

袁晞：毛泽东时代的常委和常委会 Yuan Xi: The Standing Committee and its Meetings in the Mao Era (1945-1976)

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FN 7 Chapter 4

FN 21 Chapter 6

FN 2 Chapter 7

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——从 1945 年中共七大到 1976 年毛泽东去世的中共中央政治局常委和常委会议概述

《毛主席语录》第一页第一条就是：“领导我们事业的核心力量是中国共产党。指导我们思想的理论基础是马克思列宁主义。”文化大革命时，几亿中国人民都会背诵，现在能顺口背出的恐怕也有上亿人。

而中国共产党的核心是中央委员会，从七大当选的 44 名中央委员到十大的 195 名中委，很多中委分散的全国各地，毛泽东时代的中央全会开会时间没准儿，有事一年两开(如 1955 年 4 月召开的七届五中全会和同年 10 月的七届六中全会)，有时几年也不开(如 1962 年 9 月召开的八届十中全会到 1966 年 8 月的八届十一中全会间隔了近 4 年)，所以中央委员会并不能决定和执行大多党务和国事。中央委员会的核心是中央政治局。七届一中全会选出的政治局委员 13 人，战争年代分多聚少，八大的 17 名政治局委员有人因年迈(如董必武)体衰(如罗荣桓、刘伯承)很少参与议事，九大的 21 名政治局委员两年多就打倒了三分之一(林陈黄吴叶李邱)，十大同样 21 名政治局委员，三年多一点儿死了五人，还全是常委(毛周朱和康生、董必武)。毛泽东时代的中央政治局开会多是议事和表决，真正做决定的是政治局的核心——中央政治局常委。当然常委的核心是毛泽东。

何谓“毛泽东时代”？1921年7月中国共产党成立到1945年，中共的领导核心是不稳定的，从一大到五大，一把手都是陈独秀，但相当于常委的核心圈子变动很大。1927年四一二事变后，中央的一把手(或实际负责人)先后有张国焘、瞿秋白、向忠发、陈绍禹(王明)、卢福坦、秦邦宪(博古)、张闻天等7人。虽然1935年的遵义会议毛泽东实际上取得了红军的领导权，党的总书记还是张闻天。直到1941年毛泽东才成为中共中央书记处排名第一的书记，仅是6名书记中的排名第一，并不是总书记或第一书记，只是明确为“主持日常工作”。1943年在延安召开的“三月中央政治局会议”推定毛泽东为中央政治局主席，决定中央书记处(相当于后来的常委会)由毛泽东、刘少奇、任弼时三同志组成。1945年6月中共七大结束时，毛泽东正式当选中央委员会主席，同时也担任中央政治局主席和中央书记处(相当于常委会)主席。书记处由毛泽东、朱德、刘少奇、周恩来、任弼时5人组成，人称“五大书记”。应该说从此时起毛泽东才在政治上、组织上和实际上都确立了在中国共产党的领导地位，中国共产党也有稳定的领导核心。可以说从那时起，在中国共产党内和其控制的地区就开启了“毛泽东时代”。1949年10月中华人民共和国成立，毛泽东领导全中国，“毛泽东时代”便覆盖了整个中国大陆，直到他去世。

考虑到中共领导核心的相对固定，也为了叙事方便，本文所指的“毛泽东时代”是从1945年七大到1976年毛泽东去世这31年，所说的是这30余年间的中共中央政治常委(七大叫书记处)有哪些人，他们开过什么会。

七大以后

从1945年七大结束到1966年八届十一中全会，是中共历史上中央领导核心最固定的时期，这整21年中毛朱刘周都是前四把手，前四位20年以上不变这在以前和以后都从未有过。只是四人的顺序有变化，刘周先后跃居朱之前。

据《毛泽东年谱》记载，1945年6月19日七届一中全会选出领导班子，7月2日毛泽东在杨家岭会见褚辅成、黄炎培等从重庆来延安的六位国民参政员，另四位书记作陪，这是五位书记第一次参加同一活动。7月4日书记处第一次开会，毛泽东主持，这是历史记载的第一次书记会议。8月23日中央政治局扩大会议召开，决定毛为中央军委主席，朱刘

周和彭德怀为副主席。会议结束前，毛泽东说：“我出去，决定少奇同志代理我的职务，书记处另推陈云、彭真同志为候补书记，以便我和恩来同志出去后，书记处还有五人开会。”会议根据这一提议，决定毛去重庆期间，刘代理其主席职务，并增选陈云、彭真为中央书记处候补书记。陈彭进入七大领导核心。不过二人9月15日即去东北工作，不在中央。彭真于1947年2月到西柏坡，在中央工作。

1945年下半年到1946年3月中共中央撤离延安，毛泽东除去重庆谈判一个多月(1945年8月28日至10月11日)外，都住在延安，这期间他多次主持和参加书记处、政治局和中央委员会的会议，五位书记中，周恩来经常没有与会，他先是与马歇尔、张治中组成军事三人小组在各地调停国共纠纷，后在南京领导中共代表团。

1946年3月国民党军队进攻延安，中共领导从枣园转移到子长县王家坪，后又到清涧县。29日晚至30日召开中共中央会议，毛朱刘任参加。会议决定毛周任率中央机关和解放军总部留在陕北，主持中央工作；刘朱和董必武组成中央工作委员会，以刘为书记，前往晋西北或其他适当地点，进行中央委托的工作。31日刘朱等前往晋绥。

从此时到1948年4月毛周任到达河北阜平县，两年多时间里，五位书记一分为二，从未聚齐，也开不了书记会。

毛泽东等人在陕北转战两年，之后出发经山西，1948年4月到河北，住在阜平县城南庄，23日周任去西柏坡与朱刘会合，两地相距70多公里。

4月30日至5月7日毛泽东在城南庄主持召开中共中央书记处扩大会议，通称城南庄会议，五大书记又一同与会。会议讨论了把战争引向国民党统治地区等议题。5月18日，国军飞机轰炸城南庄，毛泽东转移，27日到西柏坡与朱刘周任会合，从此五大书记在这里运筹帷幄，指挥了三大战役和向全国进军。

五个人住在一村，经常在一起议事，但因中央委员很多在外地和战事紧张，这期间很少召开正式会议。记载中重要会议有 1948 年 9 月 8 日至 13 日在这里召开的政治局会议，通称九月会议。毛泽东在会上讲了国际形势、战略方针等八个问题。还有 1949 年 1 月初召开的政治局会议，通过了《目前形势和党在一九四九年的任务》的决议。

五位书记在西柏坡的外事重要活动是一同接待了受斯大林委托来西柏坡的苏共政治局委员米高扬，时间是 1949 年 1 月 31 日至 2 月 8 日。

1949 年 3 月 5 日至 13 日七届二中全会在西柏坡召开，五位书记出席。毛泽东在会上作报告，提出促进革命迅速取得全国胜利和组织这个胜利的各项方针。

3 月 23 日毛泽东等离开西柏坡，25 日到达北平。当日下午 5 时，五位书记在西苑机场与各界代表和民主人士见面，并乘车检阅部队。随后进驻香山双清别墅。

9 月下旬，中国人民政治协商会议第一届全体会议举行前，毛朱刘周陆续住进中南海，此后常期住在这里。任弼时则在玉泉山等处养病。毛家先后住丰泽园菊香书屋和游泳池，周家换了几处后定居西花厅，刘住福禄居、朱住含和堂。

进京初期中共领导忙着指挥渡江战役，筹备新政协和中华人民共和国政府，几位的年谱上都没有记载开过政治局和书记处的正式会议。9 月下旬毛朱刘周出席了第一届政协会议，他们 10 月 1 日出席中华人民共和国开国大典。

10 月底到 12 月初政治局多次召开会议，毛刘朱周和陈云、彭真出席。

任弼时因病重没有出席开国大典，并于 11 月到苏联治病，次年 5 月回京，其间没有参加会议。

毛泽东 1949 年 12 月 6 日启程去莫斯科谈判，翌年 1 月周恩来也去莫斯科，二人 2 月底回国，3 月 4 日到京。这期间书记处工作由刘少奇主持。

毛回京后，3 月 6 日政治局开会，毛主持，周报告访苏经过，刘朱等参加。3 月 27 日至 4 月 6 日政治局在北京开会，毛刘朱周和各中央局、军队主要负责人参加，研究近半年的工作和之后的方针。

1950 年 6 月七届三中全会在中南海怀仁堂举行，会议决定由陈云代理因病休息的任弼时的书记工作。新中国成立初期，中央政治局一般每个月开一至两次会议，几位书记都出席，很少开正式的书记处会议。

任弼时回国后，与毛刘朱周参加了 8 月 16 日召开的政治局会议。这是记载中五大书记最后一次一起开会。

美军在仁川登陆后，朝鲜战局发生急剧变化。10 月 2 日中央书记处开会，讨论朝鲜战局和中国出兵援朝问题。毛认为出兵朝鲜已是十万火急，但会上多数人不赞成出兵。会议决定 4 日召开政治局会议，讨论出兵入朝作战问题。4 日和 5 日召开政治局扩大会议讨论这一问题。13 日召开的政治局会议决定即使苏联不出空军支援，也出兵援朝。

10 月 27 日任弼时病逝，陈云正式担任中央书记处书记，列毛刘朱周之后，彭真仍为候补书记。

中国人民志愿军入朝接连进行了五次战役，因战事紧张，中共领导的会议很少，进入 1951 年后会议才多了起来，较重要的有 2 月 14 日至 18 日召开的政治局扩大会议，五位书记和各中央局负责人参加，讨论如何结束朝鲜战争，走入计划经济。10 月上旬的五位书记主持的政治局扩大会议，研究财政等问题。

1951 年第四季度，开了多次书记处会议，一般是五书记和彭真出席，每次研究不同问题，均有相关负责人列席。会议地点有时是中南海颐年堂，有时在菊香书屋。

1952 年朝鲜战局相对平稳，国内进入正常建设时期，一般每个月开几次书记处会议，处理和决定国内外所有重大问题，也经常召开书记处扩大会议、政治局会议和政治局扩大会议。多由毛主持。其中有关组织人事比较重要的会议有：1953 年 8 月全国财经工作会议后免去薄一波财政部长职务的政治局会议；同年 9 月因安子文擅自拟定中央领导名单，给他警告处分的政治局会议；12 月 24 日毛泽东在中南海颐年堂主持召开的政治局扩大会议，会议揭露高岗的问题，并决定毛外出期间由刘代理主持中央工作，此后毛不在京时，刘曾主持中央会议；1954 年 2 月解决处理高岗、饶漱石问题的七届四中全会(毛在外地没有出席)；4 月 27 日毛泽东主持的书记处会议和随后召开的政治扩大会议，决定邓小平为中央秘书长，并接替饶漱石担任中央组织部部长；9 月决定成立毛为主席的党的军事委员会的政治局会议。1955 年 3 月还在北京召开了比较大型的中国共产党全国代表会议。毛还在北戴河主持过书记处会议。

邓小平 1952 年 7 月到中央工作，于 1954 年 4 月担任中共中央秘书长，开始进入领导核心，1955 年七届五中全会和林彪一同补选为政治局委员。七大后中央秘书长由任弼时担任。任去世后，由刘少奇代理。刘少奇 1952 年出席苏共十九大时，曾因俄语“秘书长”与“总书记”是一个词，被《真理报》误为中共中央总书记。他为此致信马林科夫说：

“今天真理报发表我在联共十九次代表大会的致词时，注明我是中共中央总书记。我现在要申明：中共中央现在没有总书记。党的中央委员会和政治局、书记处，均在毛泽东同志的领导之下，以毛泽东同志为主席。而我只是中央书记处的书记之一，虽然我对于党内的事情过问得比其他同志稍多一些。”“中共中央有一个秘书长的职务，这个职务是管理中央本身的行政事务工作的，以前由任弼时同志担任，任弼时同志去世后，即由我代理。这个职务和各国兄弟党总书记的职务是不同的。也许翻译同志将我担任的这个职务和总书记的职务混同起来，以致使你们有这个误会。

八大以后

八届一中全会上，选出 17 人的中央政治局，以前的五位书记当选中央正副主席，毛为主席，刘周朱陈为副主席，邓为总书记，这六人组成政治局常务委员会，成为党的领导核心。同时选出邓为首的七人中央书记处，处理党的日常工作。在筹备八大的七届七中全会上，毛泽东专门谈了关于设副主席和总书记的问题。他说：“中央准备设四位副主席，就是少奇同志、恩来同志、朱德同志、陈云同志。另外，还准备设一个书记处，书记处的名单还没有定，但总书记准备推举邓小平同志。”他还说：“首先倡议设四位副主席的是少奇同志。一个主席、一个副主席，少奇同志感到孤单，我也感到孤单。一个主席，又有四个副主席，还有一个总书记，我这个‘防风林’就有几道。‘天有不测风云，人有旦夕祸福’，这样就比较办好。除非一个原子弹下来，我们几个恰恰在一堆，那就要另外选举了。如果只是个别受损害，或者因病，或者因故，要提前见马克思，那末总有人顶着，我们这个国家也不会受影响，不像苏联那样，斯大林一死就不得下地了。”他同时还特别谈到邓小平和陈云，介绍了二人的优点。

邓小平的党内地位在八大超越彭真。六位常委都是长征干部，除陈云在遵义会议后，奉命于 1935 年 6 月离开队伍去苏联，其余五位都是从江西走到陕北的。彭真在白区工作，没有参加过长征，在当时以长征过的老红军为主要成份的中央委员会中，资历有欠缺，同时他也没有指挥过军队作战，在多有军人经历的领导层中又是一欠缺。邓抗战时是 129 师政委，解放战争中是二野政委，参与指挥了淮海战役、渡江战役和进军西南。1958 年八届五中全会增选为副主席、常委的林彪是职业军人，从长征到解放战争都军功显赫。林邓除资历外，一般专家都认为他们是毛的人，而彭真则是刘领导白区时的主要下属，有国外学者分析说，此时毛已防着刘。

八大的政治局委员不是像现在这样以姓氏笔划为序，而是以地位高低排序，前六位是常委，第七位是林彪(两年后增选常委)，八九两位是林伯渠、董必武，这二位年事已高，一般不参与议事。彭真排在第十位，他虽未当选常委，但在邓小平之后为书记处二把手，那时年富力强，分管大量党政事务。查《毛泽东年谱》，八大后他列席常委的次数最多。七大的政治局委员张闻天和康生八大降为政治局候补委员。

八大结束不久，发生了波兰匈牙利事件，常委多次开会研究，六位党委都出席了几次重要的常委扩大会。次年5月，苏联最高苏维埃主席团主席伏罗希洛夫来访时，六位常委出面接待。1957年六位常委出席分析整风鸣放的常委扩大会。

这年7月毛在杭州时，苏联发生了马林科夫、卡冈诺维奇、莫洛托夫反党集团的事，米高扬受赫鲁晓夫委派飞来中国通报情况，刘周陈邓都赶到杭州刘庄与毛一同会见他。7月7日刘主持常委扩大会，讨论毛泽东要去长江三峡游泳的提议。会后常委会复电毛，说会议决定由罗瑞卿带人去调查和试水，“中央等到瑞卿同志两星期内提出调查报告之后，再作决定。”据记载，经过试水后，常委会没有同意毛在三峡游泳。

1958年5月5日至23日中共第八届全国代表大会第二次会议在怀仁堂举行，全体常委出席。25日召开八届五中全会，增选林彪为副主席、常委，列陈之后邓之前，增选柯庆施、李井泉、谭震林为政治局委员。

八大后林彪在政治局排名已超越了彭真、彭德怀，进入常委后，更是压彭德怀一头，成了职业军人中在党内的一号。此时还没有召开遭致彭德怀下台的庐山会议，可见毛早已对彭德怀在军中独大有所防范，用林彪制衡。

从1958年五中全会到1966年的十一中全会，常委的人员和顺序没有发生过变动，“毛刘周朱陈林邓”成了干部们对领导顺口的说法。还有七人并列的画像出版。五中全会，邓小平曾将中共中央关于增挂林彪像的通知稿送毛泽东等审阅，周恩来批：“可否考虑除增挂林彪同志的像外，再增挂总书记邓小平同志的像，请主席批示。”毛泽东批示：“同意此项意见”，并在通知稿的“应增挂中央副主席林彪同志像”后，加上“和总书记邓小平同志像”。

1958年7月底8月初赫鲁晓夫来访，七常委同去南苑机场迎接，这是很少有的事儿，七人还一同参加了与赫鲁晓夫的第二次会谈。8月下旬毛在北戴河主持召开常委和各协作区主任会议，七常委出席。

八大的常委并不是都主事儿，聚齐的时候非常少。八大以后的前两年，陈云经常参加常委会，毛泽东批反冒进后，尤其是大跃进后就很少参加了。林彪刚当选常委时，出席过几次与外交、军事有关的常委会，之后几乎没来过。为鼓动大跃进，毛泽东经常在外地主持召开一些会议，如南宁会议、成都会议、郑州会议，这些会以常委扩大会议或政治扩大会议等名义召开，扩大到哪些人由毛按自己的意愿开名单，他称之为“神仙会”。在外地开的这类会，朱德、林彪都没有参加过。

1959年4月初八届七中全会在上海召开，七常委出席了全会期间的常委会，彭真列席。15日毛泽东在中南海举行的最高国务会议第十六次会议上说：“我们共产党主持工作的，我算一个，但是我是不管日常事务的，有时候管一点，有时候不管。经常管的是少奇同志。我一离开北京，都是他代理我的工作。这已经是多年了，在延安开始就是如此，现在到北京已经又十年了。由他担任国家主席比较合适。同时，朱德同志极力推荐少奇同志。我说，你们对调一下，把少奇同志过去的工作(委员长)请你做，他很高兴。在上海会议，八届七中全会就决定这样做。”

5月初毛召开会议讨论评印度总理尼赫鲁西藏问题讲话的文章，七常委参加。后来文章以《西藏的革命和尼赫鲁的哲学》为题在《人民日报》发表。

7月2日至8月1日毛泽东在庐山主持召开政治局扩大会议，紧接着于8月2日至16日召开八届八中全会，两个会通称庐山会议。之前的6月，邓小平右腿骨折，陈云写信说心脏病发作。毛说邓养病期间，书记处由彭真主持，并同意邓休养三个月。陈邓二人都没有参加庐山会议。林彪则是会议中途被毛叫上山的。会议期间，毛写信说：“陈云病情如何，是否有可能请他来此参加七天会。”但陈没来。

会后常委会决定，撤销彭德怀国防部长和中央军委委员职务。林彪任军委第一副主席兼国防部长，贺龙、聂荣臻任军委第二、第三副主席。

10月1日毛刘周朱林邓出席在天安门举行的国庆大会。林彪检阅参加阅兵式的三军官兵。

1960年初毛泽东在上海主持召开了几次常委会，只有陈云没来。4月在毛在北京钓鱼台召集会议，讨论周恩来出访和粮食、棉花问题，七常出齐。6月8日至18日政治局扩大会议在上海召开，讨论“二五计划”后3年(1960年至1962年)的补充计划和国际形势，七常委都出席了会议期间的几次常委会。夏天在北戴河召开的常委会，林都没出席。9月在京开的常委会，陈没到会。10月的常委扩大会议，邓访苏，余六人出席。11月讨论刘少奇参加莫斯科会议问题，陈林没出席。12月讨论老挝问题的常委会，林没来。

1961年初的常委会周林没出席。1月八届九中全会和期间的常委会，朱林没出席。3月毛泽东在广州小岛招待所召开几次常委扩大会议，刘中途来，陈最后到，七常委都出席了21日讨论《农村人民公社工作条例(草案)》第三稿的常委会。

这年8月在庐山召开常委扩大会议，常委没出齐。10月1日全体常委出席在天安门举行的国庆大会。12日又全体出席了在颐年堂召开的常委会。

1962年1月11日至2月7日的七千人大会开了近一个月。1月29日林彪在大会上讲话，这是不多见的，他讲完后，毛泽东说：“林彪同志讲得很好”。会议期间适逢春节，全体常委出席在人民大会堂举行的春节联欢会，这也是少有的场面。到2月下旬刘少奇在中南海西楼主持召开常委扩大会议时，毛林没参加。会后刘周邓专程到武昌向毛汇报会议情况。

为八届十中全会做准备的8月北戴河中央工作会议、9月北京的全会预备会，陈林没参加。9月24日至27日在北京举行的八届十中全会，陈林没来。全会结束时，《人民日报》刊发的新华社大会主席台照片上，毛居中，左为邓刘，右为周朱。陈林二人也没有参加这年的国庆大会。之后几次讨论中印边界冲突的会议，还是陈林没参加。1962年毛泽东有近半年不在北京，没有参加由刘少奇在京主持的常委会。

1963 年毛也有四个多月不在京，没有参加北京的常委会。3 月 5 日毛泽东为雷锋题词，之后刘周朱陈林邓也题了词。9 月的中央工作会议陈林没有参加，会上毛提出林彪长期生病，建议由贺龙主持军委日常工作。陈和林也没有出席这年所有重要活动。

1964 年 6 月毛刘周朱邓先后在北京观看部队汇报表演。他们五人参加了这年的国庆活动和国庆前后的重要外事会见。10 月赫鲁晓夫下台后，中共决定派团参加这年苏联十月革命庆典，常委开会讨论此事，毛让邓把会议意见告诉没有与会的朱陈，让周告诉林。这一年毛三次离京共三个多月，陈林也多不在京。没有参加北京的常委会。

1965 年 2 月毛刘周邓在北京会见访越后途经北京的苏联总理柯西金。3 月中旬至 6 月下旬，毛不在北京。8 月毛刘周邓接见击沉国民党军舰的部队代表。毛刘周朱邓出席 9 月的第二届全国运动会开幕式和当年的国庆活动。12 月 8 日至 15 日毛泽东在上海主持常委扩大会议，讨论罗瑞卿问题，常委只陈没出席。查《陈云年谱》，他此时在杭州疗养，离上海很近，也没来开会。

1966 年 3 月中旬常委扩大会议在杭州举行，毛刘周朱林出席，邓出差、陈生病，二人请假。4 月 16 日至 24 日毛在杭州主持常委扩大会议，主要批判彭真，朱陈没来。7 月 18 日之前，毛都在外地，北京的常委会由刘主持。5 月 4 日至 26 日政治局扩大会议在北京举行，批判彭真、罗瑞卿、陆定一、杨尚昆，18 日林彪在会上集中讲政变问题。6 月 9 日至 12 日毛在杭州召开常委扩大会议，听刘周邓等汇报工作，研究文化大革命问题。

据 60 年代初到文革前经常列席常委会的吴冷西(时任新华社社长、人民日报总编辑)回忆，那一时期，毛泽东召集的正式或非正式的常委会多在他的卧室(菊香书屋或游泳池)召开。毛在床上或坐或卧，其他人在床的一侧坐成半圆，刘居中，周和彭真坐刘的两边，邓小平听力差，多坐在床头旁，耳朵对着毛，吴冷西则坐在床脚的小柜旁，好在小柜子上记笔记。吴冷西说朱德几乎没参加，陈林多在外地养病很少来。

文化大革命后，邓小平在谈到大跃进时曾说：“讲错误，不应该只讲毛泽东同志，中央许多负责同志都有错误。‘大跃进’，毛泽东同志头脑发热，我们不发热？刘少奇同志、周恩来同志和我都没有反对，陈云同志没有说话。”“没有说话”是对陈云极为传神的描述。说自己想说的话，毛泽东不待见，说毛泽东爱听的话，自己违心。只好不说，而最好的办法就是称病不出。查《陈云年谱》，他从1962年2月出席西楼会议后，直到1966年8月八届十一中全会，四年多没有参加一次中央的会议。

更能韬光养晦是八届五中全会当选常委的林彪。进入和平时期之后，深知“飞鸟尽，良弓藏”的林彪一直称病不出，没有担任实际职务，副总理是挂名的。1959年庐山会议打倒了彭德怀，毛让林主持中央军委，担任国防部长，此后林仍然在休养，很少参会。因林彪成了反革命集团头目，他的活动没有准确的记录可查。

1966年夏，文化大革命在全国掀起。8月1日至12日八届十一中全会在北京召开，全会改组了领导机构，毛泽东为主席，副主席只林彪一人。林彪是8月6日被毛泽东从大连叫回北京开会的。常委在原七人基础上增选4名常委，共11人，是中共历史上常委最多的一次。常委排名是毛泽东调整的，有很大改变：毛泽东、林彪、周恩来、陶铸、陈伯达、邓小平、康生、刘少奇、朱德、李富春、陈云。8月18日毛泽东与全体常委一同在天安门上接见红卫兵。林、周讲话，陈伯达主持，其余常委按新排名出席。从这一天到11月26日毛泽东先后八次接见红卫兵，查阅《人民日报》的报道，这八次接见中，常委陈伯达缺席一次，康生和陈云缺席两次。后来被打倒的刘邓倒是全勤。

但这11人当选后再没有在一起开过常委全会，刘邓陶很快被打倒，朱陈李靠边站。主事的是毛林周加上中央文革和军委办事组。

这年12月4日至6日林彪主持政治局扩大会议，这是以往从未有过的。

据《邓小平传(1904—1974)》引用的1967年1月11日中央政治局会议记录说，到这时刘少奇、邓小平、陶铸、陈云等出席政治局会议的资格被取消了。1月16日毛主持召开常委扩大会议，刘邓陶陈等已没有资格出席。

文革夺权高潮中的1967年上半年几乎没以常委名义开的会议，直到6月18日毛召集常委会，讨论姚文元率红卫兵代表团访问阿尔巴尼亚问题。此后常委会就停歇了。没有被打倒的常委林周陈康出席了一些毛泽东主持的会议和活动，著名的有1968年7月28日接见蒯大富等造反派领袖。

九大以后

文革没有被打倒、也没靠边站的五名常委在1969年4月28日举行的九届一中全会上再次当选常委，常委也就他们五人。正副主席毛林排一二，剩下陈周康三人按笔划排序。据黄永胜回忆，九大前有提议他和江青进常委，为了抵制江，他说不当常委，结果他和江都没入选常委名单。

《陈云年谱》说，九大是陈云从1933年以来第一次被排除在政治局之外。

一中全会后毛泽东当场主持政治局第一次会议，全体常委出席。5月2日在人民大会堂一一八厅开了第一次全员参加的常委会。此后没有这届常委开会的记载。中央文革和军委办事组的主要成员在九大上都当选政治局委员，比起九大前党央基本瘫痪的情况不同，有完整的中央领导机构，但政治局并不怎么开全体会。

1969年10月1日国庆二十周年大会在天安门举行，全体常委出席。

1970年五常委多次一同出席外事活动，比如会见被国内政变推翻的西哈努克、罗马尼亚客人波德纳拉希、刚果副主席拉乌尔等。不过常委全齐的场面也就持续了一年。

这年8月23日至9月6日九届二中全会在庐山举行。会前的22日毛主持常委会，林周陈康出席。会上发生了“天才论”和是否设国家主席的争论，导致陈伯达下台，这一轮常委他当了不到一年半就成了阶下囚。

看当年的纪录片，开幕时主席台上坐着五名常委，闭幕时就少了陈，台下照样热烈鼓掌。10月1日北京天安门城楼上毛林周康中少了那个矮胖的身影。敏感的人们从《人民日报》刊发的国庆消息捕捉到了陈失势的信息。

10月10日毛林周康会见金日成。此后半年多林彪没有参加毛泽东的外事活动。

1971年5月1日毛林周与外宾同上天安门看焰火，《人民日报》刊登了三人一道登上城楼的照片。康生没来。这是林最后一次上天安门。6月3日毛会见齐奥塞斯库，林周康在座。这是毛林最后一次见面。8月16日奉毛泽东指示，周恩来和张春桥等到北戴河向林彪汇报，这是林周最后一次会面。9月13日林彪外逃身亡。常委至此已五去二。政治局委员也少了7人，1972年3月谢富治死亡，又少一人。

1973年3月邓小平恢复工作，列席政治局讨论。

十大以后

中共十大 1973年8月24日至28日在北京举行。开幕式由毛泽东主持、闭幕式则由周恩来主持。这是毛和周出席的最后一次党代会。8月30日晚周恩来主持十届一中全会，毛泽东没有参加。全会选举毛泽东为中共中央主席，周恩来、王洪文、康生、叶剑英、李德生为副主席，加上朱德、张春桥、董必武组成九人常委会。

十大前周恩来的准备报告说：政治局开会“议政治局常委，因主席、副主席六人为当然常委，春桥同志为政治局常委只一人，可否再加两人共九人。主席指示可提董、朱二老为政治局常委，大家认为好。”因此有九人常委。

但没有九人开会的记载。只是周恩来常主持召开政治局会议。1973年12月12日和15日毛泽东主持政治局会议并讲话，互相调动各大军区司令员，请邓小平参加军委。22日中共中央发出通知：遵照毛主席的提议，中央决定：邓小平同志为中央政治局委员。

1975年1月十届二中全会在京西宾馆召开，周恩来主持，毛泽东没来。会议选举邓小平为中央副主席，政治局常委；批准李德生要求免除副主席、常委的请求。这是历史上仅有的平安免去常委的情况。

这年5月3日晚10时45分至次日晨1时，毛泽东在中南海游泳池住处主持召开政治局会议，周恩来抱病出席。这是毛最后一次主持政治局会议。此后的政治局会议由邓小平主持。9月30日邓以周的名义举行国庆招待会。

1975年4月董必武去世，12月康生去世。1976年1月周恩来去世。

1976年4月初北京发生天安门事件，毛泽东说，“开除邓的一切职务，保留党籍，以观后效。”又提议华国锋任党的第一副主席。政治局一致通过毛泽东的提议。按规矩，副主席是当然常委，因此华国锋是毛泽东时代的最后一名中央政治局常委。此后中央工作由华国锋主持，但他没召开过常委会。常委这时也只剩了重病的毛泽东和华国锋、王洪文、叶剑英、张春桥五人。

1976年9月9日毛泽东去世，毛泽东时代的常委会正式落幕。中国也进入了一个新的时代。

(本文主要资料来源：《毛泽东年谱(一八九三—一九四九)》(修订本)、《毛泽东年谱(一九四九—一九七六)》、《毛泽东传(1949—1976)》，以上三书均由中共中央文献研究室编、中央文献出版社出版；《中国共产党组织史资料汇编——领导机构沿革和成员名录》，红旗出版社出版。

DeepL Translation

Yuan Xi: Standing Committee and Standing Committee in Mao Zedong Era

Published: 2016-03-26 00:09 Author: Yuan Xi

--Overview of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) from the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1945 to the death of Mao Zedong in 1976.

The first item on the first page of Chairman Mao's Quotations is: "The core force leading our cause is the Communist Party of China (CPC). The theoretical foundation that guides our thinking is Marxism-Leninism." At the time of the Cultural Revolution, hundreds of millions of Chinese people could recite it, and I am afraid that hundreds of millions of people can recite it by heart now.

The core of the CPC is the Central Committee, from the 44 Central Committee members elected at the Seventh National Congress to the 195 Central Committee members elected at the Tenth National Congress, many of whom are scattered all over the country, and the Central Committee plenums of the Mao Zedong era did not meet at the right time, but twice a year (e.g., the Fifth Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee in April 1955 and the Sixth Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee in October of the same year), and sometimes not for several years (e.g., the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee in September 1962 to the Sixth Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee in 1966). Plenary Session of the 10th Central Committee in September 1962 and the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee in August 1966 had an interval of nearly four years), so the Central Committee was not able to decide and carry out most of the party and state affairs. The core of the Central Committee was the Politburo. The 13 members of the Politburo elected at the First Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee were divided into more and fewer gatherings during the war years; some of the 17 members of the Politburo at the Eighth Congress seldom took part in the proceedings due to old age (e.g., Dong Biwu) and physical deterioration (e.g., Luo Ronghuan and Liu Bochong); one-third of the 21 Politburo members of the Ninth Congress were knocked out in more than two years (Lin Chen, Huang, Wu, Ye, Li, and Qiu); and five members of the Politburo of the Ten Greatest Congresses were equally 21 members, and they all died a little more than three years later and all of them were members of the Standing Committee (Mao Zhou Zhu and Kang Sheng, Dong Biwu). Mao Zedong era of the Central Politburo meeting is mostly deliberative and voting, the real decision-making is the core of the Politburo - the Standing Committee of the Central Politburo. Of course, the core of the Standing Committee was Mao Zedong.

From the founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in July 1921 to 1945, the leadership of the CPC was unstable; from the First to the Fifth Congresses, the head of the CPC was Chen Duxiu, but the core of the CPC Standing Committee changed a lot, and after the April 12th Incident of 1927, the head of the CPC Standing Committee was Zhang Guotao, Qu Qiubai, and the head of the CPC Standing Committee. Zhang Guotao, Qu Qiubai, Xiang Zhongfa, Chen Shaoyu (Wang Ming), Lu Futan, Qin Bangxian (Bogu), Zhang Wentian, and seven others. Although Mao Zedong actually gained leadership of the Red Army at the Zunyi Conference in 1935, the party's general secretary was still Zhang Wentian. It was not until 1941 that Mao Zedong became the top-ranking secretary

of the CCP Central Committee's Secretariat, only the first of six secretaries, not the General Secretary or the First Secretary, but clearly "presiding over the day-to-day work", and in 1943, at the "March meeting of the Central Committee's Politburo" in Yan'an, Mao Zedong was presumed to be the first secretary of the CCP Central Committee. "At the March Meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held in Yan'an in 1943, Mao Zedong was designated Chairman of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and it was decided that the Secretariat of the Central Committee (the equivalent of the Standing Committee) would be composed of Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, and Ren Bishi, and at the conclusion of the Seventh Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in June 1945, Mao Zedong was formally elected Chairman of the Central Committee, and at the same time, he became the Chairman of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee as well as the Chairman of the Central Committee (equivalent of the Standing Committee). The Secretariat was composed of Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi, known as the "Five Secretaries". It should be said that from this time onwards, Mao Zedong had established his leadership position in the CPC politically, organizationally and practically, and the CPC had a stable leadership core. From then on, it can be said that the "Mao Zedong Era" began within the CPC and the areas under its control, and with the founding of the People's Republic of China in October 1949 and Mao Zedong's leadership of the whole of China, the "Mao Zedong Era" covered the whole of mainland China until his death. The "Mao Zedong Era" covered the entire Chinese mainland until his death.

Considering the relative stability of the CCP's leadership core, and for the sake of narrative convenience, this article refers to the "Mao Zedong Era" from the Seventh National Congress in 1945 to Mao Zedong's death in 1976, and refers to the members of the Political Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (or Registry, as it was called in the Seventh National Congress), as well as the meetings they held during these 30 years or so.

After the Seventh Congress

From the end of the Seventh Congress in 1945 to the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee in 1966, it was the most fixed period in the history of the CPC for the core of

the central leadership, and Mao, Zhu, Liu, and Zhou were the top four handlers for the entire 21 years, and the top four remained unchanged for more than 20 years, which had never happened before or since. Only the order of the four changed, Liu Zhou successively jumped ahead of Zhu.

According to "Mao Zedong chronicle" records, June 19, 1945, the seventh session of the first plenum elected leadership, July 2, Mao Zedong in Yangjialing met with Chu Fucheng, Huang Yanpei and other from Chongqing to Yan'an, six national senators, accompanied by the other four secretaries, this is the first time that five secretaries to participate in the same activity. July 4, the first meeting of the Secretariat, presided over by Mao Zedong, this is the first secretary of the history of the meeting. August 23, the enlarged meeting of the Central Politburo held. 23 The enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee was held, and it was decided that Mao would be the Chairman of the Central Military Commission, and Zhu, Liu, Zhou and Peng Dehuai would be the Vice-Chairmen. Before the end of the meeting, Mao Zedong said, "I will go out and decide that Comrade Shaoqi will act as my deputy, and that the Secretariat will elect another Comrade Chen Yun and Comrade Peng Zhen as alternate secretaries, so that there will be five more members of the Secretariat for the meeting after Comrade Enlai and I have gone out." On the basis of this proposal, the meeting decided that Liu would act as chairman during Mao's departure for Chongqing, and co-opted Chen Yun and Peng Zhen as alternate secretaries of the Central Secretariat. Chen Peng entered the leadership core of the Seventh Congress. However, the two went to work in the Northeast on September 15 and were not in the Central Committee. Peng Zhen went to Xibaipo in February 1947 and worked at the Central Committee.

From the second half of 1945 to March 1946, when the CPC Central Committee withdrew from Yan'an, Mao Zedong lived in Yan'an except for more than a month of negotiations in Chongqing (August 28 to October 11, 1945), during which time he presided over and participated in many meetings of the Secretariat, the Politburo, and the Central Committee, and of the five secretaries, Zhou Enlai was often absent; he first formed a military trio with Marshall and Zhang Zhizhong to mediate Sino-Communist disputes in the various places to mediate between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and later led the CPC delegation in Nanjing.

In March 1946 the Kuomintang army attacked Yan'an, the CPC leadership from Zaoyuan transferred to Zichang County Wangjiaping, and then to Qingjian County. 29 evening to 30th CPC Central Committee meeting, Mao Zhu Liu Ren attended. The meeting decided that Mao Zhou Ren rate of the central authorities and the PLA headquarters to stay in northern Shaanxi, presiding over the work of the Central Committee; Liu Zhu and Dong Biwu composed of the Central Working Committee, with Liu as the secretary, to go to northwestern Jin or other appropriate places, to carry out the work entrusted by the Central Committee. 31st Liu Zhu and other travel to Jinsui.

From this time until Mao Zhou Ren arrived in Fuping County, Hebei Province, in April 1948, for more than two years, the five secretaries were split in two, never getting together, and unable to hold a secretaries' meeting.

After two years of fighting in northern Shaanxi, Mao and the others set out via Shanxi, arriving in Hebei in April 1948, staying at Nanzhuang in Fuping County, and on the 23rd Zhou Ren went to Xibaipo to join Zhu and Liu, more than 70 kilometers apart.

From April 30 to May 7, Mao Zedong presided over an enlarged meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in Chengnanzhuang, commonly known as the Chengnanzhuang meeting, and the five secretaries attended the meeting together. The meeting discussed issues such as bringing the war to the Kuomintang-ruled areas, etc. On May 18, Nationalist planes bombed Chengnanzhuang, Mao Zedong moved to Xibaipo on the 27th to meet with Zhu, Liu, and Zhou, and from then on, the five secretaries strategized and commanded the Three Campaigns and the march to the whole country.

The five lived in one village and often deliberated together, but due to the fact that many members of the Central Committee were out of town and the war was tense, few formal meetings were held during this period. Among the important meetings recorded was the Politburo meeting held here from September 8 to 13, 1948, commonly known as the September meeting. At the meeting, Mao Zedong spoke on eight issues, including the international situation and the strategic approach. There

was also the Politburo meeting held in early January 1949, which adopted the resolution on the Present Situation and the Party's Tasks for the Year 1949.

The important foreign affairs activity of the five secretaries in Xibaipo was to receive together Mikoyan, a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who was commissioned by Stalin to come to Xibaipo from January 31 to February 8, 1949.

The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee was held in Xibaipo from March 5 to 13, 1949, with five secretaries in attendance. Mao Zedong made a report at the meeting, proposing various guidelines for promoting the rapid national victory of the revolution and organizing this victory.

Mao Zedong and others left Xibaipo on March 23 and arrived in Beiping on the 25th. At 5:00 p.m. that day, the five secretaries met with representatives from all walks of life and democrats at the Xiyuan Airport and reviewed the troops by car. They were then stationed at Shuangqing Villa in Xiangshan Mountain.

In late September, before the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was held, Mao, Zhu, Liu and Zhou lived in Zhongnanhai one after another, and thereafter stayed here on a regular basis. Ren Bishi, on the other hand, in the Yuquan Mountain and other places to recuperate. Mao's family lived in the Chrysanthemum House and the swimming pool in Fengzeyuan, Zhou's family settled in Xihuahua Hall after changing a few places, Liu lived in Fulu Residence and Zhu lived in Hanhe Hall.

In the early days of Beijing, the CPC leadership was busy directing the Battle of the Yangtze River, preparing for the new CPPCC and the government of the People's Republic of China, a few of the annals of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the official meetings are not recorded. late September Mao, Zhu, Liu and Zhou attended the first session of the CPPCC, and they were present at the

founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China on October 1, the Ceremony of the Founding of the People's Republic of China.

At the end of October to the beginning of December, the Politburo held several meetings, which were attended by Mao, Liu, Zhu and Zhou, as well as Chen Yun and Peng Zhen.

Ren Bishi did not attend the founding ceremony because he was seriously ill and went to the Soviet Union for treatment in November, returning to Beijing in May of the following year, during which time he did not attend the meetings.

Mao Zedong left for Moscow for negotiations on December 6, 1949, and Zhou Enlai also went to Moscow in January of the following year; they returned to China at the end of February and arrived in Beijing on March 4th. During this period, Liu Shaoqi presided over the work of the Secretariat.

After Mao's return to Beijing, the Politburo held a meeting on March 6, chaired by Mao, with Zhou reporting on his visit to the Soviet Union and Liu and Zhu attending; the Politburo met in Beijing from March 27 to April 6, with Mao, Liu, Zhu and Zhou and the main leaders of the Central Bureaus and the army attending, to study the work of the past six months and the guidelines for the future.

In June 1950 the Third Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee was held in Huairan Hall, Zhongnanhai, where it was decided that Chen Yun would act as secretary for Ren Bishi, who was resting due to illness. In the early days of the founding of New China, the Politburo of the Central Committee usually met once or twice a month, with several secretaries in attendance, and seldom held formal meetings of the Secretariat.

After his return to China, Ren Bishi attended the August 16th Politburo meeting with Mao, Liu, Zhu and Zhou. This was the last time the five secretaries were recorded as meeting together.

After the U.S. troops landed in Inchon, the war situation in Korea changed dramatically. On October 2, the Central Committee Secretariat meeting to discuss the war situation in Korea and China to send troops to help North Korea. Mao believes that troops in North Korea is an urgent matter, but most people at the meeting are not in favor of sending troops. The meeting decided to convene a meeting of the Politburo on October 4 to discuss the issue of sending troops to fight in North Korea, and an enlarged meeting of the Politburo was held on October 4 and 5 to discuss the issue. 13th Politburo meeting decided that even if the USSR didn't send air force to support, it would also send troops to aid North Korea.

On October 27, Ren Bishi died of illness, and Chen Yun formally became the secretary of the Central Committee Secretariat, after Mao, Liu, Zhu and Zhou, with Peng Zhen remaining as the alternate secretary.

The Chinese People's Volunteers into North Korea in five successive campaigns, because of the war tensions, the CPC leadership meeting is very little, into 1951 after the meeting is more, the more important are held from February 14 to 18 of the enlarged meeting of the Politburo, the five secretaries and heads of central bureaus to participate in the discussion of how to end the Korean War, go into a planned economy. early October of the five secretaries presided over the enlarged meeting of the Politburo to study finance and other issues.

In the fourth quarter of 1951, a number of meetings of the Secretariat were held, usually attended by the five secretaries and Peng Zhen, each time to study a different issue, with the relevant persons in charge in attendance. The meetings were sometimes held at the Yi Nian Hall in Zhongnanhai, and sometimes at the Juxiang Study Hall.

In 1952, when the war situation in Korea was relatively stable and the country entered a period of normal construction, meetings of the Secretariat were generally held several times a month to deal with and decide on all major issues both at home and abroad, and enlarged meetings of the

Secretariat, meetings of the Politburo and enlarged meetings of the Politburo were also frequently held. Most of them were chaired by Mao. Among the more important meetings concerning organization and personnel were: the Politburo meeting that removed Bo Yibo from his post as finance minister after the national financial and economic work conference in August 1953; the Politburo meeting that gave An Ziwen a warning for drawing up a list of central leaders without authorization in September of the same year; and the enlarged Politburo meeting chaired by Mao Zedong in the Yi Nian Hall in Zhongnanhai on December 24, which exposed Gao Gang's problems and decided that during Mao's absence Liu presided over the work of the Central Committee by proxy, and thereafter presided over the Central Committee meetings when Mao was not in Beijing; the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee in February 1954 to resolve the issue of Gao Gang and Rao Sushi (which Mao did not attend while he was out of the country); a meeting of the Registry presided over by Mao Zedong on April 27, and the enlarged political meeting that followed, which decided that Deng Xiaoping would be the Secretary General of the Central Committee and would succeed Rao as the head of the Central Committee's Organization Department; and a decision to set up a political committee chaired by Mao as the Chairman of the Party Military Committee in September. Mao as chairman of the Party's Military Committee; and in March 1955 a relatively large meeting of the CCP's National Delegates was also held in Beijing. Mao also chaired a meeting of the Secretariat at Beidaihe.

Deng Xiaoping came to work for the Central Committee in July 1952 and became Secretary General of the CPC Central Committee in April 1954, beginning his entry into the leadership core, and was reelected as a member of the Politburo along with Lin Biao at the 1955 Fifth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee. After the Seventh Plenary Session, the Secretary General of the Central Committee was appointed by Ren Bishi. After Ren's death, Liu Shaoqi acted for him. When Liu Shaoqi attended the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1952, he was mistakenly recognized as the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC by Pravda because the Russian words for "General Secretary" and "General Secretary" were the same. In this connection, he wrote to Malinkov: "When Pravda published my speech at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union today, it stated that I was the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. I would now like to state that there is now no General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The Central Committee of the

Party, together with the Politburo and the Secretariat, are all under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with Comrade Mao Tse-tung as Chairman. And I am only one of the secretaries of the Central Secretariat, although I ask slightly more questions than the other comrades about issues within the Party." "The Central Committee of the Communist Party has a post of General Secretary, which manages the administrative affairs of the Central Committee itself, and which used to be held by Comrade Ren Bishi, and after his death I acted in his place. This post is different from that of the General Secretary of the fraternal parties in various countries. Perhaps the comrade interpreter has confused the position I hold with that of General Secretary, and this has led to this misunderstanding on your part. Translated with www.DeepL.com/Translator (free version)

After the Eighth National Congress

At the First Plenary Session of the Eighth Congress, a 17-member Politburo was elected. The previous five secretaries were elected Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee, with Mao as Chairman, Liu, Zhou, Zhu and Chen as Vice-Chairmen, and Deng as General Secretary, and these six formed the Standing Committee of the Politburo, which became the core of the Party's leadership. At the same time, the seven-member Central Committee Secretariat headed by Deng was elected to handle the day-to-day work of the Party. At the Seventh Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee in preparation for the Eighth National Congress, Mao Zedong specifically talked about the issue of setting up a vice-chairman and a general secretary. He said, "The Central Committee is prepared to set up four vice-chairmen, namely, Comrade Shaoqi, Comrade Enlai, Comrade Zhu De and Comrade Chen Yun. In addition, it is also prepared to set up a Secretariat, the list of which has not yet been finalized, but the General Secretary is prepared to elect Comrade Deng Xiaoping." He added: "The first to initiate the creation of four vice-chairmen was Comrade Shaoqi. With one chairman and one vice-chairman, Comrade Shaoqi felt lonely, and I felt lonely too. With one chairman, four vice-chairmen, and a general secretary, I have a couple of 'windbreaks'. 'The sky is unpredictable, and people may be in trouble at any time', so it's better this way. Unless an atomic bomb comes down and a few of us happen to be in a pile, then another election will have to be held. If it is only an individual who is damaged, either by illness or for some reason, who has to see Marx in advance, then there is always someone to take the lead, and we as a nation will not be

affected, unlike the Soviet Union, which was not allowed to get off the ground as soon as Stalin died." He also talked about Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun in particular, describing their merits.

Deng Xiaoping's status within the Party surpassed Peng Zhen's at the 8th Congress. All six members of the Standing Committee were cadres of the Long March, and except for Chen Yun, who was ordered to leave the ranks for the Soviet Union in June 1935 after the Zunyi Conference, the other five walked from Jiangxi to northern Shaanxi. Peng Zhen worked in the White Zone and did not take part in the Long March, and was deficient in seniority in the Central Committee, which at that time consisted mainly of veteran Red Army soldiers who had fought in the Long March, while he also had not commanded the army in combat, another deficiency in a leadership that had much military experience. Deng was the political commissar of the 129th division during the war of resistance, and the political commissar of the Second Field during the war of liberation, and took part in commanding the Battle of Huaihai, the Battle of the Crossing of the Yangtze River, and the advance to the southwest. Lin Biao, who was co-opted as the vice-chairman and member of the Standing Committee of the Eighth Plenary of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1958, is a professional soldier, and he has made great achievements in the Long March and the war of liberation. Lin Deng in addition to seniority, general experts believe that they are Mao's people, while Peng Zhen was Liu's main subordinate when he led the White Area, some foreign scholars analyzed that at this time, Mao has been defending Liu.

Eight members of the Politburo is not like the present so in the order of the surname stroke, but in order of status, the first six is the Standing Committee, the seventh is Lin Biao (two years after the election of the Standing Committee), eight or nine two is Lin Boqu, Dong Biwu, these two are old, generally do not participate in the deliberations. Peng Zhen was in the tenth place, although he was not elected to the Standing Committee, but after Deng Xiaoping, he was the second-in-command of the Secretariat, and at that time, he was very rich and strong, and was in charge of a large number of party and government affairs. According to Mao Zedong's Annals, he was the most frequent member of the Standing Committee after the Eighth Congress. Zhang Wentian and Kang Sheng, members of the Politburo in the Seventh National Congress, were relegated to the rank of alternate members of the Politburo in the Eighth National Congress.

Shortly after the Eighth Congress, the Polish-Hungarian incident occurred, and the Standing Committee met several times to study it, with all six Party members attending several important enlarged meetings of the Standing Committee. In May of the following year, when Voroshilov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, visited, the six members of the Standing Committee received. 1957, the six members of the Standing Committee attended the Standing Committee expanded meeting to analyze the wind and sound.

When Mao was in Hangzhou in July of that year, the events of the Malinkov, Kaganovich and Molotov anti-Party clique occurred in the Soviet Union, and Mikoyan was sent by Khrushchev to fly to China to inform him of the situation, and Liu, Zhou, Chen and Deng rushed to Hangzhou, Liuzhuang, to meet with him together with Mao. on July 7, Liu presided over the enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee to discuss the proposal of Mao Zedong to go to swim in the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River. After the meeting, the Standing Committee replied to Mao, saying that the meeting had decided that Luo Ruiqing would take people to investigate and test the water, and that "the central government would wait until Comrade Ruiqing had submitted an investigation report within two weeks before making a decision." It is recorded that after testing the water, the Standing Committee did not agree that Mao should swim in the Three Gorges.

May 5 to 23, 1958 the second session of the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in Huairan Hall, attended by all the Standing Committee. 25 held the Eighth Plenary Session of the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, co-opted Lin Biao as Vice Chairman, Standing Committee, listed in the Chen after Deng before the co-option of Ke Qingshi, Li Jingquan, Tan Zhenlin as a member of the Politburo.

Lin Biao in the Politburo after the eighth ranking has surpassed Peng Zhen, Peng Dehuai, into the Standing Committee, but also pressed Peng Dehuai head to head, became a professional soldier in the party's number one. At this time has not been held by Peng Dehuai stepped down Lushan

meeting, visible Mao has long been on Peng Dehuai in the military to prevent the dominance of Lin Biao checks and balances.

From the 1958 Fifth Plenum to the 1966 Eleventh Plenum, the Standing Committee of the personnel and the order has not changed, "Mao, Liu, Zhou, Zhu, Chen, Lin and Deng" has become the cadres of the leadership of the smooth saying. There were also seven portraits published side by side. The Fifth Plenary Session, Deng Xiaoping had the CPC Central Committee on the additional Lin Biao statue of the draft notice sent to Mao Zedong and other review, Zhou Enlai approved: "Can you consider in addition to the additional statue of Comrade Lin Biao, and then the additional general secretary Deng Xiaoping's statue, please Chairman of the Board of Directors for approval." Mao Zedong approved: "agree with this opinion", and in the draft of the notice "should be added to hang the image of Comrade Lin Biao, Vice Chairman of the Central Committee," after "and General Secretary Comrade Deng Xiaoping's image".

At the end of July and the beginning of August 1958, Khrushchev visited, the seven Standing Committee went to Nanyuan Airport to meet, which is a rare thing, the seven also participated in the second meeting with Khrushchev. late August Mao hosted a meeting of the Standing Committee and the director of the collaborative area in Beidaihe, the seven members of the Standing Committee attended.

The Standing Committee of the Eighth National Congress is not always the main thing, the time to get together is very little. In the first two years after the Eighth Congress, Chen Yun often attended the Standing Committee, but after Mao Zedong criticized the anti-advancement movement, especially after the Great Leap Forward, he rarely attended. When Lin Biao was first elected to the Standing Committee, he attended a few Standing Committees related to foreign affairs and military affairs, but after that he hardly ever came. In order to encourage the Great Leap Forward, Mao Zedong often hosted a number of meetings in the field, such as the Nanning meeting, Chengdu meeting, Zhengzhou meeting, these meetings will be held in the name of the Standing Committee expanded or political expansion of the meeting, expanding the list of who by Mao according to their

own wishes, he called the "fairy meeting". Such meetings in the field, Zhu De, Lin Biao have not participated.

In early April 1959, the eighth session of the seventh plenum held in Shanghai, the seven members of the Standing Committee attended the plenum during the Standing Committee, Peng Zhen attended. 15 Mao Zedong in Zhongnanhai held the sixteenth meeting of the Supreme State Council, said: "Our Communist Party presided over the work of the Communist Party, I counted as one, but I do not care about the day-to-day affairs of the sometimes a little tube, sometimes no. often tube is Comrade Shaoqi. It is Comrade Shaoqi who is often in charge. Whenever I leave Beijing, he acts for me. This has been the case for many years, starting in Yan'an, and now it has been another ten years since I arrived in Beijing. It would be more appropriate for him to serve as State President. At the same time, Comrade Zhu De strongly recommended Comrade Shaoqi. I said, "Swap your posts and ask you to do Comrade Shaoqi's past work (as chairman of the committee)," and he was delighted. At the Shanghai meeting, the Seventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee decided to do this."

In early May Mao convened a meeting to discuss the article commenting on Indian Prime Minister Nehru's speech on Tibet, with the participation of the Seven Standing Committee. The article was later published in People's Daily under the title "Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy".

From July 2 to August 1 Mao Zedong presided over an enlarged meeting of the Politburo at Mount Lushan, followed by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee from August 2 to 16, and the two meetings were commonly known as the Mount Lushan Conference. Before the June, Deng Xiaoping fractured his right leg, Chen Yun wrote a letter that a heart attack. Mao said that during Deng's recuperation, the Secretariat was chaired by Peng Zhen, and agreed that Deng should take a three-month break. Neither Chen nor Deng attended the Lushan meeting. Lin Biao was called to the mountain by Mao in the middle of the meeting. During the meeting, Mao wrote a letter saying, "How is Chen Yun's condition, is it possible to ask him to come here to participate in the seven-day meeting." But Chen did not come.

After the meeting, the Standing Committee decided to remove Peng Dehuai as Minister of Defense and member of the Central Military Commission. Lin Biao became First Vice Chairman of the Military Commission and Minister of Defense, and He Long and Nie Rongzhen became Second and Third Vice Chairman of the Military Commission.

October 1 Mao, Liu, Zhou, Zhu, Lin and Deng attended the National Day Conference held in Tiananmen Square. Lin Biao inspected the officers and soldiers of the three armies participating in the parade.

In early 1960, Mao Zedong hosted several Standing Committees in Shanghai, only Chen Yun did not come. In April, Mao convened a meeting at Diaoyutai in Beijing to discuss Zhou Enlai's visit and the food and cotton issues, with the seven Standing Committees in full force. From June 8 to 18, an enlarged meeting of the Politburo was convened in Shanghai to discuss the supplementary measures to be taken in the next three years of the Second Five-Year Plan (1960-1962). In the same month, the Politburo held a meeting in Shanghai to discuss the "Second Five-Year Plan". The expanded meeting of the Politburo was held in Shanghai from June 8 to 18 to discuss the supplementary plan for the next three years (1960 to 1962) of the Second Five-Year Plan and the international situation. The Standing Committee held in Beidaihe in the summer was not attended by Lin, the Standing Committee held in Beijing in September was not attended by Chen, the Standing Committee enlarged in October, Deng visited the Soviet Union, and the remaining six were present, Liu Shaoqi's participation in a meeting in Moscow was discussed in November, and Chen and Lin were not present, and Lin did not attend the Standing Committee's meeting in December to discuss the Laos issue.

In early 1961, the Standing Committee Zhou Lin did not attend. January 8th Ninth Plenary Session and during the Standing Committee, Zhu Lin did not attend. March Mao Zedong in Guangzhou island guest house held several expanded Standing Committee, Liu halfway, Chen last, seven

Standing Committee attended the 21st discussion of the "Rural People's Commune Work Regulations (Draft)" of the third draft of the Standing Committee.

In August of this year, the Standing Committee held in Mount Lushan, the Standing Committee did not come out. October 1, all Standing Committee members to attend the National Day Conference held in Tiananmen Square. 12 and all attended the Standing Committee held in the Hall of the Yi Nian.

January 11, 1962 to February 7, the seven thousand people in the General Assembly opened nearly a month. January 29 Lin Biao in the General Assembly speech, which is rare, after his speech, Mao Zedong said: "Comrade Lin Biao spoke very well". During the meeting, which coincided with the Chinese New Year, all Standing Committee members attended the Chinese New Year Gala held in the Great Hall of the People, which was also a rare scene. In late February, Liu Shaoqi hosted an expanded meeting of the Standing Committee in the West Building of Zhongnanhai, Mao Lin did not attend. After the meeting, Liu Zhou Deng traveled to Wuchang to report the meeting to Mao.

For the preparation of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee in August, Beidaihe Central Committee Work Conference, September Plenary Preparatory Meeting in Beijing, Chen Lin did not participate in the Eighth Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee, held in Beijing from September 24 to 27, Chen Lin did not come. At the end of the plenum, the People's Daily published a photo of the podium of the Xinhua News Agency conference, Mao in the center, Deng and Liu on the left, Zhou and Zhu on the right. Chen and Lin also did not attend the National Day Conference that year. In 1962 Mao was absent from Beijing for nearly six months and did not attend the Standing Committee chaired by Liu Shaoqi in Beijing.

In 1963, Mao was also absent from Beijing for more than four months and did not attend the Standing Committee in Beijing. on March 5, Mao wrote an inscription for Lei Feng, followed by Liu Zhou, Zhu, Chen, Lin, and Deng. at the Central Committee's working meeting in September, Chen Lin did not attend, and at the meeting, Mao suggested that Lin Biao, who had been ill for a long

time, suggests that He Long preside over the day-to-day work of the Military Commission. Chen and Lin did not attend all the important events of the year.

In June 1964, Mao, Liu, Zhou, Zhu and Deng were in Beijing to watch the troops' debriefing performance. The five of them took part in the National Day activities and important foreign affairs meetings before and after the National Day, and after Khrushchev stepped down in October, the CPC decided to send a delegation to participate in the celebration of the October Revolution in the USSR that year, and at a meeting of the Standing Committee to discuss the matter, Mao asked Deng to tell Zhu and Chen, who were not present at the meeting, about the meeting's opinion, and asked Zhou to tell Lin. Mao left Beijing three times that year for more than three months, and Chen and Lin were mostly absent from Beijing. He did not attend the Standing Committee in Beijing.

In February 1965, Mao, Liu, Zhou and Deng met with Soviet Premier Kosygin in Beijing after his visit to Vietnam. from mid-March to late June, Mao was not in Beijing. in August, Mao, Liu, Zhou and Deng met with representatives of the forces that had sunk the Kuomintang's warships. Mao, Liu, Zhou, Zhu and Deng attended the opening ceremony of the Second National Games in September and the National Day activities of that year. From December 8 to 15 Mao Zedong presided over the enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee in Shanghai, discussing the issue of Luo Ruiqing, the Standing Committee only Chen did not attend. Check "Chen Yun chronicle", he was in Hangzhou at this time to convalesce, very close to Shanghai, also did not come to the meeting.

In mid-March 1966, the Standing Committee expanded meeting held in Hangzhou, Mao Liu Zhou Zhu Lin attended, Deng business trip, Chen sick, the two took a leave of absence. 16 to 24 April Mao in Hangzhou to preside over the expanded meeting of the Standing Committee, the main criticism Peng Zhen, Zhu Chen did not come before July 18, Mao were out of town, Beijing's Standing Committee presided over by Liu. 4 to 26 May expanded meeting of the Politburo was held in Beijing to criticize Peng Zhen, Luo Ruiqing, Lu Dingyi and Yang Shangkun, and on the 18th Lin Biao focused on the coup d'état at the meeting. From June 9 to 12 Mao held an enlarged meeting of

the Standing Committee in Hangzhou to listen to Liu, Zhou and Deng and other reports on their work and to study the Cultural Revolution.

According to Wu Lengxi (then president of Xinhua News Agency and editor-in-chief of People's Daily), who frequently attended the Standing Committee from the early 1960s until the Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong convened most of the formal or informal Standing Committees in his bedroom (the Chrysanthemum Bookstore or the swimming pool) during that period. Mao on the bed or sitting or lying down, the other side of the bed sitting in a semicircle, Liu in the center, Zhou and Peng Zhen sitting on both sides of Liu, Deng Xiaoping hearing is poor, sitting next to the head of the bed, ear to Mao, Wu Lengxi sitting at the foot of the bed next to the small cabinet, so that in the small cabinet to take notes. Wu Lengxi said Zhu De almost did not participate, Chen Lin more in the field to recuperate rarely come.

After the Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping said of the Great Leap Forward: "Speaking of mistakes, should not only speak of Comrade Mao Zedong, many of the responsible comrades of the Central Committee have mistakes. The 'Great Leap Forward', Comrade Mao Zedong hot-headed, we do not heat? Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Comrade Zhou Enlai and I did not object, Comrade Chen Yun did not speak." "Did not speak" is an extremely evocative description of Chen Yun. To say what he wanted to say was not favored by Mao, to say what Mao loved to hear was against his will. The best thing to do was not to say anything, and the best thing to do was to say that he was sick and did not come out. Checking Chen Yun's Annals, he did not attend a single meeting of the Central Committee for more than four years, from February 1962, when he attended the Xilou Conference, to August 1966, when he attended the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee.

More able to bide his time was Lin Biao, who was elected to the Standing Committee at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee. After entering peacetime, Lin Biao, who knew that "the birds are gone and the bow is hidden", had been claiming that he was sick and had not taken up any actual post, and the vice-premier was titular. 1959 Lushan Conference defeated Peng Dehuai, and Mao asked Lin to preside over the Central Military Commission and serve as the

minister of defense, after which Lin was still recuperating and seldom participated in the meetings. Because Lin Biao became the head of the counter-revolutionary group, there is no accurate record of his activities to be found.

In the summer of 1966, the Cultural Revolution was launched throughout the country, and the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee was held in Beijing from August 1 to 12, at which the leadership was reorganized, with Mao Zedong as the Chairman and Lin Biao as the only Vice-Chairman. Lin Biao was called back to Beijing from Dalian by Mao Zedong on August 6 for a meeting. The Standing Committee elected four additional Standing Committee members on top of the original seven, for a total of 11 members, the largest number of Standing Committee members in the history of the CPC. The ranking of the Standing Committee was adjusted by Mao Zedong with significant changes: Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai, Tao Ch'üi, Chen Boda, Deng Xiaoping, Kang Sheng, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Li Fuchun, and Chen Yun. On August 18 Mao Zedong, along with the entire Standing Committee, received the Red Guards on Tiananmen Square. Lin and Zhou spoke, Chen Boda presided, and the rest of the Standing Committee attended according to their new rankings. From this date to November 26, Mao received the Red Guards eight times. Checking the People's Daily report, of these eight receptions, Standing Committee member Chen Boda was absent once, and Kang Sheng and Chen Yun were absent twice. Liu Deng, who was later defeated, was in full attendance.

However, after the election of these 11 people have not been together in the plenary session of the Standing Committee, Liu Deng Tao was quickly knocked down, Zhu Chen Li stood aside. The main thing is Mao Lin Zhou plus the Central Cultural Revolution and the Military Commission office group.

December 4 to 6 this year, Lin Biao presided over the enlarged meeting of the Politburo, which was never before.

According to the minutes of the January 11, 1967 Politburo meeting cited in Deng Xiaoping's Biography (1904-1974), by this time Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Tao Zhou, and Chen Yun had been disqualified from attending the Politburo meeting, and Mao presided over the enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee on January 16, at which Liu Deng, Tao Zhou, and Chen were no longer qualified to attend.

In the first half of 1967, at the height of the Cultural Revolution, there were almost no meetings in the name of the Standing Committee until June 18, when Mao convened the Standing Committee to discuss the visit to Albania of a delegation of Red Guards led by Yao Wenyuan. Thereafter the Standing Committee came to a halt. Lin Zhou Chen Kang, a member of the Standing Committee who was not defeated, attended a number of meetings and events presided over by Mao, notably the July 28, 1968 reception of Kuai Dafu and other rebel leaders.

After the Ninth Congress

The five members of the Standing Committee who had not been defeated or sidelined by the Cultural Revolution were re-elected to the Standing Committee at the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee held on April 28, 1969, and the Standing Committee consisted of the five of them. Mao Lin, the chairman and vice-chairman, ranked one or two, leaving Chen Zhoukang and the three others in order of strokes. According to Huang Yongsheng's recollection, before the Ninth National Congress, there was a proposal for him and Jiang Qing to enter the Standing Committee, in order to resist Jiang, he said that he was not a member of the Standing Committee, and as a result, he and Jiang were not elected to the Standing Committee list.

The Ninth Congress was the first time since 1933 that Chen Yun was excluded from the Politburo, according to the Chen Yun Chronicle.

Mao Zedong presided over the first meeting of the Politburo on the spot after the First Plenary Session, with all the Standing Committee in attendance. the first full Standing Committee meeting was held on May 2 in the 118th Hall of the Great Hall of the People. There are no records of meetings of this Standing Committee since then. The main members of the Central Cultural Revolution and the Office of the Military Commission were all elected members of the Politburo at the Ninth National Congress. Unlike the situation before the Ninth National Congress, when the Party Central Committee was basically paralyzed, there was a complete central leadership structure, but the Politburo didn't hold many plenary sessions.

On October 1, 1969 the twentieth anniversary of the National Day was held in Tiananmen Square, with the entire Standing Committee in attendance.

In 1970 the five Standing Committees attended many foreign events together, such as meeting with Sihanouk, who had been overthrown by a coup in his country, Romanian guest Podnarusi, and Congolese Vice-President Raoul. But the spectacle of the full Standing Committee lasted only one year.

From August 23 to September 6 of that year, the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee was held at Mount Lu. Before the meeting on the 22nd Mao presided over the Standing Committee, Lin Zhou Chen Kang attended. At the meeting took place "genius theory" and whether to set up the State President of the debate, leading to Chen Boda stepped down, this round of Standing Committee when he was less than a year and a half became a prisoner.

Look at the year's documentary, the opening of the podium sitting on the five members of the Standing Committee, the closing of the less Chen, as usual, the stage applauded enthusiastically. October 1, Beijing Tiananmen Square on the Mao Lin Zhou Kang less in the figure of the short and chubby. Sensitive people from the "People's Daily" published on the National Day news captured the information that Chen lost power.

On October 10, Mao, Lin, Zhou and Kang met with Kim Il Sung. Lin Biao did not participate in Mao's foreign affairs activities for more than six months thereafter.

On May 1, 1971, Mao, Lin and Zhou went to Tiananmen Square with foreign guests to watch fireworks, and the People's Daily published a photo of the three of them ascending the citadel together. Kang Sheng did not come. This was the last time Lin went to Tiananmen Square. on June 3, Mao met with Ceausescu, with Lin Zhou and Kang present. This was the last time that Mao and Lin met. On August 16th, under the instruction of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhang Chunqiao waited until Beidaihe to report to Lin Biao, which was the last time that Lin and Zhou met. On September 13th, Lin Biao fled the country and died. By now the Standing Committee had lost two of its five members. The Politburo also lost seven members, and in March 1972 Xie Fuxi died, leaving one more member missing.

In March 1973, Deng Xiaoping resumed his work and attended the discussions of the Politburo.

After the 10th National Congress

The 10th CPC Congress was held from August 24 to 28, 1973 in Beijing. The opening ceremony was presided over by Mao Zedong, while the closing ceremony was presided over by Zhou Enlai. This was the last Party Congress attended by Mao and Zhou, and on the evening of August 30, Zhou presided over the First Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee, which Mao did not attend. The plenum elected Mao Zedong as Chairman of the CPC Central Committee, with Zhou Enlai, Wang Hongwen, Kang Sheng, Ye Jianying, and Li Desheng as Vice-Chairmen, plus Zhu De, Zhang Chunqiao, and Dong Biwu to form a nine-member Standing Committee.

Ten Zhou Enlai's preparatory report said: the Politburo meeting "discuss the Politburo Standing Committee, because the Chairman, Vice Chairman of the six members of the Standing Committee of course, Comrade Chunqiao for the Standing Committee of the Politburo is only one person, can

we add two people for a total of nine people. The President instructed to mention Dong, Zhu two old for the Politburo Standing Committee, we think good." So there were nine members of the Standing Committee.

But there is no record of a meeting of nine people. Just Zhou Enlai often presided over the Politburo meeting. 1973 December 12 and 15 Mao Zedong presided over the Politburo meeting and speech, each other to mobilize the major military region commanders, please Deng Xiaoping to participate in the military committee. 22 CPC Central Committee issued a notice: in compliance with Chairman Mao's proposal, the Central Committee decided: Comrade Deng Xiaoping for the Central Committee of the Politburo.

In January 1975, the Second Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee was held at the Western Hotel in Beijing, presided over by Zhou Enlai, without Mao Zedong. The meeting elected Deng Xiaoping as vice-chairman of the Central Committee and a member of the Politburo Standing Committee; it approved Li Desheng's request to be exempted from being vice-chairman and member of the Standing Committee. This is the only time in history to remove the Standing Committee.

May 3 this year, 10:45 p.m. to 1:00 a.m. the next morning, Mao Zedong in Zhongnanhai swimming pool residence to preside over the meeting of the Politburo, Zhou Enlai held sick to attend. This was the last time Mao presided over a Politburo meeting. The subsequent Politburo meetings were chaired by Deng Xiaoping, and on September 30, Deng held a National Day reception in Zhou's name.

In April 1975, Dong Biwu died, and in December Kang Sheng died; in January 1976, Zhou Enlai died.

After the Tiananmen Square incident in Beijing in early April 1976, Mao Zedong said, "Deng should be dismissed from all his posts and retain his Party membership to see what will happen later." Hua Guofeng was also proposed to be the first vice-chairman of the Party. The Politburo unanimously approved Mao's proposal. As a rule, the vice-chairman was an ex-officio member of the Standing Committee, so Hua Guofeng was the last member of the Politburo Standing Committee of the Central Committee in Mao's era. Thereafter the work of the Central Committee was presided over by Hua Guofeng, but he did not convene the Standing Committee. The Standing Committee was by this time also reduced to just five members: the seriously ill Mao Zedong and Hua Guofeng, Wang Hongwen, Ye Jianying and Zhang Chunqiao.

Mao Zedong died on September 9, 1976, and the Standing Committee of the Mao Zedong era officially came to an end. China also entered a new era.

(Main sources for this article: Mao Zedong's Chronicle (1893-1949) (revised), Mao Zedong's Chronicle (1949-1976), and Mao Zedong's Biography (1949-1976), all three of which were edited by the Documentary Research Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Central Literature Publishing House; Compilation of Information on the Organizational History of the Communist Party of China -- History of Leading Bodies and Directory of Members, published by Red Flag Publishing House. Translated with www.DeepL.com/Translator (free version)