

## C. Article 2

### **Xi Jinping Speech at the Meeting Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of Reform and Opening Up (18 December 2018)**

**Flora Sapio, translator and annotator**

Speech at the Meeting Celebrating the  
40th Anniversary of Reform and Opening Up<sup>1</sup>

18 December 2018

Xi Jinping

Comrades, friends:

December 18, 1978 is an important day that will inevitably be recorded in books on the history of the Chinese Nation, on the history of the Communist Party of China, on the history of the People's Republic of China. On this day, our Party convened the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Congress, to realize a great turn that would have a far-reaching meaning in the history of [our] Party since the foundation of New China, starting the great journey of reform and opening up, and socialist modernization.

Today, we are solemnly gathered here to look back at the glorious history of 40 years of reform and opening up, summarize the great achievements and valuable experience of reform and opening up, mobilize the whole Party, and the people of all ethnicities to continue to push forward reform and opening up in the New Era, and unremittingly struggle to realize the “Two Centenaries” struggle objective, and to realize the Chinese Dream of the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation.

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<sup>1</sup> Annotations may be found in the footnotes.

Comrades, friends!

The Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was convened at a major historical juncture when the Party and the State faced [the problem of] what course to follow. At that time, the world economy developed rapidly, and science and technology progressed rapidly. The 10 years of internal disorder of the "Cultural Revolution" had led the country's economy on the verge of collapse. The People didn't have sufficient food, and clothes to stay warm; the construction of our country and all of its industrial sectors was awaiting to flourish. From within and without the Party, a strong demand was raised to correct the mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution", allowing the Party and the State to again rise from the crisis. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: *"If, again, we don't implement reforms now, the cause of our modernization and the cause of Socialism will be dead and buried"*.<sup>2</sup>

Under the leadership of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the support of the older generation of revolutionaries, the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China broke the heavy shackles of long-lasting "left" mistakes; criticized the wrong direction of the "Two Whatevers"; fully affirmed the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought that must be completed and accurately mastered; gave a high appraisal the discussion on the problem of the criterion of truth; decisively ended "taking class struggle as the central task"; re-established the ideological line, the political line, and the organizational line of Marxism. The curtain on China's reform and opening up was then lifted.

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<sup>2</sup> "Liberate ideology, seek truth from facts, unite and look forward" (*Jiefang sixiang, shishi qishi, tuanjie yizhi xianqian kan*) in *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 2* (*Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan di'erjuan*), pp. 140- 153. Beijing: People's Press (*Renmin Chubanshe*), 1994. Quotation at page 150. Translation mine. This quote is from a speech Deng Xiaoping delivered on December 13, 1978, before a closed-doors meeting of the Work Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The Work Committee was the institution responsible for organizing the plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Shortly after this closed-doors meeting, Deng's speech would become the "topical report" (*zhuti baogao*) delivered by Deng before the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Our party's historic strategic decision to implement reform and opening up is based on a profound grasp of the future destiny of the Party and the State. It is based on a profound summary of the practice of socialist revolution and construction. It is based on a profound insight into the trend of the times. It is based on a profound comprehension of the expectations and the needs of the masses of the people. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Poverty is not Socialism",<sup>3</sup> "We want to catch up with the times, this is the purpose reform must achieve".<sup>4</sup>

Historical development has its laws, but man is not completely passive therein. If we grasp the broader trend of historical development, seize the opportunity of historical change, strive for achievements, forge ahead with determination, the society of mankind will make better progress.

Reform and opening up is the great awakening of our Party. It is this great awakening that gave birth to the great creation of our Party from theory to practice. Reform and opening up is a great revolution in the history of the development of the Chinese People and the Chinese nation. It is this great revolution that has promoted a quantum leap of Socialism with Chinese characteristics!

Comrades, friends!

The establishment of the Communist Party of China, the foundation of the People's Republic of China, the promotion of reform and opening up, and of the cause of Socialism with Chinese characteristics are the three major historical events to have taken place in China since the May 4th Movement, and the three major milestones in the realization of the Great

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<sup>3</sup> "Construct Socialism with Chinese characteristics" (*Jianshe you Zhongguo tese de shehuizhuyi*) in *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 3* (*Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan disan juan*), pp. 62-66. Beijing: People's Press (*Renmin Chubanshe*), 1994. Quotation at page 64.

<sup>4</sup> "The pace of reform has to accelerate" (*Gaigede buzi yao jiakuai*) in *The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Volume 3* (*Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan disan juan*), pp. 236-243. Beijing: People's Press (*Renmin Chubanshe*), 1994. Quotation at page 242.

Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation to have taken place in modern times.

The Communist Party of China, with Comrade Mao Zedong as its main representative, combined the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, established Mao Zedong Thought, united and guided the entire Party and the People of all nationalities, and after a long period of bloody struggle, completed the New Democratic Revolution, founded the People's Republic of China, instituted a basic socialist system, successfully realized the most profound and the greatest social change in the history of China, establishing the fundamental political premises and the institutional foundation for all development and progress in contemporary China. During the process of exploration, although severe twists and turns were experienced, the original theoretical achievements and great achievements made by the Party during the socialist revolution and construction provided valuable experience, theoretical preparation, and a material basis to create Socialism with Chinese characteristics in the new historical era.

After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Communists, with Comrade Deng Xiaoping as the main representative, united and guided the entire Party and the People of all nationalities in profoundly summarizing the positive and negative experiences of China's socialist construction, in learning from the historical experience of world Socialism, establishing Deng Xiaoping Theory. [They] made the historic strategic decision to transfer the core work of the Party and the State to economic construction, realize reform and opening up, profoundly revealing the essence of Socialism, establishing the basic line of the primary stage of Socialism, and clearly proposing to take an autonomous path and build Socialism with Chinese characteristics. Science has answered a series of basic problems in the construction of Socialism with Chinese characteristics. It has formulated a three-steps development strategy until the middle of the 21st Century, basically realizing the developmental strategy of socialist modernization, and successfully creating Socialism with Chinese characteristics.

After the Fourth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Communists, with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the main representative, united and guided the entire Party and the People of all nationalities in upholding the Party's basic theory, basic line, deepening knowledge of what Socialism is, of how to construct a socialist society and of what Party to construct, and of how to build the Party, accumulating new valuable experience in ruling the Party and the State, forming the important thought of "Three Represents". In the face of an extremely complicated domestic and foreign situation, one where World Socialism was put to difficult and severe tests, Socialism with Chinese characteristics was defended, the objectives of reform of the socialist economic system and its basic framework were established, the basic economic system and distribution system of the primary stage of Socialism were established. A new phase of comprehensive reform and opening up was created, promoting the new great project of Party building, successfully pushing Socialism with Chinese characteristics into the 21st Century.

After the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Communists, with Comrade Hu Jintao as the main representative, united and guided the entire Party and the People of all nationalities in upholding the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Theory and the important thought of the "Three Represents". According to the new developmental requirements, [they] profoundly understood and answered major issues such as what kind of development to realize, and how to develop under the new situation, forming the concept of scientific development, grasping a period of strategic opportunities, promoting practical innovation, theoretical innovation, systemic innovation in the process of comprehensively building a moderately well-off society, emphasizing upholding a People-oriented, comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable development, forming a general layout for Socialism with Chinese characteristics, focusing on safeguarding and improving the People's livelihood, promoting social fairness and justice, promoting the building of a harmonious world, and promoting the construction of the Party's governing capability and the construction of its advanced nature, successfully upholding and developing

Socialism with Chinese characteristics at a new historical starting point.

Since the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the Party Central Committee has united and guided the entire Party and the People of all nationalities in comprehensively examining the new international and domestic situation. By summarizing practice and looking towards the future, it has profoundly answered the major issue of the time of what kind of Socialism with Chinese characteristics should be upheld and developed, and how to uphold and develop Socialism with Chinese characteristics, forming the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in the New Era, upholding the overall deployment of the “Five Into One”, coordinating and promoting the strategic deployment of the “Four Comprehensives”, upholding in its work the general direction of ensuring progress while maintaining stability, proposing a series of new ideas, new ideologies, new strategies for the work of the Party and the State in all sectors, promoting historic changes in the cause of the Party and the State, achieving historic successes. Socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a New Era. With great political courage and wisdom, we proposed that the overall goal of comprehensively deepening reform was to refine and develop the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, to promote the modernization of the national governance system and of the governance capability, and strive to strengthen the systemic, holistic, coordinated nature of reform. [We] focused on major systemic innovation, strived to improve the sense of acquisition, happiness, safety of the People’s masses, launched more than 1,600 reform plans, chewed a lot of hard bones, crossed rapids and shoals, [but] reform showed its aspect of full power, making several new breakthroughs, advancing deeply, at a fast and steady pace.

*Success only comes through hard work.*<sup>5</sup> For 40 years, we have emancipated our minds, sought truth from facts, we have

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<sup>5</sup> “艰难困苦，玉汝于成” in the original. This is a paraphrase of a quote (富贵福泽，将厚吾之生也；贫贱忧戚，庸玉女于成也) from the work “Correcting Ignorance” (正蒙, *Zhengmeng*) of the Neo-Confucian scholar Zhang Zai (1020 – 1077). “Correcting Ignorance” was completed in 1076, during Zhang Zai’s voluntary retirement from the politics of the Northern Sung Dynasty. Zhang Zai’s

made a new world through bold attempts and brave changes. From the implementation of the household contracting system, the emergence of township and village enterprises as a new force to be reckoned with, the abolition of agricultural taxes, taxation on animal husbandry and taxation on typical agricultural products to the separation of the “three rights” on the contracting of agricultural land, to victory in the fight against poverty, implementation of the strategy of rural revitalization; from the establishment of the Shenzhen and other special economic zones, the opening up of coastal, border, and river cities and of core inland cities, to accession to the World Trade Organization, the joint construction of the “One Belt One Road”, the establishment of free trade zones, the planning of free trade ports with Chinese characteristics, the successful hosting of the first China International Import Exhibition; from the [policy] of “bringing in” to the “going out” [strategy]; from the [policy] of doing a good job with large, medium, and small State-owned enterprises, developing the private economy to deepening the reform of State-owned assets and State-owned enterprises, developing a mixed-ownership economy; from the system of public ownership to the system of public ownership as the main [form of ownership], and the common development of diverse forms of ownership, and the upholding of the “Two Unswerving”; from a traditional planned economic system to the unprecedented system of Socialist market economy, to the decisive role of the market in resource allocation, and a better expression of the role of government; from economic system reform as the main [policy] to the comprehensive deepening of the systems of economic, political, cultural, social, environmental civilization, and reform in the system of Party building, reform of Party and State institutions, reform of the administrative management system, reform of the system of governing the country in accordance with the law, reform of the judicial system, reform of the foreign affairs system, reform of the social governance system, reform of the environmental supervision system, reform of the State security system reform of national defense and of the army, reform in Party leadership and the system of Party building, reform in the system of discipline supervision – a series of major reforms have made solid progress, each one of them making [life more] convenient

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most important contribution to Chinese philosophy were in metaphysics and in his theory of qi (*vital force*).

for the people, benefitting the people, being advantageous for the people. Their conduction and continuous implementation have made reform and opening up become the most remarkable feature and the most majestic atmosphere of contemporary China.

Comrades, friends!

In the past 40 years of reform and opening up, from the beginning of the new period (*xin shiqi*) to the ingress in a new century, from a new starting point to the ingress in the New Era; [these have been] 40 years of being together in the same boat through the wind and the rain; 40 years of cutting our way through the thistles and the thorns; 40 years of being tempered and advancing bravely. Our Party has led the People to surge forward with great momentum, to paint a broad-minded historical scroll, to compose a stirring and inspiring hymn of praise to struggle, that moves the heavens and shakes the earth.

—— For 40 years, we have constantly insisted on emancipating the mind, seeking truth from facts, advancing with the times, seeking truth and being pragmatic, unswervingly upholding the guiding position of Marxism, unswervingly upholding the basic principles of scientific Socialism, bravely promoting theoretical innovation, practical innovation, system innovation, cultural innovation and innovation in all aspects. We have consistently endowed Socialism with Chinese characteristics with distinct practical characteristics, theoretical characteristics, ethnic characteristics, and characteristics of the times, forming a socialist road, theory, system, and culture with Chinese characteristics, and demonstrating with irrefutable facts the vitality of scientific Socialism, the great banner of Socialism has always been flying high on the land of China!

—— For 40 years, we have constantly upheld economic construction as the center and continuously emancipated and developed social productive forces. China's GDP has grown from 367.9 billion yuan to 82.7 trillion yuan in 2017, with an average annual growth rate of 9.5%, much higher than the average annual growth rate of 2.9% of the world economy in the same period. China's GDP as a share of world GDP has risen from 1.8% at the beginning of reform and opening up to 15.2%, and our contribution to world economic growth has exceeded 30% over



the years. The total import and export volume of China's goods has increased from 20.6 billion US dollars to more than 4 trillion US dollars. The cumulative use of foreign direct investment has exceeded 2 trillion US dollars, and the total of foreign investment has reached 1.9 trillion US dollars. The output of China's major agricultural products has leapt to the forefront of the world, the world's most complete modern industrial system has been established, and technological innovations and major projects have been reported frequently. Achievements in the construction of China's infrastructure are remarkable, information channels are smooth, highways are networked, railway networks are dense, dams stand high, gas is transported from East to West, water is channeled from South to North, high-speed trains are rushing, large ships travel a great distance, airplanes are soaring in the sky, [we have] *turned deep chasms into thoroughfares*.<sup>6</sup> At present, China is the world's second largest economy, the largest manufacturing country, the largest country in terms of trade in goods, the second largest country in commodity consumption, and the second largest country in terms of foreign capital inflows. China's foreign exchange reserves have ranked first in the world for many years. The Chinese People has made decisive steps in the journey to become rich and to become strong!

—— For 40 years, we have constantly upheld the path of socialist political development with Chinese characteristics, continuously deepened reform of the political system, progressively improved the leadership system of the Party and the State, comprehensively promoted ruling the country according to the law. The socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics has gradually become robust. The systemic guarantee and legal guarantee for the People to be master of its own country are stronger. The cause of human rights has comprehensively developed. The Patriotic United Front is more consolidated. The content of the democratic rights the People enjoy and exercise according to the law is more plentiful, their channels are more convenient, their forms are increasingly diverse. The Chinese People, who controls its own destiny, has

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<sup>6</sup> 天堑变通途 (*tianqian biantong tu*), or “a deep chasm has turned to a thoroughfare” in the original. This is a verse from the poem “Swimming”, composed by Mao Zedong in June 1956. See “Swimming”, *The Maoist Documentation Project*, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/poems/poems23.htm>

showed unprecedented enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity, and has demonstrated its inspiring, powerful strength in the development reform and opening up, and in the construction of Socialist modernization!

—— For 40 years, we have constantly upheld the development of advanced socialist culture, strengthened the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization, cultivated and practiced the core Socialist values, inherited and continued the fine traditional Chinese culture, upheld scientific theory as our guide, concentrated and gathered strength by a correct public opinion, shaped our soul with advanced culture, inspired our morale with excellent works, broadly promoted the spirit of patriotism, collectivism, Socialism. Models of the time and model heroes have constantly emerged, the culture and the arts are prosperous, the internet sector is rapidly developing, the whole nation's faith in ideals and cultural self-confidence are stronger and stronger, the soft power of our national culture and the influence of Chinese culture have significantly increased. Reform and opening up has created a great spirit of reform and opening up, greatly enriching national inner spiritual qualities, and has become the most distinctive spiritual identity of contemporary Chinese People!

—— For 40 years, we have constantly upheld safeguarding and improving people's livelihood in development, comprehensively promoting children's education, that those wishing to study have someone to teach them, that those who labor earn an income, that the sick receive medical care, that the elderly are taken care of, that those looking for a place to live have an abode, that the weak be supported, continuously improving the People's welfare. The per capita disposable income of residents has increased from 171 yuan to 26,000 yuan, and the middle-income group has continued to expand. The poverty-stricken population of China has decreased by 740 million people, and the incidence of poverty has dropped by 94.4 percentage points. [We have] written a glorious chapter in the human history of efforts at reducing poverty. The education industry has comprehensively developed, and the consolidated rate of the nine-year compulsory education has reached 93.8%. China has built the world's largest social security system including pension, medical care, subsistence allowances and housing. The basic old-age pension insurance covers more than

900 million people and the medical insurance covers more than 1.3 billion people. The rate of urbanization of permanent residents has reached 58.52 percentage points, an increase of 40.6 percentage points. The life expectancy of residents increased from 67.8 years in 1981 to 76.7 years in 2017. China's overall social situation has remained stable for a long time and China has become one of the safest countries in the world. Rationing tickets for cereals, cloth, meat, fish, oil, tofu, non-staple foods, industry vouchers – which were an inseparable part of the lives of the ordinary people are now exhibited in history museums. Starvation and famine, lack of food and of clothes to wear, hard lives, the problems that have plagued our People for thousands of years are forever gone!

—— For 40 years, we have constantly upheld environmental protection and resource conservancy, upholding and promoting the construction of an ecological civilization, accelerating the formation of a system of ecological civilization, gradually improving the system of main functional areas, making significant progress in energy conservation and in reducing emissions. Major ecological protection and restoration projects are progressing smoothly. Ecological and environmental governance has been significantly strengthened. [We have] actively participated in and guided international cooperation on climate change. The home where the Chinese People is born and lives has become more pleasant!

—— For 40 years, we have constantly upheld the Party's absolute leadership over the army, continuously promoting the modernization of the national defense and the military, promoted the revolutionary reshaping of the People's Army, made historic breakthroughs in weapons and equipment, made fundamental changes in the methods of army governance. The level of revolutionary reshaping, modernization, regularization [of the military] have significantly improved. The ability of the People's Army to safeguard national sovereignty, security, and development interests has been significantly enhanced. [The army] has become an unbreakable, powerful force to defend the happy life of the People, defend the motherland and world peace!

—— For 40 years, we have constantly promoted the great cause of peaceful reunification of the motherland, implemented the basic principle of “one country, two systems”, successively

resumed the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao, and washed away the century of humiliation of the Chinese nation. We uphold the One-China Principle and the “1992 Consensus”, strengthen cross-strait economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation, promote the peaceful development of cross-strait relations, resolutely oppose and contain the separatist forces of “Taiwan independence”, and firmly grasp the leading power and power of initiative over the development of cross-strait relations. The sense of ethnic identity and cultural identity of the children of China at home and abroad has been greatly enhanced, and the will to build the Chinese Dream together is stronger!

—— For 40 years, we have constantly upheld a foreign policy of peace and self-determination, always taking the road of peaceful development, pursuing a development strategy of mutual benefit and win-win, firmly defending the basic norms of international relations, defending international fairness and justice. We have realized a historical transition from closure, to semi-closure, to full-scale openness, actively participated in the process of economic globalization, and made appropriate contributions to promoting the development of mankind. We have actively promoted the construction of an open world economy, built a community of human destiny, promoted the transformation of the global governance system, taken a clear-cut stance against hegemonism and power politics, and continuously contributed China’s wisdom, China’s plans, and China’s strength to world peace and development. China is increasingly approaching the center of the world stage and has become a builder of world peace, a contributor to global development, and a defender of the international order recognized by international society!

—— For 40 years, we have constantly upheld the strengthening and refinement of Party leadership, actively responding to all the kinds of risks and tests the Party faced during [its] long-term governing (*zhizheng*) and opening up and reform. We have continued to promote the new great project of Party building, maintaining the Party’s advanced nature and purity, maintaining a flesh-and-blood relation between the Party and the People’s masses. We have actively explored the laws of governing (*zhizheng*) by the Communist Party, the laws of Socialist construction, the laws of the social development of

mankind, constantly opening up new realms for the sinification of Marxism. We uphold the Party managing (*guan*) the Party, strictly managing the Party, purifying the political ecology within the Party. We uphold using permanent rectification (*zhengfeng*) and a strict discipline to vigorously bring under control the winds of formalism, bureaucratism, hedonism and extravagance, severely punish corruption with zero tolerance, and achieve an overwhelming victory in the fight against corruption. In times of revolutionary forging, our Party is firmly at the forefront, and it is always the backbone of the Chinese People and the Chinese nation!

In 40 years *the spring wind has turned to rain, and spring flowers have yielded their autumnal fruit.*<sup>7</sup> Reform and opening up has greatly changed the face of China, the face of the Chinese nation, the face of the Chinese People, and the face of the Communist Party of China. The Chinese nation has made a major leap from standing up, to getting rich and getting stronger! Socialism with Chinese characteristics has made a major leap from creation, to development, to refinement! The Chinese People has made a major leap from having insufficient food and clothing to being moderately well-off and prosperous! The Chinese nation is standing up at the East of the world with a brand new, high and steep attitude!

The achievements of the past 40 years neither fell down from the sky, nor were they donated to us by others. They are instead the product of the hard work, wisdom and courage of the whole Party, the whole nation, and the People of all ethnicities! We have spent decades to complete the industrialization process, that took centuries for developed countries to go through. In the hands of the Chinese People, the impossible becomes possible. We are extremely proud about and boast the miracle the Chinese People has created among itself!

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<sup>7</sup> 春风化雨、春华秋实 in the original. This is a quotation inspired by the *Biography of Xing Yong, Kingdom of Wei, Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi, Weishu, Xing Yongzhuan*). Together with the Historical Records (*Shiji*), the Book of Han (*Hanshu*), and the Book of the Later Han (*Houhanshu*), the *Records of the Three Kingdoms* is one of the official dynastic histories of China. Authored by Chen Shou (233-297), the book records the history of the kingdoms of Shu, Wu and Wei.

Here, as representative of the Central Committee of the Party, I express my highest respect to all the workers, peasants, intellectuals, cadres, officers and soldiers of the PLA, officers of the People's armed police, police officers, to the members of democratic parties and persons without a party affiliation, to all members of social organizations, and to all patriots who have contributed their wisdom and strength to reform and opening up and the construction of Socialism on all fronts! I send a sincere greeting to the compatriots of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Zone, to the compatriots of the Macao Special Administrative Zone, to the compatriots of Taiwan and to the overseas Chinese who have actively contributed to the reform and opening up and to the modernization of the motherland! I express my heartfelt thanks to all the foreign friends and the peoples of all countries who care about and support China's reform and opening up and modernization!

Comrades, friends!

40 years of practice have fully proved that since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party, our Party has been completely correct in uniting and leading the People of all ethnicities of China to open up the road, theory, system, and culture of Socialism with Chinese characteristics; it has been completely correct in forming a basic theory, a basic line, a basic direction for the Party. The formation of a basic theory, a basic line, basic direction for the Party is completely correct.

40 years of practice have fully proved that China's development has provided a successful modernization experience for developing countries; has demonstrated a bright future; has been a powerful force for promoting world peace and development, and a major contribution of the Chinese nation to the progress of human civilization.

40 years of practice have fully proved that reform and opening up is an important teaching (*fabao*) of the Party and the People to catch up with the times; it is the necessary road to uphold and develop Socialism with Chinese characteristics; it is the key to determine the destiny of contemporary China; it is also the key to determine the realization of the "Two

Centenaries” struggle objective, a move crucial to achieve the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation.

Only by adjusting to the tide of history, actively adapting, and actively seeking change, can we walk with the times. *"Practice enriches knowledge. More knowledge leads to better practice"*.<sup>8</sup> The valuable experience accumulated in the 40 years of reform and opening up is a precious spiritual wealth of the Party and the People. Upholding and developing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics has an extremely important guiding significance for the New Era, [a significance] that must be increasingly cherished, upheld for a long time, and continuously enriched and developed through practice.

First, we must uphold Party's leadership over all work and constantly strengthen and refine Party leadership. The practice of 40 years of reform and opening up has revealed to us: the leadership of the Communist Party of China is the most essential feature of Socialism with Chinese characteristics. It is the greatest advantage of the socialist system with Chinese characteristics. Party, government, army, people, and science, East, West, South, North and Center, the Party leads everything. It is precisely because we have always upheld the Party's centralized and unified leadership that we could realize a great turning point in history, start a new period (*xin shiqi*) of reform and opening up, and the new journey of Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation; that we could successfully respond to series of major risks and challenges, and overcome countless difficulties and obstacles; that we could effectively respond to changes in the overall situation, appease the waves, fight against floods, prevent SARS, resist to earthquakes, and diffuse crises; that we took neither an old, closed, ossified road nor the evil road of those who change their flag, but firmly upheld the road of Socialism with Chinese characteristics. To uphold Party leadership, we must constantly improve Party leadership, make Party leadership more adaptable to the requirements of practice, to the requirements of the times, and to the requirements of the People. Concerning the major principle of upholding Party

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<sup>8</sup> 行之力则知愈进，知之深则行愈达 in the original. This quotation is from the preface to the “Explanation of the Analects of Confucius” (*Lunyu yijie*), a philosophical text authored during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127 – 1279) by the Neo-Confucian scholar Zhang Shi.

leadership – something decisive for the future destiny of the Party and the state – the entire Party must maintain a high degree of ideological consciousness, political consciousness, consciousness of action, that cannot be shaken.

On the way forward, we must strengthen the “Four Kinds of Consciousness”, adhere to the “Four Matters of Confidence”, resolutely safeguard the authority of the Party Centre and its centralized and unified leadership, implement and reflect Party leadership in the stability of reform and development; in internal affairs, foreign policy, national defense; in the governance of the Party, the governance of the State, the governance of the army and in any other field. None of the steps of reform and opening up is light or easy. In the future, we will face diverse risks and challenges, and even encounter unimaginably dangerous storms. Our Party must be in full control of the overall situation, coordinate all actors, uphold scientific governance, democratic governance and governing (*zhizheng*) according to the law, refine the methods of Party leadership and the methods of governing (*zhizheng*), improve the Party’s governing capability and its level of leadership, continuously improve the Party’s capability and decisiveness in grasping the direction, planning the overall situation, determine policy, and promote reform, ensuring that the ship of reform and opening up sails along the correct route.

Second, we must uphold People as the center (*renmin wei zhongxin*), and constantly realize the People’s yearning for a better life. The practice of 40 years of reform and opening up has revealed to us: the Original Intent (*chuxin*) and the mission of Chinese communists, and the Original Intent and mission of reform and opening up are seeking happiness for the Chinese People and seeking the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The fundamental goal of our Party is that the Party comes from the People, has its roots in the People, benefits the People, and wholeheartedly serves the People (*quanxin quanyi wei renmin fuwu*). We must take the basic interest of the overwhelming majority of the People as the fundamental starting point and the foothold of all our work, and uphold as the basis of defining policies whether [policy] supports the People, whether it is endorsed by the People, whether the People is happy about it, whether it is in tune with the heart of the people, respects the people’s will, pays attention to the sentiment of the people,



constitutes an effort for the people's livelihood, and lead the People forward by proposing and implementing correct theories, directions, lines and policies, and also gain momentum from the People's practical creation and requirements about development, making the People share the fruits of reform and opening up, and inspire the People to participate in the cause of reform, opening up and Socialist modernization with a greater awareness.

On the way forward, we must always regard the People's longing for a better life as the goal of our struggle, practice the fundamental goal of the Party, implement the Party's mass line, respect the position of the People as the master, respect the will expressed by the People's masses through their practical activities, the experiences they create, the rights they hold, the role it plays, and fully stimulate the creative power that lies in the People's masses. We must complete the overall democratic system, broaden the channels of democracy, enrich the forms of democracy, refine the guarantees of the rule of law, and guarantee that the People enjoy democratic rights that are widely, fully, truly, concretely and effectively exercised in accordance with the law. We must focus on solving the urgent needs of the People's masses and let the People share the economic, political, cultural, social, ecological and all the other fruits of development; have more, more direct and more realistic feelings of acquisition, feelings of happiness, feelings of security, and continuously promote the comprehensive development of man and the common prosperity of all the People.

Third, we must uphold the guiding position of Marxism and constantly advance theoretical innovation based on practice. The practice of 40 years of reform and opening up has revealed to us: innovation is the life of reform and opening up. The practice of development has no boundaries, and the emancipation of the mind has no limits. Engels said: *"the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in men's better insights into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange."*<sup>9</sup> We uphold the connection between

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<sup>9</sup> Friedrich Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Edward Aveling transl. New York: Cosimo Classics, 2008. The quotation is from the first paragraph in Chapter 3, Historical Materialism.

theory and practice, providing timely answers to the questions of the times and to the questions of the People; clearing up the dense ideological fogs (*sixiang miwu*) that plague and constrain the development of practice; continuously pushing forward the sinification, the updating, and the popularization of Marxism; and constantly opening up new realms for the development of Marxism.

On the way forward, we must uphold the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Important Thought of the “Three Represents”, the Scientific Development Concept, and the Thought of Socialism with Chinese characteristics in the New Era, and uphold the organic unity of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts. Developing Marxism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and Marxism in contemporary China is the historical responsibility that binds the Communists of contemporary China. We must strengthen [our] awareness of problems, [our] awareness of the time, [our] sense of strategy, grasp the essence and the internal connections of development from a profound historical perspective, and from a broad international perspective; closely follow the creative practice of the hundreds of millions of the People; draw from and assimilate all the outstanding achievements of mankind; and continuously respond to the new and major issues the times and practice pose to us, allowing contemporary Chinese Marxism to even more brilliantly radiate the rays of truth (*zhenli*).

Fourth, we must uphold the path of Socialism with Chinese characteristics and constantly uphold and develop Socialism with Chinese characteristics. The practice of 40 years of reform and opening up has revealed to us: future is determined by the direction (*fangxian*), and destiny is determined by the road. If we want to hold our destiny in our own hands, we must have the determination to not change our will and not change our path. In 40 years of reform and opening up, the theme all the theory and practice of our Party has been upholding and developing Socialism with Chinese characteristics. In China, a large country with a history of more than 5,000 years of civilization and a population of over 1.3 billion people, to push forward reform and development there is no textbook that can be regarded as a golden rule, and neither are there teachers who can arrogantly and bossily give orders

to the Chinese people by pointing their chin at them. Mr. Lu Xun said: “*What is a road? It is a place that has been trampled out from the place where there was no road, and it has been opened up from a place with only thorns.*”<sup>10</sup> The road of Socialism with Chinese characteristics is a road of brilliant future prospects for contemporary China to catch up with the times in big strides, leading the development of the times, a road to walk unwaveringly.

On the way forward, we must uphold the guidance of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics in the New Era and the spirit of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, strengthen the “Four Matters of Confidence”, and firmly grasp the direction of reform and opening up. What to change and how to change must be based on the fundamental yardstick of whether it conform to the overall goals of refining and developing the Socialist system with Chinese characteristics, and pushing forward the modernization of the State governance apparatus, and of the governing capability. What must be changed, what can be changed – we should resolutely change it. What must not be changed, what cannot be changed – we must resolutely not change it. We must uphold the Party's basic line, unite economic construction as the center with the two basic points of upholding the four basic principles, and upholding reform and opening up to the great practice of Socialism with Chinese characteristics in the New Era, uphold it for a long time, and unshakingly.

Fifth, we must uphold refining and developing the Socialist system with Chinese characteristics, and continuously exert and strengthen the systemic advantages of our country. The practice of 40 years of reform and opening up has revealed to us: systems are fundamental, overall, stable and long-term elements that relate to the development of the cause of the Party and the State. We have tweaked the key to refining and developing the Socialist system with Chinese characteristics, providing robust guarantees for the emancipation and development of social productive forces; for the emancipation of strengthening of the life-force of society; and for the perpetual vitality of the Party and the State. In order to maintain the stability of the overall situation of society, to ensure that the

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<sup>10</sup> Lu Xun, “Casual Annotation No. 66” (*Suiganlu* 66), in *Hot Wind* (*Refeng*), Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 1973.

People lives in peace and works happily, provide strong guarantees to national security, [we must] release all the energies of labor, knowledge, technology, management, capital, and make competition among them burst forth, [we must] make all sources producing of social wealth fully flow and constantly establish dynamic institutional mechanisms.

On the way forward, we must unwaveringly consolidate and develop the public sector of the economy; unwaveringly encourage, support, and guide the development of the non-public sector of the economy; give full play to the decisive role of the market in allocating resources; give better play to the role of the government, and stimulate the vitality of all kinds of market players. We must uphold the organic unity among Party leadership, the People as the master of its country, and governing the country according to the law; [we must] uphold and refine the People's Congress system; the multi-party cooperation and political consultation system under the leadership of the Communist Party of China; the system of autonomy of ethnic areas; the system of grassroots autonomy of the masses; comprehensively promote governing the country according to the law; consolidate and develop the most extensive patriotic United Front; develop Socialist consultative democracy, and use systems to ensure that the People is the master of the country. We must strengthen the construction of systems in the cultural field, raise the banner, gather the hearts of the people, educate new men, promote culture, display vivid images, actively cultivate and practice Socialist core values, promote the innovative transformation and innovative development of the excellent Chinese traditional culture, inherit revolutionary culture, develop advanced culture, strive to create a Chinese culture that shines in the Times and shines in the world. We must strengthen the construction of social governance systems, continuously promote social fairness and justice, and maintain social stability and order. We must strengthen the construction of ecological civilization systems and implement the most stringent environmental protection system. We must resolutely remove all institutions and mechanisms that obstacle development, and consolidated barriers posed by [interests], accelerating the formation of institutional systems that are complete, scientifically regulated, effective in their operation, and promote a more mature and a more finalized Socialist system with Chinese characteristics.

Sixth, we must uphold development as the top priority and continuously enhance China's overall national strength. The practice of 40 years of reform and opening up has revealed to us: emancipating and developing social productive forces and enhancing the comprehensive national strength of Socialist countries are the essential requirements and fundamental tasks of Socialism. Only by firmly placing economic construction at the center, unwaveringly upholding development has the last word (*ying daoli*), that development should be the strategic thinking of scientific development and high-quality development, and promoting sustained and healthy economic and social development, China's economic strength, scientific and technological strength, and national defense. comprehensive national strength, can comprehensively be enhanced; and we can lay a solid material foundation to uphold and develop Socialism with Chinese characteristics and realize the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation.

On the way forward, we must focus on solving the major social contradictions between the People's growing demands for a better life and an unbalanced and inadequate development; resolutely implement the concept of innovative, coordinated, green, open, and shared development, and promote the overall deployment of the "Five Into One", coordinate and promoted the strategic deployment of the "Four Comprehensives", promote high-quality development, promote the simultaneous development of new industrialization, informatization, urbanization, and agricultural modernization, accelerate the construction of a modern economic system, and strive to achieve a higher quality and an efficient, fairer and more sustainable development. We must uphold structural reform of the supply-side as the main line, actively transform the mode of development, optimize the economic structure, transform the driving force of growth, actively expand domestic demand, implement the Coordinated Regional Development Strategy, implement the Rural Revitalization Strategy, resolutely lay the groundwork to prevent and diffuse major risks, accurately eliminate poverty, wage the battle of pollution prevention and control. We must uphold the concept that innovation is the first driving force, talent is the first resource, implementing a development strategy driven by innovation, refining national innovation systems, accelerating the independent innovation of

key core technologies, creating new engines of economic and social development. We must strengthen the construction of an ecological civilization, firmly establish that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets, form a green mode of development and lifestyle, build our great motherland to be more beautiful, let the People live in a magnificent environment with a blue sky, green mountains and clear water.

Seventh, we must uphold broadening opening up, and constantly promote the construction of a community of shared destiny. The practice of 40 years of reform and opening up has revealed to us: opening up brings progress, and closure makes one lag behind. The development of China cannot be separated from [the development of] the world, and the prosperity of the world also needs China. We will coordinate the domestic and international overall situations, uphold the basic national policy of opening up to the outside world, implement a proactive policy of opening-up, forming a comprehensive new pattern of opening-up that is all-round, multi-level and trans-territorial, creating a good international environment for our country and opening up a broad space for development.

On the way forward, we must hold high the banner of peace, development, cooperation and win-win, abide by the foreign policy objectives of safeguarding world peace and promoting common development, and promote the building of new international relations [based on] mutual respect, fairness, justice, and win-win cooperation. We must respect the right of the People in all countries to choose their own development path; safeguard international fairness and justice; advocate the democratization of international relations, oppose imposing one's will on others; oppose interference in the internal affairs of other countries; and oppose strong [countries] bullying [weak ones]. We must play the role of a responsible big country, support the development of the vast number of developing countries, actively participate in the reform and construction of the global governance system, and struggle together to build a world of lasting peace, universal security, common prosperity, openness, tolerance, and clean beauty. We must support an open, transparent, inclusive and non-discriminatory multilateral trading system, promote the liberalization and the facilitation of trade and investment, and promote an economic globalization [oriented] towards a more open, inclusive, general,

balanced and win-win direction. We must focus on building the “One Belt and One Road” and work together with all parties to build a new platform for international cooperation and add new impetus to the common development of the world. China will never develop itself at the expense of the interests of other countries and will never give up its legitimate rights and interests. China pursues a defensive national defense policy, and China's development does not pose a threat to any country. Regardless of how far China develops, it will never seek hegemony.

Eighth, we must uphold strictly ruling the Party and continuously improve the Party's creativity, cohesiveness, and combat effectiveness. The practice of 40 years of reform and opening up has revealed to us: to forge iron, one must make oneself hard. The key to running China's affairs is the Party, the key is upholding the Party's ability to manage the Party and to comprehensively strictly govern the Party. Only by leading the great social revolution of reform, opening up, and Socialist modernization, our Party will unwaveringly push forward the great self-revolution of the Party, daring to remove all the viruses eroding the healthy body of the Party, enabling the Party to continuously purify itself, refine itself, innovate itself, improve itself, and constantly enhance the Party's capacity of political leadership, its capacity of ideological guidance, its capacity to organize masses, its social appeal, ensuring that the Party always maintains flesh-and-blood ties with the people.

On the way forward, we must follow the general requirements of Party building in the New Era, placing political construction in command, continuously push forward the new great project of Party building, continuously strengthening the unity and solidarity of the entire Party, create vitality, and constantly strengthen the ruling ability of the whole Party, making party building stronger and more powerful. We must uphold examining ourselves in light of the requirements of the development of the times, alerting ourselves through a strong sense of urgency, strengthening and refining ourselves through the spirit of reform and innovation, exercise improvement in coping with risk and challenges, purifying and cleansing ourselves through solving the outstanding contradictions and problems in the Party, and continuously improve the level of managing the Party and governing the Party. We must uphold

having both ability and political integrity (*decai jianbei*),<sup>11</sup> placing morality first (*yide weixian*),<sup>12</sup> appointing people on the basis of their ability and integrity (*renren weixian*),<sup>13</sup> and strive to cultivate a high-quality team of cadres and a large team of talents who are loyal, clean, and enterprising. We must forever be tenacious and cling to anti-corruption on our road, more deeply curing its root causes and symptoms, resolutely eliminating all corrupt elements, guaranteeing that cadres are clean, that the government is clean, that politics is clean, and

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11 A concept originally expressed in “The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War”, as follows:

“The Chinese Communist Party is a party leading a great revolutionary struggle in a nation several hundred million strong, and it cannot fulfil its historic task without a large number of leading cadres who combine ability with political integrity.”

See Mao Zedong, “The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War”, October 1938, *The Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 2*, Peking, People’s Publishing House, 1960, at p. 195 and ff.

12 Combining ability and political integrity and placing morality first are concepts that were already expressed in the Resolution of the Central Committee on Some Major Problems in Strengthening and Improving Party Building Under New Circumstances (*Zhonggong Zhongyang guanyu jiaqiang he gaijin xin xingshixia dangde jianshe zhongda wentide jueding*) (19 September 2009).

13 This concept, too, can be found in the writings of Mao Zedong: “Throughout our national history there have been two sharply contrasting lines on the subject of the use of cadres, one being to “appoint people on their merit”, and the other to “appoint people by favouritism”. The former is the honest and the latter the dishonest way. The criterion the Communist Party should apply in its cadres policy is whether or not a cadre is resolute in carrying out the Party line, keeps to Party discipline, has close ties with the masses, has the ability to find his bearings independently, and is active, hard-working and unselfish. This is what “appointing people on their merit” means. The cadres policy of Chang Kuo-tao was the exact opposite. Following the line of “appointing people by favouritism,” he gathered personal favourites round himself to form a small clique, and in the end he turned traitor to the Party and decamped. This is an important lesson for us. Taking warning from it and from similar historical lessons, the Central Committee and the leaders at all levels must make it their major responsibility to adhere to the honest and fair way in cadres policy and reject the dishonest and unfair way, and so consolidate the unity of the Party”. Mao Zedong, “The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War”, October 1938, *The Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol. 2*, Peking, People’s Publishing House, 1960, at p. 195 and ff.



create a political ecology where *the sea is quiet and the rivers are clear*,<sup>14</sup> to continue pushing forward reform and opening up.

Ninth, we must uphold the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, and correctly handle the relationship between reform, development, and stability. The practice of 40 years of reform and opening up has revealed to us: China is a big country and we must never make subversive mistakes on fundamental issues. We uphold the combination of the strengthening Party leadership and respecting the spirit of initiative of the People; uphold the combination of “*crossing the river by feeling for the stones*”<sup>15</sup> and top-level design; uphold the unity of problem orientation and goal orientation; uphold the mutual reinforcement between pilot trial and comprehensive promotion [of reforms], encourage bold trials, fearless breakthroughs, but also uphold seeking truth from facts, sowing good seeds and reaping good fruits, to ensure the stable and long-term nature of reform and opening up.

On the way forward, we must strengthen [our] strategic thinking, dialectical thinking, innovative thinking, rule of law thinking, bottom line thinking, strengthen macro-level

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14 海晏河清 in the original. This is a traditional idiomatic expression (*chengyu*) that can be translated also as “the world is at peace”. On the verses “the sea is quiet and the rivers are clear” see Xiang Xianbiao, “The Right Time for the World Being at Peace”, (*Haiyan heqing zhengdangshi*), *China Army Network (Zhongguo Junwang)*, 21 November 2017, [http://www.81.cn/jfjbmap/content/2017-11/21/content\\_192370.htm](http://www.81.cn/jfjbmap/content/2017-11/21/content_192370.htm)

15 This is an explicit reference to Deng Xiaoping’s approach to reform. The slogan “crossing the river by feeling for the stones”, however, was coined by Chen Yun:

“We must reform, but we must move gradually. Because the issues in our reform are complex, we cannot ask for haste. Reform must of course depend on certain theoretical research, economic statistics, and economic forecasting, but more importantly we must start from pilot sites and summarize our experience at various times, that is “crossing the river by feeling for the stones”. The first steps must be small, and we will move slowly”.

See Chen Yun, “The State of the Economy and the Lessons of Experience” (16 December 1980) (*Jingji xingshi yu jingyan jiaoxun*), in Chen Yun, *The Selected Works of Chen Yun, Volume 3 (Chen Yun Wenxuan disanjuan)* Beijing, Renmin Chubanshe, 1986, pp. 276-282.

considerations and top-level design, uphold being problem-oriented, focus on the prominent contradictions and problems facing China's development, conduct in-depth investigation and research, and encourage bold explorations at the grassroots. We must uphold the combining of reform decision-making and legislative decision-making, and continuously improve the scientific nature of reform decisions. We must display a tenacity that leaves scars on any piece of iron we grasp, and our footsteps on any stone we walk on, grasping implementation with the spirit of hammering in one nail after another, ensuring that all major reform measures are actually implemented. We must dare to be the first in the world, dare to try, but also be active and steady, stable and persistent, stabilize and unify reform and opening up, uphold our direction without changing, not deviate from our path, not reduce our strength, and push reform and opening up in the New Era to proceed with greater stability and to proceed to a greater distance.

Comrades, friends!

Upholding the unity of a wealthy country and a strong army, constructing a stable defense system and a strong army adequate to the international place of our country, and to the interest of national security and development are the strategic tasks of China's Socialist modernization. We must comprehensively implement the Party's ideology of a strong army in the New Era, uphold the Party absolute leadership over the military, grasp the general developmental trend of the world's new military revolution, uphold the road of strengthening an army with Chinese characteristics, comprehensively deepen the reform of national defense and of the military, promote constructing the army through politics, reforming the army to make it strong, developing the army through science and technology, govern the army according to the law, construct a People's Army that listens to the directives of the Party, that can win battles, with a good work style, diligently construct a world first-class army, that provides a strong backing to safeguarding national sovereignty, security, the interest of development, safeguarding world peace and stability, and realizing the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation.

The great concept of “One Country, Two Systems” has a strong vitality. We must comprehensively and accurately implement “One Country, Two Systems”, “Hong Kong People Govern Hong Kong”, “Macao People Govern Macao” and the line of a high degree of autonomy, strictly manage affairs according to the Constitution and the Basic Law, improve the systems and mechanisms related to the implementation of the Basic Law, and maintain the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao. We will support and promote the better integration of Hong Kong and Macao into the overall situation of national development, and let the compatriots of Hong Kong and Macao share the historical responsibility of national rejuvenation with the People of the motherland, and share the great glory of the prosperity and strength of the motherland.

Realizing the complete reunification of the motherland is the common aspiration of all the children of China, and a fundamental interest of the Chinese nation. We must uphold the One China Principle and the “1992 Consensus”, consolidate and develop the foundation for the peaceful development of cross-strait relations, deepen cross-strait economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation, and benefit the compatriots on both sides of the strait. We have a firm political determination and a strong ability to safeguard national sovereignty and territorial integrity. Not even an inch of the sacred territory of the motherland can be separated!

Comrades, friends!

The Chinese People has the spirit of a great dream, and the Chinese nation is filled by the spirit of change and openness. Thousands of years ago, the ancestors of the Chinese nation held fast to the spirit of “*Even an established nation like Zhou still regards self-renewal as its mission*”,<sup>16</sup> starting the creation of a

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<sup>16</sup> 周虽旧邦，其命维新 in the original. This has also been translated as “although Zhou was an old country, it received a new destiny”. See for instance:

“Establish Xiang, Xu, Xue, and Xiao, all those educational institutions, for the instruction of the people. The name Xiang indicates nourishing as its object; Xiao, indicates teaching; and Xu indicates archery. By the Xia dynasty the name Xiao was used; by the Yin, that of Xu; and by the Zhou, that of Xiang. As to the Xue, they belonged to the three dynasties, and by that name. The object of them

great practice of the Chinese civilization. Since the ancient times, on the land of China there have been countless reforms, transformations and movements seeking for strength, leaving the heroic declaration that “*there is more than one way of governance and the ancient way is not the only way to develop a nation*”.<sup>17</sup> Since the ancient times, the Chinese nation has had relations and cultural exchanges with foreign nationalities with self-confidence and generosity. cherishing “*all people under heaven are one family*”<sup>18</sup> and “*all nations should live in harmony*”,<sup>19</sup> composing the long Song of the Silk Road that

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all is to illustrate the human relations. When those are thus illustrated by superiors, kindly feeling will prevail among the inferior people below. Should a real sovereign arise, he will certainly come and take an example from you; and thus you will be the teacher of the true sovereign. It is said in the Book of Poetry, “Although Zhou was an old country, It received a new destiny.” That is said with reference to king Wen. Do you practise those things with vigour, and you also will by them make new your kingdom.”

James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: With a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, SMC Publication, 1991, p. 243.

- <sup>17</sup> 治世不一道，便国不法古 in the original. This has also been translated as “There is more than one way to govern the world, and there is no necessity to imitate antiquity, in order to take appropriate measures for the state”. See J. J.-L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang*, Éditions Arthur Probsthain, London, 1928, p. 15.
- <sup>18</sup> 天下大同 in the original. This expression can be found in a variety of post-Han texts, and can also be translated as “harmony for all that which exists under heaven”, meaning in the world.
- <sup>19</sup> 协和万邦 in the original. An expression common in Pre-Qin texts, this has also been translated as uniting and harmonizing several states. See, for instance:

Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Di Yao was styled Fang-xun. He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful - naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of (all) complaisance. The bright (influence of these qualities) was felt through the four quarters (of the land), and reached to (heaven) above and (earth) beneath. He made the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of (all in) the nine classes of his kindred, who (thus) became harmonious. He (also) regulated and polished the people (of his domain), who all became brightly intelligent. (Finally), he united and harmonized the myriad states; and so the black-haired people were transformed. The result was (universal) concord.

stretches through ten thousands li, creating the prosperity of the Tang Dynasty in Chang'an, [a city] where *ambassadors sent by the ten thousand countries flocked to be received*.<sup>20</sup> It is precisely this spirit of change and opening up of “*heaven maintains vigor through movement, a gentleman should constantly strive for self-perfection*”,<sup>21</sup> and “*a gentleman should generously cultivate to become tolerant just like the Earth bears everything on it!*”<sup>22</sup> that has allowed Chinese civilization to

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James Legge, *The Chinese Classics Volume III, The Shoo King or The Book of Historical Documents*, London, Trübner & Co., 1865, p. 15.

- <sup>20</sup> 万国衣冠 in the original. This is part of a verse from Wang Wei's poem “Morning Audience at the Daming Palace With Imperial Scribe Jia”, composed during the Tang Dynasty:

With crimson headdresses, palace time keepers deliver counters at  
 daybreak

Everyone wearing the imperial audience clothes, emerald-green bird feather  
 coats

Door after door, ascending to the last one, big door to a large room

From all over the empire to pay respect to the emperor's crown

Sun arrives, shadows from the candleholders moving

Fragrant incense, all desire to be close to his ceremonial robe, a dragon that  
 appears to emerge as he walks

Court dismissed, we now have to make the rainbow-colored imperial  
 documents

The sounds from our jade, while walking back to the work table in our office.

See “Wang Wei: Morning Audience in the Daming Palace With Imperial Scribe Jia”, available at <http://www.learnancientchinese poetry.org/2016/11/01/wang-wei-morning-audience-in-the-daming-palace/>

- <sup>21</sup> 天行健，君子以自强不息 in the original. This is a reference to hexagram Qian in the Book of Changes:

In the third line, undivided, (we see its subject as) the superior man active  
 and vigilant all the day, and in the evening still careful and apprehensive.  
 (The position is) dangerous, but there will be no mistake.

James Legge, *The Sacred Books of China, The I Ching, Second Edition Facsimile*. New York: Dover Publications, 1899, p. 57.

- <sup>22</sup> 地势坤，君子以厚德载物 in the original. Another reference to the Book of Changes, this time to “comment to the images” of hexagram Kun:

The (capacity and sustaining) power of the earth is what is denoted by Kun.  
 The superior man, in accordance with this, with his large virtue supports  
 (men and) things

become be only magnificent civilization in human history to continue uninterrupted for over 5,000 years. From the perspective of several thousand years of history, change and opening up are generally the historical norm in China. The Chinese nation continues to move towards the future with an attitude of reform and opening up, with its deep-reaching historical roots, and its profound cultural roots.

Given we are such a big country, we should have great ambitions and magnificent aspirations. Comrade Mao Zedong said *“To win countrywide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand li. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades, the victory of the Chinese people’s democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect, will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax.”*<sup>23</sup> *“We are not only good at destroying the Old World, we are also good at building the new.”*<sup>24</sup>

At the beginning of reform and opening up, although our country is large and with a numerous population, we had a weak foundation, we faced repeated difficulties and challenges. However, we were full of confidence in the future, and we designed a grand blueprint for achieving Socialist modernization in more than 70 years, and in three stages. Without an extraordinary courage and firm self-confidence we would not have made such far-reaching plans and decisions.

For 40 years, our *toothlike roots have been planted deep among rocks*,<sup>25</sup> and the wind and the rain could not stop our

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James Legge, *Supra*, p. 268.

<sup>23</sup> Mao Zedong, “Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China”, 5 March 1949, in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume 4*, Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1961, p. 374

<sup>24</sup> *Supra*.

<sup>25</sup> 咬定青山不放松 in the original. This is a verse from Zheng Xie’s (1693-1765) poem Bamboo and the Rocks.

advance towards this great goal. The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China has put forward an even higher objective of struggle, forming a strategic arrangement from comprehensively building a moderately well-off society to basically realizing modernization, to comprehensively building a strong country of Socialist modernization. It has issued the strongest ever call to realize the Chinese Dream of the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation.

The ancients said: “*Careful planning and concrete actions lead to success, while complacency results in failure*”.<sup>26</sup> The Great Dream will not come if we wait for it, it will not come if we call for it, it is to be spelled out, it is to be done. We are now in a place and at a time where the ship sails more turbulently and the road to climb the mountain is steeper, a place where advancing is getting more difficult, advancing is getting more dangerous, and there is no turning back but only going forward. Reform and opening up has crossed thousands of mountains and rivers, but there are still mountains and rivers it needs to wade through. The mission placed before the entire Party and the People of all nationalities is even more glorious, the task is more arduous, the challenges are more severe, and the work is even greater. In this era of one thousand boats competing to start the race and to catch the current we must not be boastful, complacent, self-sufficient, we must not have the slightest hesitation, we must not be indecisive, we must not be anxious and hesitating, we must be overall in charge of great struggles (*douzhen*), great

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<sup>26</sup> 事者，生于虑，成于务，失于傲 in the original. This is a reference to the “On Military Taxes” chapter of the *Guanzi*, which section “On Paying Attention to Markets and Production” reads:

The marketplace determines the value of goods. Hence, if goods are kept cheap, there will be no exorbitant profits. If there are no exorbitant profits, production will be well organized, and if it is well organized, expenditures will be properly controlled. *Now production materializes through planning, succeeds through diligent attention, but fails through negligence.* Unless there is negligence, there will be no failure. Therefore it is said that the marketplace may know order or disorder, abundance or scarcity. However, it is incapable of bringing about abundance or scarcity on its own. There is a proper way to manage markets and production.

W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi, Political, Economic and Philosophical Essays From Early China, Volume I, Revised Edition*, Boston: Cheng & Tsui Company, 2001, p. 119. Italics mine.

works, great causes, great dreams, and bravely and dauntlessly fight.

Belief, faith, and confidence are always of utmost importance. As long as there will be belief, faith and confidence, [entities] as small as an individual, a group, as big as a political party, an ethnicity, a country, will respond to obstacles by exerting greater efforts, and they will respond to battles by becoming bolder, otherwise we would defeat ourselves without fighting, collapse without being struck. Regardless of the past, the present or the future, belief in Marxism, faith in Socialism with Chinese characteristics, confidence in realizing the Chinese Dream of the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation are all powerful spiritual forces that support the Chinese People to stand up, to become rich, and to become strong!

Comrades, friends!

For forty years *raging waves have crashed on the shore*,<sup>27</sup> and *the mythical Peng Bird rides the wind, flying high for nine-thousand li*.<sup>28</sup> The reason why rivers can rush out of cliffs is because of the force they have accumulated through thousands of mile. In the endless progress of history, since modernity, the Chinese People has experienced too much hardship, made too many sacrifices, performed too much hard work. Now, the powerful force the Chinese People and the Chinese nation have accumulated through the progress of history has fully erupted,

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<sup>27</sup> 惊涛拍岸 in the original. This is a verse from the Tang Dynasty poem “Missing the Songstress – Remembering the [Battle of] Red Cliffs” by Su Shi (1036-1101). Fought between the overwhelming forces of Cao Cao on one side, and those of Sun Quan and Liu Bei, the Battle of Red Cliffs gradually led to the end of the Han dynasty, and the beginning of the period of the Three Kingdoms.

<sup>28</sup> 九万里风鹏正举 in the original. This is a reference to the mythical Peng bird:

“In the Northern Darkness there is a fish and his name is Kun. The Kun is so huge I don’t know how many thousand li he measures. He changes and becomes a bird whose name is Peng. The back of Peng measures I don’t know how many thousand li across and, when he rises up and flies off, his wings are like clouds all over the sky. When the sea begins to move, the bird sets off for the southern darkness, which is the lake of Heaven”.

Robert Elliott Allinson, *Chuang-Tzu for Spiritual Transformation: An Analysis of the Inner Chapters*, p. 41.



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providing an unstoppable and inexhaustible strength for the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation.

Building a strong country of socialist modernization and realizing the Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation is a relay race. We must run one after the other, and every generation must obtain a good result for the next generation.

The whole Party and the People of all ethnicities must more closely unite around the Party Central Committee, hold high the great banner of Socialism with Chinese characteristics, never forget their Original Intent, bear in mind their mission, carry out reform and opening up until the end, and constantly look forward to realize the People's yearning for a better life, and create the new miracle of the Chinese nation in the New Era! Create new and bigger miracles that make the world have an entire new level of respect [for us]!

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