

HOW TO DEEPEN REFORM COMPREHENSIVELY

XI JINPING



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

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Chinese edition compiled by

The Party Literature Research Office of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of China

Translated by

The Compilation and Translation Bureau
of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China



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图书在版编目(CIP)数据

全面深化改革: 英文/习近平著; 中共中央文献研究室编; 中共中央编译局译.—北京: 外文出版社, 2014

ISBN 978-7-119-09088-7

I. ①全… II. ①习… ②中… ③中… III. ①习近平—讲话—学习参考资料—英文②体制改革—中国—学习参考资料—英文 IV. ①D2-0②D61

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2014)第223248号

全面深化改革

习近平

©外文出版社有限责任公司
外文出版社有限责任公司出版发行
(中国北京百万庄大街24号)

邮政编码 100037

<http://www.flp.com.cn>

北京蓝空印刷厂印刷

2014年(16开)第1版

2014年第1版第1次印刷

(英)

ISBN 978-7-119-09088-7

12000

Editor's Note

In November 2012, the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) made the strategic decision to comprehensively deepen reform. At its third plenary session a year later, the 18th CPC Central Committee discussed major issues concerning this decision and defined the overall objective, key tasks, major measures, timetable, and roadmap for comprehensively deepening reform. This session ushered in a new stage in China's reform and opening up that had been in place for 35 years. Comprehensively deepening reform will give strong impetus to China's socialist modernization, and will create new development opportunities for the world.

Since the 18th Congress, Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee and President of China, has made many expositions on comprehensively deepening reform and expanding opening up. We have selected extracts from these expositions and compiled them into this book, which is comprised of 274 excerpts under 12 headings from more than 70 of his writings, including speeches, comments, and directives, dating between November 15, 2012, and April 1, 2014. Some of the excerpts are published here in English for the first time.

The purpose of this book is to help readers to come to better understand the background, objectives, tasks, significance, and impact of China's efforts to comprehensively deepen reform through the eyes of the country's top leader.

Editor

June 2014

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I

**REFORM AND OPENING UP IS
THE KEY TO
REJUVENATING THE
CHINESE NATION**

Reform and opening up is a great new revolution that the Communist Party of China (CPC) has been leading the people in carrying out in the new historical circumstances. It was a choice crucial in making China what it is today. Socialism with Chinese characteristics has such remarkable vitality because of reform and opening up. China's rapid development over the past 30-plus years has rested on reform and opening up, and its future development must continue to do so. We can develop China, socialism and Marxism only by carrying out reform and opening up. Socialism with Chinese characteristics was born out of reform and opening up and is certain to thrive as it goes on.

—Excerpt from the speech “The Six Areas of Work We Must Focus on to Fully Implement the Guiding Principles of the 18th National Party Congress,” November 15, 2012, published in the journal Qiushi, No. 1, 2013

Reform and opening up is the only way to uphold and develop socialism. We must therefore carry out every aspect of governance with a spirit of reform and innovation, and constantly promote the improvement and development of China's socialist system.

—Excerpt from the speech “Focus on Upholding and Developing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in Studying, Publicizing, and Implementing the

Guiding Principles of the 18th National Party Congress,” November 17, 2012, published in the People’s Daily on November 19, 2012

Only socialism can save China, and only reform and opening up can develop China, socialism, and Marxism. Over 30 years of reform and development in China enables us to see the significance of this major judgment very clearly. In the late 1970s after a decade of domestic chaos, China’s economy was on the brink of collapse and our people lacked adequate food and clothing. In the face of this grave situation, Deng Xiaoping got right to the heart of the matter when he pointed out, “Our modernization program and socialist cause will be doomed if we don’t make reforms now.” These words opened people’s eyes to reality.

...

If Deng Xiaoping had not led our Party in making the historic decision to carry out reform and opening up, there is no way our country could have achieved the development it has today. It can be said that reform and opening up was a great awakening our Party experienced in its history, and this awakening was the genesis of the great theoretical and practical creative activity of the new period. The praxis of China’s development proves that Deng Xiaoping was wise to guide our Party in making the decision to implement reform and opening up. He fully deserves to be recognized as the chief architect of China’s reform and opening up and the pioneer of the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

In the future, we will stay on this path; it is the path to make our country strong and our people prosperous. We will not only follow it unwaveringly, but also adopt new measures and elevate it to a new level.

...

Reform and opening up is the source of dynamism for development and progress in contemporary China, a powerful instrument used by our Party and people to make great strides in catching up with the times, and the only way to adhere to and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics.

—Excerpts from speeches given during a visit to Guangdong, December 7-11, 2012

Without reform and opening up, there would be no development and progress in contemporary China. Reform and opening up is a powerful driving force for developing China, socialism, and Marxism. To solve the prominent problems and challenges our country now faces as we seek further development, we must deepen reform and opening up. Reform and opening up has been a crucial move in making China what it is today, and will remain crucial to achieving the Two Centenary Goals¹ and the great

¹ The Two Centenary Goals are to finish building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the time the CPC celebrates its centenary in 2021; and to turn China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the time the People's Republic of China celebrates its centenary in 2049.

rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. In the 1980s, Deng Xiaoping said, “The purpose of the reform is to lay a solid foundation for sustained development over the next decade and throughout the first half of the next century. Without the reform, there could be no sustained development. So, we should think not in terms of just three to five years, but in terms of the last 20 years of this century and the first 50 of the next. We must persist in the reform.” This shows that he looked far and thought deeply. It also shows that many years ago our Party already foresaw that reform and opening up would be a long, formidable undertaking, the success of which would require sustained efforts for generations to come.

...

Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a cause that moves with the times. In this sense, reform and opening up is like a verb that only has a progressive tense, not a perfect tense. Without reform and opening up, China would not be what it is today, and nor would it have a bright tomorrow. Today, our foundation from which to drive ahead with reform and opening up is firmer than ever. However, as reform and opening up deepens, problems that occur during and following development, problems that are more general and those that are deeply rooted, as well as unfinished and newly appearing tasks all become intertwined and extremely complex. Problems that arise during reform and opening up can be best solved only through further reform and opening up.

—Excerpts from a speech at the second group study session of the Political Bureau of the 18th CPC Central Committee, December 31, 2012

Reform and opening up is a great new revolution that our Party has been leading the people in carrying out in the new historical circumstances. This revolution has taken us on an extraordinary 35-year journey since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978. Facts prove that reform and opening up is the source of the dynamism of development and progress in contemporary China. It is also a powerful instrument by way of which the Party and the people have been making great strides in catching up with the times, and it accords with general trends and popular feeling. Halting or reversing reform and opening up would lead only to a dead end.

—Excerpt from a speech at a meeting with provincial and municipal leaders in Wuhan, July 23, 2013, published in the People's Daily on July 25, 2013

Reform must be comprehensively deepened in order to achieve the ambitious blueprint drawn up at the Party's 18th National Congress for finishing building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, accelerating socialist modernization, and achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Reform must be comprehensively

deepened to adhere to and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics, constantly drive forward its improvement, further release and develop the productive forces, and continue to fully unleash the creative dynamism of the whole of society. Reform must also be comprehensively deepened in order to solve prominent problems and difficulties facing our development, achieve sustained and healthy economic and social development, and constantly improve our people's quality of life.

—Excerpt from a speech at a meeting with non-CPC members held by the CPC Central Committee, September 17, 2013, published in the People's Daily on November 14, 2013

More than 60 years ago our Party led the people in a long and arduous struggle culminating in the founding of the People's Republic of China. More than 30 years ago the Party led the people in initiating China's reform and opening up. These two major events significantly accelerated the historical process of achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

—Excerpt from a speech at a meeting with the new leading body of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, October 23, 2013

It has been 35 years since the 11th CPC Central Committee adopted the historic decision at its third plenary session to shift the focus of the work of the Party and the country to economic development and to carry out reform and opening up. It is owing to our tireless efforts in carrying forward reform and opening up that the Chinese people, our socialist country, and the CPC have changed so profoundly, and China has achieved an important standing in the international community.

...

At present, extensive and profound changes are occurring in the domestic and international environment. China faces prominent problems and challenges in its development as well as many difficulties and problems on the road ahead. For example, unbalanced, uncoordinated, and unsustainable development remains a big problem; our capacity for scientific and technological innovation is not strong; our industrial structure is distorted; our growth model is still too resource intensive; the development gap between urban and rural areas and between regions is still large; income disparities are striking; social problems are increasing significantly; there are many problems affecting the people's vital interests in education, employment, social security, medical services, housing, the environment, food and drug safety, workplace safety, public security, law enforcement, and administration of justice; some people still lead a tough life; formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism, and extravagance are all serious problems; some sectors are prone to corruption and other forms of misconduct; and

the fight against corruption remains a serious challenge. The key to solving these problems is to deepen reform.

...

Each third plenary session of the CPC Central Committee since the reform and opening up policy was introduced has focused on how to deepen reform. This sends an important signal that our Party has always been, and will continue to be, committed to holding high the banner of reform and opening up and to upholding the theories, line, principles, and policies laid out since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In a word, these plenary sessions have provided answers about which banner to hold and what kind of path to take in a new historical context.

...

The 18th CPC Central Committee placed comprehensively deepening reform at the top of the agenda for its third plenary session. This is an important declaration and expression of our Party's determination to continue following the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory, the important thought of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development; and to remain dedicated to implementing its basic line and basic program, carry forward its basic experience, fulfill its basic requirements, and hold high the banner of reform and opening up in this new situation.

...

The aim of Chinese Communists throughout the process of revolution, development and reform has always been to solve the practical problems China has faced. And

so we can say that it is the need to solve problems that has compelled reform, and it is the constant solving of problems that has deepened reform.

...

Over the past 35 years, we have used reform to solve many problems hindering the development of the cause of the Party and the country. But as we continue to understand the world and transform it, new problems will replace old ones, and our institutions will need constant improvement. This is why reform is not something that can be accomplished overnight or done once and for all.

...

Reform and opening up is a great new revolution carried out by the people under the leadership of the Party in the new era. It is the most defining feature of contemporary China, and the most distinctive banner of our Party. Over the past 35 years, what has our Party relied on to inspire the people, unify their thinking, and pool their energy? What has it relied on to stimulate the creative spirit and dynamism of all our people? What has it relied on to achieve rapid economic and social development in China and gain a comparative advantage in competition with capitalism? It has relied on reform and opening up.

...

At present, people inside and outside the Party and in China and abroad are showing great interest in our reform and opening up, and the whole Party and all sectors of society have high expectations for it. Reform and opening up has now reached a new critical juncture. We must never