

The nature of the Communist Party of China determines the purpose of the Party which is to serve the people whole–heartedly Whether being people oriented and exercising the state power at the interests of people are the supreme standards for examining all the Party's governance At any time the Party should put the interests of people at the first place and always connect its heart, breath and destiny with the people always rely on the people to propel the progress of the history Insisting on the purpose of serving the people whole–heartedly is the basic requirement for Marxist historical materialism

The people are the creators of the history the driving force for the progress of the history
The Party gains its meaning only from serving the people

The Party gains its strength only by depending on the people. Since the foundation of the Communist Party of China the Party has set serving the people as its highest principle. Whether representing the interests of the working class and people of all ethnic groups of the country is the starting and finishing point of the Party's every activity. This is also one of the significant symbols which differentiate the Communist Party of China from any other party.

The history of the Party's struggle is exactly the history of serving people whole-heartedly.

The Party took the lead in the New Democratic Revolution and founded people's democratic dictatorship.

In the new era, the Party has taken charge in constructing Socialism with Chinese characteristics for the common cause of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups to realize their own benefits and create wonderful lives. Certainly we also need to have a proper understanding of "serving the people"

We cannot perceive it as "people are served". Instead, to "serve the people" should allow people to serve themselves at first and then should create the opportunity to let the people serve themselves at last. It should take the initiative to help the people when they have difficulty serving themselves. "Serving the people" is actually one of the principles the Party adopts when dealing with the Party-masses relationship.

The Party-masses relationship is a social relationship of paramount importance in contemporary China. Dealing with the Party-masses relationship properly is the key to the prolonged stability of the state. Mao Zedong once pointed out that if the Party-masses relationship was not dealt with properly, the socialist system could not be established. Granted that it was established, it was impossible to consolidate it. Concerning the Party-masses relationship in the works by famous writers and revolutionary leaders, there are a number of classic comparisons. For example, the Party-masses relationship was compared to the relationship between "seeds and land" "students and teachers" "security and territory" "son and mother" "fish and water" "swimmers and water", etc.

It was also compared to the relationship between blood and flesh "water and fount" "wood and paper" "servant and lord" These comparisons are closely tied to the Party's purpose.

The aforementioned are the positive comparisons.

Of course, there are also some negative comparisons. For example, the Party-masses relationship and the relation between cadres and masses are compared to the relationship between oil and water. Which means that the former and the latter are incompatible.

It is compared to the relationship between water and fire indicating that the two are irreconcilable. Comparing the Party-masses relationship to that between father and son indicates the former is condescending and arrogant. Comparing the Party-masses relationship to that between the monarch and his subjects indicates that the latter must submit to the former. Comparing the Party-masses relationship to that between cat and mouse indicates that the latter is fearful of the former and detests the former. Comparing the Party-masses relationship to that between grass and water indicates that the "grass" of cadres only takes the "water" of the masses but does not give back anything.

The Party-masses relationship is also compared to that between frogs and water.

The so-called "frog-water relationship" means that some cadres regard themselves as the "frogs" who plunge into the "water" of the masses when they need them and then jump back to the land when their
needs are satisfied. This signifies that the former hold an opportunistic attitude towards the latter that "the masses are for the use of me". These negative phenomena go diametrically against the purpose of serving the people whole-heartedly and they must be strictly banned.

In the year 1958 when Mao Zedong was reading Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* he pointed out that the existing bourgeois prerogatives in the interrelationship between people must be discarded for example being rigidly hierarchical, condescending, cutting off from the masses unfair to others and making money through seniority and power instead of one's own capability these prerogatives between cadres and masses the cat-mouse and father-son relationships between the superior and subordinate must be discarded and thoroughly discarded. They will appear again when discarded and they must be discarded subsequently.

On January 31, 1961 *On the Final Report of the Second Phase of Rectification in the Style of Work and Commune in the Tong Hai Kou Commune of Mianyang County* which was distributed by the Hubei Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out that in some places the relationship between the cadres and the masses is like the comparison that the masses have made.

It is a kind of "cat-mouse relationship"

When the masses seek the cadres at a distance they would turn around and walk away.

On August 18, 1980 Deng Xiaoping also pointed out in his important speech *On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership* that the relationship between the superior and subordinate should not be degraded into the cat-mouse relationship which Comrade Mao Zedong had criticized for many times. Neither should be degraded to the relationship between monarchs and subjects or gang relationship which existed in old society. These negative comparisons reveal that the Party-masses relationship and the relationship between the cadres and masses were faced with serious problems and we must learn the lessons from it.

In order to carry out the purpose of serving the people whole-heartedly we should try to change the aforementioned positive comparisons from the "ideal state" into the "realized state" and at the same preventing the negative comparisons from being "political metaphors" into "political realities".

**12.1.2 The Ruling Status of the Communist Party of China Is the Choice by History and People**

Now let's look at the second issue the ruling status of the CPC is the choice of the history and people.

The development of China's contemporary and modern history has thoroughly illustrated this point: "Without the Communist Party the new China was impossible to occur. With the Communist Party China is refreshed".

The ruling status of the Party was gradually formed through the long-term revolution and struggle. This is the inevitable result of the development of the contemporary and modern Chinese history and is the choice of the people. People are the subject of the history.

The choice of history is at length fulfilled through the choice of people.

The reason why the masses believe choose and support the Communist Party of China is that the Communist Party serves the people and caters for people's needs.
In old China the most urgent demand of the vast majority of people was to overthrow the ruling and oppression of the imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and to achieve the independence of the nation and liberation of the people Mao Zedong once said that "People achieve liberation by entrusting the power to the ones who are qualified to represent them and to work for them faithfully Those ones are we communists.

The Party has responded to people's requirements overthrown that "three huge mountains" and founded the republic where people are the masters After the foundation of the new China the Chinese people who had stood up wished the country to flourish and prosper and the people to lead happy and wonderful lives.

The Party adjusted to meet this demand led the people to fight for the recovery and development of the domestic economy and in order to adjust to the necessity of the society's historical development led the country onto the socialist road and had achieved great accomplishment in the cause of socialist construction.

The Party's ruling status is the result of people's allegiance and choice Under the new historical condition the basic interests of the vast majority of the people is fundamentally to liberate and develop productivity to realize the country's prosperity and people's common prosperity and to accomplish the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation Only the Communist Party of China has the political strength to unite and lead the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and to realize this great goal Why do we say so.

The reasons can be concluded into four points Firstly insisting on the right direction of China's modernization construction requires the leadership of the Communist Party of China Getting rid of the country's poor and backward image and achieving modernization and national rejuvenation has been the pursuit and dream of the Chinese people for hundreds of years.

The contemporary history of China has corroborated again and again that it is impossible to make China achieve modernization through capitalism There is an old Chinese saying that "Born in the south of Huai, the tangerie is a citrus while in the north of Huai, it is only a poncirus” This vividly indicates that everything should be done combining practical situation in China it is improper to simply duplicate others.

In recent years some people have put forward that China should adopt western multi-party systems from the perspective of Chinese history and domestic conditions This viewpoint is false in theory and is harmful in practice Only by insisting on the leadership of the Communist Party of China and walking onto the socialist road with Chinese characteristics can the right direction of the cause of modernization construction be ensured can the lines, schemes and policies be correctly made can the cause of modernization construction gain successive achievement and the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation eventually come true Secondly to maintain the unity of the country and the stability and harmony of the society requires the leadership of the Communist Party of China Without the unity of the country and the stability and harmony of the society the country cannot become prosperous and the people cannot lead a stable and happy life To maintain the unity of the country and stability of the society has constantly been the most paramount thing that Chinese people of all ethnic groups concern about.

The contemporary China suffered seriously from the intrusions of foreign countries and the harm caused by the fights between warlords and political unrest Those sufferings were deeply imprinted in Chinese people's mind.

In the new stage of the new century as the faithful representative of the fundamental interests of Chinese people of all ethnic groups the Communist Party of China is guided by scientific theories By virtue of its
profound ruling experience and the capacity to control the whole situation the Party arranges properly the
development in economy, society and in many other aspects endeavors to construct a socialist
harmonious society and is able to maintain the country's unity and the society's harmony and stability
Thirdly to correctly deal with all kinds of complicated social conflicts and to unite billions of people to build
a bright future together requires the leadership of the Communist Party of China China is a country of
expansive land and vast population and of imbalance development and huge disparities between cities and
villages and within different regions Faced with all kinds of complicated social conflicts new situations and
new tasks—to build a moderately prosperous society in all respects then establish a prosperous, strong,
democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious socialist modernized country and realize the Chinese
dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation it is necessary to thoroughly deepen the reform at
this new historical starting point Only by strengthening and enhancing the leadership of the Communist
Party of China thoroughly carrying out the Party's core function as the leader of commanding the whole
situation and coordinating all aspects and by improving the Party's leadership and ruling capacity can the
internal conflicts of the people be properly dealt with can various difficulties and problems during the
progress be solved can people be united their strength be accumulated can the reform be successful and
the bright future be constructed together Fourthly to face the challenges brought by complicated
international environment the leadership of the Communist Party of China is needed At present economic
globalization and global multi-polarization develop with difficulties
The development of science and technology changes constantly and the competition of a country's overall
strength is more and more intense
The antagonists are still carrying out the strategy to westernize and split our country Under this
complicated international circumstance only through strong political core and uniting Chinese people of all
nationalities can our country be ensured to walk onto the independent and autonomous road of China's
peaceful development
The Communist Party of China is exactly this kind of political core that can organize people and unite them
to walk onto the road of China's peaceful development
In China to unite and accumulate people of all ethnic groups to liberate and develop social productivity to
foster a sustainable healthy development of domestic economy and to realize the grand goal of socialist
modernization construction the Communist Party of China is the key
The Party's leadership and its construction are the fundamental guarantees for the success of the reform
and opening up Chinese people of all nationalities have deeply recognized this from their own experiences
They insistently choose the leadership of the Communist Party of China
We all know that the collective leadership of the Communist Party of China has undergone five generations
and every generation basically corresponds to to a song that is widely spread
The song that corresponds to Mao Zedong and the first group of leaders is The East is Red This is known
to all
The song relating to Deng Xiaoping and the second group of leaders is The Story of Spring This is also
quite familiar to us all
The song corresponding to Jiang Zemin and the third group of leaders is Enter the New Epoch This should
be known to all too What is the song concerning Hu Jintao and the fourth group of leaders? I think it could
be *Let's Hold Hands Tightly* whose lyrics are written by Yu Junjian You might not have heard about this song Let's listen to it You hold the labors' hands tightly

The warm streams of the river are surged You hold the villagers' hands tightly Bring them the greetings of the land You hold the kids' hands tightly Put wings onto the dreams You hold the elderly's hands tightly Listen to their daily lives Your heart is connected to ours

We go through storms with you You hold the people's hands tightly To hold the country and the history

The soldiers hold your hand tightly

The motherland is in their hearts

The constructors hold your hand tightly They brew excellent wine of moderate prosperity

The army of revolution hold your hands tightly They make a scientific development of rejuvenation People of all nationalities hold your hand tightly

The country is blooming with flowers of harmony Your heart is connected with ours

We go through storms with you

The people hold your hand tightly To hold happiness and beauty Your heart is connected with ours

We go through storms with you

The people hold your hand tightly To hold happiness and beauty What is the song concerning Xi Jinping and the fifth group of leaders I think it could be *Jiang Shan* performed by Peng Liyuan This song also might be unfamiliar to you Let's listen to it Fight for the country Rule the country For the people's happiness and sadness whole-heartedly Seek for happiness Send warmth Never forget people's prosperity, security and reunion

The people is the land

The people is the sky

The people is the eternal concern of the Communist Party

The people is the mountain

The people is the ocean

The people is the fount of the Party's life Fight for the country Rule the country For the people's happiness and sadness whole-heartedly Seek for happiness Send warmth Never forget people's prosperity, security and reunion

The people is the land

The people is the sky

The people is the eternal concern of the Communist Party

The people is the mountain
The people is the ocean
The people is the fount of the Party's life
The people is the land
The people is the sky
The people is the eternal concern of the Communist Party
The people is the mountain
The people is the ocean
The people is the fount of the Party's life
The country These five songs are not only melodious but also profound These songs corroborate vicariously that "The ruling status of the Communist Party of China is the choice by history and people"

We should know about these five songs

12.2.1 What Is the "Periodic Ratio of History"

Now we'll move on to the second section How does the Communist Party of China surmount the "periodic ratio of history"? Let's look at the first issue What is the so-called "periodic ratio of history" This concept might have been known to you all Someone might ask shouldn't it be called the "periodic law of history"? Then should it be "rate" or "law"? Different people hold different answers towards this question and every answer makes sense Under this circumstance the original source should prevail Let's look at the source From July 1, 1945 to July 5, 1945 councilors of "The National Political Council" including Zhu Fucheng Huang Yanpei Leng Yu Fu Sinian Zuo Shunsheng and Zhang Bojun, altogether six people visited Yanan on behalf of themselves hoping to mediate the contradiction between Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China as intermediaries and facilitate a restart of the conference between the two parties Though there were no substantive results during this visit many deep praised stories were left in the modern history

The most famous one among them was the conversation on the "periodic ratio of history" between Mao Zedong and Huang Yanpei According to what was recorded in Return from Yanan which Huang Yanpei wrote after that visit it should be “periodic rate” instead of “periodic law”

The following is the complete conversation on the "periodic ratio of history" Once upon a time Mao Zedong asked about my opinion My answer was I've lived for more than 60 years. Let's not talk about what I've heard Whatever I saw with my own eyes it fits the saying, "The rise of something may be fast and its downfall is equally swift."

It is impossible for a person a family a community a place or even a nation to manage to break free out of the potency of this cycle Usually in the initial stage everyone stays fully focused and puts in his or her best efforts Maybe the conditions were bad at that time and everyone has to struggle to survive Once the times change for the better everyone loses focus and becomes lazy

In some cases, as time passing by the slack mood and complacency emerge, spread and become a social norm Even if there is someone who is very capable still he can neither reverse the situation nor salvage it
There are also cases where a nation progresses and prospers its rise could be either natural or due to rapid industrialization spurred by the yearning for progression

When all human resources have been exhausted and problems crop up in management the environment becomes more complicated and they lose control of the situation Throughout history, there are various examples: sometimes, a ruler ignores state affairs and eunuchs use the opportunity to seize power sometimes, a good system of governance ceases to function after the person who initiated it dies sometimes, people who lust for glory but end up in humiliation None has managed to break out of this cycle I am quite familiar with the development of the Communist Party of China Wish we can find a new way to be free from the control of this periodic ratio Mao Zedong answered that "we have already found the new way"

We are able to jump out of this cycle rate This new way is democracy Only by letting people oversee the government the government would not be lazy Only when everyone takes his own responsibility the country and its people will be sustainable"

In my opinion this claim is right Only when political policies and schemes are decided by the public individual's desire of accomplishment won't occur then Only by allocating the political affairs in a certain place to the people living in that place then will every place keep its own people will every people has his own duty It's hopefully valid to break this periodic ratio by applying democracy

In the 25-episode TV series Huang Yanpei this famous conversation is re-displayed in an artistic and scattered way Let's take a look at it I've lived for more than sixty years. Let's not talk about what I've heard Whatever I saw with my own eyes it fits the saying, "The rise of something may be fast, and its downfall is equally swift." Every person, family, community, place and even a nation seems to be manipulated by a certain kind of power I call it periodic ratio Periodic ratio Periodic ratio Please go ahead Throughout the history usually in the initial stage everyone in a community or a team stays fully focused and puts in his best efforts Since in the initial stage the conditions are bad and everyone has to struggle to survive Once the times change for the better everyone loses focus and becomes lazy

When it is the time to strive for the regime complacency breeds and spreads Once it becomes a social norm even if the people are very capable they can neither reverse nor salvage the situation Then, a historical tragedy is put on again No matter it was Li Zicheng, offspring of the honorable statesmen of the Qing Dynasty or the national government there could be a ruler ignoring state affairs and eunuchs using the opportunity to seize the power there could be a good system of governance ceasing to function after the person who initiated it dies there could be people who lust for glory but end up in humiliation Overall, the history seems to be cyclic and moving back and forth No one has managed to break out of this cycle Mr. Huang's theory of the periodic ratio is illustriously visionary and stunning I roughly know about Chinese communists from the past till now I solely wish Mr. Mao to learn from the history and create a new road to be free from the control of this periodic ratio Let's continue Mr. Huang

We have already found a new way this is democracy Only by entitling the people to overseeing the government the government will not be lazy Only when everyone takes his own responsibility the country and its people will be sustainable

It is the fortune for the Party, the people and the nation to have Mr. Mao who has such vision Only when political policies and schemes are decided by the public individuals' own desire of accomplishment will not occur Only by allocating the political affairs in a certain place to the people living in that place every place will then keep its own people and every person will have his own duty
It would be valid to break this periodic ratio by applying democracy. Exactly I had the honor to read your On United Government where you quoted the speech which Mr. Sun Zhongshan had make on the First National Congress of Kuomintang.

The so-called democracy system in every country in today's world is often exclusively owned by the bourgeois.

It is a tool used for oppression. However, the democracy in the national revolution is one that is commonly owned by the normal people instead of exclusively owned by the minority. This is the great political view by Mr. Sun Zhongshan. Mr. Huang, what we communists expect is the sharing of weal or woe with moral and capable figures like you and with every party in order to deal with the problems that China is faced with together and found a new country. I am already sixty-seven years old my sole wish is the prosperity of the country and the advancement of the society but I am not necessarily the one who makes it Mr. Huang what about making a gentlemen's agreement today? That's great. From now on, you Mr. Huang are my friend and you should always be honest with me about whatever mistakes we made. Long distance separates no bosom friends! What need to be noticed is that this conversation is not exactly the same with the what was recorded in the Return from Yanan.

When we probe into this topic we need to refer to the original text. Researching into Huang Yanpei's illustration on the "periodic ratio of history" you'll find that the structure of the illustration is generally "introduction-body-conclusion".

In the introduction, the "potency of the periodic ratio" is raised as the core proposition and is concluded as "The rise of something may be fast and its downfall is equally swift." Then the "periodic ratio of history" was explained from three aspects: "having a ruler ignoring state affairs and eunuchs using the opportunity to seize the power" "having a good system of governance ceasing to function after the person who initiated died" and "having people who lust for glory but end up in humiliation". Finally "a history" was concluded as "No one has managed to break out of this cycle". According to Huang, the causes of the periodic ratio of the history mainly were "having a ruler ignoring state affairs and eunuchs using the opportunity to seize the power" "having a good system of governance ceasing to function after the person who initiated died" and "having people who lust for glory but end up in humiliation" altogether three circumstances.

The causes are often ignored by people. Now let's explain those three respectively.

The first cause is actually "the rising of eunuchs leads to the languish in politics" which means that after a long time of governance eunuchs would often make no attempt to make progress and sit back while enjoying the fruits of others' work and this usually ceases the political progress.

The origin of this idiom came from a few sentences from "The eunuchs are languid after the prosperity".

The son is less filial when he gets married and begets a child. Dangers appear after the worries are resolved. Illness gets more severe after it is cured". Liu Xiang in Han Dynasty also mentioned this in his Shuo Yuan: Jing Shen which can also be identified as the original text. "The existence of eunuchs give rise to the official's languish. Illness deteriorates when it is slightly recovered. Disasters result from laziness. And the son is less filial when he gets married and begets a child. Huang Yanpei's opinion that "Once the times change for the better everyone loses focus and becomes lazy" and "In some cases as time passing by the slack mood and complacency breed spread and become a social norm" was actually the description of "having a ruler ignoring state affairs and eunuchs using the opportunity to seize the power".
The idiom "a good system of governance ceases to function after the person who initiated it dies" originates from *The Doctrine of the Mean" Emperor Wen and Wu of Zhou Dynasty had initiated a good system of governance when they reigned Those policies were carried out successfully when they were alive while once they were dead their good system of governance ceased to function" People usually have two kinds of explanations of the idiom "ruler dies, his system of governance ceases to function"

The first explanation is that the person who initiates the system dies and at the same time the system itself ceases to function

The second is because of the death of the initiator the system ceases to function accordingly

In terms of the original text the second explanation is more accurate Concerning the word "Wang" there are two explanations as well the first is "death" the second is "resignation"

As a result the general interpretation of this idiom is that when the person who held the power passes away or is overthrown his political measures cease to function accordingly However, in terms of Huang Yanpei's illustration this idiom can be explained in another way

It indicates the situation that "cadres and talented people gradually become less and less"

In other words, as the cause is expanded the people who devote themselves to this cause become less and less preventing the cause from going further and this leads to several disadvantages like the complication in the environment and a gradual lost in control

The origin of the idiom "having people who lust for glory but end up in humiliation" is the book *Ge Yan Lian Bi* compiled by Jin Lansheng in Qing Dynasty

It is said in the book that "Humans struggle to lust for glory

When they are doing this they are already faced with great humiliation Humans struggle to receive praise and affection when they are doing this they become the silliest in the world This points out that people struggle to lust for fortune and prosperity but in their process of pursuing them they have already suffered from the biggest humiliation in the world People tend to be tufthunting in order to get benefits but when they are doing this they become the meanest in the world Han Yanpei applies the idiom "having people who lust for glory but end up in humiliation" in order to indicate that people pursue glory at first but the pursuit leads to humiliation in the end

It is the same with other common idioms like "making things worse with good intentions" "doing a disservice when helping others" "things are contrary to what are expected" "doing a seemingly clever thing which turns out to be a foolish one instead" "More haste, less speed" and "one tries one's best and still gets criticized for it" etc.

The substance of the idiom "having people who lust for glory but end up in humiliation" is the separation and contradiction of motives and effects

The basic reason for this contradiction often is the anxiety to achieve quick success and get instant benefits which makes one be hostile despise underestimate or ignore the implicit objective laws Huang Yanpei's words that "Some are spurred by the yearning for accomplishment and progression" and "the individual desire for accomplishment will not occur" are actually closely connected to the idiom "having people who lust for glory but end up in humiliation"
In terms of the three circumstances proposed by Huang Yanpei Mao Zedong responded to two of them "Only by entitling the people to overseeing the government the government would not be lazy" This was in response to "having a ruler ignoring state affairs and eunuchs using the opportunity to seize the power" "Only when everybody takes his own responsibility the good system of governance would not cease to function after the person who initiated it dies This was in response to "a good system of governance ceases to function after the person who initiated it dies"

It is a pity that he didn't seem to respond to the circumstance that "having people who lust for glory but end up in humiliation" Then what on earth is the "periodic ratio of history"

It is overtly shown in Huang Yanpei's illustration that the so-called periodic ratio is exactly "The rise of something may be fast and its downfall is equally swift." To be more specific the "periodic ratio of history" contains several meanings Firstly every regime experiences "prosperity" and "degradation" Secondly many regimes prosper swiftly and die out swiftly as well Thirdly many regimes are good at initiating but not good at ending well

The prosperous situation is not sustainable Then what is the meaning of "surmounting the periodic ratio of history"? Actually it also includes several meanings Firstly "surmounting the periodic ratio of history" signifies breaking the cycle of going from prosperity to degradation to achieve the goal of beginning well and end well and accomplish long period of stability Secondly "surmounting the periodic ratio of history" signifies always being consistent from beginning to end remaining unchanged in nature and not degrading Thirdly "surmounting the periodic ratio of history" signifies being consistent with the beginning after a long period of ruling instead of having a brave beginning but a weak ending or "showing humility at first and being arrogant in the end"

12.2.2 The Party Leaders Have Attached Great Importance to the "Periodic Ratio of History" over Generations

Let's move on to the second point Leaders of the Party have attached great importance to the "periodic ratio of history" over generations

As the first socialist country its leaders Lenin and Stalin attached great importance to the concern whether the communist party was able to rule for a long time

On February 22, 1992 Lenin pointed out that "The most serious shortcoming among all the work done by economic institution is the bureaucracy Communists became bureaucrats which was able to destroy the party

In March, 1937 Stalin pointed out at the Central Committee of CPSU that "Creating a bond with the people consolidating this bond and making determinations to listen to what people say are the reasons why the leadership of Bolshevik has been powerful and unassailable" He continued by saying that

When Bolshevik keeps the bond with the majority of the people they are unassailable This is a rule

On the contrary once the bond between Bolshevik and its people is broken once Bolshevik is infected with bureaucracy it will lose its power and remains as a hollow skeleton

The leaders of the Communist Party of China have thought highly of the "periodic ratio of history" over generations Let's first have a look at Comrade Mao's idea on this
On the second Plenary Session of the 7th CPC Central Committee Mao Zedong had already put forward the "Two Musts" He pointed out that Winning the national victory is only the first step of the Long March If this step is worth the pride then the pride must be relatively little

The thing that is really worth the pride is in the future Looking back after decades of years the victory of the Chinese people's Democratic Revolution seemed to be just a short prelude of a long play

Any play must start with a prelude but the prelude is not the climax yet Chinese revolution is great but there is a long way to go on the road of revolution

The tasks will be greater and tougher Every Party member must be clearly aware of this and must keep being modest judicious and being neither arrogant nor impetuous Comrades must keep working hard After the second Plenary Session of the 7th CPC Central Committee Mao Zedong and other central leaders left Xibaipo and headed for Peiping Mao told other leaders that "Today we go to Peiping to 'take an examination'" Zhou Enlai said that "All of us will pass this exam"

We cannot return back" Mao responded instantly that "It means failure if we go back

We mustn't be another Li Zicheng" Till his later life Mao Zedong alerted himself to the tragic ending of the peasant uprising in the late Ming Dynasty which was led by Li Zicheng

In November, 1975 Mao Zedong was in his later years but he still made instructions on Yao Xueyin's novel

- Now you can see Mao made efforts to consolidate the ruling status of the Communist Party which is a main clue passing through Mao Zedong's numerous complicated thoughts Let's take a look at Comrade Deng Xiaoping

In 1956

On the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Deng Xiaoping delivered Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Communist Party in which he put forward the "Two Increases" According to Deng "Since our Party has become a party that rules the whole country

The risk of cutting ourselves off from the masses has highly increased and the harm brought by this alienation has also increased compared to the past" Meanwhile Deng Xiaoping proposed the "Two Attitudes" He said that "We entered the city and took over the ruling power Do we come here to be the rulers or the servants of the people? Comrade Mao Zedong has referred to this problem for many times

We can choose from two attitudes one of the attitudes is being the rulers and another is being the servants If we are the servants of the people instead of the rulers we need to appear as ordinary workers and treat everybody fairly and serve the people whole-heartedly"

The "Two Increases" and "Two Attitudes" are in fact the indirect thinking of the "periodic ratio of the history" After becoming the core of the second generation of central leadership Deng Xiaoping kept attaching great importance to the risk of the periodic ratio of history

On December 25, 1980 during the working conference of the Central Committee of the CPC Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "The people are the source of our strength the mass viewpoint and the mass line are our cherished traditions
The Party including the Party members and the cadres must identify with the masses and never stand against them If either the members or cadres are overly isolated from the masses and unable to resolutely overcome it then the Party will lose the source of their strength and this will lead to failure and being abandoned by the people Party comrades cadres at different levels and particularly leading cadres must always bear this in mind and measure all their words and deeds against this criterion" Let's take a look at Comrade Jiang Zemin

As early as August 21, 1993 in his speech To Strengthen the Fight against Corruption and Promote the Construction of a Clean and Honest Government Jiang Zemin had already pointed out that "In July, 1945 when Chairman Mao conversed with Huang Yanpei on how did the CPC break the periodic ratio of history he proposed the reliance on democracy and on the people who supervise the government in order to prevent the phenomenon of negative corruption"

On January 25, 2002

In his speech Leading Cadres Should Firmly Establish the Correct View of Power Jiang Zemin pointed out that "I profoundly feel that in terms of the problem of corruption we should not only see from the economic perspective but also from the political perspective Corruption, bribery and bending the law are no doubt counted as graft however if our cadres lose the vigorous vitality which they had when they seized the power and in the early days of the construction—the high spirit the great upright righteousness—and instead, become worldly-wise and play safe and aloof If formalism and bureaucracy become so severe that the power is abused and the benefits of both Party and people are damaged then in the end we are bound to lose support of the majority of people This is the law of history in its rise and fall applied to anywhere and anytime Concerning this issue leading cadres at all levels must be fully aware of it

In November, 2002 Jiang Zemin proposed the significant statement the "Two Biggests" in the report of the 16th Congress of the CPC He said "The biggest political advantage of our Party is the intimate tie with the people while the biggest danger after ruling is cutting off from the people"

The "Two Biggests" is closely interrelated with the periodic ratio of history Now let's take a look at Comrade Hu Jintao

On February 26, 2003 Comrade Hu Jintao proposed in his speech Constructing Socialist Political Civilization that "Everybody knows that in September, 1945 during his visit to Yanan democrat Huang Yanpei conversed with Comrade Mao Zedong that the future regime established by the CPC is expected to be free from the periodic ratio that 'The rise of something may be fast and its downfall is equally swift.' Comrade Mao Zedong replied that 'We have already found a new way to be free from this periodic ratio

The way is through democracy Only by letting people oversee the government the government dares not relax Only when everyone takes his own responsibility the system of governance will not cease to function after the person who initiates it dies""

On September 15, 2004 on the 50th Anniversary Commemoration of the Founding of the National People's Congress Hu Jintao pointed out that "As early as in the 1940s our Party has concluded the rule of Chinese history and made it certain that democracy was the fundamental way to jump out of the periodic ratio He emphasized that only by letting people oversee the government the government dares not relax Only when everyone takes his own responsibility the system of governance will not cease to function after the person who initiates it dies" Finally let's take a look at Comrade Xi Jinping

On November 17, 2012 Xi Jinping proposed that " The parasites occur only when the thing is rotten first"
In recent years due to the long-term accumulation of contradictions some countries have been filled with discontent social unrest and regime collapse Corruption is one of the most important reasons According to a great number of facts when the corruption gets worse and worse it must finally lead to the collapse of the Party and country

We have to stay alert" At the end of December, 2012 Xi Jinping visited the central committees of 8 democratic parties and the National Federation of Industry and Commerce and held a meeting with every leader Chairman of China Democratic National Construction Association Chen Changzhi said Chairman Xi knew the history of CDNCA very well Chen talked about the conversation on the periodic ratio of history between Chairman Mao and Huang Yanpei in Yanan cave which remains as an important caution for the CPC By the way when the Xinhua reporter wrote this news he mistook "periodic ratio of history" for "periodic law of history" "ratio" was mistaken for "law" This is inaccurate

On December 26, 2013 General secretary Xi Jinping made an important speech at the commemoration of the 120 anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong He said "The whole Party must bear in mind Comrade Mao Zedong's profound warning that 'we should never become another Li Zicheng' bear in mind the "Two Musts" bear in mind the ancient saying 'thrive in calamity and perish in peace' must focus on resolving the historical issue 'the rise of something may be fast and its downfall is equally swift.'

The whole Party must handle Party affairs and be strict in Party discipline enhance the governing and leading capacity of our party enhance the Party's capability of self-purification self-improvement self-innovation and self-enhancement"

In July, 2013 Xi Jinping made a speech in Hebei Province guiding the Party's study and practice on the mass line in which he pointed out that "Over the past 60 years we have made huge progress Chinese people have stood up and became wealthy but the challenges and problems that we are faced with are still tough and complicated

We should say that the exam for the Party hasn't been finished Our Party should guide the people to achieve the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in an all-round way to persist and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics This is how the exam continues All leading cadres and Party members should keep taking the 'exam' given by our people and pass the 'exams' that our Party is and will undergo strive to produce outstanding results Since the Eighteenth National Congress of the CPC our new central leadership group has picked up the heavy baton given by the country and people

We must make the best efforts to take over the baton"

It is overtly shown from the illustration that successive leaders of the Communist Party of China have attached great importance and high attention to the periodic ratio of history This provides us a favorable political prerequisite for transcending the "periodic ratio of history"

12.2.3 “The Four Challenges” and the “The Four Dangers” that the Party Is Faced with in the New Era

Let's take a look at the third point

The "Four Challenges" and "The Four Dangers" that the Party is faced with in the new era Now I'd like to ask you guys a question Has modern China surmounted the periodic ratio of history

The answer is no because we are faced with continuous social problems
In the report of the Eighteenth National Congress of the CPC it was bluntly stated that we must have a clear perception that there are many deficiencies in our work and there will be a number of difficulties and problems in the future. Mainly the imbalance, inconsistency and unsustainability still remain as serious problems.

The ability of technological innovation is not strong; the industrial structure is not reasonable; the agricultural foundation is still weak; the restraint on resources and environments intensifies and there are many institutional constraints hindering scientific development. There is a long way to go in deepening reform and opening up and transforming the pattern of economic development.

The gaps between urban and rural areas and of residents’ income distribution are still large. Social conflicts increase significantly. Plenty of problems related to people’s very interests still prevail, including those of education, employment, social security, medical care, housing, ecological environment, food and medicine safety, production safety, public order, law enforcement, judiciary, etc. Some people still live a hard life. There is a lack of morality and integrity in some fields. Some leading cadres are incapable of fostering scientific development. Some grassroots party organizations are weak and lax. A few Party cadres’ belief is faltering and they lack the awareness of Party’s purpose. Formalism and bureaucracy are prominent problems. Problems of extravagance and waste are serious.

In some fields, corruption is frequent.

It remains a grave situation fighting against corruption. Also, we are faced with complicated social conflicts which are as follows: Firstly, the contradiction between the rich and the poor. Secondly, the contradiction between the labor and the payer. Thirdly, the contradiction between cadres and the people. The fourth is the contradiction between the powerful and the weak. The fifth is the contradiction between our people and the enemy. The sixth is the contradiction between the one in a superior position and the one in an inferior position. The seventh is the contradiction between the elites and the masses. The elites walk at the front and the masses follow at the back. So the contradiction between them is called "front-back contradiction." The eighth is the contradiction between the left and the right. The ninth is the contradiction between China and foreign countries. The tenth is the contradiction between the southern and northern hemisphere. China is in the northern hemisphere. According to Deng Xiaoping, the development issue equals to the issue on southern and northern hemisphere and in fact also equals to the contradiction between them. The eleventh is the contradiction between the eastern and western hemisphere. China belongs to the eastern hemisphere. According to Deng Xiaoping, the issue on peace equals to that on eastern and western hemisphere and actually also equals to the contradiction between them. Etc. Those aforementioned complicated social contradictions are not easy to
deal with With these social contradictions it is hard to say that modern China has already surmounted the periodic ratio of history

On July 1, 2011 in the celebration of the 90th anniversary of the CPC, Hu Jintao pointed out that

The whole Party must be fully aware of the new situation where the world the nation and the Party are undergoing deep changes

We should enhance Party's leading and ruling capacity improve the ability to resist corruption and risk and strengthen the construction of Party's ruling capacity and advancement Facing many unprecedented new situations, problems and challenges the test of ruling position, of reform and opening up of market economy and of external environment will be longstanding

The whole party is faced with complicated and grave dangers caused by lethargy incapability detachment from the people and corruption

The mission to police Party itself and impose strict discipline on its members is more arduous and urgent than any other period of time in history This was the first time that leaders of the Party have proposed the "Four Challenges" and the "Four Dangers"

In the report Hu Jintao restated this proposal He pointed out that under the new situation the tests which the Party is faced with including tests of ruling position, reform and opening up market economy and external environment will be longstanding, complicated and serious Dangers of slackening spirit, incapability detachment from the people and corruption are more harshly presented in front of the entire Party then how should we properly understand the "Four Challenges" and the "Four Dangers" ? Let's think about the "Four Challenges" first

The first challenge is that of ruling position

The CPC has taken full advantage of the socialist system concentrated the strength and forces on a major task and has lead Chinese people to achieve great accomplishment in socialist modernization thus, fundamentally altered the nation's future and destiny At the same time its ruling position is a harsh challenge Due to the temptation of power it's easier for the detachment from the people bureaucracy and inclination to privilege to appear even serious corruption may also occur

The leading position of the Party is not settled once and for all

The past leading position cannot guarantee the present and present cannot guarantee the eternity of the position

The core of this challenge is whether the Party can rule the country for a long period of time

The lessons from some big or old ruling parties which lost their ruling position or even died out should be paid attention to

As a ruling party, the CPC is faced with a long-term and tough challenge to rule the country with scientific methods democracy and law and to be long in power

The second challenge is that of reform and opening up

The reform and opening up has achieved great accomplishment but also brought about several problems and challenges Some deep conflicts and problems can't be ignored anymore It's a challenge for the Party's
courage and wisdom to face the difficulties erase all kinds of barriers and propel the revolutions in every field At the same time it's another tough challenge for the Party to maintain its progressiveness and purity.

The third is the challenge for market economy

The socialist market economy system has largely propelled our country's economic and social development However the market mechanism also has drawbacks like blindness, spontaneity, hysteresis, etc.

It remains a major issue for the Party to explore and answer the question on how to improve the socialist market economy system give full play to the decisive role of the market in the allocation of resources and meanwhile take full advantage of the superiority of socialism effectively avoid and overcome the drawbacks of the market mechanism.

The fourth challenge is the external environment With the rapid progress of globalization this challenge is more and more severe Faced with external challenges from many aspects including political, economic, social, cultural, foreign affair, and military challenges How to take advantage of major strategic opportunities learn from other countries' experiences and withstand the pressure prevent country from being subverted embrace the advantages and avoid the disadvantages and protect the nation's sovereign, security and development interests are also long-term tests that Party will be faced with Now let's turn to the "Four Dangers"

The first is the slackening spirit

It means that a person or a party has lost its belief, goal and ambition This is the most frequent danger during peacetime also a big challenge for any party that is long in power Long-term and stable ruling position render some comrades within the Party forget the sense of suffering thus complacency increases Not only individual members are lethargic this also reflects in many other aspects Such as the ideals and beliefs are shaken the belief in Marxism is unstable the confidence in socialism with Chinese characteristics is lacking the awareness of purpose is weak the Party neither governs for public nor rules for the people not to speak be people-oriented the government officials' detaching from the masses to a great extent derailing from the reality behaviors don't match the words being deceptive lacking sense of responsibility and enterprise spirit flagging procrastinating organizational discipline slacks consciousness of rule of law and sense of discipline are weak It's an essential issue for the Party to solidify its ideals and beliefs insist on being positive enterprising and progressive

The second danger is that of incapability overall the capacity and quality of the majority of cadres and party members are in line with the Party's historic mission This is also a fundamental weapon a reliance for the Party to overcome the challenges from economic, political and natural domains However faced with the arduous tasks of the reform and development some cadres and members are not capable enough some cadres and members are busy socializing not good at and not willing to learn their level of thinking and grabbing theories are low they are not capable enough to rule by law also it's hard for them to solve some complicated problems

As a result Party member and cadres should have a sense of crisis due to their incapability endeavor to strengthen their capacity insist on learning from books, the masses and the practices and to enhance their capacity to lead

The third is the danger of derailing from the people
As a Marxist ruling party the biggest political advantage of the CPC is the bond with people

The biggest danger is breaking the bond with people Some party members are not close to the people in feelings blind to people's suffering deaf to people's clamor disinterested in people's interests ignorant of people's hardship

In some places, the relationship between cadres and people is tense mass disturbances are increasingly possible and frequent

The credibility of the Party and government is largely reduced Only by keeping in mind the fundamental purpose of serving the people whole-heartedly persisting in the mass line keeping the flesh-and-blood relationship with the people can the danger be alleviated

The final one is the danger of corruption corruption causes damage

It is the cancer in the body of the Party Persisting in anti-corruption and constructing clean politics are stark political standpoints that the Party consistently holds onto are also big issues that receive attention from the people At present grave challenges and daunting tasks still remain in the fight against corruption Crimes are frequent Some party members can't resist the temptation of money, beauty and power they abuse power and conduct corruption which erodes the Party's purity Particularly the corruption cases among senior cadres have caused extremely dreadful influence on the Party's image Unremitting effort of anti-corruption must be made party members must be vigilant against corruption

In terms of these "Four Challenges" and "Four Dangers" Party organizations at all levels and Party members and cadres should raise the following "four awareness" Firstly they must raise their awareness of suffering and remain clear-headed Secondly they must raise their awareness of innovation remain their enthusiastic and industrious spirit Thirdly they must raise their awareness of the Party's purpose always giving priorities to the people Fourthly they must raise their awareness of mission and keep the original characters of communists However in reality many Party organizations and Party cadres are often laid-back lacking in the awareness of suffering They often stick to the old doctrines lacking in the awareness of innovation They often turn a deaf ear to the people lacking in the awareness of the Party's purpose They often fight for power and interests lacking in the awareness of mission

The presence of the "Four Challenges" the "Four Dangers" and the lack of "Four Awareness" all signify that we haven't surmounted the "periodic ratio of history"

We must be prepared for danger in times of peace and take precautions against the possible danger Someone might say the Communist Party has experienced so many violent winds and waves that under the current peaceful and stable environment nothing troublesome will happen This is a kind of blind optimism

We should read carefully Ming scholar Fang Xiaoru's On Contemplation

In the beginning chapter, Fang wrote that "the one who concerns about the nation often combats the difficult barriers while neglect the easy ones" He is prepared for something he fears while ignores something that he is confident about however destruction often arises from something that he neglects and unrest often originates from something that he is confident about Also we need to read Tang poet Du Xunhe's poem Jing River Du wrote that People cannot be more cautious when they walk though Jing River where there are many rocks Despite its danger, we seldom heard there are someone is drowned However,
it's those ordinary river which people aren't care about where people are often drowned This poem is very philosophical we need to pay attention to it

12.2.4 How Does China Today Surmount the “Periodic Ratio of History”

Now let’s move on to the fourth issue how can China surmount the “periodic ratio of history”?

The periodic ratio of history is not fated

It can be surmounted

In modern China to surmount the periodic ratio of history and achieve long-term stability the following measures must be taken Firstly

We must strengthen construction of Party work style and honest government and struggle against corruption Comrade Deng Xiaoping once precisely pointed out that to deal properly with Chinese domestic affairs the key is the Party Problems will most possibly occur within the Communist Party Deng Xiaoping also pointed out that the key to solving the problems in China is having a good political bureau within the Party particularly a good standing committee of the political bureau China will remain stable as long as everything goes well within the Party

In consequence in order to surmount the periodic ratio of history the Party must be strictly disciplined from all aspects

In order to achieve this goal we must strengthen construction of Party work style and honest government and struggle against corruption There is an international standard measuring a country's level of corruption which is CPI that stands for Corruption Perceptions Index

It is about how people perpect their country's corruption level

The CPI is a research made by a non-government organization “Transparency International” which has its base in Berlin, Germany There exists huge controversy in its research method but it is still quite internationally influential Generally, people regard it as a barometer measuring a certain country's level of corruption Let’s take a look at China

In 1995 China's CPI was 2.16 ranking 40 among 41 countries

In 1996 the CPI was 2.43 ranking 50 among 52 countries

In 1997 it was 2.88 ranking 41 among 52 countries

In 1998 it was 3.5 ranking 52 among 85 countries

In 1999 it was 3.4 ranking 58 among 99 countries

In 2000 it was 3.1 ranking 63 among 90 countries

In 2001 it was 3.5 ranking 57 in 91 countries

In 2002 it was 3.5 ranking 59 among 102 countries

In 2003 it was 3.4 ranking 66 among 133 countries
In 2004 it was 3.4 ranking 71 among 145 countries
In 2005 it was 3.2 ranking 78 among 158 countries
In 2006 it was 3.3 ranking 70 among 163 countries
In 2007 it was 3.5 ranking 78 among 179 countries
In 2008 its CPI was 3.6 ranking 72 among 180 countries
In 2009 it was 3.6 ranking 79 among 180 countries
In 2010 it was 3.5 ranking 78 among 178 countries
In 2011 it was 3.6 ranking 75 among 183 countries

The index was on the scale from 0-10 Since 2012 it has been measured on the scale from 0-100
In 2012 China's CPI was 39 ranking 80 among 176 countries
In 2013 it was 40 ranking 80 among 177 countries
In 2014 China’s CPI was 36 ranking 100 among 175 countries From these data since the year 1995 Chinese CPI has been slightly fluctuating but generally went upward Its ranking was oscillating but generally went downward

On one hand, it indicates that the corruption in China has been improved year by year

On the other hand, it also indicates that the anti-corruption in China is far from satisfactory Certainly Apparently, there is an error in the CPI for 2014 because in the year 2014 anti-corruption in China had achieved remarkable success while China's CPI and its ranking plunged dramatically This is indeed a big mistake made in this research

On December 3, 2014 at a regular press conference of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a journalist asked the question “the Transparency International in Berlin has released the 2014 CPI Report According to the report though Chinese government has achieved remarkable success in anti-corruption its ranking goes downward Does Chinese government have any comment on this?” Foreign Ministry spokesman Hua Chunying responded that "It's widely known that the Chinese government is determined to fight against corruption and has made remarkable achievement

The score and ranking of China's CPI for 2014 that you've mentioned is in stark opposition to China's stunning achievement in anti-corruption Whether China's anti-corruption is effective or not is based on Chinese people's candid opinion not the CPI by the Transparency International

As an organization with global influence Transparency International should make a judicious judgment on the objectivity and impartiality of the Corruption Perception Index” Hua made an excellent response to the question Since Comrade Xi Jinping was elected the general secretary the corruption in China has been hindered China's anti-corruption situation has been better not worse This is a fact that is witnessed by Chinese and people all over the world

We need to be clear about this in order to strengthen our confidence and determination against corruption Let's continue Fighting against corruption, constructing a clean government keeping the Party healthy are
explicit political standpoints that our Party consistently holds onto

The construction of a clean and fair party and the fight against corruption are major political issues that the majority of cadres and people concern about “Worms are born after the erosion of the object” if the corruption problem gets worse and worse without being controlled the Party and the nation will eventually collapse

We must persist in anti-corruption and always be vigilant towards corruption For the time being the ground that breeds corruption still exists the situation of anti-corruption is still grave Malpractices and corruption that have made an adverse impact must be eliminated as soon as possible

As a result we must punish corruption with zero tolerance fight against corruption with determination and insist on combating “tigers” and “flies” at the same time General Secretary Xi pointed out that the Party must “cure the disease with the most powerful medicine be strongly determined to construct a clean and fair party and to fight against corruption Then how should we fight against corruption? Initially we must establish a complete system to punish and prevent corruption This is the national scheme and the supreme design of corruption

We must penetrate this great political task into the work of the reform and development insist on dealing with both the surface and the root of the problem punishing and preventing corruption at the same time, focusing on prevention strengthening the system against corruption through spiritual reform innovation and system protection insist on transforming the style insist on anti-corruption establishing a clean government endeavor to ensure the integrity of cadres a clean government and political justness Secondly we must insist on punishment against corruption No matter who the person in no matter what position he is in as long as he violates Party discipline or nation's law he will be faced with serious investigation and severe punishment

We must keep in mind that the accumulation of a number of harmful factors will cause huge damage eventually

We must keep the crackdown on anti-corruption investigate every case and punish every case that involves corruption investigate all kinds of corruption cases according to law and discipline investigate and punish power abuse corruption and bribery among leading bodies and leading cadres and at the same time deal with the corruption that occurs around the masses seriously investigate and punish various cases that harm people's interests insist on the principle that there is no exception when it comes to Party's discipline and nation's law No matter who is involved in the case the investigation must be completed without any tolerance Thirdly we must improve our education against corruption Purity of thought is the fundamental way for a Marxist party to maintain its purity Being virtuous is the foundation for a leading cadre's incorruptibility

We must hold onto theory construction both education and cultivation of Party spirit make an effort to moral construction lead Party members and cadres to solidify their belief and ideals with education stick to the communists’ spiritual world we must constantly solidify the moral foundation of participating in politics with clean hands build a strong mind against corruption and reaction Fourly we must propel the innovation of the anti-corruption mechanism reform the Party's system of discipline inspection strengthen the innovation of the working system of anti-corruption mechanism improve the complete management of Commission for Discipline Inspection accredited institutions enhance the central and provincial inspection system
In the progress of comprehensively deepening reform we must improve and perfect the Party's internal supervision democratic, legal and public supervision strengthen the restriction and supervision of the operation of power form a disciplinary mechanism that discourages corruption a prevention mechanism that forbids corruption a protective mechanism that makes corruption difficult we must prevent corruption from spreading further firmly implement the Party committee's main responsibility the Commission for Discipline Inspection's responsibilities for supervision intensify the investigation of responsibilities and prevent the system from being "paper tiger" and "scarecrow" Fifthly to prevent and deal with corruption simultaneously from various aspects we need to strengthen the construction of system cut officials' power of holding various resources making it impossible for them to corrupt

We need to strengthen legal punishment increase the cost of corruption and the ratio of being exposed making them dare not corrupt

We need to improve education help them realize that corruption is a transaction that is immoral and costly making them unwilling to corrupt at the same time we need to increase the officials' salary by a reasonable amount practically solve their concerns about living making it unnecessary for them to corrupt Only by making officials unable to dare not to, unwilling to, and feel it unnecessary to corrupt the corruption issue can be thoroughly resolved Without the corruption problem our Party will be able to be unassailable we can be like what is depicted in Zheng Banqiao's Ode to the Bamboo amid Rocks Biting into green hills, thou never loose clutches Deepening thy roots in broken rocks where thou grow Standing strong still over sundry twists and smutches Ignoring any winds, wherever they blow (Tr. by Peter Cooper Xu) Concerning corruption I want to tell two stories

The first story is "House of Four 'Sees'" Yang Zhen, a celebrity of Eastern Han Dynasty passed Changyi on his way to the inauguration of Donglai viceregal Magistrate of Changyi County Wangmi was the official that Yangzhen recommended when Yang was the governor of Jingzhou

On hearing that Yangzhen was in Changyi he paid a secret visit to his house bringing ten jin gold as present He sent him such a valuable gift for two reasons

The first was to express the gratitude for recommendation the second was the expectation of being promoted by Yangzhen, his former boss Yangzhen refused this gift immediately and said I understand you but why don't you understand me? Wangmi thought Yangzhen was pretending to be polite and then said it is night already, nobody would notice this Yangzhen was irritated and say this is seen by the heaven, the god, you and me how could you say no one would see Wangmi was very embarrassed He left with his gift and embarrassment From then on the "Four 'sees'" had been spread and praised for thousands of years Descendants of Yangzhen named their house as "Four 'Sees' House" Don't mistake it for "Jiu Zhi House"

The second story is "Gongsun Yi's Refusal of Fish" Gongsun Yi had become the prime minister of Lu He was very fond of fish People throughout the country bought him fish but Gongsun Yi never accepted any of them A student of his one day asked him "You like eating fish but you have never accepted other people's fish Why is that?" He replied that "It is just because I like eating fish that I can't accept the fish from others If I do so I must cater to their request If I cater to their request I will violate the law And then I will be dismissed Though I like eating fish those people wouldn't bring me fish any more I can't afford myself fish either However, if I don't receive fish from others I wouldn't be dismissed I like eating fish so I could always afford the fish myself" Students when you become a government official sometime in the future when you're faced with the temptation of corruption think about these two stories This is the first
point "We must construct a clean and fair party and strengthen the fight against corruption' Now let's look at the second point.

We must establish a government mode with high power and high responsibility.

In terms of various combination of power and responsibility we can categorize the code of government into four modes.

The first government mode is low power and low responsibility abbreviated as "low-low mode."

The second mode is low power with high responsibility abbreviated as "low-high mode."

The third mode is high power with low responsibility abbreviated as "high-low mode."

The fourth is high power with high responsibility abbreviated as "high-high mode."

Which mode should modern China choose?

We should choose the fourth mode "high-high mode."

Under this mode the government and its officials have strong public power and simultaneously have to handle relatively greater public responsibility. To be specific, stronger power is the precondition of greater responsibility. Greater responsibility is the prerequisite for stronger power. "Stronger power implies greater responsibility" is the necessary requirement for China in its transitional period and for the government and its officials. China's transition includes not only the economic transition from plan economy to market economy but also national transition from traditional country to modern country. Social transition from traditional society to modern society. A typical characteristic of a transformational period is the gap between the former and the new state i.e. conventional social norms are broken while the new ones haven't been established yet.

As a result, the society is very likely to be lacking in system, regulations, and social norms and social members' values tend to be confusing. To solve these problems a powerful government is needed. Its potency is not only shown in the implementation of power but also in undertaking responsibility. If the government and its officials do not have much power then the transition lacks motivation. The great cause of transformation will pause in the middle. At the same time if the government and its officials don't bear much responsibility then many social problems won't be solved during the transformation then the great cause of transformation won't progress smoothly.

As a result during the time when China undergoes an "economic, national and social" transformation the government and officials shouldn't have too less power nor too less responsibility.

In this sense we can propose a statement that doesn't go against the statement that "the less the government is involved, the better the government is" which is "the more the government is involved, the better the government is". What should be restated is that "involve" means not only "intervene" but also "protect". "the more the government is involved" isn't only in the sense of the implementation of power but also in the sense of bearing responsibility. Certainly the power of the government and its officials in not unlimited because unlimited power will cause unlimited disaster. The responsibility shouldn't be beyond one's endurance because unbearable responsibility is equivalent to no responsibility.

The formation of the "high-high" mode requires three conditions. Firstly it requires a basic law system to make sure that the power of the government and its officials is restricted and won't bring harm to the society and civilians. Secondly it requires a basic law system that ensures that the higher responsibility of
the government and its officials are endurable and so won't harm the interests of the society and civilians. Thirdly the "high-high" mode requires the officials to have high capabilities and qualities.

It requires not only the main body of public power to have a strong awareness of using power and being responsible but also requires it to have a strong ability of using power and being responsible.

It not only requires the government to be highly efficient but also be far away from corruption.

It not only forbids officials from being corrupt but also from being mediocre Perhaps somebody might worry that too much power will bring disadvantages to China's reform and transformation.

In fact if the government and its officials only exercise their strong power while don't undertake their corresponding responsibility then it is truly bad for China's reform and transformation. But if the strong power is correspondingly combined with the strong responsibility then it will bring more good than harm to China's reform and transformation. China is in its transitional period it's not necessary to "refuse government power" instead we should "call for government responsibility" A government with both strong power and responsibility is a precondition for China's successful transformation. With government of this kind the "periodic ratio of history" is likely to be surmounted. If the government has too much power while too little responsibility then the periodic ratio is very likely to reoccur. Thirdly we must achieve a national governance system where officials and people keep a harmonious relationship. Modern China is undergoing a transformation.

In order to achieve the long-term peace it is a must to achieve this system.

The so-called "officials and people being in a harmonious relationship" isn't "letting the officials oppress the people" nor in turn "letting the people oppress the officials" Instead, it's a relationship that achieves mutual harmony and mutual benefit between cadres and the masses.

It was proposed in the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the CPC that we must propel the modernization of the country's governance system and the capacity to govern. How should we interpret this modernization?

It differs from the pattern in our old society where "the people are governed by the government" but it also differs from the measures taken by the Western societies in modern times where "civilians' rights are prior to public power".

In modern China, the relationship between officials and people must be re-established relationships between officials and people, between cadres and people must be emphasized relationship between the Party and people must be harmonious and mutually beneficial. Then how can we make it? I think the following four points should be payed attention to. Firstly we should protect two initiatives one is people's initiative the other is the officials' If only the people have initiative while the officials don't then it's rarely possible to achieve harmony between officials and people Why do some officials lack of initiatives? Because they're not well paid their jobs are demanding and arduous even dangerous if they're not well paid and lack incentives then they will have less initiative. It's known to us that in the traditional society public power is considered to be inherently good while people's rights are inherently evil. It's reversed in Western capitalist societies where public power is considered to be essentially evil while people's rights are inherently good. This cannot be too emphasized. But in fact, both these two viewpoints are not convincing. Only attaching importance to public power often leads to tyranny while only emphasizing on people's rights will eventually leads to a loose society and bring about social unrest.
We should reach a balance between public power and people's rights to ensure that both officials and people have initiatives. Secondly we need to regulate two kinds of power public power and people's power.

The following two cases frequently occur in modern societies. The first is the impairment of people's legal rights without any subsequent compensation. This causes many problems and leads to petition, mass disturbances, etc. Another circumstance is some people's interests have been compensated already and the compensation is accepted by other people while those who are compensated refuse to accept.

The refusal by a minority of people leads to disturbances and constant petitions. Since we used to undertake the pressure from the ranking of the frequency of petition, local government are very passive. This leads to the fact that some people are implemented. This is a bug in our policy. Imposing pressure on local governments to some extent makes petition as a measure to menace local governments and extort money from local officials. Thus, people's rights of this kind also need to be regulated. People should assert their rights and protect their rights in the frame of law like the civil servants. They implement their power also in the frame of law.

As a result, we need to regulate both two kinds of power instead of only the public power. Thirdly we need to ensure the equivalence between the rights of the main body of the society and its responsibility. Both civilians and officials have rights and obligations. According to Marx, obligation is impossible to exist without rights and rights are impossible to exist without obligation. Rights and obligation must be equivalent. But sometimes it's discovered that in some societies they are not. People's rights should be required as such. Greater power should be combined with greater responsibility. Power cannot be emphasized too much.

Of course, we either shouldn't emphasize on obligation and responsibility only. A major problem of our traditional society is people have to take their responsibility while they have no rights or their responsibility is much greater than their rights so they are often dubbed as the vulgar. If we now only emphasize on rights then the situation will lead to another extreme mobs will occur.

The aforementioned two extreme situations must be strictly prohibited. Fourthly, we need to deal with the conflict between officials and people in a just way. For a long time there has been a wrong conception in our mind that is whenever there is conflicts between officials and people, public opinions tend to criticize the officials and back up the civilian unreasonably. Surely this tendency is a relative progress but it also requires critical analysis.

We should deal with a specific case in a specific way.

The situation that "the official will be protested in any case" should be prevented. Now there is a saying that a good society should be a place where the officials find it hard to live on. I think it's doubtful.

In a good society, both people and officials should make a living with ease only such situation can be realistic and long lasting.

In the long term only by achieving mutual benefit and harmony can the sustainable development get its potential and stamina. Fourthly, we must deal with the relationship between reform and revolution properly. Reform and revolution are the two kinds of thinking pattern with which people solve social conflicts.

In modern China, mind of both reform and revolution exist. Some people try to solve the current problems by means of revolution. Among this kind of revolution mind there are two different situations. One kind of revolution is leftward revolution is carried out to go back to the time of Mao Zedong.
The other one is rightward revolution is carried out in order to head for the Western multi-party system. Both situations contain dangerous purposes they must be strictly prohibited To solve various problems in current China we cannot rely on revolution instead we should depend on reform. With the reliance on deepening the reform we must dissolve subversive revolution by carrying out substantial reform. Problems that remain to be solved by the reform are firstly the source of public power i.e. legitimacy the second problem is the valid operation of public power i.e. validity the third problem is the supervision and restriction of public power. The fourth one is the relationship between public power and civil rights. After these problems are solved it's possible for China to reach long-tern peace and happiness. At the same time we also need to know that despite substantial reform the style, method and direction of the reform have to be taken into consideration. Initially we must make sure the purpose of the reform instead of carrying out reform for the sake of reform. Secondly we need to hold the speed and intensity of reform within the enduring range of the majority of people. Finally we need to establish the view on reform in a scientific way focus more on the systemization wholeness and coordination of the reform to realize the reform that focuses on people Concerning the relationship between reform and revolution commonly people think that reform is the substitute for revolution Taking a reform can avoid a revolution.

We can learn from the Louis XVI's reform in France Stolypin's reform in Russia King Pahlavi's reform in Iran and other reforms throughout history that in the relationship between reform and revolution there is another situation which is that reform is the catalyst for revolution i.e. reform doesn't avoid revolution it even accelerates the advent of revolution.

The reason for it is whether the direction, way and methods of the reform is right or not. If they're right then reform will replace revolution. If not often reform is the catalyst for revolution. Due to the fact that the relationship between reform and revolution is complicated it produces four sorts of people in the society or four tendencies four ethos. People belong to the first kind are the ones who support the government and regard reform as the substitute for revolution then they will try to support the reform and guide the reform to the right direction thus let the revolution vanish. People belong to the second kind are the ones who support the government while consider reform as a catalyst for revolution then they will try to protest the reform and to weaken the reform in order to prevent the revolution. People belong to the third kind are the ones who protest the government and regard reform as the substitute for revolution then they will try to interrupt the reform and maintain the old system so as to give rise to revolution. People of the fourth kind are the ones who protest the government are regard reform as the catalyst for revolution then they will try to preach reform propose a reform that is carried out with whatever measures so as to accelerate the advent of the revolution. These four kinds of people pervade many places in today's China.

We should learn to classify them.

We should endeavor to be the first kind and instruct people from the second, third and fourth. Only by reforming our mind and action constructively solving current problems and conflicts in China only by preventing the mind and action that encourage "starting from scratch" can the periodic ratio of history be possibly surmounted.

The well-known historian Tang Degang not Guo Degang once claimed that China had undergone two great transitions.

The first transition is from Zhou to Qin Dynasty i.e. from feudalism to the system of prefectures and counties.
The second transition is from traditional society to modern society. He then proposed the "Theory on the historical Three Gorges." He said the second great transition was not a natural process.

It was extremely bloody and painful. This overwhelming great transition I try to name it as the "historical Three Gorges." To pass this dreadful Three Gorges, we need to spend almost two hundred years. Counting from 1840, we can pass the Three Gorges in 2040 and enjoy a bit tranquil happiness.

It is lucky enough if the history deviates politics and military affairs are possessed by devil then this 'historical Three Gorges' will perpetuate unlimitedly then our nation will be mired in long-term suffering. No matter how long it is, we must pass the historical Three Gorges one day. This is the necessity of history.

When we pass it, we can enjoy the trees on Hanyang standing out in the sun. Grass on Parrot Shoal growing abundantly.

We sail down the river in applause. Follow the river stream eastward, we enter the vast Pacific Ocean. Tang Degang's "theory on historical Three Gorges" is congruent with our Party's "Two Centuries".

As long as we face the problem directly analyze and solve the problem as long as we prevent any mind of revolution deepen the reform all-roundedly and foster social justice, we can surmount the periodic ratio of history and get out of the "historical Three Gorges." We can see the pretty scenery that "the trees on Hanyang side stand out in the sun and the grass on Parrot Shoal grow abundantly" we can realize the Chinese dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. This is the end of our class. At this very moment, a poem by Kang Youwei comes to my mind. He wrote this poem when he taught at the Wooden Cottage School in Guangzhou.

It is normally known as the Song of Wooden Cottage School. Here is the poem: Thousands of jades crashing in the gloomy woods. Thousands of people stunned by the glistening armor. Scattering themselves in this living world. Bringing brightness to all mortal beings. Now I'd like to bestow this poem to you. I wish everybody to pursue knowledge painstakingly take the initiative to practice. Apply what you learn to what you do. Act according to what you know. Someday in the future, you can scatter yourselves in the living world and bring brightness to all mortal beings.