

Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive in Unity to Build a Modern Socialist Country in All Respects (II)

高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜 为全面建设社会主义现代化国家而团结奋斗(中)

Report to the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China

——在中国共产党第二十次全国代表大会上的报告

October 16, 2022

2022年10月16日

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The next five years will be crucial for getting our efforts to build a modern socialist country in all respects off to a good start. Our main objectives and tasks for this period are as follows:

- Make breakthroughs in promoting high-quality economic development; achieve greater self-reliance and strength in science and technology; make major progress in creating a new pattern of development and building a modernized economy

- Make new strides in reform and opening up; make further progress in modernizing China's system and capacity for governance; further improve the socialist market economy; put in place new systems for a higher-standard open economy

- Further enhance the institutions, standards, and procedures of whole-process people's democracy; improve the system of socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics

- Enrich the intellectual and cultural lives of our people; enhance the cohesion of the Chinese nation and the appeal of Chinese culture

- Ensure personal income grows basically in step with economic growth and pay rises in tandem with increases in productivity; ensure much more equitable access to basic public services; develop a better multi-tiered social security system

- Substantially improve urban and rural living environments; make notable progress in building a Beautiful China

- Further consolidate national security; fulfill the goals for the centenary of the People's Liberation Army in 2027; make solid progress in building a Peaceful China

- Further increase China's international standing and influence; enable China to play a greater role in global governance

Building a modern socialist country in all respects is a great and arduous endeavor. Our future is bright, but we still have a long way to go. At present, momentous changes of a like not seen in a century are accelerating across the world. A new round of scientific and technological revolution and industrial transformation is well under way, and a significant shift is taking place in the international balance of power, presenting China with new strategic opportunities in pursuing development. At the same time, however, the once-in-a-century pandemic has had far-reaching effects; a backlash against

未来五年是全面建设社会主义现代化国家开局起步的关键时期，主要目标任务是：经济高质量发展取得新突破，科技自立自强能力显著提升，构建新发展格局和建设现代化经济体系取得重大进展；改革开放迈出新步伐，国家治理体系和治理能力现代化深入推进，社会主义市场经济体制更加完善，更高水平开放型经济新体制基本形成；全过程人民民主制度化、规范化、程序化水平进一步提高，中国特色社会主义法治体系更加完善；人民精神文化生活更加丰富，中华民族凝聚力和中华文化影响力不断增强；居民收入增长和经济增长基本同步，劳动报酬提高与劳动生产率提高基本同步，基本公共服务均等化水平明显提升，多层次社会保障体系更加健全；城乡人居环境明显改善，美丽中国建设成效显著；国家安全更为巩固，建军一百年奋斗目标如期实现，平安中国建设扎实推进；中国国际地位和影响进一步提高，在全球治理中发挥更大作用。

全面建设社会主义现代化国家，是一项伟大而艰巨的事业，前途光明，任重道远。当前，世界百年未有之大变局加速演进，新一轮科技革命和产业变革深入发展，国际力量对比深刻调整，

globalization is rising; and unilateralism and protectionism are mounting. The global economic recovery is sluggish, regional conflicts and disturbances are frequent, and global issues are becoming more acute. The world has entered a new period of turbulence and change.

At home, we face many deep-seated problems regarding reform, development, and stability that cannot be avoided or bypassed. In our efforts to strengthen the Party, and especially to improve conduct, build integrity, and combat corruption, we are confronted with many stubborn and recurrent problems. External attempts to suppress and contain China may escalate at any time.

Our country has entered a period of development in which strategic opportunities, risks, and challenges are concurrent and uncertainties and unforeseen factors are rising. Various “black swan” and “gray rhino” events may occur at any time. We must therefore be more mindful of potential dangers, be prepared to deal with worst-case scenarios, and be ready to withstand high winds, choppy waters, and even dangerous storms. On the journey ahead, we must firmly adhere to the following major principles.

—Upholding and strengthening the Party’s overall leadership. We must resolutely uphold the Party Central Committee’s authority and its centralized, unified leadership and see that Party leadership is exercised in all aspects and every stage of the endeavors of the Party and the country. This will ensure that our Party always remains the pillar that the Chinese people can lean on in times of difficulty, that our socialist modernization advances along the right path, and that we have the political cohesion and confidence in our development to inspire the people to strive in unity. It will see us forming a mighty force to overcome all difficulties with one heart and one mind.

—Following the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must continue to pursue economic development as our central task, uphold the Four Cardinal Principles [The Four Cardinal Principles are keeping to the path of socialism, upholding the people’s democratic dictatorship, upholding the leadership of the Communist Party of China, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.], remain committed to reform and opening up, and stay independent and self-reliant. We must keep to our path and not sway in our commitment. We must not return to the isolation and rigidity of the past, or veer off course by changing our nature or abandoning our system. We must develop our country and our nation with our own strength, and we must maintain a firm grasp on the future of China’s development and progress.

—Applying a people-centered development philosophy. We must protect the people’s fundamental interests, improve their wellbeing, and work tirelessly to ensure that development is for the people and by the people and that its fruits are shared by the people. We must do a better job of seeing that the gains of modernization benefit all our people fairly.

—Remaining committed to deepening reform and opening up. We must intensify efforts to advance reform and explore new ground, and we must remain steadfast in expanding opening up. We must work hard to remove deep-seated institutional barriers so as to fully tap into the strengths of socialism with Chinese characteristics and continuously imbue our socialist modernization endeavors with fresh dynamism and vitality. We must do better in translating our country’s institutional strengths into effective governance.

—Carrying forward our fighting spirit. We must foster a firmer sense of purpose, fortitude, and self-belief in the whole Party and the Chinese people so that we cannot be swayed by fallacies, deterred by intimidation, or cowed by pressure. We must meet obstacles and difficulties head on, ensure both development and security, and dig deep

我国发展面临新的战略机遇。同时，世纪疫情影响深远，逆全球化思潮抬头，单边主义、保护主义明显上升，世界经济复苏乏力，局部冲突和动荡频发，全球性问题加剧，世界进入新的动荡变革期。我国改革发展稳定面临不少深层次矛盾躲不开、绕不过，党的建设特别是党风廉政建设和反腐败斗争面临不少顽固性、多发性问题，来自外部的打压遏制随时可能升级。我国发展进入战略机遇和风险挑战并存、不确定难预料因素增多的时期，各种“黑天鹅”、“灰犀牛”事件随时可能发生。我们必须增强忧患意识，坚持底线思维，做到居安思危、未雨绸缪，准备经受风高浪急甚至惊涛骇浪的重大考验。前进道路上，必须牢牢把握以下重大原则。

——坚持和加强党的全面领导。坚决维护党中央权威和集中统一领导，把党的领导落实到党和国家事业各领域各方面各环节，使党始终成为风雨来袭时全体人民最可靠的主心骨，确保我国社会主义现代化建设正确方向，确保拥有团结奋斗的强大政治凝聚力、发展自信心，集聚起万众一心、共克时艰的磅礴力量。

——坚持中国特色社会主义道路。坚持以经济建设为中心，坚持四项基本原则，坚持改革开放，坚持独立自主、自力更生，坚持道不变、志不改，既不走封闭僵化的老路，也不走改旗易帜的邪路，坚持把国家和民族发展放在自己力量的基点上，坚持把中国发展进步的命运牢牢掌握在自己手中。

——坚持以人民为中心的发展思想。维护人民根本利益，增进民生福祉，不断实现发展为了人民、发展依靠人民、发展成果由人民共享，让现代化建设成果更多更公平惠及全体人民。

——坚持深化改革开放。深入推进改革创新，坚定不移扩大开放，着力破解深层次体制机制障碍，不断彰显中国特色社会主义制度优势，不断增强社会主义现代化建设的动力和活力，把我国制度优势更好转化为国家治理效能。

to surmount the difficulties and challenges on the road ahead. Let us harness our indomitable fighting spirit to open up new horizons for our cause.

Comrades,

Today, we are closer, more confident, and more capable than ever of reaching the goal of rejuvenating the Chinese nation. At the same time, we must be prepared to work even harder to get there. All of us in the Party must forge ahead with confidence and determination; proactively identify, respond to, and steer changes and prevent and defuse risks; and keep on striving to secure new successes in building a modern socialist China in all respects.

IV. Accelerating the Creation of a New Development Pattern and Pursuing High-Quality Development

To build a modern socialist country in all respects, we must, first and foremost, pursue high-quality development. Development is our Party's top priority in governing and rejuvenating China, for without solid material and technological foundations, we cannot hope to build a great modern socialist country in all respects. We must fully and faithfully apply the new development philosophy on all fronts, continue reforms to develop the socialist market economy, promote high-standard opening up, and accelerate efforts to foster a new pattern of development that is focused on the domestic economy and features positive interplay between domestic and international economic flows.

Pursuing high-quality development as our overarching task, we will make sure that our implementation of the strategy to expand domestic demand is integrated with our efforts to deepen supply-side structural reform; we will boost the dynamism and reliability of the domestic economy while engaging at a higher level in the global economy; and we will move faster to build a modernized economy. We will raise total factor productivity, make China's industrial and supply chains more resilient and secure, and promote integrated urban-rural development and coordinated regional development, so as to effectively upgrade and appropriately expand China's economic output.

1. Building a high-standard socialist market economy

We must uphold and improve China's basic socialist economic systems. We must unwaveringly consolidate and develop the public sector and unwaveringly encourage, support, and guide the development of the non-public sector. We will work to see that the market plays the decisive role in resource allocation and that the government better plays its role.

We will deepen reform of state-owned capital and state-owned enterprises (SOEs); accelerate efforts to improve the layout of the state-owned sector and adjust its structure; work to see state-owned capital and enterprises get stronger, do better, and grow bigger; and enhance the core competitiveness of SOEs.

We will provide an enabling environment for private enterprises, protect their property rights and the rights and interests of entrepreneurs in accordance with the law, and facilitate the growth of the private sector. We will improve the modern corporate system with distinctive Chinese features, encourage entrepreneurship, and move faster to help Chinese companies become world-class outfits. We will support the development of micro, small, and medium enterprises.

We will intensify reforms to streamline government administration, delegate power, improve regulation, and upgrade services. We will build a unified national market, advance reforms for the market-based allocation of production factors, and put in place a high-standard market system. We will refine the systems underpinning the

——坚持发扬斗争精神。增强全党全国各族人民的志气、骨气、底气，不信邪、不怕鬼、不怕压，知难而进、迎难而上，统筹发展和安全，全力战胜前进道路上各种困难和挑战，依靠顽强斗争打开事业发展新天地。

同志们！今天，我们比历史上任何时期都更接近、更有信心和能力实现中华民族伟大复兴的目标，同时必须准备付出更为艰巨、更为艰苦的努力。全党必须坚定信心、锐意进取，主动识变应变求变，主动防范化解风险，不断夺取全面建设社会主义现代化国家新胜利！

四、加快构建新发展格局，着力推动高质量发展

高质量发展是全面建设社会主义现代化国家的首要任务。发展是党执政兴国的第一要务。没有坚实的物质技术基础，就不可能全面建成社会主义现代化强国。必须完整、准确、全面贯彻新发展理念，坚持社会主义市场经济改革方向，坚持高水平对外开放，加快构建以国内大循环为主体、国内国际双循环相互促进的新发展格局。

我们要坚持以推动高质量发展为主题，把实施扩大内需战略同深化供给侧结构性改革有机结合起来，增强国内大循环内生动力和可靠性，提升国际循环质量和水平，加快建设现代化经济体系，着力提高全要素生产率，着力提升产业链供应链韧性和安全水平，着力推进城乡融合和区域协调发展，推动经济实现质的有效提升和量的合理增长。

（一）构建高水平社会主义市场经济体制。坚持和完善社会主义基本经济制度，毫不动摇巩固和发展公有制经济，毫不动摇鼓励、支持、引导非公有制经济发展，充分发挥市场在资源配置中的决定性作用，更好发挥政府作用。深化国企改革，加快国有经济布局优化和结构调整，推动国有资本和国有企业做强做优做大，提升企业核心竞争力。优化民营企业发展环境，依法保护民营企业产权和企业家权益，促进民营经济发