

A Guanxi-based Network Dataset of China's Central Committee, 1922-2011¹

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Abstract

The Guanxi-based Network Analysis Dataset is a unique dataset created from the biographical information of the roughly 1,700 Central Committee members from 1922 to 2011. It also lists birth/death years, birth province, educational background, military experience, Party career assignments, government jobs, visits abroad, and any special remarks. Each Central Committee member's education level, military generation, provincial origin, kinship, and patron-client information was coded for each Central Committee-year. Individual attributes were also collected for each Central Committee member to indicate if he or she was a member of the Politburo or Standing Committee, a Long Marcher, previously purged and rehabilitated, a general officer, a technocrat, and/or a member of the Central Advisory Commission, as appropriate.

This paper reviews the creation of a unique database of the social network defined as China's Central Committee. Detailed biographical information about individual members of China's Central Committee is readily available to construct the social network structure of the Central Committee. It is my hope that scholars researching China's political networks will use this dataset to further knowledge about China's political system. Wasserman and Faust (2009 (1994)) noted in their seminal work on social network analysis that "a great deal of work remains [in] integrating concepts and measures into more general social and behavioral science

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research.” Snijders (2011) attributed the “limited amount of attention paid to explicit longitudinal treatment of social network analysis” to the scarcity of network data. In that sense, the Guanxi-based Dataset fills a gap by providing network data in usable form.

This dataset describes the Central Committee’s social network using basic interpersonal ties defined by the Chinese concept of *guanxi* or social connections. These connections between members of the Central Committee give the network an observable, measurable structure, suggesting which individuals are important and which groups of individuals hold power. Individual and group characteristics emerge from a careful and comprehensive study of social network structures.

By using basic biographical information about each Central Committee member and coding relational and attribute data into network analysis software, it is possible to precisely calculate individual centrality and group centralization—that is, how important each individual member is within the Central Committee network and how cohesive and well-integrated the entire Central Committee was for any given year.

What follows is an extrapolation about how fundamental *guanxi* relationships, or ties, serve as incipient or gateway connections for further interactions and, possibly, eventual coordination and cooperation politically, economically, or otherwise. Axelrod (1984) insightfully wrote that people’s personal attributes “allow a player to begin an interaction with a stranger with an expectation that the stranger will behave like others who share these same observable characteristics.” He continued, “This labeling, in turn, allows the inferences about how that individual will behave.” In other words, basic shared characteristics or experiences function as initial conduits for the future exchange of gifts, favors, and services.

Guanxi relationships lead to convergent actions and behaviors. Sokhey and McClurg (2012) found that social networks facilitate connections between “supportive social environments” and individuals’ voting decisions. I define the relationships, or ties, between each actor based on the fundamental Chinese connections of shared educational level, provincial origin, military generation, and kinship. I then use social network analysis software as the instrument to visualize, measure and observe changes in the network structure.

Guanxi is ubiquitous in Chinese culture, society, economics, and politics. It is usually translated as relations, relationships, or connections. The cultivation and manipulation of *guanxi* plays a special role in Chinese life. Mayfair Yang’s (1994) *Gifts, Favors, and Banquets* is the seminal scholarly contribution to the body of knowledge on *guanxi*. She compares the Chinese to “spiders” weaving “magic webs” of *guanxi* networks. Cultivating relationships is something one has to do to obtain resources, get employment opportunities, and even garner political protection. The author interprets *guanxi* as a type of incipient relationship – that is, a gateway to further communication and opportunities for the convergence of interests.

Lucian Pye (1981) argues that factional politics is based on clients establishing career-enhancing “linkages to power” based on which potential patrons they think will emerge victorious from leadership struggles. In fact, power in Chinese politics typically equates status and prestige – oft-cited bases for webs of social (*guanxi*) relationships.

Western scholarship concerning *guanxi* proliferated during the Reform Era that began in 1978. Even today, Chinese often speak of building and using *guanxi*. Jacobs (1979) used *guanxi* as a noun (relationships) and as a verb (to relate). He referred to *guanxi* as “particularistic ties.” Tu (1981) observed that within East Asian societies in general “a person is always born to a

complex network” of personal relationships. The four fundamental definitions of *guanxi*, which are used to define basic relational ties among members of the Central Committee’s policy network, are presented next.

The first type of relational tie is educational level. People who attend the same school have ties to each other. This is considered true even if they did not attend the same school or were students at the same time. Graduates sharing educational level, but different institutions, also have a social connection. Amy Hanser (2002) concludes that educational level (high school, technical college, and university) is a significant determinant of an individual’s job prospects. She finds that people are often linked according to similarities in education level. Such educational links enable people to achieve career success.

The second type of relational tie used in this study is provincial origin. Provincial boundaries often trace similar language dialects, ethics, values, and beliefs and serve as the basis for doing favors. Thomas Gold, Doug Guthrie, and David Wank (2002) consider ties based on “native place” (in addition to education, military experience, and kinship) important to defining the fabric of political culture and social life. Provincial is an obvious incipient relationship with people we do not know or are not related to.

The third type of relational tie is military experience. Individuals who serve in the same unit or shared experiences (such as the Long March of 1934-1935) have a close relationship with each other. William Whitson and Chen-Hsai Huang (1973) provide the standard for defining military generations or cohorts: a group of men, regardless of age, who enter the military during a period that was characterized by a particular crisis. For example, the Fourth Military Generation is the group that entered military service between January 1937 and

December 1940. They shared the difficult process of recruiting and integrating new troops from North China. Officers belonging to the same military generations, regardless of educational level or provincial origin, are promoted as cohorts and therefore have relational ties to each other.

	Period	Crises
First Generation	1923-May 1928	White Terror Zhu De's Reorganization
Second Generation	June 1928-November 1931	Nationalist Threat Communist Response
Third Generation	December 1931-December 1936	Military Role Civil-Military Relations
Fourth Generation	January 1937-December 1940	Recruitment in North China Geographical Focus
Fifth Generation	January 1941-August 1945	Decentralized Military Operations New Military Role
Sixth Generation	September 1945-October 1950	Civil War
Seventh Generation	October 1950-September 1954	Chinese People's Volunteers in North Korea
Eight Generation	October 1954-September 1959	Professionalization of Regular PLA
Ninth Generation	October 1959-December 1963	Sino-Soviet Conflict PLA Rectification Campaign
Tenth Generation	January 1964-December 1966	Ascendance of Commissars Learn from the PLA Movement
Eleventh Generation	January 1967-March 1979*	Sino-Soviet Conflict Sino-Vietnam War
Twelfth Generation	April 1979-June 1989*	Modernization Tiananmen

Special relationships fall into two categories: kin and non-kin. Kinship is a “primordial” tie between people in that they exist prior to and are more important than all other kinds of relationships. Yunxiang Yan (1992) considers close kin as the “inner core” of social networks. Two variations of kinship tie are patron-client relations and patrilineal bonds. Patron-client relationships are described as where an official controls underlings who depend on his political or bureaucratic power for protection and promotions. The patron-client relationship also

requires reciprocity or a sense of obligation: patrons support clients' careers and clients support their patron's agenda.

Patrilineal bonds are parent-offspring relations. The ancient tradition of conveying or conferring power to a person on the basis of who his father is continues today. Central Committee members who are offspring of well-known Party leaders are called "Princelings." Some China observers note that the Princelings earlier held some level of power parity with the other established political factions during the Hu Jintao era (2002-2012). The Politburo and Standing Committee elected in late-2012 are dominated by Princelings.

All four fundamental *guanxi* relationships are used in this dataset to define the Central Committee's network structure. Ties based on educational levels, provincial origins, military experience, and special connections pervade Chinese society and politics. Fortunately, basic biographical information about Central Committee members is readily available for network analysis.

Earlier Network Analysis Studies

Although the present research is original in its use of a new dataset to compare the Central Committee's social network structure with the Central Committee's policies, some scholarly works have in part brought together elements of this present study: social network analysis, *guanxi*, and the CCP Central Committee. Three of those studies are reviewed here. The first example is Wellman, Chen, and Dong's (2002) "Networking *Guanxi*." The authors noted that "The fit between network analysis and *guanxi* is tight." They believed that social network analysis can illuminate different aspects of multi-person *guanxi* networks. Network analyses, they stated, can follow relationships between people or within institutions. Wellman, Chen, and

Dong (2002) suggested that within network structures, the “personal networks” of individuals show how different types of relationships affect the flow of *guanxi* to the “focal person” at the center of each network. In other words, a network defined by different relational ties can be parsed to reveal sub-networks with different structural characteristics.

The second network analysis study of interest is Guo’s (2001) study entitled *Dimensions of Guanxi in Chinese Elite Politics*, which suggested how “*Guanxi* has been embodied in the behavior of the Party elite since the early days of the CCP and has become a significant part of the organizational culture.” As with Wellman, Chen, and Dong (2002), Guo (2001) used *guanxi* as the basis for drawing the outline of a social network. In this case, Guo (2001) went a step further and honed in on Chinese political networks. The importance of *guanxi* among all Chinese—especially China’s political elite—is profound. Guo (2001) continued:

The volatility of Chinese politics encouraged the political elite to rely on personal relationships to get things done and promoted a culture of mutual dependence and moral obligation among the elite and between the elite and their subordinates. In a context in which a political campaign and specific people could advance or ruin a career, members of the elite have carefully cultivated relationships of trust with selected “activists” from among Party members, and through them have entrenched their control over Party organizations. (p.70)

Guo (2001) used case studies to demonstrate the role of *guanxi* ties in elite politics.

The last study reviewed here represents the single most similar research for my own study. Improving upon their work is a primary motivation for this research paper. Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) published “Gauging the Elite Political Equilibrium in the CCP: A Quantitative

Approach Using Biographical Data” in *The China Quarterly* and Shih, Shan, and Liu’s (2010b) chapter “The Central Committee, Past and Present” discussed the former article in *Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies* edited by Carlson, Gallagher, Lieberthal, and Manion.²

In the introduction to the edited volume, the editors praised Shih, Shan, and Liu for bringing “more rigor to the study of elite politics” by developing a “comprehensive database of the Chinese leadership dating back to the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921.” The authors created a dataset by coding biographical information about individual Central Committee members from 1921 to 2007. They also wrote their own statistical algorithm to analyze their data.

Accessing the Guanxi-based dataset at the Open Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (openICPSR)

This last section provides a step-by-step explanation of the dataset and describes particular details of each file for each year. The Guanxi-based Network Analysis Dataset is a unique dataset created from the biographical information of the roughly 1,700 Central Committee members since 1922 until 2011. The vast majority of the data comes from two sources. Bartke’s (1990) *Biographical Dictionary and Analysis of China’s Party Leadership 1922-1988* provides a photograph of each Central Committee member and displays their name in Chinese characters. It also lists birth/death years, birth province, educational background, military experience, Party career assignments, government jobs, visits abroad, and any special remarks. Bartke (1990) is missing data for roughly fifty individuals.

² Their study appeared earlier that year in *The China Quarterly* (2010).

The second source is the Past Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Dictionary, 1921-2003 (中国共产党历届中央委员大辞典, 1921-2003) published by the Organization Department of the Chinese Communist Party (Party History Research, 2004). It provides the same types of information and fills most data gaps found in Bartke (1990). These sources provided the bases for identifying relational ties between individuals. No changes in Central Committee membership were observed for the years 1926, 1929, 1933, 1937, 1939, 1940, 1944, 1947-1953, 1957, 1963, 1980, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2006, and 2009.

The Central Committee of 1941

Specific information was coded into nodal (GuanxiYEAR.xlsx) and attribute (AttribYEAR.xlsx) spreadsheets for each year for import into the UCINET network analysis software. Within the Guanxi file, each Central Committee member's education level, military generation, provincial origin, kinship, and patron-client information was coded for each Central Committee-year. The separate relationships are provided under different tabs and the aggregated attributions are provided in the "EXP" tab of each GuanxiYEAR.xlsx file.

Education Tab. In this example from 1941, we are viewing some of the Education relationships among the Central Committee members. Cai Chang, Deng Fa, Dong Biwu and Kang Sheng received education abroad in the USSR and a "1" code is placed in their shared spreadsheet cells. As mentioned earlier, a "1" is entered for members who also shared the same level of educational achievement or attended the same schools.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1		CaiChang	ChenShaoyu	ChenTanqiu	ChenYun	DengFa	DongBiwu	GuanXiangying	KangSheng
2	CaiChang					1	1		1
3	ChenShaoyu	0							
4	ChenTanqiu	0	0			1	1		1
5	ChenYun	0	0	0			1		1
6	DengFa	1	0	1	0				
7	DongBiwu	1	0	1	1	0			
8	GuanXiangying	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9	KangSheng	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	
10	LiFuchun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	LiLisan	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
12	LinBoqu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	LinYuying	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	LiuShaoqi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	LiWeihan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	LuFutan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	MaoZedong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	PengDehuai	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	QinBangxian	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
20	RenBishi	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
21	WangJiaxiang	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
22	WuYuzhang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
23	ZhangWentian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	ZhouEnlai	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
25	ZhuDe	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
26									
27									

Military Tab. Again from 1941, we can see in the image below of the Military relationships tab of the Guanxi file that Deng Fa, Li Lisan, Zhou Enlai, and Zhu De were related by their shared military experience in the Nanchang Uprising of 1927 during Whitson and Huang’s (1973) First Generation military cohort. (The “1” code below the black diagonal is a mirror image of the spreadsheet region above the black diagonal.)

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1		CaiChang	ChenShaoyu	ChenTanqiu	ChenYun	DengFa	DongBiwu	GuanXiangying	KangSheng
2	CaiChang								
3	ChenShaoyu	0							
4	ChenTanqiu	0	0						
5	ChenYun	0	0	0					
6	DengFa	0	0	0	0				
7	DongBiwu	0	0	0	0	0			
8	GuanXiangying	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9	KangSheng	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
10	LiFuchun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	LiLisan	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
12	LinBoqu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	LinYuying	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	LiuShaoqi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	LiWeihan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	LuFutan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	MaoZedong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	PengDehuai	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	QinBangxian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	RenBishi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	WangJiaxiang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	WuYuzhang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	ZhangWentian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	ZhouEnlai	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
25	ZhuDe	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
26									
27									

Provincial Tab. In this view of the Provincial relationships among the Central Committee members, Cai Chang shared provincial roots (Hunan) with Li Fuchun, Li Lisan, Lin Boqu, Liu Shaoqi, Li Weihan, Mao Zedong, Peng Dehuai, and Ren Bishi. Similarly, Chen Yun, Dong Biwu and Lin Yuying shared Hubei origins. Chen Shaoyu (Wang Ming) shared provincial origins with only one other Central Committee member, Zhang Wentian.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1		CaiChang	ChenShaoyu	ChenTangju	ChenYun	DengFa	DongBiwu	GuanXiangying	KangSheng
2	CaiChang								
3	ChenShaoyu	0							
4	ChenTangju	0	0						
5	ChenYun	0	0	0			1		
6	DengFa	0	0	0	0				
7	DongBiwu	0	0	0	1	0			
8	GuanXiangying	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9	KangSheng	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
10	LiFuchun	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	LiLisan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	LinBoqu	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	LinYuying	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
14	LiuShaoqi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	LiWeihan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	LuFutan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
17	MaoZedong	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	PengDehuai	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	QinBangxian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	RenBishi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	WangJiaxiang	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
22	WuYuzhang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	ZhangWentian	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	ZhouEnlai	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	ZhuDe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26									
27									

Special or Kinship Tab. These types of relationships were relatively rare, but the nature of these relationships made them as important and significant as the other types of relationships. In the image below of the special or kinship relations among the Central Committee members, a “1” is coded for Cai Chang and Li Fuchun, who were married. Cai Chang was also the sister of Cai Hesun, who was a Central Committee member (1922-1931) and a member of the Politburo (1927-1931). Other well-known Central Committee members with special or kinship ties were Mao Zedong (CC member 1923-1976) married to Jiang Qing (CC member 1969-1976), and Zhou Enlai (CC member 1927-1976) married to Deng Yingchao (CC member 1956-1985).

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1		CaiChang	ChenShaoyu	ChenTangju	ChenYun	DengFa	DongBiwu	GuanXiangying	KangSheng	LiFuchun
2	CaiChang									1
3	ChenShaoyu	0								
4	ChenTangju	0	0							
5	ChenYun	0	0	0						
6	DengFa	0	0	0	0					
7	DongBiwu	0	0	0	0	0				
8	GuanXiangying	0	0	0	0	0	0			
9	KangSheng	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
10	LiFuchun	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
11	LiLisan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	LinBoqu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	LinYuying	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	LiuShaoqi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	LiWeiHan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	LuFutan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	MaoZedong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	PengDehuai	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	QinBangxian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	RenBishi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	WangJiaxiang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	WuYuzhang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	ZhangWentian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	ZhouEnlai	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	ZhuDe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26										
27										

Total connections. Each type of relationship is aggregated onto a single spreadsheet under the “EXP” tab in order to reflect the total network, regardless of relationship type.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1		CaiChang	ChenShaoyu	ChenTangju	ChenYun	DengFa	DongBiwu	GuanXiangying	KangSheng	LiFuchun
2	CaiChang	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
3	ChenShaoyu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	ChenTangju	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
5	ChenYun	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
6	DengFa	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	DongBiwu	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
8	GuanXiangying	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	KangSheng	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
10	LiFuchun	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	LiLisan	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
12	LinBoqu	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
13	LinYuying	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
14	LiuShaoqi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
15	LiWeiHan	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
16	LuFutan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
17	MaoZedong	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
18	PengDehuai	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
19	QinBangxian	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
20	RenBishi	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
21	WangJiaxiang	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
22	WuYuzhang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
23	ZhangWentian	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	ZhouEnlai	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
25	ZhuDe	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
26										
27										

Individual attributes were also collected for each Central Committee member to indicate if he or she was a member of the Politburo or Standing Committee, a Long Marcher, previously purged and rehabilitated, a general officer, a technocrat, and/or a member of the Central Advisory Commission, as appropriate. As can be seen below, Politburo members, Long Marchers, and Central Committee members who received foreign education can be parsed from the dataset. The Standing Committee was replaced by the Central Secretariat from 1934 to 1956. Columns were provided in the spreadsheet to account for later purges, the rise of the Technocrats under Jiang Zemin, and the creation of the Central Advisory Commission (1982-1992).

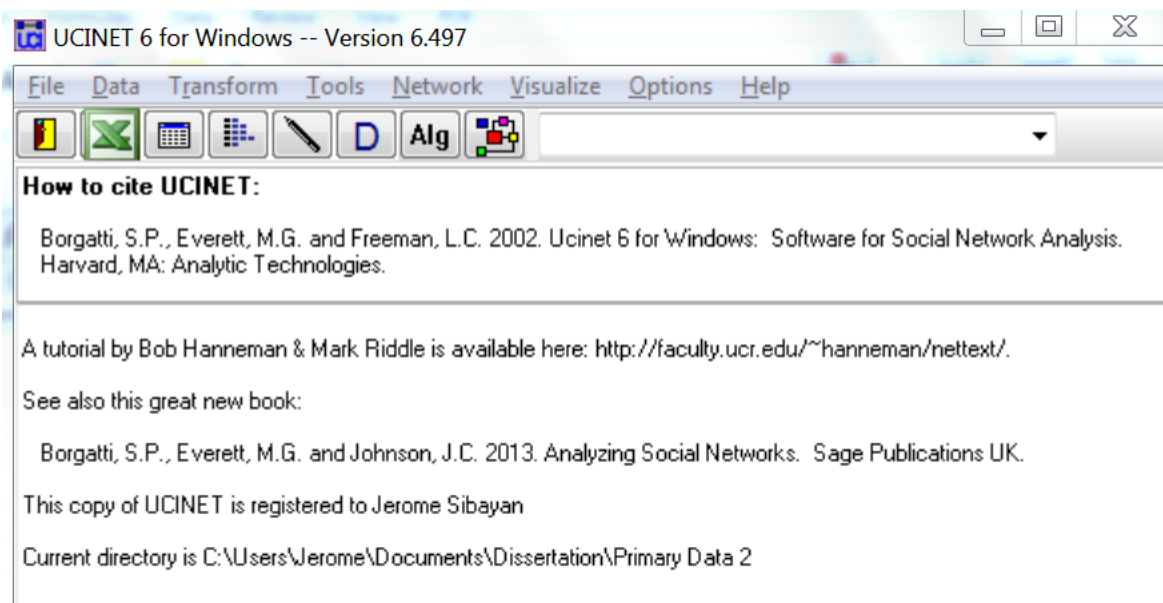
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1		Politburo	StanCom	LongMa	Purged	ForEduc	General	Techno	CAC
2	CaiChang			1		1			
3	ChenShaoyu					1			
4	ChenTanqiu			1		1			
5	ChenYun			1					
6	DengFa			1		1			
7	DongBiwu		1	1		1			
8	GuanXiangying			1		1			
9	KangSheng		1			1			
10	LiFuchun			1		1			
11	LiLisan					1			
12	LinBoqu			1		1			
13	LinYuying								
14	LiuShaoqi		1	1		1			
15	LiWeiham			1		1			
16	LuFutan								
17	MaoZedong		1	1					
18	PengDehuai		1	1				1	
19	QinBangxian			1					
20	RenBishi		1	1		1			
21	WangJiaxiang		1	1				1	
22	WuYuzhang					1			
23	ZhangWentian		1	1					1
24	ZhouEnlai		1	1		1			

UCINET is a proprietary social network analysis software that is available for a nominal fee.

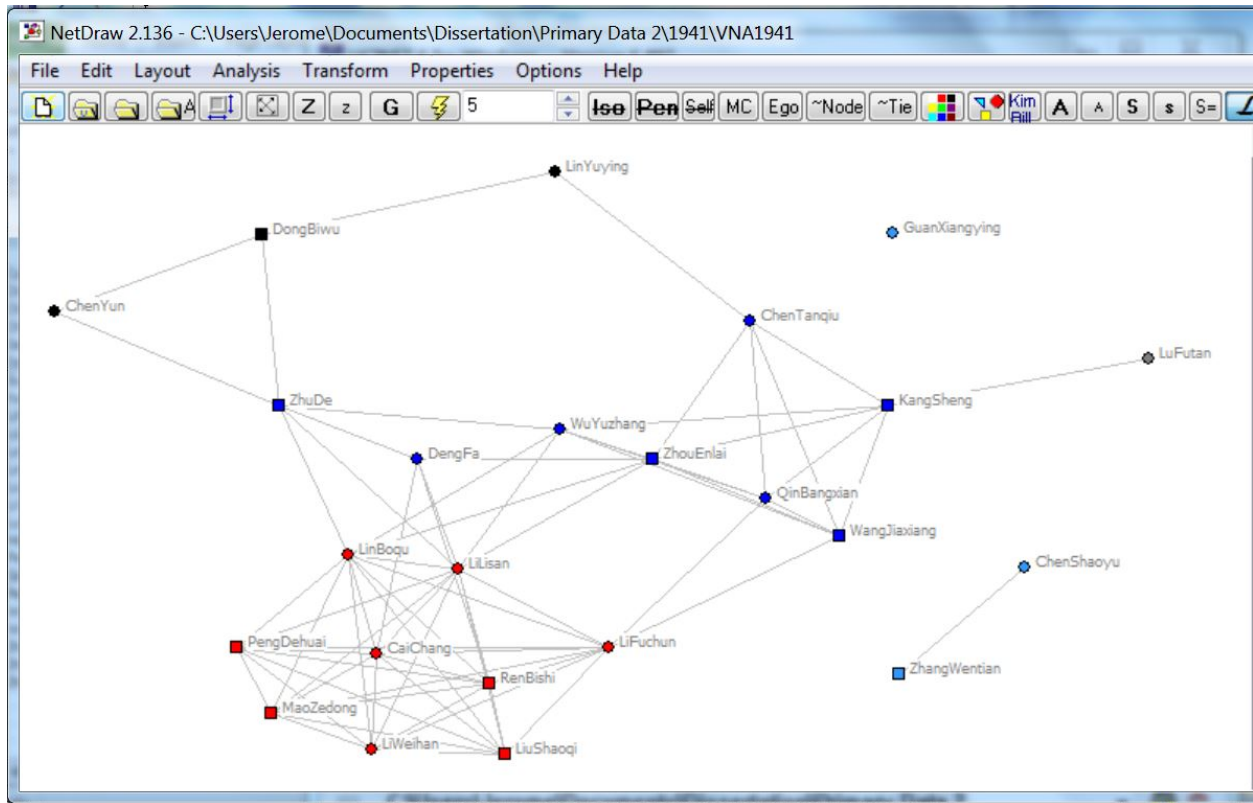
UCINET 6 for Windows (XP/Vista/7/8) is a software package for the analysis of social network data. It was developed by Lin Freeman, Martin Everett and Steve Borgatti. It comes with the

NetDraw network visualization tool. I recommend that users join the UCINET users group at <https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/ucinet/info>. The Guanxi-based Network Analysis Dataset was coded specifically for UCINET, but can be imported into other network analysis software. I also recommend attending the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research workshop on network analysis:

<http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/sumprog/courses/0131>



The NetDraw network visualization software is available as part of the UCINET software. It is an excellent tool for visualizing networks as well as conducting data analysis. Various network measures such as individual and group centrality are easily obtained. Images such as the one below communicate a great deal of information. For example, the individuals represented by square icons are Politburo members of the Central Committee of 1941 and the colors indicate those who belong to the same cohesive subgroups.



Conclusion. The Guanxi-based Network Analysis Dataset is available at www.openICPSR.org and provides researchers the opportunity to study the Chinese Central Committee as it developed from 1922 to 2011. This unique dataset makes it possible for researchers to observe individual members and changes in their social connections in the context of concurrent events. Insights into the Chinese Central Committee, policy networks, and social networks are expected from researchers using this dataset. I posted a short three-minute movie of the year-by-year changes in the Central Committee network to YouTube and it can be viewed at http://youtu.be/j_ZG-xEMMEU.

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