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OF  
**JIANG ZEMIN**

Volume II

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## Editors' Note to the Original Chinese Edition

The *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*, Volume II, contains the major writings of Comrade Jiang Zemin from September 12, 1997, through February 1, 2000, and includes 59 reports, speeches, remarks, articles, letters and comments, many of which appear here for the first time.

Minor corrections have been made to the previously published works in this volume. In addition, notes have been added at the end of a number of sections during editing to aid the reader.

The author has read and approved all the material appearing in this volume.

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HOLD HIGH THE GREAT BANNER OF  
DENG XIAOPING THEORY AND  
COMPREHENSIVELY  
ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF BUILDING  
SOCIALISM WITH  
CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS INTO  
THE 21ST CENTURY\*

*September 12, 1997*

Comrades,

I would like to present a report to this congress on behalf of the Fourteenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC).

This, the Fifteenth National Congress of the CPC, is an extremely important occasion. Held near the turn of the century, this congress will build on our past work and move it forward, carry forward our cause into the future, and ensure that the whole Party carries forward Comrade Deng Xiaoping's behest and moves unswervingly and victoriously along the correct line formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee.

The topic of this congress is: Holding high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory and comprehensively advancing the cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics into the 21st century.

The issue of the banner is of the utmost importance. The banner is our orientation and image. Firmly adhering to the line formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee means firmly holding high the banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory. After the passing of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, it is especially important for the whole Party to sustain high levels of purposefulness and resolution on this issue.

To comprehensively advance our cause into the 21st century, we must seize and not lose opportunities, break new ground and not follow old conventions, focus on economic development, achieve new breakthroughs in economic restructuring, deepen political restructuring, and effectively en-

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\* Report at the Fifteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

hance cultural and ethical progress. Each of these must support the others in order to achieve economic development and all-around social progress.

This topic has been chosen based on the demands of the times and the aspirations of the people.

### **I. Looking Back and Looking Ahead at the Turn of the Century**

The 20th century is coming to an end, and we convene this congress with the common understanding that our Party bears a noble and historic responsibility for the destiny of the Chinese nation.

China experienced earth-shaking changes this century. From 1900, when the Eight-Power Allied Forces occupied Beijing and the Chinese nation suffered great humiliation, which left the country on the edge of national extinction, to the present time when, on the basis of socialism, China has become a moderately prosperous country and is taking great strides toward becoming rich and powerful.

After the Opium Wars, China became a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The Chinese nation faced two historic tasks: to win national independence and the people's liberation, and to make the country prosperous and strong and the people affluent. The purpose of the first task was to sweep away obstacles to and create the necessary preconditions for completing the second.

Over the past century, the Chinese people experienced three tremendous historic changes as they made their way forward, and these changes brought forth three great men – Sun Yat-sen, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping – each of whom stood at the forefront of his times.

The first change was the Revolution of 1911, led by Sun Yat-sen, which overthrew the autocratic monarchy that had ruled China for several thousand years. He was the first to proclaim the slogan, "Regenerate China,"<sup>1</sup> and he pioneered a national and democratic revolution in the truest sense of the term in modern Chinese history. Although the Revolution of 1911 failed to change the social nature of old China and the plight of the people, it opened the floodgates of progress and forever undermined the stability of the reactionary rule.

The second change was the founding of the People's Republic and the establishment of the socialist system. This was accomplished after the founding of the CPC under the direction of the first generation of the CPC collective leadership with Mao Zedong at its core. Through the

Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolution, the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, and the War of Liberation, the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism were overthrown. The Chinese people stood up, and from the new democracy took the path of socialism and made tremendous achievements in building socialism. This was the greatest victory in a people's revolution in Chinese history, and a significant triumph for socialism and national liberation movements around the world.

The third change was the reform and opening up of China to achieve socialist modernization. This was a new revolution initiated under the direction of the second generation of the CPC collective leadership with Deng Xiaoping at its core. Based on the achievements of the revolution and construction since the founding of the People's Republic, our Party has reviewed historical experience and lessons and successfully blazed a new trail in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The exuberant vigor and vitality of socialism, as presently manifest in China, has attracted worldwide attention.

The conclusion to be drawn from these major changes over the past century is that only the CPC could have led the Chinese people to national independence and liberation and the victory of socialism; pioneered the path of building socialism with Chinese characteristics; rejuvenated the nation; rendered the country prosperous and strong; and improved the people's wellbeing.

With the new century approaching we face rigorous challenges, but more significantly, we face unprecedented favorable circumstances and excellent opportunities. We must be clearly aware that international competition is becoming increasingly fierce; that the economic, scientific and technological gap between China and the developed countries exerts great pressure upon us; and that many difficulties of our own still beset us. At the same time, we must be fully aware of the following factors.

First, peace and development have become the themes of the present era, the world system is shifting toward multipolarity, and it may be possible to secure a peaceful international environment for a long period of time. The worldwide scientific and technological revolution is progressing rapidly, and the world economy continues to grow. All of this provides us with favorable external conditions.

Second, China has built up considerable overall national strength since the founding of the People's Republic, especially during the last 20 years.

Reform and opening up have created favorable structural conditions for our modernization drive, ushered in broad market demands and funding sources, and unleashed the creative vitality of hundreds of millions of people.

Third, and more importantly, our Party has established the basic theory and line for building socialism with Chinese characteristics, the correctness of which has been validated by practice. The conditions that exist today were partially or totally absent in the past.

Our ability to seize opportunities has always had a bearing on whether the revolution and construction flourish or decline, succeed or fail. In the past, we seized important historical opportunities but forfeited others. Now the whole Party must maintain a high level of awareness, firmly seize the historical opportunities at the turn of the century and stride forward.

Looking ahead to the next century, our objectives are to double our 2000 GNP by 2010, make the people's moderately prosperous life more affluent, and form a relatively complete socialist market economy. After another decade of hard work, by the time the Party celebrates its centenary in 2021, the national economy will be further developed and all systems, further improved. By the middle of the next century, when the People's Republic celebrates its centenary, modernization will be basically accomplished and China will be a prosperous, strong, democratic and culturally advanced socialist country. As Deng Xiaoping said, "Since we have the necessary domestic conditions and a favorable international environment, and since under the socialist system we have the advantage of being able to concentrate our forces on a major task, it is now both possible and necessary for us to bring about, in the prolonged process of modernization, several periods of rapid growth with good economic returns. We must have this ambition."<sup>2</sup>

## **II. The Past Five Years' Work**

The five years since 1992, when Deng Xiaoping delivered talks while visiting southern China and the Party held its Fourteenth National Congress, have been extraordinary years. In these five years, our Party has led the people of all China's ethnic groups in weathering the storms of political disturbances at home and abroad during the late 1980s and early 1990s, and in continuing to stride forward on the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We have further emancipated our minds, broken new

ground, and reform, opening up and modernization have entered a new stage of development. We have properly balanced reform, development and stability, and achieved great accomplishments in all areas while making profound changes in the course of establishing a socialist market economy. In the dramatic changes of the world pattern over the past five years, China's international status has significantly improved.

At the Fourteenth Congress, three far-reaching policy decisions were made: 1) seize opportunities to accelerate development; 2) set the establishment of a socialist market economy as the goal of economic restructuring in China; and 3) establish the guiding position of Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics throughout the Party. In order to implement the principles of the Fourteenth Congress, the Central Committee convened seven plenary sessions and adopted programs and measures to address a series of major issues with an impact on our overall situation, namely establishing a socialist market economy, strengthening Party building, formulating the Outline of the Ninth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development and the Long-Range Objectives Through the Year 2010, and developing socialist culture and ethics, respectively. The tasks of comprehensively implementing the Party's basic line and theory; conscientiously implementing the Fourteenth Congress's key policy decisions; putting forward and firmly grasping the basic principle of seizing opportunities, deepening reform, opening wider to the outside world, promoting development and maintaining stability; and comprehensively fostering material as well as cultural and ethical progress, have all characterized the work of the entire Party over the past five years. Our country's productive forces, overall strength and standard of living have also reached new levels.

Economic development has had notable results over the past five years. From 1992 through 1996, GNP grew at an average of 12.1% per annum, leading to rapid economic growth, while effectively checking inflation and avoiding wild fluctuations. Economic restructuring achieved clear progress. Agriculture was strengthened, and the output of grain and other farm products grew steadily. Infrastructure, including water conservancy, transportation, telecommunications, and basic industries – like steel and energy – developed swiftly. The eastern region's economy grew rapidly, and economic development also accelerated in the central and western regions. The Eighth Five-Year Plan ended successfully and implementation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan has started well.

China's policy of reform and opening up has led to new breakthroughs. In accordance with the requirements for establishing a socialist market economy, reforms in public finance, taxation, banking, foreign trade, foreign exchange, planning, investment, pricing, the distribution of goods, housing and social security significantly advanced. The basic role of the market in allocating resources was notably strengthened, and the initial framework for a macro-control system was established. The reform of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) was actively carried forward on the basis of lessons learned from pilot programs. Further progress was also made with the system of keeping public ownership in the dominant position while allowing diverse economic sectors to develop side by side. Foreign economic and technological cooperation and exchanges continued to expand, and the scope of foreign trade and the utilization of foreign capital substantially increased, as did the country's foreign exchange reserves.

New steps were taken in making cultural and ethical progress. Gratifying achievements were made in science, technology, education, culture, health, physical education, family planning and other social programs. Publicity and public opinion work as well as the promotion of ideology and morality were also strengthened. Socialist democracy and the socialist legal system realized major progress. A series of laws and regulations tailored to developing a socialist market economy were enacted, and our law enforcement and judiciary work were strengthened. The patriotic united front grew in strength, and the great unity of all our ethnic groups further solidified and developed. Social and political stability and unity provided an important guarantee for reform and development.

We made progress in modernizing our national defense. The army's combat effectiveness further improved. The people's army made significant contributions in the areas of defending the country's security, safeguarding the motherland's unity, promoting national economic development, dealing with emergencies and providing disaster relief.

People's living standards significantly improved. The average annual per capita income available for living expenses increased by 7.2% for city dwellers in real terms, and the average annual per capita net income increased by 5.7% for rural residents in real terms, making this one of the fastest-growing five-year periods. Markets enjoyed an abundance of commodities, and the supply of necessities including food, clothing, housing, daily-use articles and transportation improved markedly. Savings among both urban and rural residents increased considerably. The country's rural poor popu-

lation was reduced by 32 million.

In the past five years we have done a great deal of fruitful work for the peaceful reunification of the motherland. The Chinese government has resumed its exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong, which is a solace to countless revolutionary martyrs and veterans and redresses a century-old humiliation for the Chinese nation. This grand occasion has elated and encouraged every Chinese and was widely praised by the international community.

We unswervingly implemented an independent foreign policy of peace and continued to improve the external environment for China's reform, opening up and modernization drive. China's international influence grows day by day.

We vigorously fortified Party building. The whole Party studied Deng Xiaoping's theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in progressive depth. New progress was achieved in building the leadership and cadre corps, with a large group of outstanding young cadres taking up positions of leadership. Efforts to improve Party conduct, uphold incorruptibility and combat corruption were intensified, and positive results were achieved in this stage of the work. Primary Party organizations were strengthened, with Communist Party members serving as exemplars and vanguards. New steps were taken to institutionalize and standardize intra-Party activities.

We are fully aware that a number of problems and difficulties still loom on the road ahead and defects and deficiencies persist in our work. Chief among these are that the overall quality and performance of the national economy are fairly low; poor economic structure still creates serious problems, particularly the debility of some SOEs; the people remain dissatisfied with the work styles of the Party and government, social conduct, and public security; corruption, extravagance, waste and other undesirable phenomena still sprout and spread; bureaucracy, formalism, and fraud continue to present serious problems; income distribution is uneven and inequalities in regional development clearly persist, with some urban and rural residents still living in difficult circumstances; and population growth and economic development have placed a great strain on resources and the environment. We must closely attend to these persistent problems and address them in earnest.

Reviewing the work of the past five years, we can say, in general, that reform and development have proceeded well during this period. Our



Party smoothly replaced veteran cadres with younger ones in its collective leadership; maintained the continuity of its line, principles and policies; preserved social and political stability throughout the country; properly handled a series of major issues at home and in our foreign relations; and consolidated and developed the excellent situation prevailing since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee. This has made the nation's people gleeful, and won us the universal acclaim of international public opinion. Our experience during these five years demonstrates that the policy decisions made at the Fourteenth Congress were correct and that our Party is capable of staying on top of complex domestic and international situations. The achievements of these five years are the outcome of a united struggle by the entire Party and people throughout the country. They provide an even more substantial foundation and invaluable new experience for our continued progress, and will inspire us with greater confidence and enthusiasm to secure new victories.

### **III. The Historical Position and Guiding Significance of Deng Xiaoping Theory**

During the new period of socialist reform, opening up and modernization, and in our new journey between centuries, we must hold high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory and use it to guide our entire cause and all our work. This is the unshakable conclusion the Party has drawn from past and present realities.

The CPC gives great weight to theoretical guidance. When the Chinese people discovered Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese revolution took on an entirely new appearance. Two historic leaps in integrating Marxism-Leninism with China's realities were made, and both resulted in important theories. The result of the first leap was a theory that has been proved to be correct in practice and combines a body of principles with lessons learned from China's revolution and construction. Its principal theorist was Mao Zedong, and our Party calls this Mao Zedong Thought. The result of the second leap was the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Its principal theorist was Deng Xiaoping, and our Party refers to this as Deng Xiaoping Theory. These two theories are products of the practical experience and collective wisdom of the Party and the people.

Since its birth, our Party has adopted Marxism-Leninism as its guiding ideology. After the Zunyi Meeting and the rectification movement in