

Communiqué of the Fourth Plenary Session of the 20th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

*Adopted at the fourth plenary session of the 20th Central Committee of
the Communist Party of China on October 23, 2025*

The 20th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) convened its fourth plenary session in Beijing from October 20 to 23, 2025.

A total of 168 members and 147 alternate members of the Central Committee attended the session. Members of the Standing Committee of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and leading officials from other relevant departments were present at the meeting in a non-voting capacity. Some of our primary-level colleagues and a number of experts and scholars serving as delegates to the 20th National Party Congress also attended the meeting in a non-voting capacity.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee presided over the meeting. Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the Central Committee, delivered important addresses.

Participants at the session listened to and discussed a report on the work of the Political Bureau, presented on its behalf by Xi Jinping. They also deliberated over and adopted the Recommendations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China for Formulating the 15th Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development. Xi Jinping made explanatory remarks on the draft recommendations.

At the session, the Central Committee fully affirmed the work of the Political Bureau since the third plenary session of the 20th Central Committee. It was unanimously agreed that the Political Bureau has secured notable progress in the following respects: earnestly implementing the guiding principles from the Party's 20th National Congress and the plenary sessions of the 20th Central Committee; adhering to the general principle of pursuing progress while ensuring stability; fully and faithfully applying the new development philosophy on all fronts; implementing the Five-Sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy in a coordinated way;¹ balancing domestic and international imperatives; ensuring both development and security; further deepening reform comprehensively; delivering tangible results in high-quality development; advancing socialist democracy and rule of law; improving public communication and cultural work; ensuring the people's wellbeing and protecting the environment; safeguarding national security and social stability; launching a study campaign for fully implementing the central Party leadership's eight-point decision on improving work conduct and further strengthening full and rigorous Party self-governance; modernizing national

¹ The Five-Sphere Integrated Plan is to promote coordinated economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological advancement. The Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy is to make comprehensive moves to build a modern socialist country, deepen reform, advance law-based governance, and strengthen Party self-governance.

defense and the armed forces; carrying out work related to Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan; pursuing major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics; and promoting sustained economic recovery and growth. As a result of these efforts, China is now on the verge of accomplishing the major objectives and tasks of the 14th Five-Year Plan. It was also noted that we had recently commemorated the 80th anniversary of the victory in the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and the World Anti-Fascist War. This occasion has greatly lifted the national spirit, inspired a strong sense of patriotism among our people, and further pooled strength for our country's collective endeavors.

Participants at the session gave a positive assessment of China's major development achievements during the 14th Five-Year Plan period (2021–2025), which has marked a momentous and extraordinary period in our country's development. In the face of a complicated international landscape and the challenging domestic tasks of advancing reform, promoting development, and ensuring stability, the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core has united the entire Party and Chinese people of all ethnic groups and led them in meeting difficulties head-on and forging ahead with determination. This has allowed us to withstand the severe shocks from a once-in-a-century Covid-19 pandemic, respond effectively to many major risks and challenges, and secure significant new achievements in the cause of the Party and the country. With China reaching new heights in terms of economic strength, scientific and technological capabilities, and composite national strength, we have made solid new strides in advancing Chinese modernization and gotten off to a successful start on our new journey toward the Second Centenary Goal.

It was pointed out that socialist modernization can only be realized through a historical process of gradual and ongoing development. It requires the unrelenting hard work of one generation after another. The period covered by the 15th Five-Year Plan will be critical in this process as we work to reinforce the foundations and push ahead on all fronts toward basically realizing socialist modernization by 2035. It will thus serve as a key link between the past and the future. In this period, China's development environment will face profound and intricate changes.

At present, China remains in a phase of development where strategic opportunities exist alongside risks and challenges, while uncertainties and unforeseen factors are rising. Our economy has a solid foundation, advantages in many areas, strong resilience, and great potential. The conditions for and underlying trend of long-term growth remain unchanged. More and more, we are seeing the strengths of socialism with Chinese characteristics, China's enormous market, its complete industrial system, and its abundant human resources all coming to the fore.

All of us in the Party must acquire a deep understanding of the decisive significance of establishing Comrade Xi Jinping's core position on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole and of establishing the guiding role of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

for a New Era; become more conscious of the need to maintain political integrity, think in big-picture terms, follow the leadership core, and keep in alignment with the central Party leadership; stay confident in the path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics; and uphold Comrade Xi Jinping's core position on the Party Central Committee and in the Party as a whole and uphold the Central Committee's authority and its centralized, unified leadership.

We must maintain strategic resolve and enhance our confidence of success. We must proactively identify, respond to, and steer changes, demonstrate the courage and competence to carry forward our struggle, and dare to brave high winds, choppy waters, and even dangerous storms. We must seize the historical initiative to overcome difficulties, combat risks, and confront challenges, focus on managing our own affairs, and write yet another chapter on the miracles of rapid economic growth and long-term social stability, opening up new horizons for Chinese modernization.

It was stressed that in pursuing economic and social development during the 15th Five-Year Plan period, we must stay committed to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development, and fully implement Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era. We must thoroughly apply the guiding principles from the Party's 20th National Congress and the plenary sessions of the 20th Central Committee.

We must keep focused on realizing the Second Centenary Goal of 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. We must ensure coordinated implementation of the Five-Sphere Integrated Plan and the Four-Pronged Comprehensive Strategy. Keeping in mind both domestic and international imperatives, we must fully and faithfully apply the new development philosophy on all fronts, move faster to foster a new pattern of development, and adhere to the general principle of pursuing progress while ensuring stability.

We must continue to pursue economic development as our central task, with high-quality development as our main focus, reform and innovation as the fundamental driving force, meeting the people's ever-growing needs for a better life as our fundamental goal, and full and rigorous Party self-governance as the fundamental underpinning for all our efforts. We must promote higher-quality economic growth while achieving an appropriate increase in economic output and make solid headway in promoting well-rounded personal development and common prosperity for all. All of this will allow us to secure decisive progress toward basically realizing socialist modernization.

At the session, the Central Committee established the following guiding principles for economic and social development during the 15th Five-Year Plan period: upholding the Party's overall leadership; putting the people first; pursuing high-quality development; comprehensively deepening reform;

promoting both an efficient market and a well-functioning government; and ensuring both development and security.

The Central Committee also set the following major objectives for the 15th Five-Year Plan period: significant achievements in high-quality development; substantial improvements in scientific and technological self-reliance and strength; fresh breakthroughs in further deepening reform comprehensively; notable cultural and ethical progress across society; further improvements in quality of life; major new strides in advancing the Beautiful China Initiative; and further advances in strengthening the national security shield. Building on this, we will work hard for a further five years to see that by the year 2035 China's economic strength, scientific and technological capabilities, national defense capabilities, composite national strength, and international influence will all be markedly stronger, that its per capita GDP will be on a par with that of a mid-level developed country, that its people will live better and happier lives, and that socialist modernization will be basically realized.

It was noted that we should build a modernized industrial system and reinforce the foundations of the real economy. To this end, we should keep our focus on the real economy, continue to pursue smart, green, and integrated development, and work faster to boost China's strength in manufacturing, product quality, aerospace, transportation, and cyberspace. The share of manufacturing in the national economy should be kept at an appropriate level, and a modernized industrial system should be developed with advanced manufacturing as the backbone. We should upgrade traditional industries, foster emerging industries and industries of the future, promote high-quality, efficient development in the service sector, and develop a modernized infrastructure system.

It was stated that we should achieve greater self-reliance and strength in science and technology and steer the development of new quality productive forces. We must seize the historic opportunity presented by the new round of technological revolution and industrial transformation to boost China's strength in education, science and technology, and human resources in a well-coordinated manner. We should enhance the overall performance of China's innovation system, raise our innovation capacity across the board, strive to take a leading position in scientific and technological development, and keep fostering new quality productive forces. We should promote advances in original innovation and breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields, facilitate full integration between technological and industrial innovation, pursue integrated development of education, science and technology, and talent, and advance the Digital China Initiative.

It was noted that we should build a robust domestic market and work faster to foster a new pattern of development. Guided by the strategy of expanding domestic demand, we should work toward improving living standards while increasing consumer spending and coordinate investments in physical assets and human capital. We should see that new demand drives new supply, that new supply helps create fresh demand, and that positive interactions are fostered between consumption and investment and between

supply and demand. All this will help enhance the dynamism and reliability of the domestic economy. To this end, we should boost consumption, expand effective investment, and eliminate bottlenecks and obstacles hindering the development of a unified national market.

It was stated that we should move faster to develop a high-standard socialist market economy and boost the momentum for high-quality development. We should uphold and improve China's basic socialist economic systems, better leverage the leading role of economic structural reform, and improve the macroeconomic governance system. This will help ensure steady and sustained progress in high-quality development. We should stimulate the vitality of all market entities, work faster to improve the institutions and mechanisms for market-based allocation of production factors, and make macroeconomic governance more effective.

It was also stated that we should promote high-standard opening up and create new horizons for mutually beneficial cooperation. We should continue to expand opening up at the institutional level, safeguard the multilateral trading system, and promote broader international economic flows. We should advance reform and development through greater openness and seek to share opportunities and achieve common development with the rest of the world. We should take the initiative to open China wider, promote the innovative development of trade, create greater space for two-way investment cooperation, and pursue high-quality Belt and Road cooperation.

It was noted that we should accelerate agricultural and rural modernization and take solid steps to advance all-around rural revitalization. We must continue to place issues related to agriculture, rural areas, and rural residents at the top of our Party's work agenda. We need to promote integrated urban-rural development, continue to consolidate and expand our achievements in poverty alleviation, basically ensure modern living conditions in rural areas, and secure faster progress in building up China's strength in agriculture. We should enhance the overall production capacity, quality, and performance of agriculture, build a beautiful and harmonious countryside for people to live and work in, and ensure that policies aimed at strengthening agriculture, benefiting farmers, and enriching rural areas deliver greater outcomes.

It was stated that we should refine China's regional economic layout and promote coordinated regional development. We should give full play to the synergies between the coordinated regional development strategy, major regional strategies, the functional zoning strategy, and the new urbanization strategy, improve the distribution of major productive forces, and ensure that key regions play their role as growth poles. Our goal is to develop a regional economic layout and a territorial space system that enable regions to leverage their complementary strengths in pursuit of high-quality development. We should promote more coordinated regional development, boost interconnected development between regions, improve the development of territorial space, move forward with people-centered new urbanization, and strengthen marine development, utilization, and protection.

It was noted that we should inspire the cultural creativity of our entire nation and foster a thriving socialist culture. We must uphold the guiding role of Marxism in the ideological domain, remain firmly rooted in the broad and rich Chinese culture, and follow the trends of information technology. On this basis, we should develop a socialist culture with Chinese characteristics for the new era that has the power to guide, unite, and inspire our people and enjoys strong international influence. Tangible steps should be taken to build China into a country with a strong culture. We should promote and put into practice the core socialist values, make effective moves to boost cultural programs, accelerate the development of cultural industries, and extend the reach and appeal of Chinese civilization.

It was stated that we should work harder to ensure and improve public wellbeing and promote common prosperity for all. In line with the principle of doing everything within our means, we must ensure that public services are inclusive, meet essential needs, and provide a cushion for those most in need, while working to resolve the pressing difficulties and problems that concern the people most. The channels of social mobility should remain unimpeded, and living standards should be further improved. We should promote high-quality and full employment, refine the income distribution system, develop education that meets the people's expectations, improve the social security system, and facilitate high-quality development of the real estate sector. We should also work to advance the Healthy China Initiative, promote high-quality population development, and take solid steps to ensure equitable access to basic public services.

It was pointed out that we should accelerate the green transition in all areas of economic and social development in an effort to build a Beautiful China. We must unwaveringly uphold the principle that lucid waters and lush mountains are invaluable assets and put it into concrete action. Guided by our goals of achieving peak carbon emissions and carbon neutrality, we should make concerted efforts to cut carbon emissions, reduce pollution, pursue green development, and boost economic growth. We must reinforce our ecological security shields and strengthen our green development drivers. We should press ahead with the critical battle against pollution and the drive to upgrade ecosystems, move faster to develop a new type of energy system, work actively and prudently toward peaking carbon emissions, and accelerate the shift to eco-friendly production practices and lifestyles.

It was noted that we should modernize China's national security system and capacity and advance the Peaceful China Initiative to a higher level. We must remain steadfast in pursuing a holistic approach to national security and follow a socialist path of social governance with Chinese characteristics to ensure that our society is both full of vitality and in good order. We should establish a sound national security system, build up national security capacity in key sectors, enhance public safety governance, and improve the social governance system.

It was also noted that we should work to achieve the centenary goals of the People's Liberation Army by 2027 and modernize national defense and

the armed forces. We should act on Xi Jinping Thought on Strengthening the Military and carry out the military strategy for the new era. We must ensure that the Party exercises absolute leadership over the people's armed forces, and the system of ultimate responsibility resting with the chairman of the Central Military Commission must be implemented. We are pursuing the new three-step strategy for modernizing national defense and the armed forces. On this basis, we should continue to enhance political loyalty in the military, strengthen the military through reform, scientific and technological advances, and personnel training, and run the military in accordance with the law. We should simultaneously carry out operations, boost combat preparedness, and enhance military capabilities, and accelerate integrated military development through mechanization, informatization, and the application of intelligent technologies. All this will enhance our military's strategic capacity to defend our national sovereignty, security, and development interests. We should speed up the development of advanced combat capabilities, modernize military governance, and consolidate and improve integrated national strategies and strategic capabilities.

It was stressed that the whole Party and all Chinese people should be united in a concerted endeavor to fulfill the 15th Five-Year Plan. We must use the Party's self-reform to steer social reform and stay committed to strengthening full and rigorous Party self-governance. We should see to it that our Party becomes better at providing political leadership and theoretical guidance, organizing the people, and inspiring society, while also improving its ability to lead China's economic and social development endeavors. All this will enable us to gather a mighty force for advancing Chinese modernization. We must uphold and strengthen the Party Central Committee's centralized, unified leadership, advance socialist democracy and rule of law, and fully mobilize the initiative, enthusiasm, and creativity of the whole society to advance Chinese modernization. We should work for long-term prosperity and stability in Hong Kong and Macao, promote the peaceful development of relations across the Taiwan Strait and advance the cause of national reunification, and secure further progress in building a community with a shared future for humanity.

It was pointed out that studying and implementing the guiding principles from this plenary session represent a major political task for the entire Party and nation both at present and in the period to come. We must employ a variety of means to organize study activities, instruction lectures, and communication initiatives, so as to make sure that the whole Party and society acquire a thorough understanding of the session's guiding principles. In effectively implementing these principles, we must stay firmly committed to high-quality development, step up efforts to foster a new development pattern, make solid strides toward delivering prosperity for all, better ensure both development and security, and coordinate our economic development endeavors with work in all other spheres. This will ensure that we lay a solid foundation for basically realizing socialist modernization.

It was stressed that to run the country well, we must first run the Party

well; only a Party that is thriving can make our country strong. The more effective our Party is in supervising and governing itself, the better it will be able to provide guarantees for our economic and social development. We must have the resolve and tenacity to persist in the always ongoing endeavor of Party self-governance. In exercising full and rigorous self-governance, we must firmly act on the Party's requirements for self-reform, devote sustained and consistent efforts to improving conduct, and combat corruption resolutely, thereby providing a strong guarantee for fulfilling the major objectives for economic and social development in the 15th Five-Year Plan period.

Participants at the session carried out an analysis of the present situation and the tasks we face. It was highlighted that we must remain firmly focused on accomplishing this year's targets for economic and social development. To this end, we must continue to implement the decisions and plans of the Central Committee through targeted efforts. We must work to stabilize employment, enterprise operations, markets, and expectations and keep the fundamentals of the economy stable, so as to consolidate and strengthen the momentum for economic recovery and growth. We should ensure that our macro policies continue to play an effective role and intensify their implementation as necessary. We should fully implement assistance policies for enterprises, press ahead with special initiatives to boost consumption, guarantee the three priorities including people's basic wellbeing, payment of salaries, and normal government functioning at the primary level, and defuse local government debt risks through active and prudent measures.

It was noted that we should take concrete steps to safeguard the people's wellbeing and unlock potential through multiple channels. We should devote greater efforts to stabilizing and expanding employment, while promoting stable employment for key groups. We should ramp up efforts to address wage arrears, improve basic public services, and work harder to resolve the pressing difficulties and problems that concern the people most. We must do a good job in post-disaster recovery and reconstruction. Appropriate arrangements should be made for disaster victims to ensure that their basic living needs are met and that they have warm shelter for the winter.

It was emphasized that we must ensure workplace safety and safeguard stability. We must make sure that all responsibilities concerning workplace safety are fulfilled and that oversight systems are rigorously implemented, and we must work with firm resolve to prevent and mitigate major and serious accidents. We should strengthen whole-of-chain supervision and administration of food and drug safety. We should intensify efforts to investigate and resolve disputes and conflicts, take a holistic approach to ensuring law and order, and crack down on illegal and criminal activities of all types in accordance with the law. Furthermore, we should improve public opinion guidance and effectively prevent and defuse risks in the ideological domain.

At the session, Zhang Shengmin was added as Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission.

It was decided that, in accordance with the Party Constitution, empty seats on the Central Committee will be filled by alternate members Yu Huiwen, Ma Hancheng, Wang Jian, Wang Xi, Wang Yonghong, Wang Tingkai, Wang Xinwei, Wei Tao, Deng Yiwu, Deng Xiuming, and Lu Hong.

At the session, the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection's reports on the grave violations of Party discipline and state laws involving Tang Renjian, Jin Xiangjun, Li Shisong, Yang Fasen, and Zhu Zhisong were deliberated and adopted. The Central Military Commission's inspection reports on the grave violations of Party discipline and state laws involving He Weidong, Miao Hua, He Hongjun, Wang Xiubin, Lin Xiangyang, Qin Shutong, Yuan Huazhi, Wang Chunning, and Zhang Fengzhong were also deliberated and adopted. The Political Bureau's previous decisions to expel these people from the Party were confirmed.

At the session, a call was issued to the whole Party, the entire military, and Chinese people of all ethnic groups to rally more closely around the Party Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core, work hard together toward the goal of basically realizing socialist modernization, and continue to break new ground in building a great country and advancing national rejuvenation on all fronts through Chinese modernization.