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and television—you name it. Khomeini banned it. He even segregated the mountains and the seas, for male and female climbers and swimmers. . . .

Perhaps nowhere else in the world have women been murdered for walking in the street open-faced. The question of the veil is the most important issue of women's liberation in Muslim countries. The veil, a long engulfing black robe, is the extension of the four walls of the home, where women belong. The veil is the historical symbol of woman's oppression, seclusion, denial of her social participation and equal rights with men. It is a cover which defaces and objectifies women. To wear or not to wear the veil, for Muslim women is "the right to choose." . . .

Why do women, workers, and unemployed, support this regime which has done everything in its power to attack their rights and interests? The power of Islam in our culture and tradition has been seriously underestimated . . . and it was through this ideology that Khomeini directed his revolutionary government. The clergy dealt with everyday problems and spoke out on human relationships, sexuality, security, and protection of the family and the spiritual needs of human beings. It was easy for people to identify with these issues and support the clergy, although nobody knew what they were later to do.

Women's attraction to Khomeini's ideas was not based simply on his Islamic politics, but also on the way he criticized the treatment of women—as secretaries and media sex

objects—under the Shah's regime. Women were genuinely unsatisfied and looking for change. Some educated Iranian women went back to Iran from America and Europe to aid the clergy with the same messages, and became the government's spokeswomen. They put on the veil willingly, defended Islamic virtues and spiritual values while drawing from their own experiences in the West. They said it was cold and lonely. Western women were only in pursuit of careers and self-sufficiency, and that their polygamous sexual relationships had not brought them liberation, but confusion and exploitation. These women joined ranks with an already growing force of Muslim women, to retrieve the tradition of true/happy Muslim women—in defense of patriarchy.

The mosque is not just a place of prayer, it is also a social club for women. It provides a warm, safe room for women to meet, chat, or listen to a sermon, and there are traditional women-only parties and picnics in gardens or holy places. Take away these traditional and religious customs from women as the Shah—with his capitalist and imperialist reforms, irrelevant to women's needs—tried to do and a huge vacuum is left. Khomeini stepped in to fill that vacuum. The reason why Khomeini won was that the Shah's social-economic program for women was dictatorial, bureaucratic, inadequate (especially in terms of health education) and therefore irrelevant to women's needs. . . .

African Tradition and Western Values: The Issue of Female Genital Mutilation

112 • ASSOCIATION OF AFRICAN WOMEN FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, A STATEMENT ON GENITAL MUTILATION

Female genital mutilation, also referred to as genital cutting or female circumcision, refers to any ritual procedure that involves the partial or complete removal of the external female genitals. The operation, which in different societies may take place

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anytime from shortly after birth to the onset of puberty, is usually performed by midwives or village women without benefit of anesthesia or antibiotics. No accurate statistics on the prevalence of the practice exist. It is most common in sub-Saharan Africa, especially in the Sudan region, but it is also practiced in many other parts of the world. Presumably instituted to encourage chastity by dulling a woman's sexual desire, the practice has come under harsh criticism both from within the societies in which it exists and from outsiders, especially from the West. Efforts to suppress the practice have had, however, little effect among peoples who consider the custom part of their ethnic and religious heritage and a necessary rite of passage into womanhood.

Western-inspired campaigns to end genital mutilation have frequently backfired, especially in Africa, where the custom is most deeply rooted. The following statement, issued in 1980 by the Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD), which was founded in 1977 in Dakar, Senegal, reveals that even Africans who oppose the practice resent Western interference.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is the basis of the authors' assertion that critics of female circumcision are guilty of "latent racism"?
2. How have Western criticisms of female circumcision hindered the efforts of African critics to limit the practice?
3. In the view of the authors, what would be an appropriate Western approach to the issue of female circumcision?
4. How might an ardent Western critic of female circumcision in Africa counter the arguments contained in the AAWORD statement?

In the last few years, Western public opinion has been shocked to find out that in the middle of the 20th century thousands of women and children have been "savagely mutilated" because of "barbarous customs from another age." . . . There have been press conferences, documentary films, headlines in the newspapers, information days, open letters, action groups—all this to mobilize public opinion and put pressure on governments of the countries where genital mutilation is still practiced. . . .

. . . In trying to reach their own public, the new crusaders have fallen back on sensationalism, and have become insensitive to the dignity of the

very women they want to "save." They are totally unconscious of the latent racism which such a campaign evokes in countries where ethnocentric prejudice is so deep-rooted. And in their conviction that this is a "just cause," they have forgotten that these women from a different race and a different culture are also *human beings*, and that solidarity can only exist alongside self-affirmation and mutual respect. . . .

AAWORD, whose aim is to carry out research which leads to the liberation of African women in particular, *firmly condemns* genital mutilation and all other practices—traditional or modern—which oppress women and justify exploiting them

Source: Association of African Women for Research and Development, A Statement on Genital Mutilation.

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economically or socially, as a serious violation of the fundamental rights of women. . . .

However, as far as AAWORD is concerned, the fight against genital mutilation, although necessary, should not take on such proportions that the wood cannot be seen for the trees. Young girls and women who are mutilated in Africa are usually among those who cannot even satisfy their basic needs and who have to struggle daily for survival. This is due to the exploitation of developing countries, manifested especially through the impoverishment of the poorest social classes. In the context of the present world economic crisis, tradition, with all of its constraints, becomes more than ever a form of security for the peoples of the Third World, and especially for the "wretched of the earth." For these people, the modern world, which is primarily Western and bourgeois, can only represent aggression at all levels—political, economic, social and cultural. It is unable to propose viable alternatives for them.

Moreover, to fight against genital mutilation without placing it in the context of ignorance, obscurantism, exploitation, poverty, etc., without questioning the structures and social relations which perpetuate this situation, is like "refusing

to see the sun in the middle of the day." This, however, is precisely the approach taken by many Westerners, and is highly suspect, especially since Westerners necessarily profit from the exploitation of the peoples and women of Africa, whether directly or indirectly.

Feminists from developed countries—at least those who are sincerely concerned about this situation rather than those who use it only for their personal prestige—should understand this other aspect of the problem. They must accept that it is a problem for *African women*, and that no change is possible without the conscious participation of African women. They must avoid ill-timed interference, maternalism, ethnocentrism and misuse of power. These are attitudes which can only widen the gap between the Western feminist movement and that of the Third World. . . .

On the question of such traditional practices as genital mutilation, African women must no longer equivocate or react only to Western interference. They must speak out in favour of the total eradication of all these practices, and they must lead information and education campaigns to this end within their own countries and on a continental level.

Tradition Trumps Legislation: The Case of the Indian Dowry System

113 • EDITORIAL AGAINST DOWRY FROM MANUSHI

Although some improvement in the status of Indian women took place under British rule, major legislation to advance gender equality took place only after Indian independence in 1947. Women received the right to vote, hold political office, own property, and divorce their husbands; in addition, child marriage and polygamy were outlawed, and restrictions against intercaste marriages were eased. In 1961, the government also outlawed dowries, the gifts of property a new bride's family was expected to make to the husband or the husband's family. The intent of the legislation was to lessen the financial burdens of families with daughters and encourage men from higher castes to marry women from lower castes.

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As the following editorial shows, however, the practice of dowries continued, often with tragic results for young married women. This anonymous editorial was originally published in 1979 in *Manushi*, an Indian magazine for women.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to the author of this editorial, is the giving and taking of dowries the result of recent developments or of long-standing Indian traditions?
2. According to the author, why have efforts to end the practice of dowries failed?
3. What does the author see as the solution to the problem?
4. According to the author, to what degree do dowry murders fit into a general pattern of mistreatment of women in Indian society?

Most people are not even aware that the giving and taking of dowry is a legal offense. Since the Prohibition of Dowry Act was passed in 1961, the custom has flowered and flourished, invading castes and communities among whom it was hitherto unknown—sprouting new forms and varieties. It is percolating downwards and becoming so widespread even among the working classes that it is no longer possible to consider it a problem of the middle class alone. . . .

Marriages are made and broken for such items as cars, scooters, TVs, refrigerators and washing machines, wedding receptions in five-star hotels or an air ticket plus the promise of a job for the son-in-law in a foreign country.

In India, we have a glorious heritage of systematic violence on women in the family itself, sati¹ and female infanticide being the two better-known forms. Today, we do not kill girl-babies at birth. We let them die through systematic neglect—the mortality rate among female children is 30–60% higher than among male children. Today, we do not wait till a woman is widowed before we burn her to death. We burn her in the lifetime of her husband so that he can get a new bride with a fatter dowry.

“Woman burnt to death. A case of suicide has been registered. The police are enquiring into the matter.” For years, such three-line news items have appeared almost every day in the newspapers and gone unnoticed. It is only lately that dowry deaths are being given detailed coverage. It is not by accident that fuller reporting of such cases has coincided with a spurt of protest demonstrations.

We, as women, have too long been silent spectators, often willing participants in the degrading drama of matrimony—when girls are advertised, displayed, bargained over, and disposed of with the pious injunction: “Daughter, we are sending you to your husband’s home. . . . You are not to leave it till your corpse emerges from its doors.” Death may be slow in coming—a long process of killing the girl’s spirit by harassment, taunts, torture. It may be only too quick—fiery and sudden. Dousing the woman with kerosene and setting her on fire seems to have become the most popular way of murdering a daughter-in-law because with police connivance it is the easiest to make out as a case of suicide or accident.

Source: from Madhu Kishwar and Ruth Vanita, *In Search of Answers: Voices from Manushi* (London: Zed Books, 1984), 246–248. Reprinted by permission of Zed Books.

¹Sati is the custom in which a Hindu widow is willingly cremated on the funeral pyre of her dead husband as a sign of devotion to him.

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And for every one reported murder, hundreds go unreported, especially in rural areas where it is almost impossible to get redress unless one is rich and influential. . . .

Why is it that gifts have to be given with the daughter? Hindu scriptures proclaim that the girl herself is the most precious of gifts “presented” by her father to her husband. Thus the money transaction between families is bound up with the marriage transaction whereby the girl becomes a piece of transferrable property. So little is a woman worth that a man has literally to be paid to take her off her father’s hands. The dramatic increase in dowry-giving in the post-independence period reflects the declining value of women in our society. Their only worth is as reproducers who provide “legitimate” heirs for their husbands’ property. . . .

. . . We appeal, therefore, to all the women’s organizations to undertake a broad-based united

action on this issue and launch an intensive, concerted campaign instead of the isolated, sporadic protests which . . . can have only a short-term, limited impact.

Perhaps even more urgent is the need to begin the movement from our own homes. Are we sure that none of us who participated so vociferously in these demonstrations will take dowry from our parents or give it to our daughters in however veiled a form? That we will rather say “No” to marriage than live a life of humiliations and compromises? Do we have the courage to boycott marriages where dowry is given? . . . Will we socially ostracize such people, no matter how close they are to us? All the protest demonstrations will be only so much hot air unless we are prepared to create pressures against dowry beginning from our own homes.

Communism’s Retreat

The Cold War era was a time of moral and ideological absolutes. On one side was the communist world, characterized by authoritarian, one-party governments, centralized economic planning, and a commitment to the worldwide victory of Marxism over capitalism. On the other side was the “free world,” a bloc of nations led by the United States, with the goal of defending capitalism and spreading liberal democracy. For more than 40 years, these two blocs formed formidable military alliances, built up huge nuclear arsenals, supported giant intelligence establishments, and competed for support among nonaligned nations. For both sides, the dualisms of the Cold War—communism versus capitalism, the United States versus the Soviet Union, NATO versus the Warsaw Pact—gave direction and meaning to international politics.

In reality, the Cold War was never completely about ideology. From its start, the United States and its allies propped up dictators when it served their purposes. Furthermore, cracks and fissures appeared in both coalitions as early as the 1950s. Anti-Soviet revolts took place in Eastern Europe in 1956 and 1968, and relations between China and the Soviet Union cooled in the mid-1960s. Also in the 1960s, the prospering, stable democracies of Western Europe, inspired by the independent diplomatic course of France’s leader, Charles de Gaulle, no longer unquestioningly

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accepted U.S. policies concerning military deployment in Europe and U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

There were times when the Cold War seemed about to end, but on each occasion, old tensions returned. Peaceful coexistence in the late 1950s gave way to renewed acrimony after the downing of a U.S. spy plane over Soviet territory in 1960, the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. U.S.–Soviet relations improved in the 1970s, but again deteriorated after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. In the early 1980s, President Ronald Reagan branded the Soviet Union an “evil empire,” and Soviet suspicions of the United States deepened. No one expected anything other than continuing U.S.–Soviet conflict.

By 1991, however, the Cold War was over. In one state after another, communist regimes in Eastern Europe either collapsed or were voted out of power and replaced by democracies. Within the Soviet Union, Premier Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 initiated policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) to rejuvenate Soviet society. But his efforts to save communism by democratization and economic liberalization had unexpected results: by the end of 1991, communist rule and the Soviet Union itself had ceased to exist.

Profound changes also took place in China. After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, China's new leader, Deng Xiaoping, deemphasized ideology and egalitarianism in favor of pragmatism and economic development. He ordered the opening of small private businesses, fostered a market economy in agriculture, sought foreign investment, supported scientific and technological education, and encouraged Chinese exports of manufactured goods. The result was economic growth rates of 12 percent annually in the early 1990s. China remained officially communist, but with its commitment to “market socialism,” it was far different from the isolated, ideology-driven China of previous decades.

China's New Course

114 • DENG XIAOPING, SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

Of all the events of the late twentieth century, China's full entry into the global economy and its decision to commit itself to economic development may prove to be the most significant. For centuries, China was the world's most successful state in terms of size, wealth, technological sophistication, and strength of its political institutions. This was easy to forget in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when China became a pawn of the Western powers and a victim of political breakdown, military defeat, and deepening poverty. In the 1980s, however, China's leaders set a new course that seems destined to restore China to its preeminence in Asia, if not its primacy among the world's powers.

The man who launched China on its new path was Deng Xiaoping. Born into the family of a well-off landowner in 1904, Deng studied in China and then in

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post-World War I France, where he supported himself as a kitchen helper and a laborer. He also embraced Marxism, which he studied further in Moscow in 1925–1926. On his return to China in 1927, he joined the Communist Party and became one of Mao's most loyal followers.

After the communists took control of China in 1949, Deng became a Politburo member and party secretary general, with responsibility for overseeing economic development in southwest China. He supported the strategy of developing China's economy by following the Stalinist model of agricultural collectivization, centralized planning, and investment in heavy industry. This was scrapped in 1958 when Mao instituted the Great Leap Forward. As we have seen (source 109), the Great Leap Forward was a spectacular failure, and in its wake, Deng and other moderates dismantled the communes and reintroduced centralized planning.

This made Deng a prime candidate for vilification after Mao launched the Great Cultural Revolution in 1966. Designed to revive revolutionary fervor and rescue China from materialism and Soviet-style bureaucratization, the revolution unleashed the energies of millions of young people who were urged to rise up and smash "bourgeois" elements throughout society. Deng fell from power, was paraded through the streets in a dunce cap, and was put to work in a mess hall and a tractor repair shop. As the Cultural Revolution faded, Deng was reinstated as a party official, and after Mao's death in 1976, he led the moderates in their struggle with the radical faction led by Mao's widow, Jiang Qing. Deng's faction won, and in December 1978, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party officially abandoned Mao's emphasis on ideology and class struggle in favor of a moderate, pragmatic policy designed to achieve the Four Modernizations in agriculture, industry, science and technology, and the military.

To encourage economic growth, the government fostered free markets, competition, and private incentives. Although Deng claimed that China had entered its "second revolution," it was an economic revolution only. When millions of Chinese demonstrated for democracy in the spring of 1989, the government crushed the demonstration in Beijing with soldiers and tanks, thus ensuring the continuation of the party dictatorship. After 1989, Deng withdrew from public life, and he died in early 1997. The following excerpts are from speeches and interviews given by Deng between 1983 and 1986.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Deng, what had been the shortcomings of China's economic development planning under Mao Zedong?
2. According to Deng, how is China's new economic policy truly Marxist and truly socialist?
3. How does Deng view China's role in the world? What implications will China's new economic priorities have for its foreign policy?
4. What is Deng's rationale for opposing democracy in China?

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Maoism's Flaws

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great leader. . . . But he made the grave mistake of neglecting the development of the productive forces. I do not mean he didn't want to develop them. The point is, not all of the methods he used were correct. For instance, the people's communes were established in defiance of the laws governing socio-economic development. The most important lesson we have learned, among a great many others, is that we must be clear about what socialism is and how to build it. . . .

The goal for Marxists is to realize communism, which must be built on the basis of highly developed productive forces. What is a communist society? It is a society in which there is vast material wealth and in which the principle of from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs is applied. . . .

Our experience in the 20 years from 1958 to 1978 teaches us that poverty is not socialism, that 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.

After the Third Plenary Session¹ we proceeded to explore ways of building socialism in China. . . . The first goal we set was to achieve comparative prosperity by the end of the century. . . . So taking population increase into consideration, we planned to quadruple our GNP [Gross National Product], which meant that per capita GNP would grow from \$250 to \$800 or \$1,000. We shall lead a much better life when we reach this level, although it is still much lower than that of the developed countries. That is why we call it comparative prosperity. When we attain that level, China's GNP will have reached \$1,000 billion,

representing increased national strength. And the most populous nation in the world will have shaken off poverty and be able to make a greater contribution to mankind. With a GNP of \$1,000 billion as a springboard, within 30 or 50 more years—50, to be more accurate—China may reach its second goal, to approach the level of the developed countries. How are we to go about achieving these goals? . . . We began our reform in the countryside. The main point of the rural reform has been to bring the peasants' initiative into full play by introducing the responsibility system and discarding the system whereby everybody ate from the same big pot. Why did we start in the countryside? Because that is where 80 per cent of China's population lives. If we didn't raise living standards in the countryside, the society would be unstable. Industry, commerce and other sectors of the economy cannot develop on the basis of the poverty of 80 per cent of the population. After three years of practice the rural reform has proved successful. . . . The countryside has assumed a new look. The living standards of 90 per cent of the rural population have been raised. . . .

Urban reform is more complicated and risky. This is especially true in China, because we have no experience in this regard. Also, China has traditionally been a very closed society, so that people lack information about what's going on elsewhere. . . .

It is our hope that businessmen and economists in other countries will appreciate that to help China develop will benefit the world. China's foreign trade volume makes up a very small portion of the world's total. If we succeed in quadrupling the GNP, the volume of our foreign trade will increase considerably, promoting China's economic relations with other countries and

Source: Deng Xiaoping, *Fundamental Issues in Present-Day China* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1987), pp. 42–44, 69–72, 101–102, 105–109, 162–163. Reprinted by permission.

¹The Third Plenary Session of Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, held in December 1978, approved the Four Modernizations Program favored by Deng.

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expanding its market. Therefore, judged from the perspective of world politics and economics, China's development will benefit world peace and the world economy. . . .

True Socialism

Our modernization programme is a socialist programme, not anything else. All our policies for carrying out reform, opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy are designed to develop the socialist economy. We allow the development of individual economy, of joint ventures with both Chinese and foreign investment and of enterprises wholly owned by foreign businessmen, but socialist public ownership will always remain predominant. The aim of socialism is to make all our people prosperous, not to create polarization. If our policies led to polarization, it would mean that we had failed; if a new bourgeoisie emerged, it would mean that we had strayed from the right path. In encouraging some regions to become prosperous first, we intend that they should help the economically backward ones to develop. Similarly, in encouraging some people to become prosperous first, we intend that they should help others who are still in poverty to become better off, so that there will be common prosperity rather than polarization. A limit should be placed on the wealth of people who become prosperous first, through the income tax, for example. In addition, we should encourage them to contribute money to run schools and build roads. . . . We should encourage these people to make donations, but it's better not to give such donations too much publicity.

In short, predominance of public ownership and common prosperity are the two fundamental socialist principles that we must adhere to. We shall firmly put them into practice. And ultimately we shall move on to communism.

²Special Economic Zones were restricted areas where foreign firms could set up businesses and house foreign personnel.

Special Economic Zones

In establishing special economic zones² and implementing an open policy, we must make it clear that our guideline is just that—to open and not to close.

I was impressed by the prosperity of the Shenzhen³ Special Economic Zone during my stay there. The pace of construction in Shenzhen is rapid. It is particularly fast in Shekou, because the authorities there are permitted to make their own spending decisions up to a limit of U.S. \$5 million. Their slogan is "time is money, efficiency is life." In Shenzhen, it doesn't take long to erect a tall building; the workers complete a storey in a couple of days. . . . Their high efficiency is due to the "contracted responsibility system," under which they are paid according to their performance, and to a fair system of rewards and penalties.

A special economic zone is a medium for introducing technology, management and knowledge. It is also a window for our foreign policy. Through the special economic zone we can import foreign technology, obtain knowledge and learn management, which is also a kind of knowledge. . . . Public order in Shenzhen is reportedly better than before, and people who slipped off to Hong Kong have begun to return. One reason is that there are more job opportunities and people's incomes and living standards are rising, all of which proves that cultural and ideological progress is based on material progress.

China's Foreign Relations

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 contact. Our experience shows that China cannot rebuild itself with its doors closed to the outside and

³A district in southern China's Guangdong province, situated just north of Hong Kong. The area was one of the first Special Economic Zones.

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that it cannot develop in isolation from the rest of the world. It goes without saying that a large country like China cannot depend on others for its development; it must depend mainly on itself, on its own efforts. Nevertheless, while holding to self-reliance, we should open our country to the outside world to obtain such aid as foreign investment capital and technology. . . .

China's Political Future

The recent student unrest⁴ is not going to lead to any major disturbances. But because of its nature it must be taken very seriously. Firm measures must be taken against any student who creates trouble at Tiananmen Square. . . . In the beginning, we mainly used persuasion, which is as it should be in dealing with student demonstrators. But if any of them disturb public order or violate the law, they must be dealt with unhesitatingly. Persuasion includes application of the law. When a disturbance breaks out in a place, it's because the leaders there didn't take a firm, clear-cut stand. This is not a problem that has arisen in just one or two places or in just the last couple of years; it is the result of failure over the past several years to take a firm, clear-cut stand against bourgeois liberalization. It is essential to adhere firmly to the Four Cardinal Principles;⁵ otherwise bourgeois liberalization will spread unchecked—and that has been the root cause of the problem. . . .

In developing our democracy, we cannot simply copy bourgeois democracy, or introduce the system of a balance of three powers. I have often criticized people in power in the United States, saying that actually they have three governments. Of course, the American bourgeoisie uses this system in dealing with other countries, but when it comes to internal affairs, the three branches often pull in different directions, and that makes trouble. We cannot adopt such a system. . . .

⁴Deng made these remarks in December 1986, when student demonstrations and speechmaking on behalf of the pro-democracy movement had been going on in Tiananmen Square in Beijing for several years.

Without leadership by the Communist Party and without socialism, there is no future for China. This truth has been demonstrated in the past, and it will be demonstrated again in future. When we succeed in raising China's per capita GNP to \$4,000 and everyone is prosperous, that will better demonstrate the superiority of socialism over capitalism, it will point the way for three quarters of the world's population and it will provide further proof of the correctness of Marxism. Therefore, we must confidently keep to the socialist road and uphold the Four Cardinal Principles.

We cannot do without dictatorship. We must not only affirm the need for it but exercise it when necessary. Of course, we must be cautious about resorting to dictatorial means and make as few arrests as possible. But if some people attempt to provoke bloodshed, what are we going to do about it? We should first expose their plot and then do our best to avoid shedding blood, even if that means some of our own people get hurt. However, ringleaders who have violated the law must be sentenced according to law. Unless we are prepared to do that, it will be impossible to put an end to disturbances. If we take no action and back down, we shall only have more trouble down the road.

The struggle against bourgeois liberalization is also indispensable. We should not be afraid that it will damage our reputation abroad. China must take its own road and build socialism with Chinese characteristics—that is the only way China can have a future. We must show foreigners that China's political situation is stable. If our country were plunged into disorder and our nation reduced to a heap of loose sand, how could we ever prosper? The reason the imperialists were able to bully us in the past was precisely that we were a heap of loose sand.

⁵Issued by Deng in 1979, the Four Cardinal Principles were (1) the socialist path, (2) the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) party leadership, and (4) Marxism/Leninism/Mao Zedong thought.