

## **Appendix 87 -- Jiang Zemin's Report at the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (1997)**

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(Excerpts)

The following are excerpts from the text of Jiang Zemin's report delivered at the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) on September 12, 1997, entitled "Hold High the Great Banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory for an All-round Advancement of the Cause of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics to the 21st Century".

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Earth-shaking changes have taken place in China over the past century from 1900 when the Eight-Power Allied Forces occupied Beijing, subjecting the Chinese nation to great humiliation and bringing the country to the verge of subjugation, to the year 2000 when China will enjoy a fairly comfortable life on the basis of socialism and take big strides toward the goal of being prosperous and strong.

After the Opium War of 1840, China was reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. The Chinese nation was faced with two great historical tasks: to win national independence and the people's liberation, and to make the country prosperous and strong and achieve common prosperity for the people. The former task was set to remove obstacles and create essential prerequisites for the fulfillment of the latter task.

The past century has witnessed the Chinese people undergoing three tremendous historic changes on their road of advance and the birth of Sun Yat-sen, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, three great men who stood at the forefront of the times.

The first change was represented by the Revolution of 1911, which overthrew the autocratic monarchy reigning in China for thousands of years. It was led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He was the first to raise the slogan of "rejuvenating China" and pioneered the national and democratic revolution in the true sense in modern times. The Revolution of 1911 failed to change the social nature of old China and free the people from their hard lot, but it opened the sluice-gates for progress in China and made it impossible for the reactionary rule to remain stable any longer.

The second change was marked by the founding of the People's Republic of China and the establishment of the socialist system. This was accomplished after the founding of the Communist Party of China and under the direction of the first generation of collective leadership with Mao Zedong at the core. Through the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolution, the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, we overthrew the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. The Chinese people rose to their feet. Proceeding from New Democracy, they took the road to socialism and

scored tremendous achievements in building socialism. This was a great victory of the people's revolution which had never been recorded in Chinese history, a great victory of global significance for socialism and national liberation.

The third change was featured by the reform, opening up and the endeavor to achieve socialist modernization. It was a new revolution initiated under the direction of the second generation of collective leadership with Deng Xiaoping at the core. Basing itself on the achievements scored in revolution and construction since the founding of the People's Republic, our Party reviewed historical experience and lessons and blazed a new trail in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The exuberant vigor and vitality of socialism displayed in China has attracted world.

-- Building socialist politics with Chinese characteristics means ruling the country by law and developing socialist democracy under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and with the people as the masters of the country. To do this, we should uphold and improve the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance; we should uphold and improve the system of people's congresses, the system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist Party and the system of regional national autonomy; and we should promote democracy, improve the legal system and build a socialist country ruled by law. We should create a political situation in which we have social stability, a clean and efficient government and unity, harmony and liveliness among the people of all our nationalities.

-- Building a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics means taking Marxism as the guidance, aiming at training citizens so that they have high ideals, moral integrity, a good education and a strong sense of discipline, and developing a national, scientific and popular socialist culture geared to the needs of modernization, of the world and of the future. To do this, we should persist in arming the whole Party and educating the people with Deng Xiaoping Theory; we should strive to raise the ideological and ethical standards and the educational, scientific and cultural levels of the whole nation; and we should adhere to the orientation of serving the people and socialism and the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend", laying emphasis on progress and boosting academic activities, art and literature. We should foster socialist ideology and ethics by basing ourselves on China's reality, carrying on the fine cultural traditions handed down from history and assimilating the advances of foreign cultures. The aforementioned basic targets and policies for building a socialist economy, politics and culture with Chinese characteristics are well integrated and inseparable. They constitute the basic program of the Party for the primary stage of socialism. This program is an important part of Deng Xiaoping Theory, an elaboration of the Party's basic line in the economic, political and cultural fields and a summary of the major experience gained over the years.

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1. Reforming the Political Structure and Strengthening Democracy and the Legal System  
The deepening of the reform of the economic structure and the cross-century development of the socialist modernization drive require that, under the precondition of adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles, we should continue to press ahead with the reform of the political structure, further extend the scope of socialist democracy and improve the socialist legal

system, governing the country according to law and making it a socialist country ruled by law.

It is our Party's persistent goal to develop socialist democracy. Without democracy there would be no socialism or socialist modernization. The essence of socialist democracy is that the people are the masters of the country. All power of the state belongs to the people. China's state system featuring people's democratic dictatorship and its system of government featuring people's congresses are the result of the struggles waged by the people and the choice of history. It is imperative that we should uphold and improve this fundamental political system, instead of copying any western models. This is of decisive importance in upholding leadership by the Party and the socialist system and realizing people's democracy.

Developing democracy must go hand in hand with the efforts to improve the legal system so that the country is ruled by law. Ruling the country by law means that the broad masses of the people, under the leadership of the Party and in accordance with the Constitution and other laws, participate in one way or another and through all possible channels in managing state affairs, economic and cultural undertakings and social affairs, and see to it that all work of the state proceeds in keeping with law, and that socialist democracy is gradually institutionalized and codified so that such institutions and laws will not change with changes in the leadership or changes in the views or focus of attention of any leader. Ruling the country by law is the basic strategy employed by the Party in leading the people in running the country. It is the objective demand of a socialist market economy, an important hallmark of social and cultural progress, and a vital guarantee for lasting political stability of the country. The Party has led the people in drawing up the Constitution and other laws, to which it confines its activities. In ruling the country by law, we can unify the adherence to Party leadership, development of people's democracy and doing things in strict accordance with the law, thus ensuring, institutionally and legally, that the Party's basic line and basic policies are carried out without fail, and that the Party plays the role of the core of leadership at all times, commanding the whole situation and coordinating the efforts of all quarters.

Political restructuring must help enhance the vitality of the Party and the state, demonstrate the features and advantages of the socialist system, safeguard national unification, ethnic unity and social stability, give full scope to the initiative of the people, and stimulate the development of the productive forces and social progress. The main tasks of political restructuring for the present and a period of time to come are to develop democracy, strengthen the legal system, separate government functions from enterprise management, streamline government organs, improve the democratic supervision system, and maintain stability and unity.

(1) Improve the systems of democracy. As a ruling party, the Communist Party leads and supports the people in exercising the power of running the state, holding democratic elections, making policy decisions in a democratic manner, instituting democratic management and supervision, ensuring that the people enjoy extensive rights and freedom endowed by law, and respecting and guaranteeing human rights. In developing socialist democracy, institutions are of fundamental, overall, stabilizing and lasting importance. We shall uphold and improve the system of people's congresses, ensuring that the people's congresses and their standing committees exercise the functions of the organs of state power according to law, strengthen

their legislative and supervisory work, and establish closer ties between deputies and the people they represent. While making major policy decisions concerning reform and development, we must enact corresponding laws. We shall gradually establish a mechanism that will help the decision-makers to go deep among the people to see their condition, adequately reflect their will and pool their wisdom so that decision-making will be more scientific, democratic and efficient and will reach a higher level. We shall uphold and improve the system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation led by the Communist Party. Upholding the principle of "long-term coexistence, mutual supervision, treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal or woe", we shall strengthen our cooperation with the democratic parties and consolidate our alliance with non-Party people. We shall continue to help the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference to standardize and institutionalize its political consultation, democratic supervision, participation in and deliberation of state affairs, turning it into an important channel for the Party to unite with the people of all circles. We shall consolidate and develop the broad patriotic united front. We shall implement in an all-round way the Party's policies toward ethnic minorities, uphold and improve regional autonomy for them, reinforce our work concerning ethnic groups and consolidate and enhance socialist ethnic relations of equality, solidarity and mutual assistance, promoting common prosperity and progress for all our nationalities. We shall implement in real earnest the Party's policies concerning religions and overseas Chinese affairs. Trade unions, the Communist Youth League, women's federations and other mass organizations should play their roles of democratic participation and supervision in managing state and social affairs, and serve as a bridge or linkage between the Party and the people.

We shall extend the scope of democracy at the grassroots level to make sure that people directly exercise their democratic rights, manage their own affairs according to law and create a happy life for themselves. This is a practice of socialist democracy on the most extensive scale. The grassroots organs of power and self-governing mass organizations in both urban and rural areas should establish a sound system of democratic elections, and keep the public informed of their administrative work and financial affairs so as to enable the people to take part in the discussion and decision-making concerning local public affairs and welfare undertakings, and exercise democratic supervision over the cadres. We should uphold and improve the democratic management system of enterprises and institutions with workers' conferences as its basic form so that workers can participate in reform and management and protect their legitimate rights and interests. We must resolutely correct such erroneous acts as suppressing democracy and resorting to coercion and commandism.

(2) Improve the legal system. The smooth progress of the undertakings of the Party and the state inevitably requires that there must be laws to go by, that the laws must be observed and strictly enforced, and that law-breakers must be prosecuted. We shall strengthen legislation, improve the quality of laws and form a socialist legal system with Chinese characteristics by the year 2010. We must safeguard the dignity of the Constitution and other laws; we must see to it that all people are equal before the law and that no individuals or organizations have the privilege to overstep it. All government organs must perform their official duties according to law, guarantee in real earnest the citizens' rights and implement the system of responsibility for law enforcement and the system of assessment and examination in this regard. We shall promote the reform in judicial affairs, ensure institutionally that the judicial organs are in a

position to exercise adjudicative and procuratorial powers independently and fairly according to law, and establish a system for investigating and prosecuting anyone who is held responsible for unjust or misjudged cases. We shall improve the ranks of law-enforcing and judicial personnel. We shall educate the populace about the law to make them more aware of the importance of abiding by it. In particular, we shall enhance the leading cadres' awareness of the importance of the legal system and their ability to perform their duties according to law. We must closely integrate the improvement of the legal system with the promotion of cultural and ethical progress and make sure that they advance synchronously.

(3) Promote the restructuring of government institutions. Unwieldy organization, overstaffing, failure to separate the functions of the government from those of enterprises and serious bureaucracy directly hamper the deepening of the reform and economic development and impair the relationship between the Party and the masses. This problem calling for an urgent solution must be studied from an overall point of view and special personnel should be organized to work out plans promptly to solve it. In accordance with the requirements of a socialist market economy, we need to alter the functions of the government and separate them from those of enterprises so that enterprises will be truly given the power with regard to production, operation and management. Following the principle of simplification, uniformity and efficiency in the reform, we shall establish a highly efficient, well coordinated and standardized administrative system, with a view to improving their service for the people. The departments in charge of comprehensive economic administration should be converted into departments for macroeconomic control, and specialized economic departments should be reorganized or reduced. We shall strengthen the departments supervising law enforcement and cultivate and expand social intermediary organizations. We shall deepen the reform of the administrative system, statutorily delimiting the structures, functions, sizes and working procedures of the state organs and ensuring that their sizes are kept within authorized limits and their redundant personnel are reduced. We shall also deepen the reform of the personnel system by introducing a competitive and incentive mechanism and improving the system of public servants to build up a contingent of administrators who are highly competent and professionally specialized.

(4) Improve the system of democratic supervision. Our power is given to us by the people and all cadres are their servants who must be subjected to supervision by the people and the law. We should deepen the reform in this connection, improve the legal system of supervision, and establish and improve a mechanism ensuring that our cadres exercise their authority within the framework of law. The departments handling affairs of immediate concern to the people should carry out an open administrative system to make sure what they do is fair, just and open. We shall integrate the supervision within the Party with that by the law and the masses and give scope to the role of supervision by public opinion. We shall strengthen the supervision over the enforcement of the Constitution and other laws to safeguard the uniformity of the legal system of the state as well as the supervision over the implementation of general and specific policies of the Party and the state to see to it that they are truly carried out. We shall strengthen the supervision over cadres at all levels and especially leading cadres to prevent them from abusing their powers. We must severely punish those in charge of law enforcement who break the law or those who accept bribes.

(5) Maintain stability and unity. With the deepening of the reform and opening up and the readjustment of economic relations, many changes have taken place in the various contradictions in the economic and social life and, in particular, some contradictions concerning the people's immediate interests are rather conspicuous. The Party committees and governments at all levels must work conscientiously, responsibly and enthusiastically to solve the people's practical problems in their life and work. With regard to contradictions among the people, we should go deep into the realities, carry out investigation and study and do ideological and political work well. As the circumstances may differ, we should properly use economic, administrative or legal means to tackle the contradictions and prevent them from becoming more acute.

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#### VIII. Promoting the Peaceful Reunification of the Motherland

Complete reunification of the motherland is the common aspiration of all Chinese at home and abroad. Taking the great cause of the peaceful reunification of the motherland as their historical task, the Chinese Communists have made unremitting efforts to that end. Deng Xiaoping's scientific concept of "one country, two systems" has vigorously pushed forward the process of the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

As a hallmark of the great success of the concept of "one country, two systems", Hong Kong's return to the motherland constitutes a crucial step taken by the Chinese people in the great cause of the reunification of the motherland. Since Hong Kong's return, the policies of "one country, two systems", "Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong" and a high degree of autonomy have been implemented conscientiously, and Hong Kong has maintained its prosperity and stability. Facts will prove that the government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) and our compatriots in Hong Kong will surely be able to administer Hong Kong well in accordance with the Basic Law of the HKSAR.

Macao will return to the embrace of the motherland in 1999, another great event of the Chinese nation. All preparations for Macao's return are being made in an energetic and orderly fashion. Macao's smooth transition and smooth transfer of government can certainly be secured and its long-term development and stability maintained.

The concept of "one country, two systems" is an important component of Deng Xiaoping Theory. The basic idea is that on the premise of national reunification, the main part of China will stick to the socialist system while Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao will retain the current capitalist system and way of life for a long time to come. This concept is the basic policy for promoting the great cause of the peaceful reunification of the motherland, because it not only embodies the principled position of achieving national reunification and safeguarding state sovereignty, but also takes into full consideration the past and the present of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and embodies a high degree of flexibility. The adoption of the policy of "one country, two systems" is in the interest of the reunification of the motherland and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and conducive to world peace and development.

Thanks to the introduction of the basic principles of "peaceful reunification" and "one country, two systems" as well as other policies, significant headway has been made in the relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. The smooth return of Hong Kong and the

maintenance of its long-term prosperity and stability will undoubtedly create favorable conditions for the settlement of the Taiwan question. However, the growth of the splitting tendency on the Taiwan Island and the interference of certain foreign anti-China forces have stood in the way of peaceful reunification as big obstacles, which of course have met with determined opposition from the Chinese people including our compatriots in Taiwan.

We shall adhere to the basic principles of "peaceful reunification" and "one country, two systems" and the eight-point proposal on developing relations between the two sides and promoting the peaceful reunification of the motherland. We shall stick to the principle that there is only one China and oppose splitting, the "independence of Taiwan", the attempt to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan" and any interference by foreign forces. We shall not allow any forces whatsoever to change Taiwan's status as part of China in any way. We shall work for peaceful reunification, but we shall not undertake to renounce the use of force. This is not directed against our compatriots in Taiwan, but against the interference of foreign forces with China's reunification and against the schemes to bring about the "independence of Taiwan". We shall spare no efforts in expanding economic exchanges and cooperation between the two sides, speed up the establishment of direct links of postal, air and shipping services and trade between the two sides and continue to promote mutual visits of people and exchanges in various fields such as science, technology and culture. We place our hopes on our compatriots in Taiwan who are endowed with the glorious tradition of patriotism. Except for a handful of people who stubbornly cling to the position of "independence of Taiwan", all parties and personages of all circles in Taiwan are welcome to exchange views with us on relations between the two sides and on peaceful reunification.

Now we should like to renew our solemn appeal: As the first step, the two sides of the Straits can hold negotiations and reach agreement on "officially ending the state of hostility between the two sides in accordance with the principle that there is only one China". On this basis, the two sides can undertake jointly to safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and map out plans for the future development of their relations. We hope that the Taiwan authorities will earnestly respond to our suggestions and proposals and enter into political negotiations with us at an early date. On the premise that there is only one China, we are prepared to talk about any matter. All opinions and proposals can be put forward as long as they are in the interest of the reunification. The question of the reunification of the motherland should be solved by us Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits.

Taiwan's future hinges on the reunification of the motherland, and split is no way out. With full determination, we are capable of finding a final solution to the Taiwan question. No matter how many difficulties and obstacles are in store for us, the complete reunification of the motherland and the all-round rejuvenation of the Chinese nation will certainly come true, for all the Chinese on both sides and living elsewhere will proceed from the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation and go forward hand in hand.