

Politburo Processes under Xi Jinping

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As described in PRC media, the workings of the Chinese Communist Party's Politburo under General Secretary Xi Jinping closely follow patterns set down during the 10-year tenure of his predecessor Hu Jintao.

For most of PRC history, information about the party's policy-setting body, the Politburo, and its processes was not publicized on a current basis in the media. Even basic questions about how frequently the Politburo met, what sort of business it conducted, and who attended could not be answered authoritatively. The processes of the Politburo Standing Committee—re-established in 1956 as the party's decision-making core—were even more obscure.

For two years, beginning in November 1987 under the tenure of Zhao Ziyang as party general secretary, the Xinhua News Agency transmitted brief dispatches on meetings of the Politburo. These were discontinued in the summer of 1989, in the wake of the Tiananmen crisis and under the leadership of the new party general secretary, Jiang Zemin.

Xinhua reporting on meetings of the Politburo resumed in November 2002, immediately after the accession of Hu Jintao as the party's top leader. Xinhua also began reporting on sessions of the Politburo held to study topical issues relevant to policy. These study sessions were apparently an innovation of the Hu leadership, although ad hoc study meetings of the leadership were held occasionally under Zhao Ziyang as premier and later party leader in the 1980s. Xinhua reports on both Politburo meetings and study sessions have continued under Xi Jinping since his appointment as party leader in November 2012.

In all cases, Xinhua's accounts of Politburo meetings have been brief, normally reporting one or two major decisions or documents reviewed and endorsed and summarizing discussion in very general terms. Xinhua reports have therefore been of limited value in detailing key aspects of Politburo operations, such as the full agenda of each meeting (Xinhua normally states that "other matters" were discussed without further specifying), viewpoints of participating leaders on the issues addressed, how decisions were finally made, and the roster of attendees. Nevertheless, the reports shed important light on several basic questions about the operation of the Politburo, a topic previously in total obscurity.¹

The Politburo Schedule

Since its appointment at the 18th Central Committee's First Plenum in November 2012, the Xi Politburo has been reported holding 28 meetings. A list of these meetings, as well as their business as reported by Xinhua, is appended.

Comparing the number of meetings of Xi Jinping's Politburo with those of the 16th and 17th Central Committee Politburos under Hu Jintao, the frequency of meetings under each leader is virtually the same, as shown in table 1.² Since its establishment in November 2012 down through the end of 2014, the Xi Politburo met 23 times. Over comparable periods in each body's five-year term, each of the two Hu Politburos met 22 times.

Table 1

Annual Frequency of Meetings of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Central Committee Politburos

<i>16th CC Politburo</i>	
2002:	3
2003:	9
2004:	10
2005:	10
2006:	12
2007:	11
Total:	55
 <i>17th CC Politburo</i>	
2007:	3
2008:	11
2009:	8
2010:	11
2011:	8
2012:	5
Total:	46
 <i>18th CC Politburo</i>	
2012:	3
2013:	10
2014:	10
2015:	5
Total:	28

The relatively fast pace of Politburo meetings under Xi Jinping so far matches that of meetings of the Politburo during Hu Jintao's first term. It contrasts with the reduced pace of meetings during Hu's second term (2007–2012), which totaled only 46, as compared to 55 meetings in his first term. The slowdown is one of several symptoms of the paralysis of policy-making that presumably contributed to steps taken at the 18th Party Congress in November 2012 to strengthen the decision-making capabilities of the Politburo Standing Committee and the role of the general secretary within it.³

As was the case during the Hu period, it is also clear that the Politburo under Xi Jinping meets at no fixed time of the month or on any set day of the week. The CCP's constitution states that the general secretary calls meetings of the Politburo, but there is no reliable information on how he decides when to convene the body.

The Politburo's Annual Calendar

A review of Politburo meetings reported by Xinhua across the period of Hu Jintao's and Xi Jinping's leadership shows that the Politburo follows a predictable calendar of issues it routinely addresses at specific times through the course of a year. Table 2 lays out a typical annual calendar.

Table 2*The Politburo's Annual Calendar*

January	
February	Review of State Council work report and other documents for presentation to the March National People's Congress session.
March	
April	Review of first quarter economic results.
May	
June	
July	Mid-year review of the economic situation and priorities for the second half of the year.
	(or August): Sets agenda and month of upcoming fall Central Committee plenum.
August	
September	
October	
November	(or December): Review of economy in preparation for December central conference on economic work.
December	(or January): Reviews documents for presentation at January annual CDIC plenum.

The only element in this calendar new under Xi Jinping's leadership is the April review of the first quarter's economic figures. PRC media have not explained this addition, but it presumably registers the leadership's even closer scrutiny of the economic situation since the economy began to slow significantly—what Beijing has dubbed the “new normal”—in the past couple of years.

Politburo Standing Committee

PRC media reporting on the activities of the Politburo Standing Committee also continue the extremely limited scope of media attention seen during the Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao eras. The only current reporting on the Politburo Standing Committee announces emergency sessions of the body to authorize mobilization of resources to deal with major natural disasters. For example, on 20 August 2014, Xinhua reported at length a meeting of the Standing Committee chaired by Xi Jinping that day to coordinate rescue and relief for the victims of the major earthquake in Ludian, Yunnan.

Politburo Study Sessions

As table 3 shows, PRC media have so far reported the Xi Politburo convening 22 study sessions since its appointment in 2012. Through the end of 2014, the Xi Politburo convened 19 sessions, while the Hu Politburo over comparable periods convened only 18 (2002–2004) and 17 (2007–2009), respectively, making the Xi Politburo slightly more studious than its predecessors.⁴ A complete list of the Xi leadership's study sessions, their topics and lecturers, and other aspects appears at the end of this article as Appendix 2.

Table 3

Annual Study Sessions of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Central Committee Politburos

<i>16th CC Politburo</i>	
2002	1
2003	8
2004	9
2005	9
2006	10
2007	7
Total	44
 <i>17th CC Politburo</i>	
2007	2
2008	8
2009	7
2010	8
2011	6
2012	2
Total	33
 <i>18th CC Politburo</i>	
2012	2
2013	10
2014	7
2015	3
Total	22

As well as can be judged from Xinhua's reports, the format and procedures of the study sessions follows closely from those of the Hu era. The one exception was the convening of a session (30 September 2013) not in Zhongnanhai but as a field trip to Beijing's technology park Zhongguancun, held to study innovation-driven economic development and briefed by Minister of Science and Technology Wan Gang.

According to the CCP website, each Politburo study session lasts about 2 hours. Eighty minutes are given to lecturer presentations, 30 minutes to Politburo discussion, and XJP uses the remaining 10 minutes to sum up. Xi Jinping's bestseller *The Governance of*

China, which includes speeches and other materials of Xi's from his appointment as general secretary in November 2012 up through June 2014, includes Xi's summary remarks from 11 out of 16 study sessions over that period. Only one of Xi's study session summaries—his talk on studying the 18th Party Congress report at the first study session on 17 November 2012—was included in the CCP's *Important Documents* volume for the first 15 months of the Xi leadership.⁵

According to a 2011 account in the general news magazine *Outlook* (瞭望), topics for Politburo study sessions are selected in two ways. Politburo members may propose topics themselves relevant to the policy sectors they are responsible for under the Politburo's division of policy labor. Alternatively, the Central Committee's General Office, leading small groups, or major policy institutions may submit topics relevant to significant current events or trends.

In either case, once a topic is approved—presumably by the general secretary—the General Office and the Central Committee Policy Research Office coordinate preparations for the study session. This process involves selection and approval of lecturers, drafting and repeated review of lectures, and consultation on substance.⁶

Close comparison of the topics of Politburo study sessions under Hu Jintao and Xi Jinping bears out the linkage between ongoing Politburo deliberations and decision-making, showing repeated examples of study sessions examining issues that presaged later policy decisions or that advertised leadership consensus after such decisions had been made. As an example of the latter, a long *Outlook* article in May 2014 pointed up Xi Jinping's enunciation of a new “comprehensive national security concept” at the inaugural meeting of the National Security Commission in mid-April, the Politburo studying the concept 10 days later on 25 April, and then Xi's departing Beijing for a four-day inspection tour of Xinjiang to focus attention on it.⁷

Lower-Level Study Sessions

It has long been clear that under the banner of “building a study-oriented party,” Politburo study sessions have been replicated by similar study activities at lower levels of the PRC political hierarchy, including in the party, state, and military. According to a 2009 report in the Central Party School newspaper *Study Times* (学习时报), “various party committees and government in the provinces, regions and province-level municipalities, various party committees in Central Committee and State Council organs, various headquarters in the People's Liberation Army, various large units, and various mass organizations have adopted several formats to carry out study activities” following the Politburo's example.⁸

Study guides to facilitate such study in the Hu Jintao period were prepared and circulated internally. For example, a 2009 two-volume compendium of materials from 38 Politburo study sessions held between 2002 and 2007 was published as “military internal study materials” (军队内部学习资料).⁹ Sections for each Politburo study session included a summary of HJT's remarks, texts of presentations by presenters, and sometimes other relevant materials. The preface to the volumes observed that Politburo study sessions

“promote political policy-making on a scientific and democratic” basis and so deserve emulation.

Under Xi Jinping, the CCP’s website now provides its own study materials from Politburo study sessions for “broad study and reference by internet friends.” These materials list the topic and provide brief “classroom notes” on the main points of the Politburo’s discussion at each session.¹⁰

Appendix 1: Meetings of the 18th Central Committee Politburo

<i>Date</i>	<i>Business</i>	<i>Notes</i>
16 November 2012 (Friday)	Xi Jinping presided. Examined arrangements for study, propagation and implementation of the 18 th Congress spirit. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 16 November 2012
4 December 2012 (Tuesday)	Xi Jinping presided. Reviewed economic work for 2013; considered 8-point regulations to improve party work style. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 4 December 2012
31 December 2012 (Monday)	Xi Jinping presided. Reviewed CDIC report, discussed combating corruption, and set January date for CDIC 2 nd Plenum. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 31 December 2012
28 January 2013 (Monday)	Xi Jinping presided. Studied arrangements for developing & managing party membership to better face demands of new situation brought by reform. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 28 January 2013
23 February 2013 (Saturday)	Set the 2 nd Plenum to meet 26–28 February. Reviewed the draft State Council work report and reorganization plan and list of nominations for NPC and CPPCC leadership.	Source: Xinhua, 23 February 2013
19 April 2013 (Friday)	Planned launch of one-year campaign to study the party’s mass line in second half of the year. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 19 April 2013
22–25 June 2013 (Saturday through Tuesday)	“Ad hoc” meeting (专门会议) to inspect central organs’ implementation of 4 December 2012 8-point regulations to improve work style as kickoff of “mass line” campaign. Xi Jinping “important speech.”	Source: Xinhua, 25 June 2013
30 July 2013 (Tuesday)	Reviewed economic situation in first half 2013 and economic work for second half. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 30 July 2013
27 August 2013 (Tuesday)	Scheduled the 3 rd Plenum to convene in November; reviewed the Politburo work report to deliver to the plenum; adopted a “2013–2017 Work Program for Establishing a Corruption Punishment and Prevention System” and “Opinion of Changing Local Government Functions and Reforming the Organizations”; heard a report on the China Free Trade Zone in Shanghai. Xi Jinping presided.	Source: Xinhua, 27 August 2013

30 September 2013 (Monday)	Approved the “Outline for Study of the Scientific Development Concept” and authorized its publication. Discussed “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 30 September 2013
29 October 2013 (Tuesday)	Discussed the Politburo’s work since the 2 nd Plenum; studied important issues in “comprehensively deepening reform”; approved “Regulations” on excessive holiday expenditures. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 29 October 2013
3 December 2013 (Tuesday)	Reviewed economic work for 2014 in preparation for central conference on economic work; reviewed report on 2 nd national land survey. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 3 December 2013
30 December 2013 (Monday)	Established Central Leading Group for Comprehensive Deepening of Reform; reviewed preparations for 2014 anti-corruption work and set date for January CDIC plenum; adopted revised regulations on leading cadre appointments. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 30 December 2013
24 January 2014 (Friday)	Established the State Security Committee; reviewed report on 8-point work-style regulations in 2013 and set tasks for 2014. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 24 January 2014
24 February 2014 (Monday)	Reviewed State Council work report and other documents for 12 th NPC 2 nd session. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 24 February 2014
25 April 2014 (Friday)	Reviewed economic situation in first quarter of 2014. Studied “other items.”	Source: Xinhua, 25 April 2014
26 May 2014 (Monday)	Studied stability in Xinjiang in wake of 20 May Urumqi violence. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 25 April 2014
30 June 2014 (Monday)	Adopted “Overall Plan for Reform of Fiscal and Tax System,” “Opinions” on household registration reform, and “Plan” for reform of discipline inspection system. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 30 June 2014. Note: Xinhua reported expulsion of Xu Caihou from party the same day, but did not link it to the Politburo meeting.
29 July 2014 (Tuesday)	Reviewed economic situation in first half 2014 and economic work for second half. Scheduled 4 th Plenum for October to “study major problems of administering the country by law.” Discussed “other agenda items.”	Source: Xinhua, 29 July 2014. Note: Xinhua reported separately the same day that the CC had decided to investigate Zhou Yongkang for discipline violations.
29 August 2014 (Friday)	Adopted “Plan” for reform of party-building system, “Plan” for wage reform in central SOEs, and “Opinions” on benefits of central SOE executives. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 29 August 2014

30 September 2014 (Tuesday)	Studied major issues in administering the country according to law; summed up party education activities on mass line, which was ending. Studied “other items.”	Source: Xinhua, 30 September 2014
5 December 2014 (Friday)	Reviewed 2015 economic work in preparation for central conference. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 5 December 2014
29 December 2014 (Monday)	Reviewed report on anti-corruption work in 2014 and made arrangements for 2015; set date for January CDIC plenum; adopted “Opinions” on reform of party mass organization work. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 29 December 2014
23 January 2015 (Friday)	Reviewed and approved “Outline of State Security Strategy”; heard reports to the Politburo Standing Committee from the NPC Standing Committee, State Council, CPPCC, and Supreme People’s Court and Procuratorate; heard report on party 8-point work-style regulations in 2014 and made arrangements for 2015. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 23 January 2015
12 February 2015 (Thursday)	Reviewed State Council work report for delivery to 12 th NPC 3 rd session; heard inspection report on 31 provinces and Xinjiang Production Corps. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 12 February 2015
24 March 2015 (Tuesday)	Reviewed “Opinions” on accelerating fostering cultural construction; discussed Guangdong, Tianjin, and Fujian free trade trial zones. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 24 March 2015
30 April 2015 (Thursday)	Reviewed economic situation in first quarter 2015; discussed “Tentative Regulations” for party united front work and “outline” of Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei collaborative development plan. Studied “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 30 April 2015
29 May 2015 (Friday)	Discussed and adopted “Trial Regulations on the Work of CCP Party Groups”; discussed “other matters.”	Source: Xinhua, 29 May 2015

Appendix 2: Study Sessions of the 18th Central Committee Politburo

<i>Date</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Notes</i>
17 November 2012 (Friday)	#1: Studied developing and upholding socialism with Chinese characteristics while implementing 18 th Congress spirit; Xi Jinping speech.	No lecturers. (Source: Xinhua, 18 November 2012.) Note: Text of Xi remarks included in Xi's <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 6–22.
31 December 2012 (Monday)	#2: Studied reform and opening as a long-term task. Xi Jinping remarks.	Central Party History Research Center researcher Li Xiangqian & NDRC Macroeconomic Research Institute researcher Wang Yiming. (Source: Xinhua: 1 January 2013.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi's <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 73–75.
28 January 2013 (Monday)	#3: Studied taking the path of peaceful development. Xi remarks.	Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi, ILD Director Wang Jiarui, and Minister of Commerce Chen Deming. (Source: Xinhua: 29 January 2013.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi's <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 271–73.
23 February 2013 (Saturday)	#4: Studied ruling the country according to law. Xi Jinping remarks.	NPC Standing Committee Legislation Committee Director Li Shishi; Supreme People's Court Vice President Shen Deyong; Supreme People's Procuratorate Deputy Procurator Hu Zejun; Minister of Justice Wu Aiyang; State Council Legislative Affairs Office chief Song Dahan. (Source: Xinhua, 24 February 2013.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi's <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 160–162.
19 April 2013 (Friday)	#5: Studied combating corruption and upholding government integrity via historical lessons. Xi Jinping remarks.	CASS Institute of History researcher Bu Qianxun & CASS Institute of Political Science researcher Fang Ning. (Source: 20 April 2013.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi's <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 271–273.
24 May 2013 (Friday)	#6: Studied conserving resources and protecting the environment. Xi Jinping remarks.	Qinghua University Environmental Science & Engineering Institute Chi Qiming & China Environmental Sciences Institute researcher Meng Wei. (Source: Xinhua, 25 May 2013.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi's <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 230–232.

25 June 2013 (Tuesday)	#7: Studied advancing socialism with Chinese characteristics by studying party history.	Politburo members Ma Kai, Liu Qibao, Fan Changlong, Meng Jianzhu, Zhao Leji, & Hu Chunhua “spoke on key points.” (Source: Xinhua, 26 June 2013.)
30 July 2013 (Tuesday)	#8: Studied maritime strategy and building China as a maritime power. Xi Jinping remarks.	China Maritime Petroleum Company Deputy Chief Engineer Zeng Hengyi & National Maritime Administration Maritime Development Strategy Institute researcher Gao Zhiguo. (Source: Xinhua, 31 July 2013.)
30 September 2013 (Monday)	#9: Studied implementation of innovation-driven development. Conducted at Zhongguancun, not Zhongnanhai. Xi Jinping remarks.	Briefing by Minister of S&T Wan Gang. (Source: Xinhua, 1 October 2013.)
29 October 2013 (Tuesday)	#10: Studied issue of providing adequate housing. Xi Jinping remarks.	Qinghua Land, Forest, and Water Science Institute Professor Liu Hongyu & Ministry of Housing and Urbanization Policy Research Center researcher Qin Hong. (Source: Xinhua, 1 October 2013.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi’s <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 212–214.
3 December 2013 (Tuesday)	#11: Studied principles and methods of historical materialism. Xi Jinping remarks.	Chinese People’s University Professor Guo Zhan & Central Party School Professor Han Qingxiang. (Source: Xinhua, 4 December 2013.)
30 December 2013 (Monday)	#12: Studied building China’s soft power. Xi Jinping remarks.	Wuhan University Professor Shen Zhuanghai & National Propaganda Cadre Academy Professor Huang Zhijian. (Source: Xinhua, 31 December 2013.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi’s <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 178–180.
24 February 2014 (Monday)	#13: Studied nourishing core socialist values and China’s traditional virtues. Xi Jinping remarks.	CC Propaganda Department Ideology & Political Work Research Institute Professor Dai Mucai. (Source: Xinhua, 25 February 2014.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi’s <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 181–184.
25 April 2014 (Friday)	#14: Studied state security and maintaining social stability. Xi Jinping remarks.	CC Politics & Law Commission member Wang Yongqing. (Source: Xinhua, 26 April 2014.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi’s <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 223–225.
26 May 2014 (Monday)	#15: Studied the market & state role in allocating resources. Xi Jinping remarks.	No lecturers; Politburo members “exchanged self-study work experience.” (Source: Xinhua, 27 May 2014.) Note: “Main points” of Xi remarks included in Xi’s <i>Governance of China</i> , pp. 128–130.

30 June 2014 (Monday)	#16: Studied institutionalizing party work style. Xi Jinping remarks.	CC Organization Dept. executive deputy Chen Xi; Hebei CCP Committee Secretary Zhou Benshun; and State Development & Reform Commission party staffer Xu Shaozhi. (Source: Xinhua, 30 June 2014.)
29 August 2014 (Friday)	#17: Studied trends in world military development and promoting PLA innovation. Xi Jinping remarks.	National Defense University Strategic Education & Research Dept. Professor Xiao Tianliang. (Source: Xinhua, 30 August 2014.)
13 October 2014 (Monday)	#18: Studied the lessons and warnings of China's history. Xi Jinping remarks.	CASS Institute of History researcher Bo Xianqun. (Source: Xinhua, 13 October 2014.)
5 December 2014 (Friday)	#19: Studied establishing free trade zones. Xi Jinping remarks.	Ministry of Commerce International Trade and Economic Cooperation Institute researcher Li Guanghui. (Source: Xinhua, 6 December 2014.)
23 January 2015 (Friday)	#20: Studied principles and methods of dialectical materialism in advancing reform. Xi Jinping remarks.	Jilin University Professor Sun Zhengyu. (Source: Xinhua, 24 January 2015.)
24 March 2015 (Tuesday)	#21: Studied judicial system reform. Xi Jinping remarks.	Jilin Academy of Social Sciences Professor Huang Wenyi. (Source: Xinhua, 24 March 2015.)
30 April 2015 (Thursday)	#22: Studied urban-rural development integration. Xi Jinping remarks.	Beijing CP chief Guo Jinlong, Tianjin CP chief Huang Xingguo, and Hebei CP chief Zhou Benshun described their work in this area. (Source: Xinhua, 1 May 2015.)
29 May 2015 (Friday)	#21: Studied judicial system reform. Xi Jinping remarks.	Yang Huanning (exec. Vice minister, Public Security), Chen Xiaohua (vice minister Agriculture), Yang Dongliang (National Energy Resources Comm. & State Council Product Safety Comm.), Li Ligu (National Disaster Relief Comm.) & Bi Jingquan (State Council AIDS Comm.) described the status of and issues in implementing "comprehensive security" in their departments. (Source: Xinhua, 30 May 2015.)

Notes

¹ This article updates and extends the following earlier analyses of Politburo processes: “Hu Jintao and the Party Politburo,” *China Leadership Monitor*, no.9 (30 January 2004); “Party Politburo Processes under Hu Jintao,” *China Leadership Monitor*, no.11 (30 July 2004); “More Already on Politburo Procedures under Hu Jintao,” *China Leadership Monitor*, no.17 (30 January 2006); “The Work System of the New Hu Leadership,” *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 24 (12 March 2008); “The Politburo Standing Committee under Hu Jintao,” *China Leadership Monitor*, no.35 (21 September 2011); and “The Work System of the Xi Jinping Leadership,” *China Leadership Monitor*, no.41 (6 June 2013).

² A complete list of 16th and 17th Central Committee Politburo meetings under Hu Jintao, as reported by Xinhua, is available in the “Reference Materials” section of the *China Leadership Monitor* website.

³ For a discussion of the slowdown in the frequency of Politburo meetings during Hu Jintao’s last year as general secretary, see “A Pre-Congress Miscellany,” *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 39 (October 2012), pp. 6–7. On apparent efforts to enhance the decision-making capacities of the Standing Committee at the 18th Party Congress, see “The Party’s New Politburo Leadership,” *China Leadership Monitor*, no.40 (January 2013).

⁴ A complete list of 16th and 17th Central Committee Politburo study sessions under Hu Jintao, as reported by Xinhua, is available in the “Reference Materials” section of the *China Leadership Monitor* website.

⁵ 十八大以来重要文献选编 (Selected important documents since the 18th Party Congress), Vol.1 (Beijing: Central Documents Press, 2014), pp. 72–82.

⁶ Dong Ruifeng 董瑞丰, “集体学习的政治智慧” (The political wisdom of collective study), 辽望 (*Outlook*), 4 July 2011, pp. 38–39.

⁷ Zhang Chengcheng 张程程, “政治局集体学习凸显总体国家安全观” (The Politburo Study Session points up the Comprehensive National Security Concept), 辽望 (*Outlook*), 12 May 2014, pp. 38–39.

⁸ 学习时报 (*Study Times*), 25 May 2009, at http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2009-05/25/c_12417265.htm.

⁹ 中国中央政治局集体学习内容摘要 (Summaries of the content of CCP Central Committee Politburo Study Sessions), 2 vols. (Beijing: 高级领导决策信息资料编写组 [Compilation Group for Information Materials High-Level Policymaking], 30 May 2009).

¹⁰ 十八大后政治局集体学习全纪录 (A complete record of Politburo Study Sessions since the 18th Party Congress), <http://cpc.people.cn/xuexi/n/2015/0502/c385475-26937438>.