

## A Bright Future for Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

"Great times make great people. Deng Xiaoping was a great and beloved man who arose from the historic struggle of the Chinese nation. His noble character remains fresh in the memories of many people who worked under his leadership and guidance. His lofty revolutionary ideals and charisma will always be an inspiration to us on our path towards the Two Centenary Goals<sup>1</sup> and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation.

We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his communist ideals and unshakable belief in socialism with Chinese characteristics. His entire political career was marked by a firm faith in communism, which is an everlasting source of integrity for all Chinese Communists.

As early as 1926 when he studied in the Soviet Union, Deng Xiaoping had made up his mind to devote himself completely to our Party and the working class.<sup>2</sup> In the next 70 years of his political career, despite all the hardships he experienced and the setbacks the revolution went through, he never faltered in his faith in the scientific nature of Marxism or in the bright future of socialism and communism. Deng said in 1984 that "faith in Marxism was the motive force that enabled us to achieve victory in the revolution."<sup>3</sup> In revolutionary wars, he fought dauntlessly, fearing no death, while in building the war-worn country into a new China, he made painstaking and sustained efforts. During the 10 turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, he remained steadfast in his convictions and never surrendered to setbacks. He observed domestic and international political turbulence with calm and composure, and drove China's modernization along the socialist path with a firm faith in Marxism and his communist ideals.

In 1992, the 88 year-old Deng said during his southern China tour, "I am convinced that more and more people will come to believe in Marxism, because it is a science. Using historical materialism, it has uncovered the laws governing the development of human society...So don't panic, don't think that Marxism has disappeared, that it's not useful any more and that it has been defeated. Nothing of the sort!"<sup>4</sup>

With a profound understanding of the importance of ideals and convictions, Deng commented, "From my long political and military experience I have learned that unity is of prime importance and that to achieve unity people must have common ideals and firm convictions. Over the past several decades we have united the people on the basis of firm convictions that enabled them to struggle for their own interests."<sup>5</sup>

We have lofty revolutionary ideals. The founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the progress we have today would have been impossible without large numbers of party members committed to communist ideals. Sound national development is inseparable from the support of firm ideals and convictions. In pursuit of a strong Party spirit we Communists should, above all, dedicate ourselves to the longterm goal of communism and the common ideal of building Chinese socialism. Deng has set us an excellent

example of devotion to socialism and communism, inspiring us to forge ahead with utter determination and full confidence in the path, theory and system of Chinese socialism.

We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his immense love for the Chinese people. His entire life is an expression of his love for the people, which is an inexhaustible source of strength for Chinese Communists.

He once said, "I am a son of the Chinese people. I have a deep love for my people and my country."<sup>6</sup> It was his love for the people that fostered his love for the Party and the country. That is why he said, "My life belongs to the Party and the country."<sup>7</sup> These simple words are a condensed expression of his infinite love for the party, the country and the people.

Deng gave priority to the status and role of the people. He once emphasized, "The masses are the source of our strength and the mass viewpoint and the mass line are our cherished traditions. The Party's organizations, its rank-and-file members and cadres must be one with the masses and never stand against them. Any Party organization that deplorably loses touch with the masses and does not mend its ways is forfeiting the source of its strength and will invariably fail and be rejected by the people."<sup>8</sup> Whether in high official position or adversity, Deng always stood together with the people through thick and thin, doing everything he could for the Party and the country.

The people's wellbeing was his lifelong pursuit. He stressed on many occasions, "...poverty is not socialism...socialism means eliminating poverty. Unless you are developing the productive forces and raising people's living standards, you cannot say that you are building socialism."<sup>9</sup> He designed and led the reform and opening-up initiative and the modernization drive with a view to improving the wellbeing of the Chinese people.

Deng drew insight and strength from the historical achievements of the people to enrich his thinking and embolden him to move forward. He said, "Many brilliant ideas for reform and opening up are created by the people in practice... They are not conjured out of one single person's mind."<sup>10</sup> Deng repeatedly stressed that it is of paramount importance to take the support, approval, satisfaction and consent of the people as the prime purpose and ultimate goal of all policies and decisions. He always regarded serving the interests of the people as the fundamental principle in his work.

Deng Xiaoping's love for the people and the country demonstrates one of the deepest and strongest emotions of humanity. We should model ourselves on him and work hard for the interests of the people, remain loyal to the country and the people under any circumstances, and make practical efforts to implement the Party's general principles. We must dedicate ourselves to the cause of the Party and the people, and serve the people all out life.

We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his firm belief in the theory of seeking truth from facts. It is a crucial theory that underpins his thoughts and an approach that should always be followed by all Chinese Communists.

Deng adhered to the Party's guiding principle of taking facts as the basis of our work. He said on several occasions that he believed in seeking truth from facts. He repeatedly stressed the need to let the facts speak for themselves. He pointed out, "The essence of Marxism is seeking truth from facts. That's what we should advocate, not book worship. The reform and opening up policy have been successful not because we relied on books, but because we relied on practice and sought truth from facts."<sup>11</sup> He urged leaders to, "win the trust of the people and bring about tangible results"<sup>12</sup>. And "do more real work".<sup>13</sup> His life's work shows that he was a farsighted thinker, statesman and strategist as well as a pragmatic doer.

In the early 1960s when our country was in economic difficulties, Deng stressed to officials the importance of being truthful. To better develop agriculture under the difficult conditions of those days, he said, "As to what kind of relations of production is the best mode, I'm afraid we shall have to leave the matter to the discretion of local authorities, allowing them to adopt whatever mode of production that can facilitate quickest recovery and growth of agricultural production. The masses should also be allowed to adopt whatever mode they see fit, legalizing illegal practices as necessary."<sup>14</sup>

Once China entered the reform and opening-up period in 1978, Deng Xiaoping put even more emphasis on the principle of seeking truth from facts. He said, "I haven't read too many books, but there is one thing I believe in: Chairman Mao's principle of seeking truth from facts. That is the principle we relied on when we were fighting wars, and we continue to rely on it in construction and reform."<sup>15</sup> The chief criterion he put forward for judging any action is "whether it promotes the growth of the productive forces in a socialist society, increases the overall strength of the socialist state, and raises living standards."<sup>16</sup> Firmly based on the principle of seeking truth from facts, Deng resolutely solved a series of major issues confronting the Party and the country, leading the Party and the Chinese people to blaze a trail and reach a new stage of development.

Facts are the basis of truth, and hard work is the only path to success. Therefore, we emphasize that empty talk harms the country, while hard work makes it flourish. China's experiences in revolution, development, and reform have more than once proved that only policies, measures and working methods in line with reality can put the cause of the Party and the people on the right track and deliver practical results benefiting the people. Deng set us an excellent example of using dialectical and historical materialism to observe the world and address issues. This way of thinking and his art of leadership help us acquire a thorough understanding of reality and objective laws, develop a pragmatic work style of high efficiency, and fully implement the Party's basic theories, guidelines, principles, experience and requirements through solid work.

We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his political courage in pioneering and innovative work. His leadership was noted for a pioneering and innovative spirit, which should be forever carried forward by Chinese Communists with a strong sense of historical responsibility.

Throughout his 70-year political career, he exhibited the indomitable courage to forge ahead with reform and an innovative spirit to think ahead and lead the way forward.

In 1975 when Deng Xiaoping was pushing ahead with nation-wide rectification, he remarked decisively, "At present, there are a good many problems which we cannot solve without great effort. We must be daring and resolute."<sup>17</sup> After returning to leading positions in the Party and the government in 1977, he spoke incisively about the rigid thinking that had long fettered people's minds: "Those who suffer from it dare not say a word or take a step that isn't mentioned in the books, documents or the speeches of leaders: everything has to be copied."<sup>18</sup> He also pointed out in 1989, "The world changes every day, and modern science and technology in particular develop rapidly. A year today is the equivalent of several decades, a century or even a longer period in ancient times. Anyone who fails to carry Marxism forward with new thinking and a new viewpoint is not a true Marxist."<sup>19</sup> He warned us, "When everything has to be done by the book, when thinking turns rigid and blind faith is the fashion, it is impossible for a party or a nation to make progress. Its life will cease and that party or nation will perish."<sup>20</sup>

Deng Xiaoping encouraged us, "We should be bolder than before in conducting reform and opening up to the outside and have the courage to experiment. We must not act like women with bound feet. Once we are sure that something should be done, we should dare to experiment and break a new path...If we don't have the pioneering spirit, if we're afraid to take risks, if we have no energy and drive, we cannot break a new path, a good path, or accomplish anything new."<sup>21</sup> His theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics provided the first systematic explanation of how to build, consolidate and develop socialism in a socially and economically underdeveloped country like China as it was back then, revealed the essence of socialism and marked another historic step in adapting Marxism to China's conditions after Mao Zedong Thought. His talks during his southern China inspection tour resolved many major questions that had long puzzled and fettered people's minds, ushering in a new stage of reform and opening up and socialist modernization. Under his leadership and support, reform came in waves and became the trend of the times, generating historic change to people's lives, the country and the Party.

All great causes involve a process of overcoming formidable difficulties and exploring pioneering and innovative paths. In advancing the unprecedented cause of Chinese socialism, we still have a long way to go in completing our reform and opening up and modernization. The road ahead will be full of new challenges. We should learn from Deng Xiaoping's political courage shown in his pioneering and innovative work to observe new experiences and developments, people, and be resolute in decision-making. In this way, we can integrate innovative experimentation into our regular activities, apply dynamic Marxism to our practice - which gives rise to new findings and

theories to enrich Marxism - and advance reform and opening up with indomitable courage and the determination to eliminate the outdated and blaze new trails.

We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his farsighted, strategic thinking. He demonstrated a breadth of vision through his strategic thinking, with which all Chinese Communist should be equipped.

Deng was noted for his broad vision, resourcefulness, sagacity and incisive mind because he always observed domestic and international developments with the interconnection between China and the world in mind, and had the ability to make smart strategic decisions at crucial moments by taking the broader picture into consideration. After China entered the new stage of reform and opening up, Deng made a series of major decisions of strategic importance to the long-term development of the country, the Party, and socialism, based on his insight into the trends of domestic and global developments.

In his incisive analyses of the features of developing trends of today's world, Deng said, "The present world is open",<sup>22</sup> and further pointed out, "Reviewing our history, we have concluded that one of the most important reasons for China's long years of stagnation and backwardness was its policy of closing the country to outside contract. Our experiences show that China cannot rebuild itself behind closed doors and that it cannot develop in isolation from the rest of the world."<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, he cherished and championed China's national sovereignty and the Independence won by the Chinese people through countless struggles. Therefore, he asserted, "China's affairs should be run according to China's specific conditions and by the Chinese people themselves. Independence and self-reliance have always been and will always be their basic stand... No foreign country should expect China to be its vassal or to accept anything that is damaging to China's own interests."<sup>24</sup>

Paying great attention to global peace and development, he emphasized the need to "regard the problem of development as one that concerns all mankind, and study and solve it on that level."<sup>25</sup> Showing concerns for other developing countries, he stressed that China, "shares a common destiny with all Third World Countries". He pledged that "China will never seek hegemony or bully others, but will always side with the Third World,"<sup>26</sup> and that China will oppose any forms of hegemony and safeguard world peace.

Strategic issues are fundamental to a political party and a country. Accurate judgment and sensible planning help us gain the the strategic initiative crucial to the success of the cause of the Party and the people. We should learn from him his global vision and strategic thinking of "bearing in mind the overall interests, keeping in view the world, the future, the present, and all other factors"<sup>27</sup> in analyzing questions. We should learn from his keen awareness of the key issues and his highly logical and sharp mind that was able to think ahead and lead the war into the future. He had a broad vision of history and the world in planning the cause of the Party and the people, and

his quick perception and foresight helped him solve key strategic issues and advance all aspects of his work with a broad strategic picture in mind.

We commemorate Deng Xiaoping by learning from his broad mind and selfless devotion. His charismatic leadership came from such quality that remained all his life, and is a quality that Chinese Communists should cultivate and retain.

Deng always considered himself a member of the working people while practicing strict self-discipline according to the rules for Party members. He never flinched in the face of difficulties, and he always cared for his comrades and remained modest and prudent. Deng set a good example for us how a Communist should strive to cultivate himself and enhance his Party spirit.

Deng Xiaoping always gave priority to the development of the Party and the country regardless of his own personal interests. He said, "I joined the revolutionary ranks at 18, and all I wanted was to make revolution succeed."<sup>28</sup> The three falls and three rises in his political career were all the results of his firm stance in upholding truth and correcting mistakes and his magnanimity, optimism, composure and tenacity in the face of wrongful criticism and unjust removal from office. Every time he resumed his posts, he worked dauntlessly to overcome all obstacles and dedicated himself to ensuring that the right guidelines and policies were formulated and implemented. Returning to leading positions after the Cultural Revolution, Deng spoke frankly about his attitude towards work, "Now I've come back to work. I could take two different attitudes. One, be a bureaucrat; two, do some solid work. I said to myself, after all it is my own choice to join the Communist Party. Now that I've resumed office, I must never be a bureaucrat, never work for personal gains. There is no other alternative."<sup>29</sup> He was truly a selfless and broad-minded Communist.

Deng took a fair and objective attitude towards history, his comrades, and himself. He was modest, amiable and easy to work with. He knew how to work together with his colleagues. After fighting countless battles side by side with Liu Bocheng<sup>30</sup> for 13 years in the revolutionary wars, they formed a strong friendship. Deng knew how to work with people who had opinions different from his own and gave full play to their abilities, regardless of personal feeling. "When selecting the right person for the right job, you should forget about settling old scores and may choose from among those who were once against you,"<sup>31</sup> he observed. He opposed corruption and privileges of any kind and set strict rules for his relatives and his immediate staff.

Deng remained modest despite his great merit. He said on several occasions, "I hope they will never give me too much prominence. What I have done represents the aspirations of the Chinese people and the Chinese Communists, that's all."<sup>32</sup> As a materialist, he regarded death with an open mind and told his family, "Sooner or later, I will leave this world. When I leave is nothing important. No one can bend the law of Nature. You've got to understand this."<sup>33</sup> After his death, his corneas were given to the hospital, his remains donated for medical research, and his ashes cast into the sea as requested in his will.

Party members of noble character should live up to the name of Communists, and are loved by the people. We should learn from Deng's selfless devotion to public interests and his dauntless spirit and broad mind. To this end, we need to strengthen our Party spirit, practice strict self-discipline while being inclusive towards others, take an appropriate attitude towards Party organizations, our colleagues and ourselves, and exercise power in the right way. It is important to practice the core socialist values<sup>34</sup>, dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly to the cause of the Party and the people, and take the lead in establishing upright conduct within the Party and the government and among the general public.

The essence of the theoretical and political legacy bequeathed to us by Deng Xiaoping is the Chinese socialism that the Party and the people created under his leadership, and the Deng Xiaoping Theory. Karl Marx wrote in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."<sup>35</sup>Deng's theory and practice are prominently marked by a firm belief in the principle of proceeding from reality in everything we do, taking the national and international situation into consideration, and by adherence to the CPC's principles of seeking truth from facts, independence, and the mass line.

Chinese socialism is a path that suits China's national conditions and reality and the requirements of the times in both theory and practice. Therefore, it has yielded and will continue to yield practical results. Deng emphasized that "if the developing countries of the Third World, like China, have no national self-respect and do not cherish their independence, they will not enjoy that independence for long."<sup>36</sup> Independence in our development path, theory and system is key to our national sovereignty, independence and dignity.

The Chinese nation has created a splendid civilization that can be traced back over 5,000 years. Under CPC leadership, the Chinese people have achieved new successes on the socialist path, paving the road for further progress. We must improve our weaknesses and change backward things, and learn from the strengths of other countries. We must not blindly copy things foreign, not to say accepting bad things. We must not underestimate ourselves and should cherish the best of our traditions and culture.

When talking about the founding of the People's Republic, Deng stated, "China has achieved status: People dare not look down upon us."<sup>37</sup> Therefore, we must not renounce the achievements made during the New Democratic Revolution<sup>38</sup>, deny our accomplishments in socialist reform and development, and waver in our direction of reform and opening up and socialist modernization. This is why our Party and the people are qualified to stand tall in the international community. History of modern times tells us that China's affairs must be handled in accordance with Chinese national conditions and reality. This is the only correct way to address all of our problems.

During the 17 years since Deng Xiaoping passed away, the world has witnessed tremendous changes. Our tasks to carry out reform and development at home are arduous and heavy. Following the guidelines, principles, and policies set forth at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC National Congress convened in 2012, the CPC Central Committee has led the Chinese people in implementing the guidelines of the 18th CPC National Congress and the Third Plenary session of the 18th CPC Central Committee held in 2013. We uphold socialism with Chinese Characteristic and follow the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents and the Scientific Outlook on Development. Taking China's overall domestic and international interests into consideration, we have furthered reform to promote the sustained and healthy development of the economy, and improved our style of work, striving to create a bright future for the cause of Chinese socialism.

Step by step, the blueprint laid out by Deng Xiaoping for socialist modernization is becoming reality. Our country is becoming strong and more prosperous and the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation is coming true. We have every reason to be proud of our achievements.

At this point, however, it is imperative to remember Deng Xiaoping's exhortations, "We have been building socialism for only a few decades and are still in the primary stage. It will take a very long historical period to consolidate and develop the socialist system, and it will require persistent struggle by many generations, a dozen or even several dozen."<sup>39</sup> He pointed out, "The essence of socialism is liberation and development of the productive forces, elimination of exploitation and polarization, and the ultimate achievement of prosperity for all."<sup>40</sup> Socialist modernization, complete reunification of our country, and the great national rejuvenations, which are dreams long pursued by the older generations of Chinese revolutionaries, including Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, are the common aspirations of all Chinese people.

Deng Xiaoping once reminded members of our Party, "The period from now to the middle of next century will be crucial. We must immerse ourselves in hard work: We have difficult tasks to accomplish and bear a heavy responsibility."<sup>41</sup> Now we are taking on these tasks and weighty responsibilities. All Party members must unite closely and work hard to fulfill our duties, and rally and lead the Chinese people to keep up with the times and achieve new successes in enhancing and developing Chinese socialism, making and increasing contributions to peace and development for all mankind.

We are convinced that the CPC and the Chinese people, who won historic victories in the 20th century, will achieve greater successes in the 21st century."

#### NOTES:

1. The Two Centenary Goals were put forth by the CPC at its 18th National Congress for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The two goals are to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by the centenary of the CPC (founded in 192) and to build China



into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, and harmonious by the centenary of the PRC (founded in 1949). - Tr.

2. Deng Xiaoping: "My Aspirations in the Soviet Union", Selected Manuscripts of Deng Xiaoping, China. ed., China Archives Publishing House, Beijing, 2004, pp.33-34.
3. Deng Xiaoping: "Building a Socialism with a Specifically Chinese Character", Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 72.
4. Ibid, "Excerpt from Talks Given In Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", p. 370.
5. Ibid, "We Must Unite the People on the Basis of Firm Convictions", p. 190.
6. Deng Xiaoping Deng Xiaoping's Thought (1975-1997), China. ed., Central Party Publishing House, Beijing, 2011, p. 349.
7. Deng Xiaoping: "A letter to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China", Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 313.
8. Ibid, "Implement the Policy of Readjustment, Ensure Stability and Unity", Vol. II, 1995, p. 122.
9. Ibid, "We Shall Expand Political Democracy and Carry Out Economic Reforms", Vol. III, 1994, p. 122.
10. Talks given by Deng Xiaoping on July 23-24, 1992 when reviewing the political report to the 14th CPC National Congress, Deng Xiaoping's Thought (1975-1997), Chin. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2011, pp. 711-712.
11. Deng Xiaoping: "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press., Beijing, 1994, p. 369.
12. Ibid, "We Must Form a Promising Collective Leadership That Will Carry Out Reform", p. 291.
13. Ibid, "Devote Special Effort to Education", p. 127.
14. Ibid, "Restore Agricultural Production", Vol. I, 1995, p. 318.
15. Ibid, "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", Vol III, 1994, p. 370.
16. Ibid, p.360.
17. Ibid, "Things Must be Put in Order in All Fields", Vol. II, 1995, p. 47.
18. Ibid, "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future", pp. 153-154.
19. Ibid, "Let Us Put the Past Behind Us and Open Up a New Era", Vol. III, 1994, p. 284.

20. Ibid, "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from the Facts and Unite as one in Looking to the Future", Vol. II, 1994, p. 154.
21. Ibid, "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", Vol III, 1994, p. 360.
22. Ibid, "Building a Socialism with a Specifically Chinese Character", p. 74.
23. Ibid, "Our Magnificent Goal and Basic Policies", p. 86.
24. "Opening Speech at the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China", p. 14.
25. Ibid, "A New International Order Should Be Established with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as Norms", p. 275.
26. Ibid, "We Must Safeguard World Peace and Ensure Domestic Development", p. 66.
27. Ibid, "We Must Form a Promising Collective Leadership That Will Carry Out Reform", p. 291.
28. Ibid, "We Should Take a Longer-Range View in Developing Sino-Japanese Relations", p. 64.
29. Speech at the Third Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee on July 21, 1977, *Chronicles of Deng Xiaoping's Thought (1975-1997)*, china. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 1998, p. 29-30.
30. Liu Bocheng (1892-1986) was a proletarian revolutionary, strategist, Marxist military theoretician, and marshal of the PRC.
31. Deng Xiaoping: "WE Must Form a Promising Collective Leadership That Will Carry Out Reform", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. III, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 291.
32. Ibid, "There Is No Fundamental Contradiction between Socialism and a Market Economy", p. 153.
33. Deng Xiaoping's talks with his brother Deng Ken on July 12, 1992, *Deng Xiaoping's Thoughts (1975-1997)*, China. ed., Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 2011, p. 710.
34. The core socialist values are prosperity, democracy, civility, harmony, freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law, patriotism, dedication, integrity and friendship. They first appeared in the political report deliver in November 2012 to the 18th CPC National Congress, titled, "Firmly March on the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive to Complete the Building of a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects."
35. Karl Marx: "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 11, Engl ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, p. 103.
36. Deng Xiaoping: "The United States Should Take the Initiative in Putting an End to the Stains in Sino-American Relations", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Col. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 282.

37. Ibid, "Maintain the Tradition of Hard Struggle", p. 282.

38. The New Democratic Revolution (1919-1949) is a bourgeois democratic revolution against imperialism and feudal dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat. - Tr.

39. Deng Xiaoping, "Excerpts from Talks Given in Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shanghai", Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. III, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1994, p. 367.

40. Ibid, p. 361.

41. Ibid, p. 370.