

THE TWELFTH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE CPC

(September 1982)

- **Hu Yaobang's Report**
- **Party Constitution**
- **New Leadership**

First Edition 1982

Published by the Foreign Languages Press
24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing, China

Printed by the Foreign Languages Printing House
19 West Chegongzhuang Road, Beijing, China

Distributed by China Publications Centre (Guoji Shudian)
P.O. Box 399, Beijing, China

Printed in the People's Republic of China

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OPENING SPEECH

September 1, 1982

DENG XIAOPING

Comrades,

I now declare the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China open.

There are three main items on the agenda of our Congress: (1) to consider the report of the Eleventh Central Committee and decide on the Party's programme for striving to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization; (2) to consider and adopt the new Constitution of the Communist Party of China; and (3) to elect, according to the provisions of the new Party Constitution, a new Central Committee, a Central Advisory Commission and a Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

With the accomplishment of the tasks of this Congress, our Party will have a more clear-cut guiding ideology for China's socialist modernization, the Party will be strengthened in greater conformity with the needs of the new historical period, and there will be cooperation of old and new cadres and a succession of the new to the old in the Party's highest leading organs, thus making them a more vigorous command headquarters.

A review of the Party's history shows this Congress

to be one of the most important since our Seventh National Congress.

The Seventh Congress held in 1945 under Comrade Mao Zedong's chairmanship was the most important in the period of democratic revolution from the time our Party was founded. It summed up the historical experience gained in the tortuous development of China's democratic revolution in the previous twenty-odd years, formulated a correct programme and correct tactics and overcame the erroneous ideas within the Party, thus attaining unity in understanding based on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. As a result, the Party became more united than ever before. The Seventh Congress laid the foundation for the nationwide victory of the new-democratic revolution.

The Eighth Congress of the Party held in 1956 analysed the situation following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production and put forth the task of all-round socialist construction. The line of the Eighth Congress was correct. However, because the Party was not adequately prepared ideologically for all-round socialist construction at that time, that line and the many correct opinions put forward at that Congress were not adhered to in practice. After the Eighth Congress, we suffered serious setbacks, though we also achieved many successes in socialist construction.

The present Congress is being held in circumstances vastly different from those at the time of the Eighth Congress. Just as the quarter century of tortuous development of our democratic revolution before the Seventh Congress taught the whole Party how to grasp the laws governing the democratic revolution in China,

so the quarter century of tortuous development of our socialist revolution and construction after the Eighth Congress has taught the whole Party profound lessons. Since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee (held in December 1978), our Party has restored its correct policies in the economic, political, cultural and other fields of work and adopted a series of correct new policies after a study of the new situation and new experience. In comparison with the time of the Eighth Congress, our Party has gained a much deeper understanding of the laws governing China's socialist construction, acquired much more experience and become much more conscious and determined in implementing our correct principles. We have every reason to believe that the correct programme to be formulated at this Congress will create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and bring prosperity to our Party, our socialist cause, our country and all our nationalities.

In carrying out our modernization programme, we must proceed from the realities in China. Both in our revolution and construction, we should also learn from foreign countries and draw on their experience. But mechanical copying and application of foreign experience and models will get us nowhere. We have had many lessons in this respect. To integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics — this is the basic conclusion we have reached in summing up long, historical experience.

China's affairs should be run according to China's circumstances and by our own efforts. Independence and self-reliance have always been and will forever be our basic stand. While we Chinese people value our friend-

ship and cooperation with other countries and people, we value even more our hard-won independence and sovereign rights. No foreign country can expect China to be its vassal, nor can it expect China to swallow any bitter fruit harmful to China's interests. We will unswervingly follow a policy of opening to the outside world and actively increase exchanges with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. At the same time, we will keep a clear head, firmly resist corrosion by decadent ideas from abroad and never permit the bourgeois way of life to spread in our country. We Chinese people have our own national self-respect and pride. We deem it the highest honour to love our country and contribute our all to its socialist construction, and we deem it the deepest disgrace to impair the interests, dignity and honour of our socialist motherland.

The 1980s will be an important decade in the historical development of our Party and state. To step up socialist modernization, to strive for China's reunification and particularly for the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and to oppose hegemonism and safeguard world peace — these are the three major tasks of our people in the 1980s. Economic construction is at the core of these tasks, as it is the basis for the solution of China's external and domestic problems. In a long period to come, at least in the eighteen years up to the end of this century, we must diligently do the following four things: restructure the administration and the economic systems and make the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent; strive to build a socialist spiritual civilization; strike at criminal activities in the economic and other fields that undermine socialism; and rectify

the Party's style and consolidate its organization on the basis of a conscientious study of the new Party Constitution. These will be the most important guarantee for our adherence to the socialist road and the concentration of our efforts on modernization.

Ours is now a big Party of 39 million members exercising leadership over state power for the entire country. However, the Communist Party will always be a minority in the whole population. None of the major tasks set forth by our Party can be accomplished without the hard work of the masses of the people. Here, on behalf of our Party, I wish to pay high tribute to all Chinese workers, peasants and intellectuals who have worked diligently for our socialist modernization and to the Chinese People's Liberation Army — the Great Wall of steel safeguarding the security and socialist construction of our motherland.

China's democratic parties fought together with our Party in the period of the democratic revolution and have advanced and undergone tests together with us in the socialist period. In the construction work ahead, our Party will continue its long-term cooperation with all patriotic democratic parties and all patriotic democrats. Here, on behalf of our Party, I wish to express our sincere gratitude to all the democratic parties and all our friends without party affiliations.

The cause of our Party has enjoyed the support and assistance of the progressive people and friendly countries throughout the world. Here, on behalf of our Party, I wish to express our sincere gratitude to them.

We must do our work well and carefully, strengthen our unity with the people of all nationalities in the

country and with the people of the whole world and struggle hard to make China a highly democratic and culturally advanced modern socialist country, and to oppose hegemonism, safeguard world peace and promote human progress.

**CREATE A NEW SITUATION IN ALL FIELDS
OF SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION**

— Report to the Twelfth National Congress of
the Communist Party of China

September 1, 1982

HU YAOBANG

Comrades,

On behalf of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, I will now make a report to the Twelfth National Congress of the Party.

I. A Historic Change and Our Great New Task

Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique in October 1976 and, in particular, since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee held in December 1978, we have accomplished, through the arduous efforts of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities, the difficult task of setting the Party's guiding ideology to rights and have won major successes in setting right our practical work on all fronts, thereby effecting a great and historic change.

The mission of the present Party Congress is, through the summing-up of the historic achievements of the past six years, to chart a correct course and define correct strategic steps, principles and policies so that we can more thoroughly eliminate the negative consequences of the decade of domestic turmoil, make further progress and create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The Central Committee of the Party is confident that our Congress can shoulder this momentous historical task.

What are the main indicators of the historic change that has been brought about?

In the sphere of ideology, we have resolutely broken the fetters of dogmatism and the personality cult which existed for a long time, and have reaffirmed the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts, thus infusing a dynamic and creative spirit into all fields of endeavour. We have restored the original features of Mao Zedong Thought and persisted in and developed it under new historical conditions.

We have put an end to years of social turbulence and brought about a political situation characterized by stability, unity and liveliness. Socialist democracy and the socialist legal system are being gradually perfected, equality and unity among all our nationalities have been strengthened anew, and the patriotic united front has expanded further. Thanks to this political situation, the present period is one of the best since the founding of our People's Republic.

The leading bodies of the Party and the state at all levels have been gradually readjusted, improved and strengthened. By and large, the leadership in the Party and state organizations at all levels is now in the hands of cadres loyal to the Party and the people.

We have resolutely shifted the focus of work of the Party and the state to economic construction and, liquidating the "Left" mistakes that persisted in our economic work over the years, have conscientiously implemented the correct principle of readjustment, restructuring, consolidation and improvement. Having tided over the most difficult phase, our national economy is now on the sound path of steady growth.

Our endeavours in education, science and culture are

on the right track and, with some initial successes, are beginning to thrive. Relations between the Party and the intellectuals have improved enormously. Unity among the three main social forces, namely, the workers, peasants and intellectuals is also fairly good now.

We have made tremendous efforts to build a modern regular revolutionary army. The People's Liberation Army has achieved marked successes in improving its military training and its ideological and political work, in bettering its relations with the civil authorities and the people, in defending our frontiers and safeguarding national security and in helping socialist construction. It has further enhanced its military capability and political consciousness in line with new historical conditions.

In the course of leading the people in effecting this historic change, our Party has withstood tests and remoulded itself. It has done much to rectify Party style, gradually revived its fine traditions and become more mature and firmer in the course of struggle.

Looking back at our path of struggle in these six years, we see that it has been an uneven one. The decade of domestic turmoil inflicted grievous wounds on the Party and the state. Our victory has not been easy. It was won only after the Central Committee led the entire Party and people in overcoming enormous difficulties of all kinds.

The "Left" mistakes made before and during the "cultural revolution" had a deep and extensive influence and caused serious damage. While thoroughly exposing and repudiating the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, we found it necessary to make a clean sweep of all such "Left" mistakes. This unavoidably involved the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in

his later years. Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions to the Chinese revolution were great and indelible; that is why over long years he enjoyed enormous prestige in the Party and among the people and will continue to do so in the years to come. Whether we had the Marxist courage to conduct self-criticism of our Party's mistakes, including those made by Comrade Mao Zedong, and whether we could conduct such self-criticism correctly and in a historical perspective constituted the key issue deciding whether things could be set right. During the two years before the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, the question of rights and wrongs in the Party's guiding ideology was not clarified as it should have been and the work of setting things to rights proceeded haltingly; this was because in the early days after the smashing of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique, our Party was not ideologically prepared for an overall liquidation of the "Left" mistakes and also because the principal leading comrade in the Central Committee at the time continued to make "Left" mistakes on a series of important issues. The Eleventh Party Congress announced the end of the "cultural revolution" and reaffirmed the task of building a modern and powerful socialist state, thus playing a positive role in mobilizing the masses. However, the Political Report to the Eleventh Party Congress still approved of the erroneous theories, policies and slogans of the "cultural revolution", thus exerting a negative influence by seriously obstructing our effort to set things right. The historic service of the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee was precisely that it thoroughly shattered the heavy chains imposed by the protracted "Left" mistakes, set right the guiding ideology of the Party and reaffirmed

the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines. Subsequently, our Party thoroughly summed up its historical experience in all spheres and scientifically explained numerous questions encountered in practical work, which concerned theory and policy in the building of socialism. The Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China adopted in June 1981 by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee marked the successful conclusion of our work in setting the Party's guiding ideology to rights. Drawing on the collective wisdom of the broad sections of cadres and masses, our Party subjected the protracted "Left" mistakes and Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years to scientific analysis and criticism, while firmly upholding the fine traditions developed by the Party during long years of struggle, safeguarding the scientific truth of Mao Zedong Thought and affirming Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role. This helped not only to differentiate right from wrong but also to strengthen unity in our ranks, thus providing a basic guarantee for the healthy development of our revolution and construction.

Since the Third Plenary Session, our Party has made every effort to conform to objective reality in formulating and implementing a series of principles and policies and to avoid focusing on the criticism of one erroneous tendency to the neglect of another. In times of historic change, people are apt to think one-sidedly because of the profound influence of old ideas and customs and because of lack of experience in dealing with new things, plus the effect of other social and political factors. In recent years, mistaken ideas representing different tendencies have arisen among sections of the Party members