Explanation of the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Certain Major Issues concerning Persevering with Full and Rigorous Party Self-Governance

Xi Jinping

Comrades,

On behalf of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, I will now brief you on the drafting of the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Certain Major Issues concerning Persevering with Full and Rigorous Party Self-Governance.

I. Considerations on the Topic of the Session

Party building is crucial to the future of the Party and the success of the cause of the Party and the country. As this year marks the 105th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the Political Bureau decided that the 20th CPC Central Committee would focus on the issue of persevering with full and rigorous Party self-governance at its fifth plenary session. This major decision made by the Central Committee is based on its assessment and thorough consideration of the situation and in light of the historical stage that the cause of the Party and

the country has entered and the advancement of Chinese modernization as a whole.

First, it is essential for maintaining the Party's advanced nature and integrity and consolidating its long-term governing position.

For our Party to maintain its long-term governance, it is imperative to find answers to the fundamental question of how to escape the historical cycle of rise and fall. Comrade Mao Zedong offered the first answer to this question back in his years in the cave dwellings of Yan'an: the people's oversight over government. Since the Party's 18th National Congress, we have found the second answer in exercising full and rigorous self-governance: the Party's self-reform. The Party's self-reform has been defined clearly. It entails exercising full and rigorous self-governance with unflinching courage to ensure the Party maintains its advanced nature and integrity and can purify, improve, renew, and excel itself. For more than a century, our Party has led the people in working tirelessly for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. During the course, the Party has always attached great importance to its self-supervision and self-governance, had the courage to uphold truth and correct errors, and grown ever stronger by relying on its own efforts and the support of the people to resolve its own problems. Thanks to these efforts, our century-old Party remains in its prime, brimming with vigor and vitality.

At the same time, we must be keenly aware that full and rigorous Party

self-governance is a long-term strategic task. Over the years, our Party membership is undergoing structural changes, with a steady increase in the proportion of members and officials born after the launch of reform and opening up in 1978. This has raised new requirements for education and management. The vast majority of Party members are exemplary, yet there remain a number of problems and hidden dangers that threaten to undermine the Party's advanced nature, weaken its integrity, and jeopardize its long-term governance. In particular, the problems of defects in thinking, organization, and conduct have yet to be solved root and branch, while some new problems continue to emerge. Facing these problems and challenges, we must persevere with full and rigorous Party self-governance to remove the viruses that would erode the Party's health, ensuring that the Party will never change its nature, its conviction, or its character, and that the socialist cause can be advanced from generation to generation.

Second, it is essential for consolidating and developing the sound political situation where great solidarity and unity are maintained across the whole Party and great cohesion is secured within the Party and the military and among the people.

Since the Party's 18th National Congress, the Central Committee has confronted the grave situation marked by weak, hollow, and watered-down Party leadership, lax, superficial, and ineffective self-supervision and self-governance, as well as some egregious problems within the Party.

Staying firmly committed to full and rigorous Party self-governance, the Central Committee has made continuous efforts to tackle these prominent issues. As a result, the problem of lax and weak self-supervision and self-governance has been addressed at its root, unhealthy tendencies that had long gone unchecked have been curbed, deep-seated problems that had plagued the Party for years have been remedied, and serious dangers hidden within the Party, the state, and the military have been removed. The Party has thus grown stronger through revolutionary tempering. Thanks to these efforts, we have significantly strengthened the Party's overall leadership and the centralized, unified leadership of the Central Committee; achieved a new breakthrough in adapting Marxism to the Chinese context and the needs of our times; and effectively implemented the Party's organizational line for the new era. The central Party leadership's eight-point decision on improving work conduct has begun to show its teeth as ironclad discipline, and steady progress has been made in strengthening Party discipline. We have combated corruption with unprecedented intensity and produced universally recognized results. The framework of Party regulations and institutions has been further improved, and Party organizations at all levels have taken concrete and effective measures to fulfill their responsibilities for self-supervision and self-governance. We have gained rich experience in full and rigorous Party self-governance in the new era and broken new ground in the self-reform

of our century-old Party. As a result, we have reinforced the solidarity and unity of the Party and secured great cohesion within the Party and the military and among the people.

As such a sound political situation has not been easily won, the whole Party must cherish it and continue to consolidate and develop it. This requires us, building on our valuable experience gained in the new era, to adopt higher standards and more concrete measures in persevering with full and rigorous Party self-governance and constantly strengthen the Party's capacity for providing political leadership, giving theoretical guidance, organizing the people, and inspiring society. By doing so, we will see that the Party always enjoys the wholehearted support of the people and remains the strong leadership core in the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Third, it is essential for fulfilling the Party's historic mission and ensuring steady and sustained progress in the cause of the Party and the country.

Building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization is a pioneering endeavor that no one has attempted before. Thanks to the tenacious efforts of the whole Party and the people of all ethnic groups since the Party's 18th National Congress, we have brought about historic achievements and transformations in the cause of the Party and the country, setting the rejuvenation of the Chinese

nation on an irreversible historical course. At the same time, however, with the world, the times, and the course of history changing in ways like never before, we will be confronted with multiple risks and challenges on our journey ahead. Internationally, momentous changes of a magnitude not seen in a century are unfolding across the world at a faster pace. Breakthroughs are accelerating in the new round of technological revolution and industrial transformation, while a profound shift is taking place in the international balance of power. As the world enters a new period of turbulence and transformation, uncertainties and unforeseeable factors are increasing in our country's external environment. Domestically, more than 40 years of reform and opening up have brought about tremendous changes in China's economy and society. However, development imbalances and inadequacies remain prominent, and many new challenges have emerged in further deepening reform comprehensively, promoting high-quality development, strengthening social development and governance, ensuring both development and security, and stimulating and boosting the vitality of our society.

China's success hinges on our Party, especially on the Party's efforts to exercise full and rigorous self-governance. In the face of complicated international and domestic landscapes and the challenging tasks of advancing reform, promoting development, and ensuring stability, it is essential, in our efforts to ensure steady and sustained progress in Chinese

modernization, to carry forward the great founding spirit and fine qualities of the Party, and always bear in mind that all of us in the Party must never forget our original aspiration and founding mission, that we must always stay modest, prudent, and hard-working, and that we must have the courage and ability to carry on our fight. We must also persevere with full and rigorous Party self-governance, and work to make our Party better and stronger, so as to provide strong guarantees for building China into a great modern socialist country in all respects and advancing the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation on all fronts through Chinese modernization.

II. The Drafting Process

In January this year, the Central Committee established a document drafting group for the fifth plenary session of the 20th Central Committee under the leadership of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau. I was chief of this group, while my colleagues Wang Huning, Cai Qi, and Li Xi served as its deputy chiefs. The group also included other Party and state leaders as well as heads of relevant central departments and localities. On February 6, the group convened its first general meeting, starting the drafting work officially.

Throughout the drafting process, we have highlighted the following points.

First, fully implement the Thought on Party Building for a new era

The Thought on Party Building for a new era represents the Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era in the sphere of Party building. It stands as a crystallization of the practical experience and collective wisdom of the Party and the people. In drafting the document, we have followed the guidance of the Thought on Party Building for a new era and fully applied the requirements of this Thought in defining the framework of the document, reviewing the achievements and experience, analyzing the circumstances and tasks, clarifying the guiding philosophy and principles, and putting forth policy measures. We have also followed the laws underlying the development of a Marxist governing party and made the most of the valuable experience in exercising full and rigorous Party self-governance in the new era, aiming to seek development while carrying forward fine traditions and break new ground while upholding fundamental principles in the efforts to supervise, govern, develop, and strengthen the Party.

Second, serve the Party's missions and tasks

Complying with and serving the cause of the Party and the country has always been a major principle guiding Party building. In drafting the document, we have stayed true to the Party's original aspiration and founding mission, while bearing in mind the Party's missions and tasks on the new journey in the new era. Taking into account the inherent connection

between efforts to supervise, govern, develop, and strengthen the Party on the one hand, and the goal of building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation on the other, we have formulated policy measures in line with the development of the cause of the Party and the country, ensuring that all of our arrangements for persevering with full and rigorous Party self-governance focus on the central task and serve the overall interests.

Third, stay committed to rigorous governance

Being rigorous is the key to exercising full and rigorous Party self-governance. To persevere with the efforts in this regard, we must remain committed to rigorous governance through to the end. In drafting the resolution, we have firmly adhered to the principle of being rigorous in the following aspects: the implementation of standards in all initiatives of Party building; education, management, and oversight of Party organizations at all levels, Party members, and officials; the enforcement of the measures to address misconduct and corruption; and the fulfillment of responsibilities for Party self-supervision and self-governance. By further refining the policies and measures for full and rigorous Party self-governance, we have sent a strong signal of our commitment to being even more rigorous in the years ahead. At the same time, we should be strict with and also care for Party members and officials, and place equal emphasis on providing incentives and imposing constraints. In this way, we

will ensure strict constraints on them while stimulating greater motivation, initiative, and creativity within the whole Party.

Fourth, adopt a problem-oriented approach

Our efforts in exercising full and rigorous self-governance aim at addressing prominent problems within the Party. To advance this work, we must continue to study new developments and solve new problems on the basis of consolidating the achievements already made. Therefore, the draft resolution has been laid out by highlighting pivotal issues and prominent problems. In devising plans and measures, we have adopted an approach that addresses whatever problems that come up, and focused on the most pressing ones. We have strived to pinpoint the crux of these problems and put forward targeted solutions based on in-depth analysis and deliberation.

Fifth, enhance systems thinking

Persevering with full and rigorous Party self-governance is a systematic endeavor. We must take a holistic approach in planning and advancing the efforts to strengthen the Party politically, theoretically, and organizationally, as well as in terms of conduct, discipline, and institutions, and to combat corruption, with a focus on improving the system of exercising full and rigorous Party self-governance.

The draft resolution fully applies the overall requirements for Party building in the new era. Taking strengthening the Party politically as the overarching principle, it stresses coordinated efforts on all fronts of Party

building and integration of all policies and measures. It also highlights the importance of leveraging the exemplary role of leading officials, focusing on both overall work and efforts in specific areas, addressing both symptoms and root causes, and establishing a working mechanism featuring cross-level alignment, concerted efforts from all departments and localities, and joint efforts of all sides. Thus, the overall effectiveness of Party self-supervision and self-governance will be improved.

During the drafting process, the Central Committee has promoted full democratic engagement, conducted thorough surveys and studies, and sought extensive input. On January 31, it issued a notice on soliciting opinions from all localities and departments on the topic of the fifth plenary session of the 20th Central Committee. Meanwhile, 16 organizations were entrusted to carry out research on 23 major issues. On May 6, I presided over a symposium in Shanghai to hear the opinions of the principal leaders of a number of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government. On August 3, a draft resolution was issued to certain Party members for feedback, including retired senior Party officials, and dedicated meetings were held to solicit views from the central committees of other political parties in China, leaders of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, and prominent figures without party affiliation.

All those consulted unanimously agree that the Central Committee's

decision to focus on the topic of persevering with full and rigorous Party self-governance at the fifth plenary session of the 20th Central Committee fully reflects our Party's keen awareness and strong will to strengthen itself. Outlining a strategic plan for persevering with full and rigorous Party self-governance, the resolution will undoubtedly serve as a programmatic document for advancing the great new project of Party building in the new era. It is of great immediate importance and far-reaching guiding significance for our endeavors to break new ground in supervising, governing, developing, and strengthening the Party in the new era and to lead the Chinese people of all ethnic groups in a concerted effort to build a great country and advance national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization.

With regard to its formulation, various sides have contributed many valuable comments and suggestions. The drafting group studied them one by one and incorporated as many of them as possible into the document.

During the drafting process, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau met three times and the Political Bureau convened on two occasions to review and revise draft versions of the document. These efforts culminated in the final draft that we have submitted to this plenary session for deliberation.

III. General Framework and Main Content

In addition to the opening paragraph and a conclusion, the draft resolution consists of three sections.

The first section, Part I, gives an overview. It elaborates on the importance, urgency, and overall requirements of persevering with full and rigorous Party self-governance from five aspects. First, it reviews our Party's glorious journey over more than 100 years, along which it has consistently strengthened itself and united and led the people in winning one victory after another. Second, it summarizes the great achievements the Party has made in exercising full and rigorous self-governance since its 18th National Congress and explicates the profound significance of the Thought on Party Building for a new era. Third, it analyzes the new circumstances, tasks, and challenges our Party faces in exercising full and rigorous self-governance. Fourth, it puts forward the guiding philosophy for persevering with full and rigorous Party self-governance. Fifth, it sets forth seven guiding principles that we must follow in advancing the efforts in this regard.

The second section is the discussion section, which runs from the second through eighth parts. It makes arrangements for strategic tasks and major measures for persevering with full and rigorous Party self-governance.

The second part focuses on strengthening the Party spirit of

communists, which represents a fundamental task in our efforts to ensure full and rigorous Party self-governance. The main points include:

- strengthening education on loyalty to the Party;
- building cohesion and inner strength with the Party's new theories;
- nurturing the Party spirit with the Party's good traditions and fine traditional Chinese culture;
- tempering the Party spirit in practice;
- enhancing Party spirit appraisal.

The third part makes it clear that strictly practicing democratic centralism is an inherent requirement for exercising full and rigorous Party self-governance. The main points include:

- upholding and strengthening the Party Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership;
- improving the efficacy of intraparty democracy;
- strictly implementing deliberation rules and decision-making procedures for leadership teams;
- regulating leadership team heads' performance of duties and exercise of power.

Under the heading of cultivating high-caliber officials capable of shouldering the mission of national rejuvenation, the fourth part emphasizes that strict management of officials is the key to full and rigorous governance over the Party. The main points include:

- following sound guidelines in appointing officials;
- taking targeted, well-designed measures to select and appoint officials;
- inspiring officials to foster and act on the correct view of performance;
- enhancing officials' competence in fulfilling their duties and breaking new ground;
- improving the training and selection of outstanding young officials;
- strengthening management and oversight of officials.

The fifth part discusses building a well-knit organizational system characterized by cross-level alignment and effective implementation. Stressing that Party organizations at all levels play the principal role in exercising full and rigorous Party self-governance, it covers the following points:

- giving play to the exemplary role of Party organizations of central Party and state organs;
- bolstering the functions of local Party committees;
- taking coordinated steps to improve primary-level Party organizations across all sectors;
- promoting Party building in emerging sectors;
- building a strong contingent of Party members;
- refining mechanisms to ensure alignment across different levels of

Party organizations.

The sixth part stresses that improving conduct and tightening discipline on an ongoing basis are effective measures to advance full and rigorous Party self-governance. The main points include:

- following the Party's mass line in the new era;
- steadfastly implementing the guiding principles from the central Party leadership's eight-point decision on improving work conduct;
- devoting consistent and sustained efforts to improving conduct;
- making discipline enforcement more rigorous;
- making full use of discipline as a guide, restraint, guarantee, and incentive.

The seventh part defines taking firm and integrated action against corruption as both an important policy for full and rigorous Party self-governance and a fundamental principle for our fight against corruption. The main points include:

- maintaining a tough stance against corruption;
- strengthening checks on and oversight over the exercise of power;
- fortifying the cultural-ethical foundations for upholding integrity and resisting corruption;
- better preventing corruption through a holistic approach.

Revolving around running the Party through institutions and regulations, the eighth part highlights strengthening Party regulations and institutions

as a long-term, fundamental strategy for ensuring full and rigorous Party self-governance. The main points include:

- improving the framework of Party regulations and institutions;
- enhancing the implementation of institutions;
- eliminating hidden rules.

The third section discusses improving Party and state oversight systems and fulfilling the political responsibility for full and rigorous Party self-governance. Specific arrangements are made therein.

Comrades,

The key task of this plenary session is to review and adopt the resolution. I hope that all of you will give this draft your careful consideration, carry out in-depth discussions, and come up with constructive ideas and suggestions, so that we can work together to make this plenary session a success and make well-conceived revisions to the draft resolution.