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|              | The Chinese |
|              | Communist   |
|              | Party's     |
| NOMENKLATURA |             |
|              | System      |

*Edited by* | **JOHN P. BURNS**

# The Chinese Communist Party's NOMENKLATURA System

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CHINA

**THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S NOMENKLATURA SYSTEM**

*Edited by John P. Burns*

**THE ASIATIC MODE OF PRODUCTION IN CHINA**

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**BASIC PRINCIPLES OF CIVIL LAW**

*Edited by William C. Jones*

# The Chinese Communist Party's NOMENKLATURA System

A Documentary Study of Party  
Control of Leadership Selection,  
1979-1984

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Edited By JOHN P. BURNS

First published 1989 by M. E. Sharpe, Inc

Published 2019 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

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The introduction to this book is an expanded and updated version of an article which originally appeared in *Problems of Communism* Vol. 36, No. 5 (September–October, 1987). Translations of documents Nos. 1–10 and 13–18 were originally published in *Chinese Law and Government* Vol. 20, No. 4 (Winter 1987–88).

Design by Sonja Godfried.

### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

The Chinese Communist Party's Nomenklatura system.

(Chinese studies on China)

1. Chung-kuo ch'an tang—Officials and employees—

Titles. I. Burns, John P. II. Series.

JQ1519.A5C4773 1989 324.251'075 88-35577

ISBN 0-87332-543-5

ISBN 13: 978-0-87332-543-1 (hbk)

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## INTRODUCTION

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# The Chinese Nomenklatura System

Reformist Communist Party leaders in both China and the Soviet Union have announced plans to trim the scope of party control over government, the economy, and mass organizations. In November 1987, for example, Chinese Party Secretary General Zhao Ziyang proposed to the Thirteenth Party Congress that a new civil service system be installed in government organs, and that economic enterprises and mass organizations themselves choose their own leaders.<sup>1</sup> In October 1988, Soviet Party Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev announced sweeping changes to the organization and power of Central Committee departments also designed to weaken the authority of party units over government ministries.<sup>2</sup> Party leaders have taken these steps to permit basic economic reforms within their own countries.

Perhaps the major instrument of Communist Party control of contemporary China's political, economic, social, and cultural institutions is the *nomenklatura*<sup>3</sup> system. The system consists of lists of leading positions, over which party units exercise the power to make appointments and dismissals; lists of reserves or candidates for these positions; and institutions and processes for making the appropriate personnel changes. By relying on the no-

menklatura system, a variant of which is employed by all Communist parties in power,<sup>4</sup> authorities ensure that leading institutions throughout the country will exercise only the autonomy granted to them by the party.

China's nomenklatura system has evolved to suit the needs of party leaders to control the state, develop the economy, and ensure that party policies are carried out throughout society. During the early 1950s, early 1960s, and early 1980s, authorities centralized control over personnel selection in Beijing largely for political reasons. During intervening years, but especially in 1957 and since 1984, the party has decentralized nomenklatura control to further its economic development plans. Whether the power to make personnel appointments was held centrally or locally, however, the party has kept it firmly under its control. Recent proposals for reform of the nomenklatura in China leave the system intact, but further restrict the scope of party authority over leadership selection.

## Background

Organizations in China exist in a complex hierarchy of ranks. The state bureaucracy, for example, is organized territorially. Below the central government in Beijing are 22 provinces, 5 autonomous regions, and 3 centrally administered cities (Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin), all of equal rank. At the next lower level are 175 prefectures or prefecture-level units, and below them are more than 2,000 counties or county-level units.<sup>5</sup> A hierarchy of party committees, extending from the Central Committee in Beijing to provincial, prefectural, and county party committees, parallels this structure.

In 1949, to strengthen Beijing's control over provincial governments, authorities set up six regional administrations that covered Northeast China (Shenyang), North China (Beijing), East China (Shanghai), South-Central China (Wuhan), Southwest China (Chongqing), and Northwest China (Xi'an).<sup>6</sup> During the same period, for largely the same reasons, the party Central Committee also established six central bureaus (*zhongyang ju*) in these regions. In addition, in Inner Mongolia, Shandong, South China, and Xinjiang, the Central Committee set up four central branch bureaus (*fenju*), direct arms of the Central Committee with less autonomy than the central bureaus.<sup>7</sup> These regional party organs played a role in the implementation of China's nomenklatura system until they were abolished in 1954.<sup>8</sup>

According to the Chinese administrative hierarchy, ministers and deputy ministers of central ministries in Beijing are of equal rank to governors and deputy governors of provinces. Heads of general bureaus (*zongju*) at the center are equivalent to heads of provincial-level commissions, and heads of bureaus (*ju* and *si*) of central ministries and commissions are of equal rank to heads of provincial bureaus (*ting* and *ju*) and to heads of prefectures.<sup>9</sup>

China's nomenklatura system operates within this hierarchy of authority.

The political and economic priorities of party leaders have been reflected in the development of China's nomenklatura system. First, the leaders' policy of social and economic revolution required that the scope of nomenklatura control be very wide. Thus, by March 1951, senior party leaders had decided that the party must control the appointment, dismissal, and transfer of both party and nonparty cadres.<sup>10</sup> Second, the concerns of China's leaders to control specific groups of cadres were determined by the political and economic situation at any particular time. In 1955 and 1956, during the high tide of collectivization, for example, the Central Committee issued special regulations on the control of "cadres who were capitalist elements."<sup>11</sup> In 1957, in the aftermath of the Hundred Flowers Campaign, when the party clamped down on "rightist" intellectuals, the Central Committee Organization and United Front Work departments issued new regulations on the transfer of cadres working for various democratic parties, hotbeds of public criticism only a few months before.<sup>12</sup>

Changing economic development priorities also influenced party nomenklatura work. During periods of rapid industrialization, for example, the party sought to refine its control of industrial cadres.<sup>13</sup> In the early 1960s and again in the early 1980s, when the party was pursuing rapid economic growth, the Central Committee Organization Department issued special regulations on the management of science and technology cadres. Thus, in 1964, the Organization Department announced that science and technology cadres, like other cadres, should be managed by party committees and their organization bureaus. However, it noted that "the Central Committee has decided to establish a State Council science and technology cadre bureau" to help implement the party's cadre management policy.<sup>14</sup>

A brief outline of the evolution of the nomenklatura system illustrates its sensitivity to the political needs of party leaders. By December 1950, the Central Committee's Organization Department produced the first formal lists of cadre positions to be managed by the Central Committee and by local party committees.<sup>15</sup> According to the Organization Department's "Draft Plan on the Cadre Management System," party organs at each level, including central bureaus and central branch bureaus, would have their own nomenklatura. Thus, in March 1951, Liu Shaoqi reported to the CCP's First National Organization Work Conference that "the Organization Department's draft plan on the cadre management system calls for cadres filling the most important positions to be managed by the Central Committee, which should also consult local party organs. Management of second ranking positions should be shared by the central bureaus, the central branch bureaus, and provincial and prefectural party committees, in consultation with local party organs. Lesser positions should be managed by county and city party

committees.”<sup>16</sup> From its inception, then, cadre management was comprehensive and shared among party units at different levels.

In April 1953 these arrangements were codified in the Organization Department’s “Notice on Procedures for Government Cadre Appointments and Removals.”<sup>17</sup> The Organization Department requested provincial officials to submit applications for the appointment of cadres on the Central Committee’s nomenklatura to the relevant central bureau for transmission to the Central Committee.

By 1953, however, the costs to the party in Beijing of relying on the central bureaus to centralize power were obvious. They had become virtually ungovernable “independent kingdoms” in China’s Northeast and East-Central regions. Perhaps reflecting this concern, the 1953 Notice reveals that the central bureaus did not, at least by that time, have exclusive control over their own nomenklatura. Alarmed by the activities of Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, Beijing apparently insisted that positions managed by the central bureaus also be approved by the Central Committee. Thus, the 1953 Notice states: “Provincial party committees should submit applications for appointment of cadres managed by a central bureau to the central bureau, and then wait for the approval of the central bureau *and* the Central Committee before notifying the personnel department of the relevant people’s government to make the appointment or removal.”<sup>18</sup>

In November 1953, in anticipation of the abolition of central bureaus and the setting up of new people’s governments in 1954, the Central Committee fully articulated its control over senior leadership positions and clarified responsibilities for managing military and civilian cadres. According to the “Decision on Strengthening Cadre Management Work,” military cadres were to be managed by the General Cadre Department and the General Political Department of the party Central Military Commission together with cadre departments and political departments of military organizations of various levels.<sup>19</sup>

Various Central Committee departments were to share in the management of civilian cadres. Thus, the Decision assigned culture and education work cadres to the Central Committee’s Propaganda Department; planning and industrial work cadres to the Central Committee’s Planning and Industry Department; finance and trade work cadres to the Central Committee’s Finance and Trade Work Department; communications and transportation work cadres to the Central Committee’s Communications and Transportation Department; agriculture, fisheries, and water conservancy work cadres to the Central Committee’s Rural Work Department; cadres in national minorities work, religious work, and democratic parties work to the United Front Work Department; political and legal work cadres to the Political Work Department; and party and masses work cadres (and any others not listed above) to the Organization Department (see table 1).<sup>20</sup>

Table 1

**Nomenklatura Responsibilities of Central Committee Departments, 1953**

| Central Committee<br>department   | Cadres managed                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Propaganda                        | Culture and education                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Planning and Industry             | Planning and industrial work                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Finance and Trade                 | Finance and trade work                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Communications and Transportation | Communications and transportation work                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Rural Work                        | Agriculture, fisheries, water conservancy work                                                                                                                                                                |
| United Front Work                 | National minority nonparty basic-level representatives                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                   | Nonparty basic-level representatives of religious circles                                                                                                                                                     |
|                                   | Democratic personages of various democratic parties or without party affiliation                                                                                                                              |
|                                   | Overseas Chinese democratic personages                                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                   | Representatives of industrial and commercial circles                                                                                                                                                          |
|                                   | Cadres of organs of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, democratic parties, Association of Industry and Commerce, Buddhist Association, Islamic Association, and Hui Cultural Association |
| Political Work                    | Political work                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Organization                      | Party and masses work; other cadres not included in above list                                                                                                                                                |

*Source:* Zhonggong zhongyang, "Guanyu jiaqiang ganbu guanli gongzuo jue ding" (Decision on strengthening cadre management work), November 1953, summarized in RGD, pp. 166-67.

The proposals produced by party leaders during this period shaped the character of the contemporary nomenklatura system. First, since at least 1953, central party authorities have separated lists of military and civilian positions for nomenklatura purposes. Second, within party committees nomenklatura responsibilities have been shared among various departments, a practice that continues in the 1980s. Third, nomenklatura authority of central and local party committees has overlapped, a practice that has required consensus building in personnel decision making. Fourth, party authority in leadership selection has extended beyond control of the state to include economic enterprises and service units. Finally, probably from at least this time

party core groups (*dangzu*) have been organized in central and local governments and mass organizations and have maintained the nomenklatura for their own units and functional systems (*xitong*). This is discussed further below.

Although it has shared nomenklatura duties with other Central Committee departments since the 1950s, the Organization Department has occupied a superior position. First, it has managed party work cadres who were distributed throughout the system, across government, economic enterprise, and service unit sectors. Second, senior party leaders underscored the authority of the Organization Department when they instructed other Central Committee departments to carry out their nomenklatura responsibilities “under the unified management of the Organization Department.”<sup>21</sup> Finally, the Organization Department itself instructed other Central Committee departments (Propaganda, United Front Work, and Rural Work) to seek Organization Department approval before submitting the names of prospective appointees to the Central Committee.<sup>22</sup>

In 1954 the central bureaus were abolished, and the Central Committee itself took on more direct control of administering the nomenklatura system. The Central Committee consolidated its hold on the nomenklatura by distributing (and redistributing) authority over leadership selection among its various departments. For example, in April 1954, the Central Committee issued a plan (“draft for trial use”) that called for propaganda departments of local party committees to implement earlier decisions to manage culture and education cadres.<sup>23</sup> In the plan, the Central Committee formally transferred management of culture and education cadres from the Organization Department to the Propaganda Department. Then, in October 1954, the Organization Department reminded local party committees to refrain from attempting to manage cadres posted to military industrial undertakings. These were the prerogative of the Central Military Commission.<sup>24</sup> In November, further “temporary regulations” were issued which attempted to disentangle the proposed nomenklatura responsibilities of the Organization, Propaganda, Rural Work, and United Front Work departments.<sup>25</sup>

In January 1955, based on the eighth article of the 1953 “Decision on Strengthening Cadre Management Work,” which had called for “all cadres responsible for important duties throughout the country to be placed under central management,” the Central Committee circulated the “Decision on the Job Title List of Cadres Managed by the Central Committee” (*Zhonggong zhongyang guanlide ganbu zhiwu mingcheng biaode jue ding*). This document stipulated that before an appointment or transfer of a cadre could be made to a position on the Central Committee’s list, authorities had to obtain the Central Committee’s approval. Additions to or deletions from the list also had to be centrally approved. Party committees at various levels were told to compile their own job title lists, and to exercise their powers of

Table 2

**Classification of Cadres for Nomenklatura Reporting, 1955**

Cadres of the culture and education system

Cadres of the agriculture, forestry, water conservancy system

Cadres under the management of the Central Committee United Front Work Department (including democratic personages classified according to the nature of their work)

Cadres of the party committee system (including party committee members); leading officials of government organs; committee members of people's committees; cadres of the staff offices (*bangongshi*) and personnel departments of the State Council and of provincial people's committees

Cadres of such departments as industry, planning, labor, and statistics (including cadres of handicraft cooperatives and handicraft management departments)

Cadres of such departments as finance, commerce, banking, foodstuffs, and supply and marketing cooperatives

Cadres of such departments as communications, transportation, and postal services

Cadres of such departments as public security, civil affairs, justice, the judiciary, supervision, and the people's procuratorate

Cadres of such departments as foreign affairs and foreign trade and departments handling overseas Chinese affairs

Cadres of such departments as trade unions, the youth league, and the women's federation

*Source:* Cao Zhi, ed., *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo renshi zhidu gaiyao* (Outline of the personnel system of the People's Republic of China) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1985), p. 144.

approval within the appropriate jurisdictions.<sup>26</sup>

Three months later, the Central Committee notified central cadre management departments to take responsibility for cadre management according to the appropriate division of labor from April 1, 1955. From this time on, provincial and other lower-level cadre management departments were ordered to communicate with "the Center" on nomenklatura matters only through their own party committees. At the same time cadres were divided into ten categories, to facilitate nomenklatura control.<sup>27</sup> (See table 2.)

In September 1955, the Central Committee again requested provincial party committees and central-level departments to establish their own job title lists and submit them to the Central Committee for approval. It warned that "less management is better management" and urged party committees not to draw cadre management jurisdictions too broadly. This it said would result in "cadre management work becoming a mere formality, would increase the daily routine work of party committees, and would influence the handling of important work."<sup>28</sup>

The Central Committee pointed out that the rank of a position on the nomenklatura should be fixed according to the importance of the post and not



according to the personal rank of the cadre then holding the post. Finally, central authorities urged party committees to specify clearly the responsibilities of each post. The Central Committee then endorsed consensus decision making, by requiring that where responsibilities for cadre management were shared by party committees at different levels, appointments should be agreed to through mutual discussion. In general, authority to make decisions in these areas should be delegated to personnel bureaus of party central departments and of party committees.<sup>29</sup>

Central authorities also expressed concern about keeping the *nomenklatura* up to date. The Organization Department announced (in 1957) that current job title lists would be issued annually at the end of each year. To compile lists of cadres then holding positions on the *nomenklatura*, the Organization Department requested that central ministries and provincial party committees submit the relevant information in a timely fashion.<sup>30</sup>

In 1955 central party authorities also acknowledged the contradiction of placing elected positions on the party's *nomenklatura*. Not surprisingly, they resolved it in favor of tighter party control. Local officials were instructed to submit the names of candidates for (or winners of elections to) positions on the Central Committee's *nomenklatura* "either before or after the election," to the relevant party organ for investigation and approval.<sup>31</sup> By implication, if the party disapproved of the candidates (or winners), they could not take office.

The contemporary *nomenklatura* system in China was in place by 1955. Party committees exercised formal authority over senior personnel appointments, removals, and transfers two levels down the administrative hierarchy. Thus, the Central Committee in Beijing approved personnel changes not only of leading cadres at the center, but of senior officials at provincial and prefectural levels. Provincial party committees, in turn, exercised the same authority over prefecture- and county-level personnel. As a result, the authority of party committees at different levels overlapped considerably. Senior positions at prefectural level, for example, appeared on the *nomenklatura* of both the Central Committee and various provincial party committees.

In 1957 and 1958, in an effort to increase the speed of economic development, especially in agriculture, China's leaders decentralized decision making to provincial party committees. Changes in the implementation of the *nomenklatura* system reflected these moves. In February 1957, for example, the Central Committee issued new regulations on the scope of local control and appointment and removal procedures for "some [previously] centrally managed cadres whose management will be entrusted to the party committees of provinces, centrally administered cities, and autonomous regions."<sup>32</sup>

In the aftermath of the failure of the Great Leap Forward, authorities

recentralized the economic and political system and probably transferred back to Beijing control over the cadres "entrusted" to provincial party committees in 1957. To facilitate this process they reestablished six party central bureaus, which were active until the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. They probably had the authority of the previously established central branch bureaus<sup>33</sup> and played some role in the implementation of the nomenklatura system. In 1962, for example, the Organization Department instructed the Northeast and South-Central bureaus to handle between themselves cases of appointments, removals, and transfers of their own cadres.<sup>34</sup> During the early 1960s, authorities also took strong measures to prevent cadres sent-down to the countryside in 1958 from flooding back into Beijing. From 1962, central ministries wishing to transfer their employees back to the capital had to get the approval of both the relevant Central Committee department and the party Secretariat.<sup>35</sup>

During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), intense conflict within the party prevented authorities from using the system effectively. The nomenklatura as a system probably collapsed under the pressure of factional infighting; consensus decision making, on which the system depended, completely broke down. During these years party leaders abolished the Central Committee departments that previously exercised responsibility over the economy and over personnel appointments within the various economic systems. Ad hoc arrangements, dominated by a few individuals, members of the Cultural Revolution Small Group in Beijing and their allies, probably replaced the Central Committee institutions. By the mid-1970s, however, party leaders once again placed management of the nomenklatura in the hands of the Organization Department.

In the years immediately following the Cultural Revolution, authorities attempted to reestablish regular procedures for implementing party control of leading personnel appointments. In 1980, the Central Committee repromulgated the list of cadre positions which it managed, and ordered lower-level party committees to do the same.<sup>36</sup> It also reaffirmed the two-level down principle, and it ordered that where positions on a party committee's nomenklatura were to be filled by election (to comply with a newly enacted election law), authorities must first submit the names of nominees to the relevant party committee for approval.

Further detailed regulations followed. Because the numbers of cadres managed centrally was so great, the Central Committee divided them into grades. "A" grade positions included, for example, heads and deputy heads of party central departments and State Council ministries and commissions; ambassadors stationed abroad; the heads of various mass organizations; party secretaries and standing committee members of provincial party committees; and provincial governors and deputy governors.<sup>37</sup> Positions of lesser rank were designated "B" grade. In October 1980, the Central Com-

mittee advised that before an "A" grade appointment, removal, or transfer could be made, it was necessary to seek the approval of the relevant "leading cadre of party central" or vice-premier responsible for the functional area.<sup>38</sup>

By 1982, the Central Committee complained that provincial party committees sometimes ignored the regulations. Local authorities often failed to make complete reports on proposed personnel changes. Also, they sometimes failed to seek central approval before they announced local appointments. "Sometimes the Central Committee wants to make changes to the [personnel] decisions of local people's congresses, but because the decision has already been passed and made public, it is not convenient to do so. This produces work immobilism."<sup>39</sup> Struggling to manage thousands of cadres, the Central Committee may have been unable to cope. As a result, provincial party committees may have seen the process as largely a formality.<sup>40</sup>

### 1984 Nomenklatura Reform

At a National Conference on Organization Work in July 1983, the Central Committee's Organization Department presented a plan to decentralize control of personnel management. Authorities proposed to reduce the number of cadres directly managed by the Central Committee, then numbering thirteen thousand, to seven thousand.<sup>41</sup> When the reform was implemented in August 1984, however, officials reported that they had transferred nomenklatura authority over two-thirds of posts previously controlled by the Central Committee to both provincial party committees and party core groups (*dangzu*) of central ministries, commissions, and bureaus. Further, officials restricted the authority of party committees to make personnel changes to positions one level down the administrative hierarchy.<sup>42</sup>

The reform drastically reduced the number of posts managed by the Central Committee. In one State Council ministry-level unit, the People's Bank of China, for example, the number of posts on the Central Committee's nomenklatura fell by at least 87 percent.<sup>43</sup> Since 1984 only a handful of the top positions in the bank headquarters appear on the list. Most of the positions previously on the central nomenklatura are now on the bank's own nomenklatura. They are, however, reportable to the Central Committee.

The names of other institutions, especially some enterprises and service units, disappeared completely from the Central Committee list as a result of the reform. In higher education, for example, prior to the reform the Central Committee managed senior personnel appointments in the country's ninety-five national "keypoint" institutions.<sup>44</sup> As a result of the reform only ten institutions appeared on the 1984 nomenklatura of the Central Committee, a cut of 90 percent. Authorities presumably transferred most of the others to the nomenklatura of the party core group of the State Education Commission.

In spite of the reduction in the number of posts on the Central Committee's nomenklatura there was a significant addition. The 1984 lists extended the reach of the party Central Commission for Discipline Inspection by including the heads of discipline inspection groups, organized throughout central administrative agencies. Central Committee control of these groups gave them additional clout in their fight against corruption and bureaucratic abuses.

From August to December 1984, provincial and prefectural party committees, in turn, decentralized their control over the nomenklatura to prefectural, city, and county party committees. The impact of these changes on the number of cadres managed by provincial party committees has varied, however. For example, of the cadres previously managed by provincial party committees, Heilongjiang retained 23 percent,<sup>45</sup> Inner Mongolia retained 30 percent,<sup>46</sup> and Qinghai retained 50 percent.<sup>47</sup> In poorer provinces, such as Qinghai, there may have been too few party members in prefectural or other local party organizations to carry out further decentralization.

The reform did not reduce the total size of the nomenklatura. Rather it redistributed authority over virtually the same number of posts to lower-level party committees and to party core groups.

By decentralizing cadre management, authorities sought to reduce to manageable proportions the number of cadres controlled centrally and by provincial party committees. They admitted both that the Central Committee in Beijing, out of touch with local needs, sometimes mistakenly overruled the personnel recommendations of local officials, and that, because the numbers were too great to examine the details of each case, the process was sometimes a formality. Both situations apparently existed at the same time. In addition, by granting more autonomy to local party authorities on personnel matters, the reforms sought to "spur their initiative" to appoint high-quality local officials and to supervise them efficiently. If local officials had the authority to make more personnel appointments, they would, it was hoped, be in a better position to complete their responsibilities. Finally, decentralization of cadre management was necessary to implement new economic reforms, which, among other things, emphasized increased autonomy for enterprises and other local units.<sup>48</sup>

### *The 1984 Central Committee Lists*

Since 1984 the list of positions over which the party Central Committee has authority to authorize appointments, removals, and transfers has been divided into two parts: (1) the "Job Title List of Cadres Managed by the Party Central Committee" (*Zhonggong zhongyang guanli de ganbu zhiwu mingcheng biao*)<sup>49</sup> and (2) the "List of Cadre Positions to Be Reported to the Party Central Committee" (*Xiang zhongyang beian de ganbu zhiwu ming-*

dan).<sup>50</sup> On the first list, party authorities have placed approximately five thousand of the most senior positions throughout the country.<sup>51</sup> Before any cadre can be appointed to or removed from one of these positions, the Central Committee (usually through its Organization Department) must give prior approval. The Central Committee also maintains a second list of reportable positions, numbering in the tens of thousands. Appointments to and removals from these posts, for the most part just below the primary positions in the administrative hierarchy, must be reported to the Central Committee. Provincial and lower-level party committees have also divided their nomenklatura into two lists, to parallel the practice at the center.

The 1984 list of jobs directly managed by the Central Committee is divided into a number of functional areas: party and government institutions, news and media organizations, and service units, such as museums, libraries, and hospitals. It includes the heads and deputy heads of Central Committee departments, and the centrally controlled party media. The list also includes leading positions in the National People's Congress, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and the courts and procuratorate. Leading positions within the State Council and its ministries, commissions, and subordinate bureaus (*zhishu ju*) are also covered, as are senior positions in the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, New China News Agency, and various important banks and corporations. The list also includes senior leaders of the People's Armed Police, and ambassadors and other foreign affairs officials. Within these organizations in 1986 there were probably more than one hundred party core groups on the Central Committee's nomenklatura.<sup>52</sup>

The leadership of all important mass organizations appear on the list, including the federation of trade unions, the youth league, the women's federation, and organizations of literary and art workers, writers, overseas Chinese, and friendship groups.

Locally the list includes the leaders of provincial party and government organizations (to deputy governor level); leaders of provincial people's congresses and provincial CCPCCs; and heads of provincial courts and procuratorates.

The presidents and party secretaries of the top ten academic institutions appear on the list, as do the leaders of more than thirty economic or research units. These include well-known enterprises connected with the Datong coal field, Anshan steel, the Daqing oil field, and Shaoshan petrochemicals. They also include a host of lesser-known enterprises in such strategically important fields as aviation, ordinance, nuclear energy, and space research. Finally, a number of well-known museums, libraries, hospitals, and medical research facilities are also listed.

A second list of positions reportable to the Central Committee extends party authority farther down the administrative hierarchy. This list is as

comprehensive as the primary job title list and focuses on those posts immediately below leader and deputy leader level of organizations identified on the primary list. It also includes prefectural level appointments, the leaders of academic institutions not on the primary list, and fifty-two additional economic enterprises, units, and their related research institutes. Finally, it includes the leaders of all subordinate corporations of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, various customs offices, additional hospitals and publishing houses, broadcasting stations, and travel services.

Every six months, party units must submit reports on the cadres holding these positions both to the Organization Department (originally ten copies, reduced to three in 1985) and to any other Central Committee department that shares responsibility for managing the position (two copies). These reports are designed to keep the Central Committee advised of the local cadre management situation, and to help it further supervise and promote the development of talented officials.<sup>53</sup>

Before 1984 the Central Committee probably exercised direct nomenklatura authority over those positions now on the list of reportable positions. For example, most of the positions on the 1979 Central Committee nomenklatura for the People's Bank of China now appear on the list of reportable positions. Since 1984, provincial committees and party core groups have exercised authority to fill vacancies on this list. However, a higher-level party committee, after being notified of a personnel decision reportable to it, has the power to rescind the decision.<sup>54</sup>

### *1984 Central Ministry Party Core Group Lists*

At the central level, in addition to the Central Committee's nomenklatura, the party core groups of ministries and commissions of the State Council and of mass organizations maintain their own lists of positions. In 1984 the nomenklatura of the People's Bank of China, for example, was divided into several parts.<sup>55</sup> It included, first, several tens of positions in the headquarters that the bank party core group was required to report on to the Central Committee's Organization Department. Second, it included a much longer list of positions that the bank headquarters (that is, party core group) appointed directly. These include the above positions and a long list of other positions that were not required to be reported to the Central Committee. A final list of positions, such as the heads of divisions and offices of provincial-level branches of the bank, was reportable to the bank headquarters (that is, to the party core group).

### *Local Party Lists*

Although the nomenklatura of provincial and local party committees and local party core groups are not available to the author, these lists probably