

## Xi Jinping and the Party Apparatus

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In the six months since the 17<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, Xi Jinping's public appearances indicate that he has been given the task of day-to-day supervision of the Party apparatus. This role will allow him to expand and consolidate his personal relationships up and down the Party hierarchy, a critical opportunity in his preparation to succeed Hu Jintao as Party leader in 2012. In particular, as Hu Jintao did in his decade of preparation prior to becoming top Party leader in 2002, Xi presides over the Party Secretariat. Traditionally, the Secretariat has served the Party's top policy coordinating body, supervising implementation of decisions made by the Party Politburo and its Standing Committee. For reasons that are not entirely clear, Xi's Secretariat has been significantly trimmed to focus solely on the Party apparatus, and has apparently relinquished its longstanding role in coordinating decisions in several major sectors of substantive policy.

### Xi's Activities since the Party Congress

At the First Plenum of the Chinese Communist Party's 17<sup>th</sup> Central Committee on 22 October 2007, Xi Jinping was appointed sixth-ranking member of the Politburo Standing Committee and executive secretary of the Party Secretariat. In December 2007, he was also appointed president of the Central Party School, the Party's finishing school for up and coming leaders and an important think-tank for the Party's top leadership. On 15 March 2008, at the 11<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress (NPC), Xi was also elected PRC vice president, a role that gives him enhanced opportunity to meet with visiting foreign leaders and to travel abroad on official state business.

All of these appointments replicate the array of posts held by Hu Jintao early in his preparation to succeed former Party general secretary and PRC president Jiang Zemin in 2002–2003, and so they indicate implicitly that Xi has been designated as Hu's successor to the top Party and state posts in 2012–2013. If the pattern holds true to the Hu precedent, Xi will assume the posts of vice-chairman of the Party and state Central Military Commissions in the fall of 2009 and the spring of 2010, respectively.

Since the Party congress, Xi has also acquired two other responsibilities. On 10 November 2007, the communist-controlled Hong Kong newspaper *Ta Kung Pao* cited State Council Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office Deputy Director Chen Zuo'er as stating that Xi was taking over as head of the Central Hong Kong and Macao Work Coordination Group from the now retired Zeng Qinghong. On 23 November, the official

news agency Xinhua reported Xi greeting visiting Hong Kong chief executive Donald Tsang and Macao chief executive Edmundo Ho Hau Wah in the company of Hu Jintao and Party General Office Director Ling Jihua.

In addition, Xi has taken over as head of the leadership group supervising preparations for the Beijing Olympics, according to Xinhua on 12 March. A month earlier, on 15 February, Xinhua reported Xi giving “instructions” during an inspection of Beijing’s preparations for the Olympics, together with Beijing Party chief Liu Qi and Ling Jihua. On 31 March, Xinhua reported Xi making the keynote address at the ceremony at which Hu Jintao lit the Olympic torch, beginning its worldwide procession leading up to the Games’ opening festivities in August.

Before assuming the post of PRC vice president on 15 March, Xi occasionally met foreign visitors, though none were visiting in official capacities. On 5 December, for example, Xi met with former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, and on 9 January he met former Canadian prime minister Jean Chrétien. On 19 December, Xi welcomed UK Conservative Party leader David Cameron, and on 24 January he received Russian Federation Communist Party chairman Gennady Zyuganov. Only after being named PRC vice president did Xi begin receiving visiting foreign officials. On 25 March, for example, he met with Mongolian foreign minister Sanjaasuren Oyun, and on 29 April he met the North Korean foreign minister Pak Ui Chun. On 12 May, Xi received U.S. deputy secretary of state John Negroponte and on the 24<sup>th</sup> Russian president Dmitriy Medvedev.

## Focus on Party Affairs

Most of Xi’s public appearances, nevertheless, have focused on the Party itself. For example:

- On 17 December, Xi presided over a week-long seminar at the Central Party School for new members of the Party Central Committee, at which Hu Jintao delivered a keynote speech. Xi himself delivered the seminar’s closing speech on the 21<sup>st</sup>, at which the full Secretariat membership was present.
- On 24 December, Xi addressed a conference convened jointly by the Party Organization and Propaganda Departments on party-building in universities.
- On 22 January, Xi attended the Party’s annual conference on ideology and propaganda work, which was addressed by Hu Jintao and over which Li Changchun—the Politburo Standing Committee member in charge of ideology and propaganda—presided. On 19 February, Xi addressed the annual conference on Party organization work, which was presided over by Party Organization Department director and Politburo member Li Yuanchao.
- Xi has represented the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in dealings with China’s non-communist political parties. On 29 November, for example, he represented

the Politburo in attending the opening ceremony of a China Democratic League congress, as he did on 17 December in attending the opening session of a Zhi Gong Dang congress. On 24 December, Xi accompanied Hu Jintao and Jia Qinglin—the chairman of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Congress (CPPCC) and Politburo Standing Committee member in charge of the Party’s united front relations—in a meeting with the assembled leaders of the non-ruling political parties.

- During his two routine inspection tours since joining the top leadership—of Hebei on 11–14 January and of Ningxia on 7–9 April—Xi’s remarks as reported by Xinhua focused on Party affairs, and especially the need to rebuild the Party in sectors where reform has transformed the Party’s roots in society.

Finally, on 24 November the Hong Kong communist newspaper *Ta Kung Pao* reported that Xi has been appointed head of a Central Leading Small Group for Party-Building Work (中央党的建设领导小组). According to the report, the leading small group’s deputy chief is Party Organization Department Director Li Yuanchao, and the group includes representatives from the Party Policy Research Office, the Central Party School, the Central Committee Departments Work Committee, and other Party organs.

The genesis of this leading small group is obscure. References to this leading group in the Party’s frontline newspaper *People’s Daily* (人民日报) are rare and go back to 2004, though none shed much light on its composition or activities. According to the 24 November *Ta Kung Pao* account, parallel leading groups have been established in all 31 of China’s provinces “to realign the CCP’s party-building resources and implement a series of major arrangements for party-building work” set down at the 17<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in October 2007. These provincial groups emerged in the course of the party-wide campaign to study and maintain “CCP’s advanced nature” in the wake of the 2002 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress. Thereafter, Beijing decided to regularize the groups and expand their focus beyond the specialized topics of “improving the Party’s governing ability,” introducing “a tenure-based system” for Party congresses, and making Party deliberations more transparent. At that point, and as the Party constitution was revised at the 17<sup>th</sup> Congress to incorporate new provisions on these specific topics, the leading groups hardened into “permanent bodies” focused on party-building, a topic now defined as including “ideology building, organization building, work-style building, system building, fighting corruption, and encouraging clean administration.”

## Xi and the Party Secretariat

Xi’s most important role in Party affairs is managing the day-to-day operations of the Party apparatus in his role as executive secretary of the Party Secretariat. The Secretariat that Xi manages, however, is significantly different from the body managed by his predecessors in that role. As appointed at the 17<sup>th</sup> Central Committee’s First Plenum on 22 October 2007, the new Secretariat, at six members, is slightly smaller than its predecessor. Also, as the following table shows, the new Secretariat is composed solely

of secretaries whose duties focus on the Party apparatus. For most of its history since 1956, the Secretariat has served as the Party body supervising implementation of the top leadership's decisions—normally made in the Politburo and its Standing Committee—in most major policy sectors, including law and security, finance and economic policy, and the military. For that reason, it normally included secretaries responsible for policy implementation in those areas.

**Table 1**  
*CCP Secretariat, 2007–Present*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Xi Jinping	Politburo Standing Committee; President, Central Party School; PRC vice president (2008–)	Executive secretary
Liu Yunshan	Politburo; Director, Central Committee Propaganda Department	Ideology & propaganda
Li Yuanchao	Politburo; Director, Central Committee Organization Department	Party personnel
He Yong	Deputy secretary, Central Committee Discipline Inspection Commission	Party discipline
Ling Jihua	Director, Central Committee General Office	Leadership logistics
Wang Huning	Director, Central Committee Policy Research Office	Policy research

## The Evolution of the Party Secretariat

The CCP has had a Secretariat since its founding congress in 1921, when the Party founders followed the organizational model of the Bolshevik Russian Communist Party and established a three-member Secretariat, presided over by the Party's top leader, the general secretary. During the years after the 1935–36 Long March until the communist conquest of the Chinese mainland in 1949, the Secretariat gradually became the day-to-day operational and decision-making subset of the Party Politburo, which rarely met. The post of general secretary was abolished in 1937, and in 1943 the post of Party chairman was established for Mao. This situation persisted during the early years of the PRC, as table 2, appended at the end of this article, shows.

At the Eighth CCP Congress in 1956, a new leadership structure emerged that altered the relationships among the Party's leadership bodies and reoriented the duties of their member leaders. These changes were intended to serve two purposes. One was to facilitate the Party's management of a now consolidated socialist regime and collectivized economy as it shifted to the new primary task of China's concerted

modernization. As the report to the congress by the Party's second-ranking leader, Liu Shaoqi, explained, the era of "socialist transformation" had been completed with the collectivization of agriculture in 1955–56, the nationalization of industry and commerce under a system of state planning by 1956, and the erection of a socialist political system at the First National People's Congress in 1954, and so the need for great mobilizational campaigns such as those used to transform China's economy and society was over. China was entering the phase of "building socialism," which would proceed under new codes of socialist law and under a Party leadership restructured to address these new tasks. The other purpose was to begin the demarcation of front and second lines within the Party leadership. This would enable a new successor generation of Party leaders to gain experience in running the country and allow the senior Party leaders who had won the revolution and created the PRC to begin to retire to the back benches while continuing to provide the grand vision and broad direction of policy to the frontline leaders.

In the resulting structure of top leadership bodies, a newly created Politburo Standing Committee worked together with a revamped Secretariat.<sup>1</sup> The Secretariat that had led the Party up to 1956 now became the new Politburo Standing Committee, as a comparison of tables 2 and 3 (appended at the end of this article) shows. The new Secretariat was expanded to include 10 men (seven full members and three alternates), each of whom worked in a specific policy area (see table 4). Under this arrangement, the Politburo Standing Committee under Mao's leadership provided the grand orientation (大方针) for policy. The revamped Secretariat assumed responsibility for managing the day-to-day affairs of the Party and supervising implementation of Politburo Standing Committee decisions. To facilitate the latter role, "leading small groups" (领导小组) were created in 1958 in five policy sectors—finance and economy (财经), administration and law (政法), foreign affairs (外事), science (科学), and culture and education (文教).<sup>2</sup> These new groups reported directly both to the Secretariat and to the Politburo Standing Committee. Presiding over the Secretariat was the restored position of general secretary, given in 1956 to Deng Xiaoping. In that position, Deng also was appointed the lowest-ranking member of the Politburo Standing Committee. Under this arrangement, the Secretariat met frequently, at least once a week and often for an entire day. Through Deng, it reported directly to the Politburo Standing Committee, which met less often. The full Politburo met only infrequently.

This structure of leadership decision-making continued for most of the next decade, until it fell afoul of the intensifying conflict between Mao and his leadership colleagues. It collapsed altogether with the onset of the Cultural Revolution and the purge of Deng Xiaoping in 1966, and the roles of both the Politburo Standing Committee and the Secretariat were superseded by the Cultural Revolution Small Group. At the Ninth CCP Congress in 1969, the roles of the Politburo and its Standing Committee were reaffirmed, but the revised Party constitution made no mention of a Secretariat and none was appointed.

Soon after asserting leadership over the Party in the late 1970s, Deng began to press for restoration of the leadership decision-making system established at the Eighth CCP Congress in 1956. Both the position of general secretary and the Secretariat were

restored at the 11<sup>th</sup> Central Committee's Fifth Plenum in February 1980. Ten secretaries were appointed at that plenum, including the new general secretary Hu Yaobang (see table 5). In June 1981, at the Sixth Plenum, Hua Guofeng was demoted as Party chairman in favor of Hu Yaobang, who as a result held both of the Party's top positions.

Finally, at the Party's 12<sup>th</sup> Congress in September 1982, the 1956 Politburo-Secretariat structure was completely restored in the revised Party constitution. The position of Party chairman was abolished on the argument that the Party did not need "two centers," leaving the general secretary as the topmost party leader. The 12<sup>th</sup> Central Committee's First Plenum appointed a new six-member Politburo Standing Committee (table 6) and a 12-member Secretariat (10 members and 2 alternates) (table 7). Each of the Party secretaries assumed specific policy sector responsibilities. The only departure from the 1956 structure was the fact that Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang presided over both bodies, a consequence of the abolition of the post of Party chairman.

The membership of the Secretariat changed with the September 1985 extraordinary Party conference (table 8). But the overall system was unchanged until the 13<sup>th</sup> CCP Congress in October 1987, in the wake of Hu Yaobang's removal as general secretary. Although several reasons have been cited as leading to Hu's demotion in January 1987, the principal charge was that he had abused the role of the Secretariat and usurped decision-making properly the preserve of the Politburo Standing Committee. At the 13<sup>th</sup> Central Committee's First Plenum, following the Party congress, the Secretariat was drastically reduced to only four members (table 9), whose individual supervisory responsibilities were limited to the Party apparatus and no longer included broader substantive areas like finance and economic affairs, the military, or state administrative affairs. In addition, Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang was not listed among the four Secretariat members, indicating that the general secretary no longer presided directly over the Secretariat and, as indicated in the amended Party constitution, now presided only over the Politburo. Instead, one of the four secretaries—Hu Qili—was designated as executive secretary and presided over the Secretariat, while also serving on the Politburo Standing Committee. This in effect marked a return to the "two centers" pattern abolished in 1982.

The 1987 Secretariat fell afoul of the leadership conflict attending the 1989 Tiananmen crisis. Three out of four secretaries—including Executive Secretary Hu Qili—were removed at the June 1989 Fourth Plenum and two newcomers were added, including a new executive secretary, Li Ruihuan, who also replaced Hu Qili on the Politburo Standing Committee. The following November, the PLA's General Political Department director Yang Baibing was also added to the Secretariat, bringing the total membership again to four.

All of the subsequent adjustments of the Secretariat—following the 1992 14<sup>th</sup>, 1997 15<sup>th</sup>, 2002 16<sup>th</sup>, and the 2007 17<sup>th</sup> Congresses—have maintained the "two centers" approach of appointing a Party general secretary to preside over the Politburo and an executive secretary to preside over the Secretariat. Thus, Jiang Zemin served as general secretary while Hu Jintao served as executive secretary from 1992 to 2002, and Hu Jintao

has served as general secretary while first Zeng Qinghong (2002–2007) served and now Xi Jinping serves as executive secretary.

But beginning with the 1992 14<sup>th</sup> CCP Congress and continuing through the 2002 16<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, the Secretariat grew incrementally in size and resumed supervisory responsibilities over broader policy sectors beyond the Party apparatus itself (see tables 10–12). The Secretariat appointed at the 1992 Party Congress included five members, but two more were added in 1994. Both of the subsequent Secretariat memberships—appointed at the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> CCP Congresses—also included seven members. All three Secretariats included secretaries responsible for finance and economic affairs, law and security work, and (after 1997) military affairs.

## Implications

The present Secretariat over which Xi Jinping presides focuses narrowly on managing the Party apparatus. This focus superficially resembles the limited role given the Secretariat in 1987 following the demotion of Hu Yaobang. There is no good evidence, however, that the trimming of the Secretariat this time stems from malfeasance on the part of its outgoing executive secretary, Zeng Qinghong. Although Zeng was a crony of former general secretary Jiang Zemin and after Jiang's retirement in 2002 was widely held in the Hong Kong rumor mill to have been a competitor for power at Hu Jintao's expense, there is little evidence from PRC media to support this speculation. Instead, there has been abundant evidence that Zeng and Hu were able to collaborate effectively until Zeng's retirement in 2007.

It may be instead that considerations of impending leadership succession motivated the narrowing of Xi Jinping's Secretariat to the Party apparatus. The 17<sup>th</sup> Congress was notable not only for initiating steps to prepare Xi Jinping to succeed Hu Jintao in 2012, but also for steps apparently to prepare Li Keqiang to succeed Wen Jiabao as premier in 2013. In that context, the narrowing of the Secretariat's focus may be intended to allow Xi the opportunity to consolidate his connections throughout the Party apparatus and, after 2009, in the PLA, while Li Keqiang takes on enhanced responsibilities as executive vice-premier over finance and economic affairs, law and security work, and other sectors previously under the Secretariat's purview. The telescoped timetable for Xi's succession in 2012—allowing only five years' preparation rather than the decade afforded Hu Jintao from 1992 to 2002—may have figured into the adoption of this approach.

The focus of the Xi Secretariat on the Party apparatus raises the question of how Politburo decisions are now coordinated throughout the Party and beyond, if the Secretariat no longer exercises that role as in the past. More specifically, it raises the question of the role of the leading small groups that previously worked with the Secretariat in performing this coordinating role. It is notable that the Politburo Standing Committee since 2002 has been comprised of nine members—an unusually large group. In its current configuration, the Standing Committee includes not only the general

secretary, the NPC chairman and State Council premier, the head of the united front umbrella organization CPPCC, and the head of the Party disciplinary organ, but also members who manage policy portfolios dealing with ideology and propaganda and with law and security, in addition to Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang. It may be therefore that supervision of the leading small groups falls even more strongly on the members of the Politburo Standing Committee itself. That possibility is a suitable subject for another article in the *Monitor*.

**Table 2**  
*CCP Secretariat, 1949–1956*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other Positions</i>
Mao Zedong	10/1949–9/1956	Central Committee Chairman Politburo Chairman, Central People’s Government Council (1949–54) PRC president (1954–59) Chairman, People’s Revolutionary Military Council (1949–54) and CMC (1954–1976)
Zhu De	10/1949–9/1956	Politburo Vice-chairman, Central People’s Government Council (1949–54) Vice-chairman, People’s Revolutionary Military Council (1949–54) and CMC (1954–1976)
Liu Shaoqi	10/1949–9/1956	Politburo Vice-chairman, Central People’s Government Council (1949–54)
Zhou Enlai	10/1949–9/1956	Politburo Premier, Government Administrative Council (1949–54) PRC premier (1954–76)
Ren Bishi	10/1949–10/1950	Politburo
<i>Alternates</i>		
Chen Yun	10/1949–10/1950  <b>Full member</b> 10/1950–9/1956	Politburo Vice-premier, Government Administrative Council (1949–54) Vice-premier, State Council (1954–80)
Peng Zhen	10/1949–9/1956	Politburo Vice-chairman, Government Administrative Council Legal Affairs Committee

**Table 3**  
*CCP Politburo Standing Committee (1956–1966)*

<i>Member</i>	<i>Other Posts</i>	<i>Portfolio</i>
Mao Zedong	Chairman, CC & CMC	
Liu Shaoqi		Party affairs
Zhou Enlai	Premier, State Council	Government affairs & foreign policy
Zhu De	Marshal, PLA; Vice-chairman, CMC	Military affairs
Chen Yun	Executive vice-premier	Economic affairs
Lin Biao*	Marshal, PLA; member, CMC	
Deng Xiaoping	Director, Organization Department	Secretariat, Party apparatus; Member, CMC

\*Appointed at the May 1958 Eighth Central Committee Fifth Plenum.

**Table 4**  
*CCP Secretariat, 1956–1966*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Deng Xiaoping	9/1956–5/1966	Politburo Standing Committee General Secretary	
Peng Zhen	9/1956–5/1966	Politburo 1 <sup>st</sup> CCP secretary & mayor, Beijing	
Wang Jiaxiang	9/1956–5/1966	Vice-minister of foreign affairs	Soviet bloc relations
Tan Zhenlin	9/1956–5/1966	Politburo Vice-premier (1959–66)	Economy: agriculture
Li Xuefeng	9/1956–5/1966	Director, CC Industry & Communications Work Dept. 1 <sup>st</sup> Secretary, CCP North China Regional Bureau (1963–66)	Economy: industry
Tan Zheng	9/1956–9/1962	Director, PLA General Political Dept.	Military
Huang Kecheng	9/1956–9/1962	Director, PLA General Staff (1958–1959)	Military

*(continues on following page)*

**Table 4** (continued)

<i>Alternates</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Liu Lantao	9/1956–5/1966	Deputy secretary, Central Control Commission 1st secretary CCP Northwest Bureau (1962–66)	Law & security
Yang Shangkun	9/1956–5/1966	Secretary, CC Departments Work Committee Director, CC General Office	Party apparatus Leadership logistics
Hu Qiaomu	9/1956–5/1966		Ideology & propaganda
Added 1958			
Li Fuchun	5/1958–5/1966	Politburo Vice-premier Chairman, State Planning Commission	Economy (planning)
Li Xiannian	5/1958–5/1966	Politburo Vice-premier Minister of finance	Economy: finance
Added 1962			
Lu Dingyi	9/1962–5/1966	Politburo alternate Vice-premier (1959–66) Director, CC Propaganda Dept.	Ideology & propaganda
Kang Sheng	9/1962–5/1966	Politburo alternate	Party apparatus
Luo Ruiqing	9/1962–5/1966	Vice-premier (1959–66) Vice-minister of defense Secretary-general, CMC	Military

**Table 5**  
*CCP Secretariat, 1980–1982*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other Positions</i>	<i>Policy Sector</i>
Hu Yaobang	2/1980–9/1982	General secretary	
Wan Li	2/1980–9/1982	Vice-premier	
Wang Renzhong	2/1980–9/1982	Director, CC Propaganda Dept.	Ideology & propaganda

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**Table 5** (continued)

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Fang Yi	2/1980–9/1982	Politburo Vice-premier President, Chinese Academy of Sciences Chairman, State Science & Technology Commission	Science & technology
Gu Mu	2/1980–9/1982	Vice-premier	Foreign economic relations
Song Renqiong	2/1980–9/1982	Director, CC Organization Dept.	Party personnel
Yu Qiuli	2/1980–9/1982	Politburo Minister, State Energy Commission	Finance & economy
Yang Dezhi	2/1980–9/1982	Member, CMC Standing Committee Director, PLA General Staff Dept.	Military
Hu Qiaomu	2/1980–9/1982	President, Chinese Academy Of Social Sciences	Ideology & propaganda
Yao Yilin	2/1980–9/1982	Vice-premier Minister, State Planning Commission	Finance & economy
Peng Chong	2/1980–9/1982	Vice-chairman, NPC Standing Committee	NPC affairs
Xi Zhongxun	6/1981–9/1982	Vice-chairman, NPC Standing Committee	NPC affairs

**Table 6**  
*CCP Politburo Standing Committee (1982–1985)*

<i>Member</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>
Hu Yaobang	9/1982–1/1987	Party general secretary
Ye Jianying	9/1982–9/1985	NPC chairman
Deng Xiaoping	9/1982–10/1987	CMC chairman; Central Advisory Commission chairman
Zhao Ziyang	9/1982–1/1987	PRC premier; general secretary after 1/1987
Li Xiannian	9/1982–10/1987	PRC president (after 6/1983)
Chen Yun	9/1982–10/1987	

**Table 7**  
*CCP Secretariat, 1982–1985*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Hu Yaobang	9/1982–9/1985	General secretary Politburo Standing Committee	
Wan Li	9/1982–9/1985	Politburo Executive vice-premier	State Council affairs
Xi Zhongxun	9/1982–9/1985	Politburo	?
Deng Liqun	9/1982–9/1985	Director, CC Propaganda Dept. Director, Secretariat Research Center	Ideology & propaganda
Yang Yong	9/1982–1/1983	Deputy chief of the PLA General Staff Dept.	Military
Yu Qiuli	9/1982–9/1985	Politburo Deputy secretary-general & member, CMC Director, PLA General Political Dept.	Military
Gu Mu	9/1982–9/1985	State councilor	Foreign economic relations
Chen Pixian	9/1982–9/1985	Vice-chairman, NPC Standing Committee	NPC affairs
Hu Qili	9/1982–9/1985		Party apparatus
Yao Yilin	9/1982–9/1985	Vice-premier	Finance & economy
<i>Alternates</i>			
Qiao Shi	9/1982–9/1985	Director, CC General Office (1983–84) Director, CC Organization Dept. (1984–85)	Leadership logistics  Party personnel
Hao Jianxiu	9/1982–9/1985	Vice president, All-China Women's Federation	United front

**Table 8**  
*CCP Secretariat, 1985–1987*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Hu Yaobang	9/1985–1/1987	General secretary Politburo Standing Committee	
Hu Qili	9/1985–11/1987	Politburo	Party apparatus
Wan Li	9/1985–11/1987	Politburo Executive vice-premier	State Council affairs
Yu Qiuli	9/1985–11/1987	Politburo Deputy secretary-general & member, CMC Director, PLA General Political Dept.	Military
Qiao Shi	9/1985–11/1987	Politburo Secretary, CC Government & Law Commission	Law & security
Tian Jiyun	9/1985–11/1987	Politburo Vice-premier	Finance & economy (agriculture)
Li Peng	9/1985–11/1987	Politburo Vice-premier	Finance & economy (industry)
Chen Pixian	9/1985–11/1987	Vice-chairman, NPC Standing Committee	NPC affairs
Deng Liqun	9/1985–11/1987	Director, Secretariat Research Center	Ideology & propaganda
Hao Jianxiu	9/1985–11/1987		United front
Wang Zhaoguo	9/1985–11/1987	Director, CC General Office	Leadership logistics

**Table 9**  
*CCP Secretariat, 1987–1992*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Hu Qili	11/1987–6/1989	Politburo Standing Committee	Executive secretary
Qiao Shi	11/1987–10/1992	Politburo Standing Committee Secretary, Central Discipline Inspection Commission President, Central Party School (1989–1992) Secretary, CC Government & Law Commission	Party discipline Law & security
Rui Xingwen	11/1987–6/1989		Party apparatus
Yan Mingfu	11/1987–6/1989	Director, CC United Front Work Dept.	United Front
<i>Added 1989</i>			
Li Ruihuan	6/1989–10/1992	Politburo Standing Committee (1989–92)	Executive secretary
Ding Guan'gen	6/1989–10/1992	Politburo alternate Vice-minister, State Planning Commission Director, State Council Taiwan Affairs Office	Party apparatus
Yang Baibing	11/1989–10/1992	Director, PLA General Political Dept.	Military
<i>Alternate</i>			
Wen Jiabao	11/1987–10/1992	Director, CC General Office (1986–1990) Secretary, CC Depts. Work Committee	Leadership logistics

NB: Zhao Ziyang is not listed as part of the Secretariat as general secretary; previously Deng Xiaoping and then Hu Yaobang were. This practice has continued after 1992 to present.

**Table 10**  
*CCP Secretariat, 1992–1997*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Hu Jintao	10/1992–9/1997	Politburo Standing Committee President, Central Party School	Executive secretary
Ding Guan'gen	10/1992–9/1997	Politburo Director, CC Propaganda Office	Ideology & propaganda
Wei Jianxing	10/1992–9/1997	Politburo Secretary, Central Discipline Inspection Commission	Party discipline
Wen Jiabao	10/1992–9/1997	Secretary-general CC Finance & Economy Leading Small Group	Finance & economy
Ren Jianxin	10/1992–9/1997	Chairman, Central Management of Social Security Committee President, Supreme People's Court	Law & security
<i>Added 1994</i>			
Wu Bangguo	9/1994–9/1997	Politburo Vice-premier	SOE industrial economy
Jiang Chunyun	9/1994–9/1997	Politburo Vice-premier	Agricultural economy

**Table 11**  
*CCP Secretariat, 1997–2002*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Hu Jintao	9/1997–11/2002	Politburo Standing Committee President, Central Party School; PRC vice president (1998–2003) CMC vice-chairman (1999–2002)	Executive secretary
Wei Jianxing	9/1997–11/2002	Politburo Standing Committee Secretary, Central Discipline Inspection Commission	Party discipline
Ding Guan'gen	9/1997–11/2002	Politburo Director, CC Propaganda Dept.	Ideology & propaganda
Zhang Wannian	9/1997–11/2002	Politburo Vice-chairman, Central Military Commission	Military
Luo Gan	9/1997–11/2002	Politburo Secretary, CC Politics & Law Commission; Vice-premier	Law & security
Wen Jiabao	9/1997–11/2002	Politburo Vice-premier	Finance & economy
Zeng Qinghong	9/1997–11/2002	Politburo alternate Director, CC General Office (1992–1999) Director, CC Organization Dept. (1999–2002)	Party personnel

**Table 12**  
*CCP Secretariat, 2002–2007*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Zeng Qinghong	11/2002–10/2007	Politburo Standing Committee President, Central Party School PRC vice president (2003–2008)	Executive secretary
Liu Yunshan	11/2002–10/2007	Politburo Director, CC Propaganda Dept.	Ideology & propaganda
Zhou Yongkang	11/2002–10/2007	Politburo	Law & security
He Guoqiang	11/2002–10/2007	Politburo Director, CC Organization Dept.	Party personnel
Wang Gang	11/2002–10/2007	Politburo alternate Director, CC General Office	Leadership logistics
Xu Caihou	11/2002–10/2007	CMC vice-chairman	Military
He Yong	11/2002–10/2007	Deputy secretary, CC Discipline Inspection Commission Minister of Supervision	Party and state discipline

**Table 13**  
*CCP Secretariat, 2007–Present*

<i>Secretary</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Other positions</i>	<i>Policy sector</i>
Xi Jinping	2007–present	Politburo Standing Committee President, Central Party School PRC vice president (2008–)	Executive secretary
Liu Yunshan	2007–present	Politburo Director, CC Propaganda Dept.	Ideology & propaganda
Li Yuanchao	2007–present	Politburo Director, CC Organization Dept.	Party personnel
He Yong	2007–present	Deputy secretary, CC Discipline Inspection Commission	Party discipline
Ling Jihua	2007–present	Director, CC General Office	Leadership logistics
Wang Huning	2007–present	Director, CC Policy Research Office	Policy research

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The following discussion of the evolution of the Secretariat draws in part on Li Lin (李林), “The Organizational Evolution and Changing Functions of the CCP Central Committee Secretariat” (中共中央书记处组织沿革与功能变迁), *中共党史研究* (Studies in Party History), 2007 No.3, 13–21. Li is a researcher in the Party’s Party History Research Office.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 16. The original Central Committee notice of 10 June 1958 establishing the leading small groups is published in Central Committee Organization Department, Party History Research Office & Central Archives, eds., *中国共产党组织史资料* (*Materials in the History of CCP Organization*) (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 2000), Vol.9, 628–629.