

The CCP Central Committee's Leading Small Groups

Alice Miller

For several decades, the Chinese leadership has used informal bodies called “leading small groups” to advise the Party Politburo on policy and to coordinate implementation of policy decisions made by the Politburo and supervised by the Secretariat. Because these groups deal with sensitive leadership processes, PRC media refer to them very rarely, and almost never publicize lists of their members on a current basis. Even the limited accessible view of these groups and their evolution, however, offers insight into the structure of power and working relationships of the top Party leadership under Hu Jintao.

A listing of the Central Committee “leading groups” (*lingdao xiaozu* 领导小组), or just “small groups” (*xiaozu* 小组), that are directly subordinate to the Party Secretariat and report to the Politburo and its Standing Committee and their members is appended to this article. First created in 1958, these groups are never incorporated into publicly available charts or explanations of Party institutions on a current basis. PRC media occasionally refer to them in the course of reporting on leadership policy processes, and they sometimes mention a leader's membership in one of them. The only instance in the entire post-Mao era in which PRC media listed the current members of any of these groups was on 2003, when the PRC-controlled Hong Kong newspaper *Wen Wei Po* publicized a membership list of the Central Committee Taiwan Work Leading Small Group. (*Wen Wei Po*, 26 December 2003) This has meant that even basic insight into these groups' current roles and their membership requires painstaking compilation of the occasional references to them in PRC media.

In recent years, however, Beijing has lifted the curtain obscuring aspects of leadership policymaking in earlier decades. Compendia of Party documents have made public the 1958 directives establishing the Central Committee leading small groups, and encyclopedias of Party organization have provided authoritative lists of the groups and their members down through the late 1980s. Collections of leader speeches from these earlier periods also refer to these groups and shed light on their functions. These historical sources provide some illumination on the evolution of these groups and offer a basis from which to judge their role in the current leadership's decision-making and policy processes under Hu Jintao.

The Varieties of Small Groups

“Small groups” of various kinds have been used throughout the Chinese political order down to the county level since the founding of the PRC. In the early 1950s, for example,

the Party Central Committee formed first a five-person and then a 10-person small group to guide the 1955 campaign to “suppress counterrevolutionaries.” The most infamous “small group” was perhaps the Central Committee Cultural Revolution Small Group, established in May 1966 under the direction of first Chen Boda and later Mao’s wife, Jiang Qing. In the throes of the Cultural Revolution in 1966–67, this small group effectively displaced the Politburo Standing Committee itself.

In the post-Mao era, the Party Central Committee formed a small group led by Hu Yaobang to guide the landmark 18 January–12 February 1979 conference on ideology, a small group led by Song Renqiong to guide the reform of province-level Party organs in the wake of the 1982 12th Party Congress, a small group under Yao Yilin to guide the work of “absorbing foreign knowledge to benefit building the Four Modernizations” in 1983, and a small group under Deng Liqun to monitor the three-year cadre rectification campaign launched in December 1983. Most recently, PRC media have referred to a “Leading Group for Inspecting Funds and Materials for Combating the Earthquake and Providing Disaster Relief for Quake Victims,” set up to deal with relief logistics in the aftermath of the Wenquan earthquake in May and under the direction of Party Secretary He Yong.

Similarly, the State Council has long used “leading” and “small groups” to deal with a broad range of issues. A partial list of recent State Council groups includes the following:

- Leading Group for Cultural Heritage Protection
- Leading Group for Preparation for 2nd National Census
- Leading Group for National Energy Resources
- Leading Group for Informatization
- Leading Group for IPR Protection Policy
- Leading Group for Science, Technology and Education
- Leading Group for Poverty Alleviation and Development
- Leading Group for Western Region Development
- Leading Group for Revitalization of the Northeast Industrial Base
- Leading Group for Development of Service Industries
- Leading Group for Environmental Protection
- Small Group for Placement of Demobilized Military Officers
- Leading Group for Handling Incidents of Hijacking
- Leading Group for Climate Change
- Leading Group for Rectification and Standardization of the National Market Economic Order
- Leading Group for Enterprise Amalgamation and Bankruptcy and Unemployment
- Leading Group for Olympics and Paralympics
- Leading Group for Prevention and Control of Hand-Foot-Mouth Disease
- Leading Group for Prevention and Control of Avian Flu
- Leading Group for Prevention and Control of Schistosomiasis
- Leading Group for Implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention

Leading Group for Innovation and Stimulation of Utilization of
Biotechnology Research

PRC media have also often referred to military leading groups at least down through the military region level. Recent media references to national PLA groups include the following:

PLA Leading Group on Providing Support to the Olympics
PLA Leading Group on Earthquake Rescue and Relief Work
PLA Leading Group on Military Unit Participation and Support for Large-Scale
Development of the Western Region
PLA Leading Group on Family Planning
PLA Leading Group of Armed Forces Emergency Control
PLA Leading Group on Auditing PLA Leaders' Financial Responsibilities

Finally, there have been "leading groups" that cut across hierarchies. The Leading Group for the Lunar Probe Project, which oversaw the PRC's recent lunar shot, was established jointly by both the Party Central Committee and the State Council. The State Council and the Central Military Commission have also jointly established a Leading Group to Promote Logistics Reform in the PLA and a Leading Group on Outsourcing PLA Logistics Support.

The variety of leading groups in the Chinese political order may be sorted out according to three basic criteria. First, they may be grouped according to the body that appointed them and to which they report. Second, they may be sorted according to whether they are permanent working groups or temporary task forces established to deal with a specific issue. Finally, they may be evaluated according to the political standing of their heads and members.

By these criteria, the most important leading groups in national leadership politics today are the handful of Central Committee leading groups that report directly to the Party Politburo Standing Committee and the Party Secretariat, that have been more or less permanent since their establishment in the late 1950s, and that are normally headed by a member of the Politburo Standing Committee. They are:

Leading Group of Foreign Affairs Work
Leading Group on Taiwan Work
Hong Kong-Macao Leading Group
Leading Group on Finance and Economy
Leading Group on Ideology and Propaganda
National Security Leading Group
Politics and Law Committee
Leading Group on Party-Building

These "primary leading groups" (as they will hereafter be referred to) and their predecessors are listed in the appended tables.

The Evolution of Primary Central Committee Leading Groups

The primary Central Committee leading groups were first established in 1958 as part of a larger effort to institutionalize the making and implementation of policy under a collective leadership system as the CCP shifted from the main task of creating socialist political and economic order in China (“socialist transformation”) to the “general task” of economic modernization (“socialist construction” or “building socialism”). The groups were also set up as a complement to the attempt to create “first and second lines” within the top Party leadership, allowing veteran leaders such as Mao Zedong to retreat to a backbench position while still providing the grand vision of the Party’s path ahead and allowing a successor generation of such leaders as Deng Xiaoping to gain experience in managing the day-to-day affairs of the Party.

The first step in these efforts was unveiled at the Eighth Party Congress in September 1956. A Politburo Standing Committee was created under Mao Zedong’s leadership and endowed with the authority to make decisions on major policy issues, and the Secretariat was revamped to manage the day-to-day affairs of Party and state. The Politburo Standing Committee included the top leaders of the Party, state, economic, and military hierarchies plus General Secretary Deng Xiaoping, who concurrently presided over the Secretariat, which was staffed with secretaries responsible for specific policy sectors. Under this new leadership system, the broader Politburo met only occasionally. Mao himself emphasized the elements of the new structure in a talk in Shanghai in 1959, stating that “the Politburo is the ‘court of political planning,’ and authority is concentrated in the Politburo Standing Committee and the Secretariat. As chairman, I am the commander; as general secretary, Deng Xiaoping is deputy commander.”¹

Five primary leading groups were established on 10 June 1958 to complement this decision-making and policy-coordinating process. According to the Central Committee notice establishing the groups:

These small groups are the Central Committee’s, subordinate to the Politburo and the Secretariat, to whom they directly report. The Politburo provides broad policy orientation, while the Secretariat sees to concrete policy arrangements. There is only one “court of political planning,” not two.²

Among the heads of the five new leading groups, only Chen Yun, director of the Finance and Economy Leading Group, served concurrently on the Politburo Standing Committee. Three others had Politburo positions, and one—Nie Rongzhen, director of the science small group—was a vice-premier.

These institutional arrangements, including the five leading groups, soon fell afoul of the escalating leadership divisions attending the 1958–60 Great Leap Forward and its aftermath. Chen Yun’s Finance and Economy Small Group was dissolved in 1959, evidently in the contention over steel targets and other issues, but it was revived in 1962, following the inauguration of an economic recovery program at the 1961 Ninth Plenum.

The entire leadership system collapsed, and the leading groups with it, with the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, as the Cultural Revolution Small Group effectively displaced the Politburo Standing Committee, and the Secretariat was abolished altogether. Following the Ninth Party Congress in April 1969, only the Politics and Law Leading Group was reestablished, perhaps in response to security concerns heightened by the prospect of a Sino-Soviet war. It presumably reported only to the Politburo and its Standing Committee, since the Party congress did not reestablish a Secretariat.

Restoration of the leading groups in the post-Mao period accompanied Deng Xiaoping's effort to revive the leadership system of the 1956–58 period. The 11th Central Committee's Fifth Plenum in February 1980 reestablished the Party Secretariat and revived the post of Party general secretary. With the leadership reshuffling at the 1982 12th Party Congress, the Politburo Standing Committee again became the arena of broad policy design, while the restored Secretariat took on day-to-day management of policy affairs. As in the previous era, the broader Politburo met rarely. The single departure from the earlier leadership system was that now, with the abolition of the post of Party chairman at the 12th Party Congress, the general secretary presided over both the Politburo (and its Standing Committee) and the Secretariat. As in 1956, the system was intended both to serve the need for rational and institutionalized policymaking under a collective leadership oligarchy and to provide in the Secretariat a proving group for a generation of younger leaders on their way to the Party's most senior level.³

In this context, the primary leading groups were also revived. The Finance and Economy Leading Group was established immediately after the Fifth Plenum, in March 1980, with soon-to-be premier Zhao Ziyang as its head. The Politics and Law Leading Group was revised as a committee, with Politburo member and legal system architect Peng Zhen at its helm. The Foreign Affairs Leading Group emerged in 1981, led after the 1982 Party congress by Politburo Standing Committee member Li Xiannian. A new Taiwan Affairs Leading Group was established in January 1980, a year after Beijing's launch of its "peaceful reunification" pitch to Taipei on New Year's Day 1979 and with Politburo member Deng Yingchao (Zhou Enlai's widow) as director.

This leadership system continued without modification until 1987, following General Secretary Hu Yaobang's demotion, in part for having used the Secretariat to usurp the authority of the Politburo Standing Committee. Appointments at the 13th Central Committee's First Plenum in October 1987 and in early 1988 indicated several new adjustments to the leadership system. First, the Secretariat was radically reduced in size and, evidently, in purview.⁴ Second, the Party general secretary served only as head of the Politburo and its Standing Committee, and no longer concurrently as head of the Secretariat. Instead, the Secretariat was led by an executive secretary, who also sat on the Politburo Standing Committee.

Third, a new Propaganda and Ideology Leading Group was established—perhaps out of a desire to combat "bourgeois liberalization," and a new Party-Building Leading Group was created, perhaps to step up party reform in conjunction with the 13th Party Congress mandate for "separating of party and government." In addition, without

explanation, the Politics and Law Committee reverted to its pre-1980 status as a leading group.

Finally, and notably, leadership of at least five of the six primary leading groups was concentrated in the hands of Politburo Standing Committee members. Thus, Zhao Ziyang served as head of finance and economy, Li Peng was in charge of foreign affairs (and perhaps Taiwan), Qiao Shi presided over security as head of politics and law, Hu Qili was head of propaganda and ideology, and Song Ping was in charge of party-building. The even distribution of these policy sector responsibilities among the Politburo Standing Committee members may have been intended to reinforce the foremost decision-making role of that body and the collective leadership principles by which it was intended to operate.

This leadership system in most respects was sustained through the 1989–2002 tenure of Jiang Zemin as general secretary. The only significant modification was that after 1992, the leader responsible for security work as head of the Politics and Law Committee (restored in 1992) was no longer concurrently a Politburo Standing Committee member.

Primary Leading Groups under Hu Jintao

The role of the primary leading groups during Hu Jintao’s tenure as general secretary offers insight into the leadership power structure and policy process in three respects. First, presuming that available data are correct, leadership of all of the primary leading groups—now eight, with the creation of the National Security Leading Group in 2000—is again distributed among the members of the Politburo Standing Committee, as the following table shows:

<i>Leading Group</i>	<i>Leader, 2002–2007</i>	<i>Leader, 2008–Present</i>
Finance & Economy	Wen Jiabao	Wen Jiabao
Politics and Law	Lou Gan	Zhou Yongkang
National Security	Hu Jintao	Hu Jintao
Foreign Affairs	Hu Jintao	Hu Jintao
Hong Kong & Macao	Zeng Qinghong	Xi Jinping
Taiwan Affairs	Hu Jintao	Hu Jintao
Propaganda & Ideology	Li Changchun	Li Changchun
Party-Building	Zeng Qinghong?	Xi Jinping

This practice repairs the slippage that occurred during the Jiang Zemin years. It also comports strongly with the emphasis on collective leadership in the Hu era, during which a deliberate politics of oligarchy has underscored the role of the general secretary as only first among equals—and not as “core” of his leadership generation—and played up the role of the leadership “collective” as a whole. It may also contribute to a more effective explanation for the expansion of the Politburo Standing Committee in 2002 to nine members and the appointment of the same number in 2007.

Second, perusal of the membership lists of the primary leading groups suggests—not surprisingly—that turnover has become thoroughly regularized to coincide with the increasingly institutionalized succession of top-level Party leaders above the leading groups and the concurrent turnover of leaders of the party and state bureaucracies from which they draw their members. That is to say, the primary leading groups are reshuffled every five years, in step with the changes in the top leadership brought about by the quinquennial Party congress–National People’s Congress (NPC) cycle.

Third, if the data are accurate, the most recent adjustments to the leading groups—coincident with the 16th Party Congress in October 2007 and the 11th NPC in March 2008—complement other indications of preparations for succession to Hu Jintao as general secretary in 2012 and to Wen Jiabao as premier in 2013. Xi Jinping’s designation as head of the Party-Building Leading Group parallels Hu Jintao’s service in that position from 1992 to 2002 and so adds to the list of posts held by Hu during his decade of preparation to succeed Jiang Zemin in 2002 that are now held by Xi. In addition, Xi’s appointment as deputy to Hu on the Foreign Affairs Leading Group—if this has truly occurred—also indicates that Xi is being prepared to succeed Hu. Similarly, Li Keqiang’s appointment as Wen Jiabao’s deputy on the Finance and Economy Leading Group—again, if reports are accurate—suggests that he is on track to succeed Wen.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE LEADING SMALL GROUPS

The following tables list the permanent CCP Central Committee leading small groups and their members from their establishment in 1958 to the present. With the exception of names preceded by asterisks, the tables have been compiled from several PRC sources. While these sources for the most part agree, in a few cases they differ with respect to some of the members in some periods. In the absence of an authoritative means to sort out these differences, the tables below include all of the members named in these sources. When available, dates of tenure are included in parentheses.

Listings preceded by a single asterisk are drawn from the online wiki *Junzhengshequ* (军政社区). This PRC site appears to be maintained by the broader public, rather than the regime, and so the authority of its postings is not clear. Its entries for early periods, however, are accurate and cite some of the same authoritative PRC sources used in compiling these tables. Its listings for later periods may therefore be accurate, but, until confirmed in authoritative regime sources, they should be regarded as tentative.

Listings preceded by a double asterisk are drawn from the successive editions from 1983 through 2007 of *China Directory*, a comprehensive listing of Chinese officials compiled in Tokyo and not confirmed from PRC sources available to the author. Where *China Directory* listings overlap with those in PRC sources, they mostly agree, and so *China Directory* listings not confirmed by PRC sources may be correct. Nevertheless, they do not have the authority of those from PRC sources and are regarded as tentative. The independent China-watching media in Hong Kong also occasionally mention Central Committee leading small groups and their members. Because these references often differ wildly and are of uncertain authority, none of them has been included.

[Key: (PBSC) signifies Politburo Standing Committee member, (PB) signifies Politburo member, (PB alt.) signifies Politburo alternate, and (S) signifies Secretariat member.]

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

1958–1966

CC Foreign Affairs Small Group 中共中央外事小组

Established 6 March 1958; reported to Politburo and Secretariat;
reorganized 10 June 1958

Director: Chen Yi 陈毅 (PB)

Deputy Directors: Liao Chengzhi 廖承志
Liu Ningyi 刘宁一
Kong Yuan 孔原
Zhang Wentian 张闻天 (PB alt)

Members: Wang Jiayang 王稼祥 (S)
Li Kenong 李克农
Ye Jizhuang 叶季壮

CC Foreign Affairs Small Group 中共中央外事小组

Reorganized 10 June 1958; reported to Politburo and Secretariat

Director: Chen Yi 陈毅 (10 June 1958–May 1966) (PB)
1st Deputy Director: Zhang Hanfu 章汉夫
Deputy Director: Wang Jiaxiang 王稼祥 (S)
Members: Zhang Wentian 张闻天 (PB alt)
Li Kenong 李克农
Liao Chengzhi 廖承志
Ye Jizhuang 叶季壮
Liu Ningyi 刘宁一

1978–Present

CC Foreign Affairs Work Leading Small Group 中央外事工作领导小组

Established March 1981

Director: Geng Biao 耿彪 (PB:1977–82)
Member: Liao Chengzhi 廖承志 (PB:1982–83)

Reshuffled 8 July 1983

Director: Li Xiannian 李先念 (PBSC)
Deputy Directors: Zhao Ziyang 赵紫阳 (PBSC)
Wan Li 万里 (PB:1982–85)
Ji Pengfei 姬鹏飞

Reshuffled 1988

Director: Li Peng 李鹏 (PBSC)
Deputy Directors: Wu Xueqian 吴学谦 (PB)
** Qian Qichen 钱其琛
Secretary-General: ** Liu Shuqing 刘述卿

Reshuffled 1993?

Director: * Jiang Zemin 江泽民 (PBSC)
Deputy Director: * Qian Qichen 钱其琛 (PB)

Reshuffled 1998?

Director: ** Jiang Zemin 江泽民 (PBSC)
Deputy Directors: ** Zhu Rongji 朱镕基 (PBSC)
* Qian Qichen 钱其琛 (PB)
Secretary-General: ** Liu Shuqing 刘述卿

Reshuffled 2003?

Director: ** Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 (2003–) (PBSC)

Reshuffled 2008?

- Director:* * Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 (2003–) (PBSC)
Deputy Director: * Xi Jinping 习近平 (2007–) (PBSC)
Members: * Liu Yunshan 刘云山 (PB)
* Liang Guanglie 梁光烈
* Meng Jianzhu 孟建柱
* Dai Bingguo 戴秉国
* Liao Hui 廖晖
* Yang Jiechi 杨洁篪
* Qiao Zonghuai 乔宗淮
* Wang Jiarui 王家瑞
* Wang Chen 王晨
* Geng Huichang 耿惠昌
* Chen Deming 陈德铭
* Li Haifeng 李海峰
* Ma Xiaotian 马晓天

CC Foreign Propaganda Small Group 中央对外宣传小组

Established 8 April 1980

- Directors:* Zhu Muzhi 朱穆之 (1980–)
Zeng Jianwei 曾建徽 (1992–)
Deputy Directors: Zhang Canming 张灿明 (1980–)
Wu Xueqian 吴学谦 (1980–)
You Wen 郁文 (1983–)

NATIONAL SECURITY

CC National Security Leading Small Group 中央国家安全领导小组

According to *Junzhengshequ*, this group was established in September 2000, and its membership has been identical to that of the CC Foreign Affairs Work Leading Group—“two signboards, one body” (两块牌子,一套机构)—whose general office (the CC Foreign Affairs Office) it shares.

- Director:* * Jiang Zemin 江泽民 (PBSC)
Deputy Director: * Qian Qichen 钱其琛 (PB)

Reshuffled March 2003?

- Director:* * Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 (December 2002–) (PBSC)
Deputy Directors: ** Zeng Qinghong 曾庆红 (December 2002–) (PBSC)
** Wen Jiabao 温家宝 (December 2002–) (PBSC)
Office Director: Dai Bingguo 戴秉国 (2005–)

TAIWAN & HONG KONG AFFAIRS

CC Hong Kong-Macao Small Group 中央港澳小组

Established 13 August 1978

Reshuffled 2002

Director: Zeng Qinghong 曾庆红 (2002–2007) (PBSC)

Reshuffled November 2007

Director: Xi Jinping 习近平 (2007–) (PBSC)

CC Taiwan Work Leading Small Group 中央对台工作领导小组

Established 3 January 1980

Directors: Deng Yingchao 邓颖超 (PB:1978–85)

*Yang Shangkun 杨尚昆 (1987–89) (PB)

*Jiang Zemin 江泽民 (PBSC)

Deputy Directors: Liao Chengzhi 廖承志 (PB: 1982–83)

Yang Shangkun 杨尚昆 (November 1983–)

Wu Xueqian 吴学谦 (1988–)

Reshuffled 1993?

Director: **Jiang Zemin 江泽民 (PBSC)

Deputy Director: **Qian Qichen 钱其琛

Secretary-General: **Xiong Guangkai 熊光楷 (February 1996–)

Reshuffled 1998?

Director: *Jiang Zemin 江泽民 (PBSC)

Deputy Director: *Qian Qichen 钱其琛 (PB)

Members: *Wang Daohan 汪道涵

*Xiong Guangkai 熊光楷

*Xu Yongyue 许永耀

*Chen Yunlin 陈云林

*Zhang Wannian 张万年 (2000–02) (PB)

Secretaries-General: *Wang Zhaoguo 王兆国

*Zeng Qinghong 曾庆红 (2000–) (PB alt, S)

Reshuffled 2003 (source: *Wen Wei Po*, 26 December 2003)

Director: Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 (PBSC)

Deputy Director: Jia Qinglin 贾庆林 (PBSC)

Secretary-General: Tang Jiaxuan 唐家璇

Members: *Guo Boxiong 郭伯雄

Xiong Guangkai 熊光楷

Wang Gang 王刚

Liu Yandong 刘延东

Wang Daohan 汪道涵

Xu Yongyue 许永耀

Chen Yunlin 陈云林

Reshuffled 2008?

Director: *Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 (PBSC)
Deputy Director: *Jia Qinglin 贾庆林 (PBSC)
Members: *Wang Qishan 王岐山
*Liu Yunshan 刘云山
*Guo Boxiong 郭伯雄
*Wang Gang 王刚
*Liu Yandong 刘延东
*Dai Bingguo 戴秉国
*Du Qinglin 杜青林
*Wang Yi 王毅
*Chen Yunlin 陈雲林
*Geng Huichang 耿惠昌
*Ma Xiaotian 马晓天

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

1957–1966

CC Economic Work Five-Person Group 中共中央经济工作五人小组
Established 10 January 1957

Director: Chen Yun 陈云 (PBSC)
Members: Li Fuchun 李富春 (PB, S)
Bo Yibo 薄一波 (PB alt)
Li Xiannian 李先念 (PB, S)
Huang Kecheng 黄克诚 (S: 1956–62)

CC Finance & Economy Small Group 中共中央经济小组
Established 10 June 1958; reported to Politburo and Secretariat; abolished 1959

Director: Chen Yun 陈云 (PBSC)
Deputy Directors: Li Fuchun 李富春 (PB, S)
Bo Yibo 薄一波 (PB alt)
Tan Zhenlin 谭震林 (PB, S)
Members: Li Xiannian 李先念 (PB, S)
Huang Kecheng 黄克诚
Deng Zihui 邓子恢
Nie Rongzhen 聂荣臻
Li Xuefeng 李雪峰 (S)
Jia Tuofu 贾拓夫
Wang Heshou 王鹤寿
Zhao Erlu 赵尔陆
Zhu Lizhi 朱理治
Secretary: Song Shaowen 宋劭文

CC Foreign Trade Small Group 中央对外贸易小组

Established 10 August 1960

Director: Zhou Enlai 周恩来 (PBSC)

Members: Li Fuchun 李富春 (PB, S)
Li Xiannian 李先念 (PB, S)

CC Finance & Economy Small Group 中共中央经济小组

Reconstituted 23 February 1962

Director: Chen Yun 陈云 (PBSC)

Deputy Directors: Li Fuchun 李富春 (PB, S)
Li Xiannian 李先念 (PB, S)

Members: Tan Zhenlin 谭震林 (PB, S)
Zhao Erlu 赵尔陆
Zhu Lizhi 朱理治
Yao Yilin 姚依林

1978–Present

CC Finance and Economy Leading Small Group 中央财政经济领导小组

Established by Politburo Standing Committee, 17 March 1980; reshuffled 1983

Director: Zhao Ziyang 赵紫阳 (1980–) (PBSC, S)

Deputy Directors: *Yao Yilin 姚依林 (1980–83) (PB alt, S)
Tian Jiyun 田纪云 (1983–)

Members: Yu Qiuli 余秋里 (1980–) (PB, S)
Fang Yi 方毅 (1980–) (PB)
Wan Li 万里 (1980–) (PB, S)
Gu Mu 谷牧 (1980–) (S)
Yao Yilin 姚依林 (1983–) (PB alt, S)
Hu Qili 胡启立 (1983–) (S)
Li Peng 李鹏 (1983–)
Du Xingyuan 杜星垣 (1983–)

Secretaries-General: Yao Yilin 姚依林 (1980–83)
Du Xingyuan 杜星垣 (1983–85)
Zhang Jingfu 张劲夫 (17 April 1985–)

Deputy Secretaries-General: Zhao Dongyuan 赵东宛 (1983–)
Wang Weideng 王维澄 (1983–)
Yuan Mu 袁木 (1983–)

Reshuffled 1987

Director: *Zhao Ziyang 赵紫阳 (1980–)

Deputy Directors: *Li Peng 李鹏
Yao Yilin 姚依林 (1988–) (PBSC)

Members: *Tian Jiyun 田纪云
*Zhang Jingfu 张劲夫
*Du Runsheng 杜润生
*An Zhiwen 安志文

Reshuffled 1992

Directors: * Jiang Zemin 江泽民 (PBSC)
Zhu Rongji 朱镕基 (1994–) (PBSC)
Deputy Directors: ** Li Peng 李鹏 (PBSC)
** Zhu Rongji 朱镕基 (PBSC)
** Wu Bangguo 吴邦国 (1994–) (PB)
Members: ** Zou Jiahua 邹家华 (PB)
** Jiang Chunyun 姜春云 (PB)
** Chen Jinhua 陈锦华
** Liu Zhongli 刘仲藜
** Zhou Zhengqing 周正庆
Secretary-General: * Wen Jiabao 温家宝 (PB alt, S)
Deputy Secretary-General: ** Zeng Peiyan 曾培炎

Reshuffled 1998?

Director: ** Zhu Rongji 朱镕基 (1994–) (PBSC)
Deputy Director: ** Wu Bangguo 吴邦国 (1994–) (PB)
Members: ** Zou Jiahua 邹家华 (PB)
** Chen Jinhua 陈锦华
** Jiang Chunyun 姜春云 (PB)
** Liu Zhongli 刘仲藜
** Zhou Zhengqing 周正庆
Secretary-General: * Wen Jiabao 温家宝 (PB, S)
Deputy Secretaries-General: ** Zeng Peiyan 曾培炎
** Hua Jianmin 华建敏
** Ma Zhongzhen 马忠臣 (2000–)

Reshuffled 2003?

Director: * Wen Jiabao 温家宝 (PBSC)
Deputy Director: * Wu Yi 吴仪 (PB)
Deputy Secretary-General: ** Wang Chunzheng 王春正 (2003–)

Reshuffled 2008?

Director: * Wen Jiabao 温家宝 (PBSC)
Deputy Director: * Li Keqiang 李克强 (PBSC)
Members: * Hui Liangyu 回良玉 (PB)
* Zhang Dejiang 张德江 (PB)
* Wang Qishan 王岐山 (PB)
* Ma Kai 马凯
* Zhang Ping 张平
* Xie Xuren 谢旭人
* Zhou Xiaochuan 周小川
* Li Rongrong 李荣融
* Shang Fulin 尚福林
* Wu Dingfu 吴定富
* Zhu Zhixin 朱之鑫

CC Rural Work Small Group 中央农村工作小组

Established winter 1994

Director: Jiang Chunyun 姜春云 (1994–) (PB)

Reshuffled 1998?

Director: **Wen Jiabao 温家宝 (1998–) (PB,S)

Deputy Director: **Ma Zhongzhen 马忠臣 (2000–)

Reshuffled 2003?

Director: **Wen Jiabao 温家宝 (1998–) (PBSC)

Deputy Director: **Hui Liangyu 回良玉 (PB)

**Xu Youfang 徐有芳

Reshuffled 2008?

Director: *Hui Liangyu 温家宝 (PB)

Deputy Director: *Tian Chengping 田成平

Members: *Sun Zhengcai 孙政才

*Chen Xiwen 陈锡文

*Chen Lei 陈雷

*Zhou Shengtao 周声涛

*Zhang Yong 张勇

*Du Ying 杜鹰

*Jia Zhibang 贾治邦

*Fan Xiaojian 范小建

IDEOLOGY-PROPAGANDA

1957–1966

CC Theory Small Group 中央理论小组

Established summer 1957

Director: Kang Sheng 康生 (PB alt)

Director, General Office Yang Fu 扬甫

CC Culture and Education Small Group 中央文教小组

Established 10 June 1958; reported to Politburo and Secretariat

Director: Lu Dingyi 陆定一 (1958–1966) (PB alt, S:1962–66)

Deputy Director: Kang Sheng 康生 (June 1958–1966) (PB alt, S:1962–66)

Members: Chen Boda 陈伯达 (PB alt)

Lin Feng 林枫

Hu Qiaomu 胡乔木

Zhang Jichun 张际春

Zhou Yang 周扬

Yang Xiufeng 杨秀峰

Qian Junrui 钱俊瑞

Zhang Ziyi 张子意

1978–Present

CC Propaganda and Ideology Small Group 中央宣传思想小组

Established January 1988

Directors: Hu Qili 胡启立 (January 1988–July 1989) (PBSC, S)
Li Ruihuan 李瑞环 (July 1988–) (PBSC)

Deputy Directors: Rui Xingwen 芮杏文 (January 1988–July 1989) (S)
Ding Guan’gen 丁关根 (July 1989–1992) (PB alt, S: 89–92)
Wang Renzhi 王忍之 (July 1989–November 1992)

Reshuffled November 1992

Director: Ding Guan’gen 丁关根 (November 1992–2002) (PB, S)
Deputy Directors: Zheng Bijian 郑必坚 (November 1992–)

Members: ** Ai Zhisheng 艾知生 (May 1994–)
** Shao Huaze 邵华泽 (January 1993–)
** Zeng Jianhui 曾建徽 (January 1993–)
** Liu Zhongde 刘忠德 (January 1993–)
** Ai Zhisheng 艾知生 (January 1993–)
** Guo Chaoren 郭超人 (January 1993–)
** Zeng Qinghong 曾庆红 (January 1993–)
** Xu Zhijian 徐志坚 (January 1993–)
** Xu Caihou 徐才厚 (January 1993–)

Reshuffled 1998?

Director: ** Ding Guan’gen 丁关根 (November 1992–2002) (PB, S)
Deputy Directors: ** Zheng Bijian 郑必坚 (November 1992–)

Members: ** Wang Maolin 王茂林
** Shao Huaze 邵华泽 (January 1993–)
** Liu Zhongde 刘忠德 (January 1993–)
** Guo Chaoren 郭超人 (January 1993–2000)
** Xu Zhijian 徐志坚 (January 1993–)
** Zeng Qinghong 曾庆红 (January 1993–)

Reshuffled 2003?

Director: ** Li Changchun 李长春 (PBSC)
Deputy Director: ** Liu Yunshan 刘云山 (PB, S)

Reshuffled 2008?

Director: * Li Changchun 李长春 (PBSC)
Deputy Directors: * Liu Yunshan 刘云山 (PB, S)

* Liu Yandong 刘延东 (PB)
* Chen Kuiyuan 陈奎元
Members: * Wang Taihua 王太华
* Cai Wu 蔡武
* Wang Chen 王晨
* Liu Binjie 柳斌杰

*Li Congjun 李从军
*Zhang Yannong 张研农
*Zhai Weihua 翟卫华

PARTY AFFAIRS

CC Party History Small Group 中央党史工作小组

Established 21 February 1982

Directors: Yang Shangkun 杨尚昆 (1984–1992) (PB:1982–92)
Hu Qiaomu 胡乔木 (1992) (PB: 1982–87)
Members: Hu Qiaomu 胡乔木 (1982–92) (PB: 1982–87)
Bo Yibo 薄一波 (1982–)
Yang Shangkun 杨尚昆 (1982–1995) (PB:1982–92)
Deng Liqun 邓力群 (August 1990–)
Hu Sheng 胡绳 (1992–2000)

CC Party-Building Small Group 中央党建小组

Director: Song Ping 宋平 (1988–) (PBSC:1987–92)
Secretary-General: **Zheng Keyang 郑科扬

Reshuffled 1993

Director: Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 (1993–) (PBSC)
Deputy Directors: Li Lanqing 李岚清 (1993–) (PB: 1992–97; PBSC: 97–02)
Wei Jianxing 尉建行 (1993–) (PB: 1992–97; PBSC:97–02)
Lu Feng 吕枫 (1993–)
**Zhang Quanjing 张全景 (1999–)
Members: Chen Zuolin 陈作霖 (1993–)
Xue Ju 薛驹 (1993–)
Chen Fujin 陈福今 (1993–)
Zhou Ziyu 周子玉 (1993–)
**Zeng Qinghong 曾庆红 (1994–) (PB alt:1997–2002)

Reshuffled 2007

Director: Xi Jinping 习近平 (PBSC)
Deputy Directors: *He Guoqiang 贺国强 (PBSC)
*Li Yuanchao 李源潮 (PB, S)
Members: *Wang Huning 王沪宁 (S)
*Li Jingtian 李景田
*He Yiting 何毅亭

POLITICS AND LAW

1958–1966

CC Politics and Law Small Group 中央政法小组

Established 10 June 1958; reported to Politburo and Secretariat

Directors: Peng Zhen 彭真 (10 June–10 October 1958) (PB, S)
Luo Ruiqing 罗瑞卿 (1958–December 1960) (S: 1962–66)
Xie Fuzhi 谢富治 (December 1960–May 1966)

Deputy Director: Xie Fuzhi 谢富治 (1958–December 1960)

Members: Luo Ruiqing 罗瑞卿 (10 June–10 October 1958) (S:1962–66)
Wu Defeng 吴德峰 (10 June 1958–).
Dong Biwu 董必武 (PB)
Ulanfu 乌兰夫 (PB alt)
Zhang Dingcheng 张鼎丞

1966–77

CC Political and Law Small Group 中央政法小组

Established 1969

Director: Ji Dengkui 纪登奎 (1969–80) (1969–73: PB alt; 73–80: PB)

CC Politics and Law Small Group 中央政法小组

Reshuffled June 1978; abolished 24 January 1980

Director: Ji Dengkui 纪登奎 (PB)

Deputy Directors: Huang Huoqing 黄火青 (June 1978–January 1980)
Zhao Cangbi 赵苍璧 (June 1978–January 1980)

Members: Ji Pengfei 姬鹏飞
Jiang Hua 江华
Cheng Zihua 程子华
Tao Xijin 陶希晋
Yin Zhaozhi 尹肇之

CC Politics and Law Committee 中央政法委员会

Established 24 January 1980; abolished May 1988

Secretaries: Peng Zhen 彭真 (January 1980–May 1983) (PB: 1982–87)
Chen Pixian 陈丕显 (May 1983–13 July 1985) (S:1982–87)
Qiao Shi 乔石 (13 July 1985–May 1988) (PB, S: 1985–87)

1st Deputy Secretary: Peng Chong 彭冲 (February 1980–October 1982)

Deputy Secretaries: Liu Fuzhi 刘复之 (21 October 1984–May 1988)
Chen Weida 陈伟达 (October 1984–May 1988)

Members: Huang Huoqing 黄火青 (1980–83)
Jiang Hua 江华 (1980–83)
Zhao Cangbi 赵苍璧 (1980–83)
Cheng Zihua 程子华 (1980–83)
Wei Wenbo 魏文伯 (1980–83)
Wu Xinyu 武新宇 (1980–83)

Huang Yukun 黄玉昆 (1980–83)
Yang Yichen 杨易辰 (1983–)
Zheng Tianxiang 郑天翔 (1983–)
Ruan Chongwu 阮崇武 (1983–)
Wang Fang 王芳 (1983–88)
Zou Yu 邹瑜 (1983–)
Jia Chunwang 贾春旺
Zhou Wenyuan 周文元
Ling Yun 凌云
Cui Naifu 催乃夫

Secretaries-General: Liu Fuzhi 刘复之 (1980–86)

Gu Linfang 顾林昉 (1986–88)

Deputy Secretaries-General: She Mengxiao 余孟孝 (1980–)

Zhang Jieqing 张洁清 (1980–)

Zou Yu 邹瑜 (1983–)

Director, General Office: Gu Linfang 顾林昉 (1983–)

CC Politics and Law Small Group 中央政法小组

Reestablished May 1988; abolished March 1990

Director: Qiao Shi 乔石 (PBSC)

Deputy Director: Ren Jianxin 任建新

Members: Wang Fang 王芳

Liu Fuzhi 刘复之

Jia Chunwang 贾春旺

Cai Cheng 蔡诚

Zhou Wenyuan 周文元

Tao Siju 陶驷驹

Secretary-General: Gu Linfang 顾林昉

Ren Jianxin 任建新

Deputy Secretaries-General: Xu Kongrang 许孔让

Shu Huaide 束怀德

CC Politics and Law Committee 中央政法委员会

Reestablished March 1990

Director: Qiao Shi 乔石 (March 1990–November 1992) (PBSC)

Deputy Directors: Ren Jianxin 任建新 (March 1990–November 1992)

Luo Gan 罗干 (June 1993–September 1997)

Reshuffled 1992

Director: Ren Jianxin 任建新 (November 1992–September 1997) (S)

Deputy Directors: Zhang Siqing 张思卿 (1992–)

Luo Gan 罗干 (June 1993–September 1997)

Members: ** Jia Chunwang 贾春旺

** Tao Siju 陶驷驹

** Xiao Yang 萧扬

** Zhou Ziyu 周子玉

Secretary-General: Shu Huaide 束怀德 (1992–)

Reshuffled 1998?

- Director:* *Luo Gan 罗干 (1998–2008) (PB: 98–02; PBSC: 02–07)
Deputy Director: **Zhou Yongkang 周永康 (2002–) (PB, S: 2002–07)
Secretary-General: **Wang Shengjun 王胜俊 (1998–)
Deputy Secretaries-General: **Chen Jiping 陈冀平 (1994–)
**Zhang Geng 张耕 (1999–)
**Wang Jingrong 王景荣 (2002–)
**Zhou Benshun 周本顺 (2004–)
Members: **Xiao Yang 萧扬 (1993–)
**Han Zhubin 韩杼滨
**Jia Chunwang 贾春旺 (1991–)
**Xu Yongyue 许永躍 (1998–)
**Gao Changli 高昌礼
**Zhou Ziyu 周子玉
**Zhang Fushen 张福森 (2000–)
**Tang Tianbiao 唐天标 (2001–)
**Zhang Shutian 张树田 (2003–)
**Sun Zhongtong 孙忠同 (2005–)

Reshuffled 2008?

- Director:* *Zhou Yongkang 周永康 (PBSC)
Deputy Director: *Meng Jianzhu 孟建柱
Members: *Wang Shengjun 王胜俊
*Cao Jianming 曹建明
*Zhou Benshun 周本顺
*Geng Huichang 耿惠昌
*Wu Aiyong 吴爱英
*Sun Zhongtong 孙忠同

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

1958–66:

CC Science Small Group 中央科学小组

Established 10 June 1958; reported to Politburo and Secretariat

- Director:* Nie Rongzhen 聂荣臻 (June 1958–May 1966)
Members: Song Renqiong 宋任穷
Wang Heshou 王鹤寿
Han Guang 韩光
Zhang Jingfu 张劲夫
Yu Guangyuan 于光远

Sources: 中共中央和国务院关于中央设立外事小组和国务院设立外事办公室的联合通知 (CCP Central Committee and State Council Joint Notice on the Central Committee's Establishment of the Foreign Affairs Small Group and the State Council's Establishment of the Foreign Affairs Office), 6 March 1958, and

中共中央关于成立财经, 政法, 外事, 科学文教各小组的通知 (CCP Central Committee Notice on the Establishment of the Finance and Economy, Politics and Law, Foreign Affairs, Science, and Culture and Education Small Groups), 10 June 1958; CCP Organization Department, CCP Party History Research Office, and Central Archives, eds., *中国共产党组织史资料* (Materials on the Organizational History of the Chinese Communist Party) (Beijing: CCP Party History Publishers, 2000), vols. 5–7; Wang Jianying 王健英, ed., *领导机构沿革和成员名录* (The Evolution and Lists of Members of Leading Organs), (Beijing: Central Party School Press, 1995); *中华人民共和国实录* (Veritable Record of the People's Republic of China) 10 vols., (Changchun: Jilin People's Press, 1994); Wang Jingsong 王敬松, *中华人民共和国政府与政治* (*Government and Politics in the People's Republic of China*) (Beijing: 中共中央党校出版社 CCP Central Party School Press, 1995); Bo Yibo 薄一波, *若干重大决策事件的回顾* (Reminiscences on Several Important Policies and Events) 2 vols. (Beijing: Central Party School Press, 1991); *Junzhengshequ* 军政社区, www.ourzg.com; and Radiopress, Inc., ed. *China Directory*, editions 1983 through 2007.

Notes

¹ “邓小平成为党的第二代领导核心” (Deng Xiaoping's Designation as the Party Leadership's Second Generation Core), in Guo Dehong 郭德宏, Zhang Zhanbin 张湛彬, and Zhang Shujun 张树军, eds., *党和国家重大决策的历程* (The Course of Important Policy Decisions in Our Party and Country) (Beijing: 红旗出版社 Red Flag Publishing House, 1997), vol.8, 365–366.

² 中共中央关于成立财经, 政法, 外事, 科学文教各小组的通知 (CCP Central Committee Notice on the Establishment of the Finance and Economy, Politics and Law, Foreign Affairs, Science, and Culture and Education Small Groups), 10 June 1958, in CCP Organization Department, CCP Party History Research Office, and Central Archives, eds., *中国共产党组织史资料* (Materials on the Organizational History of the Chinese Communist Party) (Beijing: CCP Party History Publishers, 2000), vol. 9, p.628.

³ These purposes were made explicit by Ye Jianying in his 24 February 1980 speech to the Fifth Plenum. See CCP Document Research Office, *三中全会以来重要文献选编* (Selected Important Documents Since the Third Plenum) (Beijing: 人民日报出版社 People's Daily Press, 1982), 内部 (internal dissemination), pp.388–392.

⁴ On the evolution of the Party Secretariat, see “Xi Jinping and the Party Apparatus,” *China Leadership Monitor* 25 (Summer 2008).