

## More Already on Politburo Procedures Under Hu Jintao

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A recent chronicle of Deng Xiaoping's political life after 1975 discloses previously restricted information about scores of meetings of the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) top decision-making bodies, the Politburo and its Standing Committee. These data provide a more reliable baseline than has been previously available against which to assess the long-term evolution of the party Politburo in the post-Mao Zedong era and, together with continuing PRC media coverage of current sessions of the party Politburo, analyze its present-day procedures. This article complements and extends analysis, published in previous issues of the *China Leadership Monitor*,<sup>1</sup> of Politburo operations since 2002 under the CCP's present top leader, General Secretary Hu Jintao.

The CCP's Politburo is charged by the party constitution with making top-level decisions on domestic and foreign policy as well as leadership appointments on behalf of the party Central Committee, which normally meets only once or twice a year. The Politburo's Standing Committee (PBSC) is its core leadership group, composed in the Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao eras of the key leaders from all of the hierarchies of the PRC political order—numbering from five to nine men—needed to make day-to-day decisions on behalf of the full Politburo. For most of the PRC's history, the operations of the Politburo and its Standing Committee were very rarely publicized, and so even its basic procedures—its schedule, its agenda, and its decision-making processes—have been obscured from public view.

In only two periods has the secrecy regarding Politburo operations been even marginally relaxed. During the ill-fated tenure of Deng Xiaoping lieutenant Zhao Ziyang as party general secretary from late 1987 to 1989, PRC media routinely reported meetings of the Politburo, disclosing elements of its agenda and its decisions. After 19 Politburo meetings were reported, from November 1987 to August 1989, this practice was suspended in the aftermath of the Tiananmen crisis. Since the succession of Hu Jintao as general secretary, replacing Jiang Zemin at the CCP's 16th Congress in November 2002, the practice of reporting at least some meetings of the Politburo has resumed. A complete listing of the 34 Politburo meetings held under Hu Jintao's leadership since 2002 that have been publicized in PRC media is appended as Table 3.

The reports on Politburo meetings under Hu Jintao's leadership replicate in some but not all respects the pattern of media reporting on the Politburo in the Zhao Ziyang era, and it is evident that in this regard the practices of the Zhao period have served as precedents for the Hu Jintao leadership's effort to enhance, however marginally, the transparency of top leadership activities. But the general secrecy that has shrouded

Politburo operations in other periods has generally frustrated analysis of the larger evolution of the Politburo's procedures and processes in the post-Mao period.

An even thicker fog of secrecy has obscured the activities of the Politburo Standing Committee. PRC media have never routinely reported on its operations, although meetings have occasionally been reported on a current basis or after the fact. Since Hu's accession in 2002, PRC media have mentioned a total of 12 Standing Committee meetings. A listing of these meetings is appended as Table 4.

## Deng Xiaoping Chronicle

The August 2004 celebration of the centenary of Deng Xiaoping's birth occasioned publication of a detailed chronicle of Deng's political life through the era of reform that he launched in the late 1970s. Entitled *A Chronological Biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997*, the two-volume book employs a traditional Chinese biographical format—a *nianpu* 年谱—to chronicle Deng's political activities on a day-to-day basis, beginning with his collaboration with Premier Zhou Enlai in the last days of the struggle to succeed Mao Zedong down to Deng's death in February 1997.<sup>2</sup> Running nearly 1,400 pages and edited by the CCP Central Committee's Document Research Office, the book draws on materials from restricted party archival materials as well as from the public media, including Deng's *Selected Works*. It details Deng's meetings with foreign visitors, his attendance and remarks at party and state meetings, informal conversations at his home and elsewhere with other leaders, and other activities.

In the course of detailing these and other activities, the book recounts Deng's participation in 26 Politburo meetings between 1977, when he was restored to his leadership positions after his removal the previous year, down to the end of 1989, when he requested formal retirement from his remaining leadership posts, as chairman of the party and PRC Central Military Commission. Together with the 19 Politburo meetings publicized during Zhao Ziyang's tenure as general secretary in the 1987–89 period, and a single meeting in 1992 cited in the Deng biography, the resulting list of meetings from 1977 to 1992 totals 46 sessions. This list is appended as Table 1. The Deng chronicle also recounts his participation in 16 Politburo Standing Committee meetings over the same period. Table 2 lists these meetings and an additional PSBC meeting—an “emergency” session in the midst of the 1989 Tiananmen crisis—documented in another chronicle, the multi-volume *Veritable Record of the People's Republic of China, 1949–1992*.<sup>3</sup>

The resulting list of Politburo sessions between 1977 and 1989 is doubtless incomplete. In addition, with the exception of the single meeting in 1992, no information is available on meetings of the Politburo or its Standing Committee during the tenure of Jiang Zemin as general secretary after August 1989. The independent Hong Kong press has over this period reported countless meetings of the Politburo under Jiang, but these accounts suffer from uncertain authenticity and accuracy, and so they have not been included in the analysis that follows.

## The Politburo in the Deng Era

Judgments about the evolution of the Politburo and its processes are necessarily provisional, given the incomplete record for the Deng years and the large blind spot in the record for the Jiang era. Nevertheless, it is possible to make a number of judgments about the Politburo's procedures and processes in the Deng period that provide a useful baseline against which to judge the Politburo's operations under Hu Jintao. The most important of these regards the evolution of the Politburo's role alongside its Standing Committee and the Secretariat, the body charged with supervising implementation of Politburo decisions throughout the PRC political order. Specifically, the Politburo served different roles in the decision-making process across the Deng period.

- *1977–1982*: In these years, Deng worked to establish dominance over the party agenda and to consolidate the power of his reform coalition in central leadership politics over that of Mao's successor Hua Guofeng. In these years, the Politburo met frequently, apparently as needed. The Deng chronicle mentions only five meetings of the Politburo Standing Committee, suggesting that the full Politburo was the main arena of decision making.
- *1982–1987*: With the 1982 12th CCP Congress, Deng had consolidated his coalition's power and could proceed on a solid foundation to press the reforms he advocated without leadership opposition outside his own coalition. In February 1980, the party Secretariat was restored to operation for the first time since it was abolished in the Cultural Revolution. In this context, the Politburo appears to have met rarely. The Deng chronicle mentions only a single Politburo meeting in this period—an enlarged session to discuss the Hong Kong question—as compared to 23 Politburo sessions in the 1977–82 period. In addition, the several references to Politburo Standing Committee sessions in the 1982–1987 period include two that were joint sessions with the party Secretariat. Together, these tenuous references seem to bear out the remarks by then Premier Zhao Ziyang in a 1984 interview with the leading American China-watcher Doak Barnett that the Politburo had become a “second-line” body and met rarely. According to Zhao, the Politburo Standing Committee worked directly with the Secretariat, which itself had the authority under General Secretary Hu Yaobang to make day-to-day decisions on significant issues.<sup>4</sup>
- *1987–1989*: PRC media reporting on the activities of the Politburo in this period—unprecedented in the history of the PRC—show a far more active Politburo schedule and process. Between November 1987 (following the 13th CCP Congress the month before) and April 1989, when the Tiananmen crisis erupted, the Politburo met 17 times in formal session, at a pace of nearly once a month. Because these Xinhua News Agency accounts numbered the meetings of the 13th Central Committee Politburo consecutively, they comprise a purportedly complete list. Across the same period, the Deng chronicle mentions only two meetings of the Politburo Standing Committee. The more active role of the full

Politburo undoubtedly reflects the downgrading of the “front-line” role of the Secretariat following Hu Yaobang’s removal as general secretary in January 1987 for “violating principles of collective leadership” and usurping the decision-making prerogatives of the Politburo. At the October 1987 13th Party Congress, the downgrading of the Secretariat, now under Zhao Ziyang’s direction, was evident in the reduction of the number of party secretaries from 12 to six. The Xinhua reports on Politburo meetings in this period seem intended to convey to the public the image of an orderly, institutionalized and collective decision-making process at the very top of China’s political order. The reports complemented an effort since the early 1980s to enhance transparency in leadership politics, but perhaps more specifically they were intended to redress public uncertainties about stability in the leadership in the wake of Hu Yaobang’s sudden removal.

- *1989 and after:* During the nearly two-month Tiananmen crisis, neither the Deng chronicle nor PRC media report any meetings of the Politburo. Following the suppression of the Tiananmen demonstrations in June 1989, PRC media reported two Politburo sessions, now under the leadership of Zhao Ziyang’s replacement, Jiang Zemin, in July and August 1989. These Xinhua reports were not numbered, and PRC media reports on Politburo meetings ceased altogether for the remainder of Jiang’s 13-year tenure.

The list of meetings of the Politburo and its Standing Committee in the Deng era shores up a number of other, less significant but still useful inferences about the processes of these bodies.

- The Politburo did not meet on a fixed schedule. Nor did it meet consistently on any particular day of the week or time of the month. The Zhao Politburo met on a nearly monthly pace. The Politburo before 1982 appears to have met more frequently than that, and its schedule appears to have been driven by the larger progress of events demanding its attention.
- The Politburo Standing Committee appears to have met on an ad hoc basis, as necessary to make day-to-day decisions on major issues.
- Judging by the reports on Politburo sessions in the brief Zhao era, provincially based members of the Politburo routinely traveled to Beijing to attend its meetings.
- The accounts of Politburo sessions in the Deng chronicle and the Xinhua accounts of Politburo meetings under Zhao Ziyang confirm the common-sense expectation that the Politburo dealt with the entire range of leadership issues—from personnel issues to decisions about foreign policy, military affairs, and all aspects of domestic policy.

- The Deng chronicle does not give the impression that Deng formally directed sessions of either the Politburo or its Standing Committee, even if he often dominated their decisions. Conveying a sense of fastidious attention to protocol, the text states merely that Deng “attended” (出席) the sessions, rather than “presiding over” (主席) them.
- None of the accounts in the Deng chronicle shed much light on the decision-making procedures of the Politburo, although some give vague intimations of debate. For example, the entry describing the nine-session enlarged Politburo meeting of 10 November–5 December 1980 that discussed the fate of Hua Guofeng recounts Deng arguing against a proposal by some members that he assume the post of party chairman from Hua. The Xinhua reports on the Politburo meetings under Zhao’s leadership convey an impression of orderly decision-making processes, pursuant to the adoption of new Politburo procedures to ensure collective decision making at the 13th CCP Congress and at the 13th Central Committee Politburo’s first meeting in November 1987.<sup>5</sup>

## The Politburo under Hu Jintao

PRC media publicity of meetings of the Politburo since November 2002 under Hu Jintao’s leadership resurrects the practice begun under Zhao Ziyang’s tenure after 1987 and suspended in 1989. As was apparently the case in the Zhao period, media reporting on sessions of the Politburo under Hu are part of a larger effort to enhance the transparency, however cosmetically, of leadership decision making. There are, nevertheless, some points of contrast with the publicity given the 1987–89 Politburo sessions that indicate, not surprisingly, a more cautiously buttoned-up approach under Hu than under Zhao.

- Xinhua’s accounts of the Politburo sessions under Hu’s leadership are not numbered, as those reported during the Zhao period were. This raises the implication that the list of 34 sessions reported so far since November 2002 may not be a complete list of all Politburo sessions.
- Xinhua coverage of the Hu Politburo’s meetings gives no accounting of the overall attendance by the membership, as the reports from the Zhao era did. Presumably, provincially based members continue to leave their provinces’ capitals to attend meetings in Beijing, but the Xinhua reports provide no assurance of this.
- None of the 34 Politburo meetings reported thus far describes the Politburo making decisions in the sensitive areas of leadership appointments, foreign policy, or military affairs. They do often mention that a specific session “looked into” or “discussed,” or “studied” “other matters.” Xinhua’s accounts of the Zhao era meetings included no such references.

Taken together, the media accounts of Politburo meetings under both Zhao Ziyang and Hu Jintao indicate a routine cycle of Politburo decision making driven by the larger political process in China. From the more than three years of reporting on Politburo proceedings under Hu Jintao, there emerges a predictable routine of reviewing the economic situation in November or December in preparation for the annual national conference on economic work, reviewing the premier's work report to be delivered at the annual session of the National People's Congress (NPC), and other tasks. As was the case in the media accounts of Politburo sessions under Zhao's leadership, the reports on the Hu Politburo give no indication of debate among its membership on any of the issues discussed.

## Politburo Study Sessions

Another feature of the Politburo's activities under Hu Jintao has been the holding of "study sessions" to enhance the membership's awareness of larger trends in China and the world that bear on the Politburo's decision making.<sup>6</sup> These sessions may formalize similar but less systematic leadership briefings by academic experts on various issues under Zhao Ziyang, first in the State Council in the mid-1980s and then in the Politburo after 1987. So far, PRC media have reported 28 Politburo study sessions since November 2002. They are usually held the same day as a Politburo meeting and have regularly featured briefings by academic specialists and think-tank researchers on a wide spectrum of issues, including international trends, foreign policy questions, and military affairs. A listing of all reported study sessions is appended as Table 5.

Since the Politburo's first study session on December, 26 2002, other institutions in China's political order have followed suit, inaugurating their own study meetings. At the national level, PRC media have reported several top-level bodies engaged in systematic study of topics of broad relevance to their work, including the State Council under Premier Wen Jiabao's direction, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) Standing Committee under Chairman Jia Qinglin, and the Central Military Commission under the direction of Vice Chairmen Guo Boxiong, Cao Gangchuan, and Xu Caihou. The CCP committee of many provinces began holding study sessions in 2003 on a regular basis. According to a December 29, 2005, report in the Guangdong party newspaper *Southern Daily* (南方日报), the Guangdong CCP Committee has held 24 study sessions up to the end of 2005.

**Table 1**  
*Politburo Meetings in the Deng Era, 1977–1992*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
September 18, 1977 (Sunday)	Approved a Central Committee circular on convening a national conference on science.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
February 9, 1978 (Thursday)	Discussed the economic section of the draft State Council work report to be delivered to the Fifth NPC. Deng Xiaoping took issue with the formulation that “the three great disparities will be notably reduced” by the end of the century.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
March 13, 1978 (Monday)	Discussed a report on the 1978 plan to introduce new technology through imports.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
April 19, 1978 (Wednesday)	Discussed national conference on education documents; discussed the 1978 foreign trade plan.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
November 2, 1978 (Thursday)	Assessed the progress of negotiations with Leonard Woodcock, President Carter, and Zbigniew Brzezinski on normalizing relations with Washington; called for accelerating progress.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
March 23, 1979 (Friday)	Discussed shortcomings in the national economy in the past two years; Deng speech.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
May 29, 1979 (Tuesday)	Discuss a Peng Zhen report on the draft criminal code.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
January 21, 1980 (Monday)	Discussed issues in revising the CCP constitution; Deng speech.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
January 28, 1980 (Monday)	Reviewed major points in 1980 foreign affairs work and a report on Chinese-foreign joint venture issues.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
April 23, 1980 (Wednesday)	No business reported.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
August 18–22, 1980 (Monday–Friday)	Discussed political reform of party and state institutions. August 18: Deng delivered his “On the Reform of Party and State Leadership Institutions.”	Enlarged meeting. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )

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**Table 1 (cont.)**  
*Politburo Meetings in the Deng Era, 1977–1992*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Nov. 10–Dec. 5, 1980	Discussed Hua Guofeng’s mistakes in leadership since October 1976; approved his replacement at the Central Committee’s Sixth Plenum by Hu Yaobang as party chairman and by Deng Xiaoping as Central Military Commission chairman. Approved a “Politburo Meeting Bulletin,” which noted that several leaders had proposed that Deng assume the position of party chairman, that Deng argued against this proposal as “inappropriate,” and that Deng agreed to assume the Central Military Commission chair only until a younger successor could be promoted.	Nine enlarged sessions held over this period. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
January 16, 1981 (Friday)	Discussed U.S.-China relations.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
January 23, 1981 (Friday)	Discussed three issues in foreign relations: how to judge the international situation; how to look at the demarcation among the three worlds; and how to handle relations with Moscow and the U.S.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
February 11, 1981 (Wednesday)	Discussed foreign policy issues, including opening contacts with Moscow.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
May 15, 1981 (Friday)	Discussed Song Qingling’s acceptance as a CCP member and appointment as honorary PRC president.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
May 19, 1981 (Tuesday)	Discussed the “Resolution on Several Problems in the Party’s History Since the Founding of the Country.” Deng speech on the issue.	Enlarged meeting. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
September 2, 1981 (Wednesday)	Heard reports by Zhao Ziyang on the economy and Huang Hua on foreign affairs work. Chen Yun speech and Deng comment on the household responsibility system.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
October 16, 1981 (Friday)	Deng remarks on taking a strategic perspective on the Taiwan issue in talks with the Reagan administration.	Enlarged meeting. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
January 11 & 13, 1982 (Monday & Wednesday)	Discussed streamlining the organs of the Central Committee. Deng speech on administrative reform.	Enlarged meeting (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997; The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic, Vol. 4 part 1, 508–509.</i> )

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**Table 1 (cont.)**  
*Politburo Meetings in the Deng Era, 1977–1992*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
February 20 & 23, 1982 (Saturday & Tuesday)	Discussed the revised draft of the PRC constitution. Deng argued against establishing the post of PRC president.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
April 10, 1982 (Sunday)	Discussed a Central Committee-State Council decision on economic crime. Deng speech.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
July 30, 1982 (Friday)	Discussed creating an advisory commission to aid the ending of lifetime tenure for leaders.	Enlarged meeting. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
April 22, 1983 (Friday)	Discussed a State Council Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office plan on the Hong Kong issue. Deng speech.	Enlarged meeting. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> )
January 16, 1987 (Friday)	Hu Yaobang made a self-criticism of his violations of principles of collective leadership while managing the Secretariat and requested his removal as general secretary.	Enlarged meeting. Deng “in charge” (主持). (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> ; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1044–45.)
November 14, 1987 (Saturday)	Ratified the “work rules” for the Politburo and its Standing Committee and the party Secretariat. Approved a report on the work of the Central Party School. Appointed Jiang Zemin Shanghai party secretary, replacing Rui Xingwen.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee Politburo’s first meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, November 14, 1987; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1129.)
December 16, 1987 (Wednesday)	Discussed and decided on plans for restructuring the organs of the Central Committee and State Council.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee Politburo’s second meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, December 16, 1987; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1136–37.)
January 9, 1988 (Saturday)	Approved the draft state-owned enterprise law.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee Politburo’s third meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, January 9, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1145.)
February 6, 1988 (Saturday)	Discussed the current economic situation and economic work in 1988.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee Politburo’s fourth meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, February 6, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1158.)

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**Table 1 (cont.)**  
*Politburo Meetings in the Deng Era, 1977–1992*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
March 3–4, 1988 (Thursday–Friday)	Scheduled the 13th Central Committee’s Second Plenum and approved Zhao Ziyang’s Politburo work report to the plenum. Approved the list of candidates for appointment to state and CPPCC organs at the upcoming Seventh NPC and CPPCC.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s fifth meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, March 4, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1172.)
March 9, 1988 (Wednesday)	Approved acting Premier Li Peng’s State Council work report to be delivered at the Seventh NPC.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s sixth meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, March 9, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1175.)
April 15, 1988 (Friday)	Discussed complaints by NPC & CPPCC delegates about education, inflation, party workstyle and government discipline. Decided to set up ad hoc groups among the delegates to discuss these issues.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s seventh meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, April 27, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1194–95.)
April 27, 1988 (Wednesday)	Discussed the suggestions made by ad hoc groups among NPC and CPPCC delegates on issues raised at the April 15 Politburo meeting and endorsed their implementation.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s eighth meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, April 27, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1194–95.)
May 30–June 1, 1988 (Monday–Wednesday)	Discussed the current economic situation and status of economic reforms. Called for formulation of a new wage and price reform plan. Zhao Ziyang speech on economic reform.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s ninth meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, June 1, 1988. Supplementary reports: Zhongguo tongxunshe, June 1, 1988; Zhongguo xinwenshe, June 1, 1988; <i>Ta Kung Pao</i> (Hong Kong), June 2–8, 1988; <i>Wen wei po</i> (Hong Kong), June 2, 17, 18, 19, & 20, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1225.)

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**Table 1 (cont.)**  
*Politburo Meetings in the Deng Era, 1977–1992*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
August 15–17, 1988 (Monday–Wednesday)	Approved a tentative plan on wage and price reforms. Called for expert and CPPCC advisory sessions and a central work conference to deliberate on the plan, to be followed by the 13th Central Committee’s Third Plenum.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s 10th meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. Meeting held at Beidaihe. (Source: Xinhua, August 18, 1988. Supplementary reports: <i>Wen wei po</i> (Hong Kong), August 18, 1988; <i>Hsin Wan Pao</i> (Hong Kong), August 18, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1260.)
September 2, 1988 (Friday)	Approved a plan for improving ideological and political work in enterprises, to be submitted to the upcoming Third Plenum.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s 11th meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, September 2, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 2, 1267.)
September 24, 1988 (Saturday)	Scheduled the Third Plenum; endorsed Zhao Ziyang’s Politburo work report to be delivered to the plenum.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s 12th meeting. Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, September 24, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol.4 part 2, 1278.)
October 29, 1988 (Saturday)	Discussed priorities in rural reform and agriculture for the next 10 years.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s 13th meeting. (Zhao Ziyang presided. (Source: Xinhua, October 29, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol.4 part 2, 1297–98.)
December 24, 1988 (Saturday)	Discussed the international situation and China’s foreign policy work.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s 14th meeting. (Source: Xinhua, December 24, 1988; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol.4 part 2, 1325–26.)
January 27, 1989 (Friday)	Discussed strengthening political work and stabilizing the social order in the midst of economic reform.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee’s 15th meeting. (Source: Xinhua, January 27, 1989; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People’s Republic</i> , Vol.4 part 3, 1349.)

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**Table 1 (cont.)**  
*Politburo Meetings in the Deng Era, 1977–1992*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
February 25, 1989 (Saturday)	Approved Premier Li Peng's report on the work of the State Council, to be delivered at the upcoming Seventh NPC.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee's 16th meeting. (Source: Xinhua, February 25, 1989; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People's Republic</i> , Vol.4 part 3, 1365.)
April 8, 1989 (Saturday)	Discussed a draft decision on issues in education development and reform.	Reported as the 13th Central Committee's 17th meeting. Last of the numbered sequence of Politburo meetings begun in 1987. (Source: Xinhua, April 8, 1989; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People's Republic</i> , Vol.4 part 3, 1383–84.)
June 19–21, 1989 (Monday–Wednesday)	Criticized Zhao Ziyang's errors and made preparations for the 13th Central Committee's Fourth Plenum.	Enlarged meeting. Deng presided. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> .)
July 27–28, 1989 (Thursday–Friday)	Discussed a Central Committee-State Council decision on “doing a few things of concern to the masses in the near future” and a Central Committee circular on strengthening propaganda work.	Jiang Zemin presided. (Source: Xinhua, July 28, 1989; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People's Republic</i> , Vol.4 part 3, 1442.)
August 28, 1989 (Monday)	Discussed party-building, as directed by the June 1989 Fourth Plenum.	Jiang Zemin presided. Last of the Politburo meetings to be reported publicly on a current basis. (Source: Xinhua, August 28, 1989; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People's Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 3, 1455.)
March 9–10, 1992 (Monday–Tuesday)	Endorsed Deng Xiaoping's January-February talks in the south as setting the direction for the 14 <sup>th</sup> CCP Congress.	Jiang Zemin presided. Preceded on February 28 by circulation of Deng's talks as Central Committee Document 1992 No. 2. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> .)

**Table 2***Politburo Standing Committee Meetings in the Deng Era*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
March 12, 1980 (Wednesday)	Discussed the need for military modernization; Deng speech.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
March 17, 1980 (Monday)	Discussed the issue of rejuvenating the ranks of party cadres.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
June 13, 1981 (Saturday)	Discussed U.S.-China relations in light of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. Deng remarks calling for making worst-case plans, while fearing neither retrogression nor stagnation.	Preceded U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's June 14–17, 1981, Beijing visit. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
February 18, 1982 (Thursday)	Discussed the Guangdong-Hong Kong problem.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
March 17, 1982 (Thursday)	Heard State Planning and State Economic Commission reports on the economy. Deng remarks.	Joint meeting with the Secretariat. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
June 7, 1983 (Tuesday)	Discussed reports by the State Planning Commission on initial estimates for basic construction in the seventh five-year plan and a Ministry of Finance report on finance issues.	Joint meeting with the Secretariat. Followed on June 30 by a central work conference on these issues. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
December 17, 1985 (Tuesday)	Discussed Brazil buying Chinese grain, oil, and coal and drawing on overseas Chinese in economic modernization.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
January 17, 1986 (Friday)	Heard reports on economic work in 1985 and plans for 1986; also discussed a summary report on arrangements for building socialist spiritual civilization. Deng speech.	Followed in September by 12 <sup>th</sup> Central Committee Sixth Plenum, which adopted a resolution on socialist spiritual civilization. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
February 26, 1986 (Wednesday)	Heard and discussed a report from the leading group on party rectification.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )

*(continued)*

**Table 2 (cont.)***Politburo Standing Committee Meetings in the Deng Era*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
March 7, 1986 (Friday)	Deng speech on the Taiwan problem.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
June 28, 1986 (Saturday)	Heard a report by Qiao Shi on party rectification. Deng remarks.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
January 4, 1987 (Sunday)	No business reported.	Preceded by a meeting with Hu Yaobang et al. on December 30 on handling student demonstrations in several cities. Followed on January 13 by a talk at Deng's home with Yang Shangkun on Hu Yaobang's mistakes; proposed handling the issue "flexibly" (软处理). (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
March 10, 1987 (Tuesday)	Heard reports by Deng Liqun on the issue of opposing "bourgeois liberalization" and by Bo Yibo on candidates for the 13th Central Committee.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )
April 24, 1989 (Monday)	Conducted a "brain-storming session" (碰头会) on dealing with the growing student demonstrations in several cities. Resolved to set up a central small group to suppress the disorder (中央制止动乱小组) and that <i>People's Daily</i> publish an editorial on the issue.	(Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997</i> , p. 1272 note 3; <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People's Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 3, 1390.)
May 16, 1989 (Tuesday)	Discussed the Tiananmen crisis.	Described as an "emergency meeting" (紧急会议). (Source: <i>The Veritable Record of the Chinese People's Republic</i> , Vol. 4 part 3, 1405.)
May 17, 1989 (Wednesday)	Decided to impose martial law in Beijing. Deng speech.	Held at Deng Xiaoping's home. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )

*(continued)*

**Table 2 (cont.)***Politburo Standing Committee Meetings in the Deng Era*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
November 4, 1989 (Sunday)	No business reported. Deng speech.	Held at Deng Xiaoping's home. Deng "participated." Preceded on September 4 by Deng letter to the Central Committee submitting his resignation as Central Military Commission chair. Followed November 6–9 by 13th Central Committee Fifth Plenum, which accepted Deng's resignation. (Source: <i>Chronological biography of Deng Xiaoping, 1975–1997.</i> )

**Table 3***Publicized Meetings of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
November 16, 2002 (Saturday)	Launched campaign to study Jiang Zemin's Central Committee work report to the 16th Party Congress; deliberated division of Politburo labor.	(Source: Xinhua, November 16, 2002.) First in the series of publicized 16th CC Politburo meetings; resumed November 1987–August 1989 practice of reporting meetings on contemporaneous basis.
December 2, 2002 (Monday)	Discussed economic situation in preparation for annual national conference on 2003 economic work; adopted work rules for 16th Politburo.	(Source: Xinhua, December 2, 2002.)
December 26, 2002 (Thursday)	Agriculture and rural issues in preparation for annual national conference on 2003 rural work.	(Source: Xinhua, December 26, 2002.)
January 28, 2003 (Tuesday)	Discussed Central Discipline Inspection Commission report on 2003 work in combating corruption.	(Source: Xinhua, January 28, 2003.)

*(continued)*

**Table 3 (cont.)***Publicized Meetings of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
February 21, 2003 (Friday)	Set date for 16th Central Committee's Second Plenum; discussed "Opinion on Deepening Administrative and Institutional Reform"; discussed slate of state leaders to be adopted and State Council work report to be approved at Second Plenum and presented to the 10th National People's Congress.	(Source: Xinhua, February 21, 2003.)
March 28, 2003 (Friday)	Discussed and approved for implementation a document on news reporting on leadership meetings and activities and regulations on foreign travel by Politburo members.	(Source: Xinhua, March 28, 2003.)
April 28, 2003 (Monday)	Launched new campaign to study the "three represents"; discussed balancing priority of economic work and defeating SARS.	(Source: Xinhua, April 28, 2003.)
May 23, 2003 (Friday)	Discussed arrangements for improving personnel work and employing people of talent; approved compilation of "Program" for studying the "three represents"; discussed "other matters."	(Source: Xinhua, May 23, 2003.)
July 21, 2003 (Monday)	Summed up progress and stressed continuing priority and tasks in economic work and suppressing SARS; discussed "other matters."	(Source: Xinhua, July 21, 2003.)
August 11, 2003 (Monday)	Scheduled Central Committee's third plenum for October; set plenum agenda of hearing Politburo work report, decision on economic reform, and proposing revisions of PRC constitution; "looked into other matters."	(Source: Xinhua, August 11, 2003.)
September 29, 2003 (Monday)	Scheduled Central Committee's Third Plenum for October 11–14; discussed Politburo's work since the 16th Party Congress in preparation for report to plenum; discussed draft "decision" on economic reform and draft proposal on PRC constitutional revision; "studied other issues."	(Source: Xinhua, September 29, 2003.)

*(continued)*



**Table 3 (cont.)***Publicized Meetings of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
November 24, 2003 (Monday)	Assessed economic situation and 2003 economic work; discussed cultivating talent; set central conference on 2003 economic work and national conference on cultivating talent; discussed “other topics.”	(Source: Xinhua, November 24, 2003.) September 27, 2004, Xinhua report on drafting Fourth Plenum “Decision” on improving CCP’s governing capacity says this meeting put its adoption on the Fourth Plenum agenda & set up drafting group under Zeng Qinghong & He Guoqiang.
December 23, 2003 (Tuesday)	Reviewed CDIC report on corruption and two trial regulations on party discipline; set date for CDIC Third Plenum; discussed “other issues.”	(Source: Xinhua, December 23, 2003.)
February 23, 2004 (Monday)	Discussed draft State Council work report for upcoming NPC session and revision of CPPCC charter; “looked into other matters.”	(Source: February 23, 2004.)
March 29, 2004 (Monday)	Discussed “three rural” issues and grain price system; cadre management issues; “looked into other issues.”	(Source: Xinhua, March 29, 2004.)
April 26, 2004 (Monday)	Discussed economic situation and macro-control issues.	(Source: Xinhua, April 26, 2004.)
May 28, 2004 (Friday)	Discussed improving village democracy; “looked into other matters.”	(Source: Xinhua, May 28, 2004.)
June 29, 2004 (Tuesday)	Discussed party recruitment and “purification” issues; “studied other matters.”	(Source: Xinhua, June 29, 2004.)

*(continued)*

**Table 3 (cont.)***Publicized Meetings of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
July 23, 2004 (Friday)	Discussed Fourth Plenum schedule, agenda; called for continued macro-economic control effort; “studied other matters.”	(Source: Xinhua, July 23, 2004.) September 27, 2004, Xinhua report says this meeting also reviewed draft “Decision” on CCP’s governing capacity adopted at Fourth Plenum.
September 7, 2004 (Tuesday)	Reviewed PB work since Third Plenum; studied building CCP’s governing capacity; set Fourth Plenum for September 16–19 and reviewed draft “Decision” on CCP’s governing capacity; “studied other matters.”	(Source: Xinhua, September 7, 2004.)
October 21, 2004 (Thursday)	Decided to launch an all-party education drive on CCP’s “advanced nature,” to begin January 2005; “studied other matters.”	(Source: Xinhua, October 21, 2004.)
December 1, 2004 (Wednesday)	Assessed current economy and planned 2005 economic work in preparation for central economic conference.	(Source: Xinhua, December 1, 2004.)
December 27, 2004 (Monday)	Reviewed CDIC 2004 work report; scheduled CDIC Fifth Plenum for January 2005; discussed draft “Program” for corruption prevention and punishment; studied “several other things.”	(Source: Xinhua, December 27, 2004.)
January 24, 2005 (Monday)	Reviewed draft “Opinions” on strengthening CCP consultation with other parties and authorized its circulation for comment; discussed “other matters.”	(Source: Xinhua, January 24, 2005.)
February 21, 2005 (Monday)	Reviewed draft of State Council work report for upcoming NPC session; “looked into other matters.”	(Source: Xinhua, February 21, 2005.)
April 15, 2005 (Friday)	Review the participation of the Politburo Standing Committee in the ongoing education campaign on the party’s “advanced nature.” Also “studied other matters.”	(Source: Xinhua, April 15, 2005.)
May 31, 2005 (Tuesday)	Assessed party work and economic development in ethnic minority areas.	(Source: Xinhua, May 31, 2005.)
June 27, 2005 (Monday)	Discussed issues regarding long-term development of science and technology in China. Also “studied other matters.”	(Source: Xinhua, June 27, 2005.)

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**Table 3 (cont.)***Publicized Meetings of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Business</b>	<b>Notes</b>
July 25, 2005 (Monday)	Scheduled the 16th Central Committee's Fifth Plenum for October and set as its agenda guidelines for the 11th five-year plan; reviewed the current economic situation and economic work. Also "studied other matters."	(Source: Xinhua, July 25, 2005. Supplementary articles: <i>Xuexi shibao</i> , August 1, 2005; <i>Liaowang Dongfang Zhoukan</i> , August 4, 2005).
August 26, 2005 (Friday)	Assessed development in Tibet. Also "looked into other matters."	Eve of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region. (Source: Xinhua, August 26, 2005.)
September 29, 2005 (Thursday)	Set the 16th Central Committee's Fifth Plenum to meet October 8–11; reviewed the "draft proposals" for the 11th five-year plan. Also "studied other matters."	(Source: Xinhua, September 29, 2005.)
November 25, 2005 (Friday)	Reviewed the current economic situation and economic work for 2006; decided to convene the annual national conference on economic work "in the near future." Assessed reforms in the cultural sector. Also "looked into other matters."	(Source: Xinhua, November 25, 2005.)
December 20, 2005 (Tuesday)	Discussed building "new socialist rural areas" and anti-corruption tasks in 2006. Decided to convene the annual national conference on rural work "in the near future."	(Source: Xinhua, December 20, 2005.)
January 25, 2006 (Wednesday)	Studied improving the work of the CPPCC. Also "studied other matters."	(Source: Xinhua, January 25, 2006.)

**Table 4**  
*Publicized Politburo Standing Committee Meetings, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
February 4, 2002	Discussed poverty relief work on eve of the Spring Festival; Jiang Zemin presided and delivered speech.	(Source: Xinhua, February 4, 2002.)
December 12, 2002	Resolving livelihood problems of the poor; authorized CC-State Council circular on poverty relief steps on eve of Spring Festival period; Hu Jintao presided.	(Source: Xinhua, December 12, 2002.)
January 16, 2003	Reviewed draft State Council report to be delivered by Zhu Rongji to the 10th NPC.	(Source: Xinhua account of drafting of Zhu's NPC report, March 18, 2003.)
April 17, 2003	Addressed SARS epidemic.	(Source: Xinhua, April 17, 2003.)
July 4, 2003	Reviewed draft of 42-point "Decision" on economic reform adopted at Third Plenum.	(Source: Xinhua account of drafting of Third Plenum "Decision" on economic reform, November 9, 2003.)
July 31, 2003	Again reviewed draft of 42-point "Decision" on economic reform adopted at Third Plenum.	(Source: Xinhua account of drafting of Third Plenum "Decision" on economic reform, November 9, 2003.)
September 18, 2003	Reviewed revised draft of 42-point "Decision" on economic reform adopted at Third Plenum.	(Source: Xinhua account of drafting of Third Plenum "Decision" on economic reform, November 9, 2003.)
October 13, 2003	Reviewed draft of 42-point "Decision" on economic reform revised to incorporate changes proposed in Third Plenum group discussions for final approval by plenum.	(Source: Xinhua account of drafting of Third Plenum "Decision" on economic reform, November 9, 2003.)

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**Table 4 (cont.)***Publicized Politburo Standing Committee Meetings, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
March 18, 2004	Made arrangements for nationwide study of the revised PRC constitution adopted at the 10th NPC's second session.	(Source: March 18, 2004.)
May 27, 2004	Reviewed preliminary draft of "Decision" on improving party governing capability adopted at Fourth Plenum.	(Source: September 27, 2004 Xinhua account of drafting process of Fourth Plenum "Decision.")
July 15, 2004	Again reviewed preliminary draft of "Decision" on improving party governing capability adopted at Fourth Plenum.	(Source: September 27, 2004, Xinhua account of drafting process of Fourth Plenum "Decision.")
September 2, 2004	Reviewed draft "Decision" on improving party governing capability to be reviewed by full Politburo and adopted at Fourth Plenum.	(Source: September 27, 2004, Xinhua account of drafting process of Fourth Plenum "Decision.")

**Table 5**  
*Publicized Study Sessions of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Briefing experts</i>
December 26, 2002 (Thursday)	Studied PRC constitution; Hu Jintao speech on the authority of the constitution & running the country according to law.	People’s University Prof. Xu Chongde & Wuhan University Prof. Zhou Yezhong. (Source: Xinhua, December 26, 2002.)
January 28, 2003 (Tuesday)	Studied trends in world economy; Hu Jintao speech on importance of topic for China’s economy.	CASS Institute of World Economy and Politics Director Yu Yongding & CASS research fellow Jiang Xiaojuan. (Source: Xinhua, January 28, 2003.)
March 29, 2003 (Saturday)	Studied promoting employment; Hu Jintao speech on importance for social stability.	People’s University Prof. Zeng Xiangquan & CASS Institute of Population and Labor Economics Dir. Cai Fang (Source: Xinhua, March 29, 2003.)
April 28, 2003 (Monday)	Studied trends in contemporary S&T in world & China; Hu Jintao speech on defeating SARS through S&T and by mobilizing the country.	CAS Institute of Physics Director Wang Enge; Qinghua Prof. Xue Lan; & Center for Disease Prevention & Control researcher Zeng Guang. (Source: Xinhua, April 29, 2003.)
May 23, 2003 (Friday)	Studied trends in military development in major countries; Hu Jintao speech on China’s military modernization priorities.	China Institute of Military Science researchers Qian Haihao & Fu Liqun. (Source: Xinhua, May 24, 2003.)

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**Table 5 (cont.)***Publicized Study Sessions of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Briefing experts</i>
July 21, 2003 (Monday)	Studied development of party ideology; Hu Jintao speech on importance of current study of “three represents.”	Central Committee Party History Research Center researchers Zhang Qihua & Zhang Shujun. (Source: Xinhua, July 22, 2003.)
August 12, 2003 (Tuesday)	Studied trends in world culture and in China; Hu Jintao speech on building “socialist culture with Chinese characteristics.”	CASS Institute of Journalism researcher Zhang Ximing & Qinghua University School of Media & Broadcasting Prof. Xiong Chengyu. (Source: Xinhua, August 12, 2003.)
September 29, 2003 (Monday)	Studied building socialist political civilization and governing according to law; Hu Jintao speech on political reform.	Fudan University IR Prof. Lin Shangli & CASS Institute of Law researcher Li Lin. (Source: Xinhua, September 30, 2003.)
November 24, 2003 (Monday)	Studied history of development in major countries since 15th century; Hu Jintao speech on importance of historical knowledge in guiding China’s current development.	Beijing Normal University Prof. Qi Shirong & Nanjing University Prof. Qin Chengdan. (Source: Xinhua, November 25, 2003.)
February 23, 2004 (Monday)	Studied world trends and China’s security environment; Hu Jintao speech on taking a broad view.	MFA Foreign Affairs College Prof. Qin Yaqing & CASS researcher Zhang Yuyan. (Source: Xinhua, February 24, 2004.)
March 29, 2004 (Monday)	Studied trends in agriculture in world and China; Hu remarks.	Agriculture University Prof. Cheng Xu & Min. of Agriculture Rural Research Center Prof. Ke Bingsheng. (Source: Xinhua, March 30, 2004.)

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**Table 5 (cont.)***Publicized Study Sessions of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Briefing experts</i>
April 26, 2004 (Monday)	Studied building a legal system and expanding popular political participation through elections; Hu remarks.	Beijing University Prof. Wu Zhipan & People's University Prof. Wang Liming. (Source: Xinhua, April 27, 2004.)
May 28, 2004 (Friday)	Studied developments in Chinese philosophy and social sciences; Hu remarks.	Shanghai Finance & Economy University Prof. Cheng Enfu & CASS Prof. Li Chongfu. (See also October 6, 2004, WWP interview with Li on session.) (Source, Xinhua, May 29, 2004.)
June 29, 2004 (Tuesday)	Studied strengthening party governing capacity; Hu remarks.	Beijing University Prof. Huang Zongliang and Central Party School Prof. Lu Xianfu. (Source: Xinhua, June 30, 2005.)
July 24, 2004 (Saturday)	Studied coordinating economic and defense construction; Hu remarks.	PLA General Armament Dept. S&T Committee Prof. Guo Guirong & COSTIND Advisory Committee fellow Luan Enjie. (Source: Xinhua, July 24, 2004.)
October 21, 2004 (Thursday)	Studied issues of ethnic minorities; Hu remarks.	Central Nationalities Univ. Prof. Tang Shengmin & CASS researcher Hao Shiyuan. (Source, Xinhua, October 22, 2004.)
December 1, 2004 (Thursday)	Studied course of socialism in China to affirm “socialism with Chinese characteristics”; Hu remarks.	Central Party School Profs. Chen Xuewei & Liu Haitao. (NB: 12/9/04 <i>Ta Kung Pao</i> interview with Chen on session.) (Source: Xinhua, December 2, 2004.)

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**Table 5 (cont.)***Publicized Study Sessions of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Briefing experts</i>
December 27, 2004 (Monday)	Studied S&T development strategy up to 2020; Hu remarks.	CAS researcher Sun Honglie & Tongji Univ. Prof. Wan Gang. (Source: Xinhua, December 28, 2004.)
January 24, 2005 (Monday)	Studied building CCP's "advanced nature"; Hu remarks.	Party Literature Research Center Prof. Li Zhongjie & National Party-Building Research Society researcher Wang Tingfa. (Source: Xinhua, January 25, 2005.)
February 21, 2005 (Monday)	Studied social issues relevant to "building a harmonious society"; Hu remarks.	CASS Institute of Sociology researchers Li Peilin and Jing Tiankui. (Source: Xinhua, February 22, 2005). NB: Xinhua English account says session was "Tuesday."
April 15, 2005 (Friday)	Studied the party's "scientific development concept"; Hu remarks.	State Council Development Research Center researcher Liu Shijin and State Development and Reform Commission Macroeconomic Studies Institute researcher Chen Dongqi. (Source: Xinhua, April 16, 2005.)
May 31, 2005 (Tuesday)	Studied trends in globalization and international trade; Hu remarks.	People's University Professor Huang Weiping and CASS researcher Pei Changhong. (Source: Xinhua, June 1, 2005.)

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**Table 5 (cont.)***Publicized Study Sessions of the 16th Party Politburo, 2002–Present*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Briefing experts</i>
June 27, 2005 (Monday)	Studied international trends in energy and resources and China's energy and resources strategy. Hu remarks.	Ministry of Land and Resources Geological Survey Bureau researcher Zhang Hongtao and State Development and Reform Commission Macroeconomic Research Institute researcher Zhou Dadi. (Source: Xinhua, June 28, 2005.)
August 26, 2005 (Friday)	Studied national unity and patriotism in light of the experience of World War II and the Sino-Japanese War. Hu remarks.	Academy of Military Science Department of Theory and Strategy in War researcher Jiang Ying and AMS Department of Military Affairs Research researcher Luo Yuan. (Source: Xinhua, August 26, 2005.)
September 29, 2005 (Friday)	Studied patterns of urbanization in China and other countries. Hu remarks.	Tongji University Professor Tang Zilai and Beijing University Professor Zhou Yixin. (Source: Xinhua, September 30, 2005.)
November 25, 2005 (Friday)	Studied trends in China and abroad in Marxist theory and their relevance to China's development. Hu remarks.	Heilongjiang University Professor Yi Junqing and CASS researcher Li Jingyuan. (Source: Xinhua, November 26, 2005. Further report: <i>Liaowang</i> No.49, December 5, 2005.)
December 20, 2005 (Tuesday)	Studied administrative reform and perfecting the economic legal system. Hu remarks.	Chinese University of Politics and Law Professor Ma Huaide and People's University Law School Professor Shi Jichun. (Source: Xinhua, December 21, 2005.)
January 25, 2006 (Wednesday)	Studied "building a new rural countryside." Hu remarks.	Ministry of Agriculture Agricultural Trade Center researcher Qian Keming and CASS Rural Development Institute researcher Zhang Xiaoshan. (Source: Xinhua, January 26, 2006.)

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *China Leadership Monitor* 9 (winter 2004) and 11 (summer 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Document Research Office, ed. 邓小平年谱 (Beijing: Central Committee Document Publishing House 中央文献出版社, 2004). The *nianpu* was a common biographic format in later imperial times (from the Song through Qing periods), chronicling in considerable detail the activities of a scholar-official's life and career. The practice of compiling *nianpu* continued in the Republican period and has made a comeback in the post-Mao PRC. Most significantly, the *nianpu* for Deng Xiaoping complements others that have been already compiled for some of the PRC's highest leaders, such as Zhou Enlai.

<sup>3</sup> Xu Dashen 徐达深, ed., 中华人民共和国实录 (Changchun: Jilin People's Publishing House 吉林人民出版社, 1994). A "veritable record" is another traditional Chinese historiographic format, used in imperial times to chronicle the day-to-day activities of the imperial court. They were compiled directly from court diaries and archives in somewhat less digested form than the "annals" portions of the official histories of the dynasties.

<sup>4</sup> A. Doak Barnett, *The Making of Foreign Policy in China: Structure and Process* (Westview and SAIS Foreign Policy Institute: 1985), p. 9 ff. See also Lu Ning, *The Dynamics of Foreign-Policy Decision-making in China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), pp. 9–11.

<sup>5</sup> See the article on Politburo procedures in *China Leadership Monitor* 9 (winter 2004).

<sup>6</sup> For an initial assessment of Politburo study sessions, see the articles on the Politburo procedures in *China Leadership Monitor* 9 (winter 2004) and 11 (summer 2004).