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***The China Rising Leaders Project, Part 1:
The Chinese Communist Party
and Its Emerging Next-Generation Leaders***



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- ***Part 1: The Chinese Communist Party and Its Emerging Next-Generation Leaders***
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 - ***Part 2: China's Emerging Leaders in the People's Liberation Army***
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 - ***Part 3: China's Emerging Leaders in State-Controlled Industry***
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Cover Photo:

CCP Politburo Standing Committee Member Xi Jinping acknowledges applause in Beijing's Great Hall of the People following his election as Vice-President of the People's Republic of China during the 5th plenary session of the National People's Congress (March 15, 2008).

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<http://www.zimbio.com/pictures/FKaxnQeTVtg/NPC+Fifth+Plenary+Session/JwtcoRo13Gp/Xi+Jinping>.

Series Introduction

A sea change is quietly underway in Chinese politics. The 18th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), expected to convene in autumn 2012, will mark only the second transition of power since the death of paramount leader Deng Xiaoping – and it will be the first one not set in place by Deng’s own unrivalled authority. The 2012 transition to a “Fifth Generation” of Party leadership will test both the procedures for orderly succession established by the CCP over the past two decades, as well as the ability of the Party’s senior ranks to overcome factional divides and coalesce under a new collective leadership. In exchanges kept behind closed doors and out of the public eye, jockeying and negotiations among institutional interests; factional and patronage networks; contending ideologies; and powerful personalities are shaping up the leadership ranks for the rising generation of leaders that will guide China’s course well into the 2020s.

In this critical period, the views and policy preferences of these rising leaders will have tremendous influence on the character of China’s emergence as a great power. The CCP cadres on track to assume senior positions in 2012 and beyond come from a variety of backgrounds, but tend to have a number of factors in common: they are better educated than their predecessors; they have all gained experience in provincial government administration; and arguably have outlooks that are more technocratic and less ideological than earlier generations of CCP leaders. A disproportionate number are also “princelings,” the children of prominent revolutionary-era Communist officials. Whatever their individual background, however, all share a commitment to maintaining and strengthening the unchallenged ruling status of the Chinese Communist Party.

This political transition within the CCP is taking shape as other factors affect the emergence of new leadership cadres in the Party’s armed forces: the four branches of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA). The officers now emerging into the senior flag ranks of the PLA have fundamental differences with China’s military leaders of the revolutionary generation, in that they are better educated, less directly involved in domestic politics, and more professionally and technically oriented. However, they have also never had the experience of actual warfighting, leaving questions as to their preparedness to match theory to practice in modern warfare. Many of them also display sharply nationalistic attitudes, and a deep suspicion of the United States.

Leadership changes at the top are also occurring as new trends are changing the relationships between the Party leadership and state-owned industry. As the Chinese government maintains control over a number of “strategic” and “heavyweight” economic sectors, and as state-owned enterprises (SOEs) still constitute the majority of China’s gross domestic product (GDP), the management of state-owned industry remains one of the Party’s highest priorities. Additionally, a number of larger SOEs have come to occupy prominent roles as “national champions” whose operations are closely tied to state policy goals. Over the past decade, a clear pattern has emerged of senior officials from prominent SOEs moving back-and-forth between corporate management and senior-level positions in government administration, thereby blurring the line between the party-state and the business world.

This series of papers will seek to identify the rising figures in the CCP bureaucracy, the military, and the state-owned economy who appear to be on track to assume positions of increased authority after the 18th CCP Party Congress and in the years to follow. It will also examine the social, political, and economic trends involved in the Party’s selection of cadres for higher leadership posts, and analyze the likely policy implications for the United States.

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Executive Summary

The 18th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), expected to convene sometime in autumn 2012, will inaugurate a major leadership transition in China. On the Standing Committee of the CCP Politburo, the executive committee that serves as the highest decision-making body in China, seven of nine incumbent Members are expected to retire. Of the remaining 16 Members of the full Politburo, another seven are expected to retire. If the transfer takes place without incident, it will represent the first leadership transition not set in place by powerful officials of the CCP's revolutionary generation. It will also mark the increasing institutionalization of offices at the top ranks of the Party, and signify the Party's success in formalizing its procedures for leadership turnover.

The rising officials expected to assume the top posts in the new hierarchy – the “Fifth Generation” leadership of the Communist Party – will be the first to have spent their entire lives in the People's Republic, and to have passed most of their adult lives in the post-Mao era of social and economic reform. Many, however, have faced formative experiences in the more harrowing chapters of recent Chinese history, to include many who suffered directly as a result of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Unlike a majority of officials in the CCP's current circle of senior leaders – who were generally trained as engineers – the rising generation of CCP leaders tend to have backgrounds in the social sciences, and to be educated at a higher level than their predecessors.

Despite increasing institutionalization, patron-client ties and personal connections are still the coin of the realm in CCP politics, and the Fifth Generation figures are largely grouped into two broad factions. The first of these, the loose coalition of the “Princeling Party” and the “Shanghai Clique,” draws its strength primarily from the children of revolutionary-era senior CCP officials, and from officials with experience in China's coastal provinces. It is based in a patronage network extending from former CCP General Secretary Jiang Zemin and his close associate, former PRC Vice-President Zeng Qinghong; both men are formally retired, but maintain considerable power behind the scenes. In broad terms, these officials tend to favor policies that maximize economic growth, with a greater acceptance of growing disparities of wealth; that promote the interests of China's emerging business and professional classes; and that continue economic policies that benefit China's more prosperous coastal regions. Prominent figures in the emerging next generation of Chinese leaders aligned with this faction include Xi Jinping, almost certain to emerge later this year as the new General Secretary of the CCP; and Wang Qishan, a leading figure in the formulation of China's macroeconomic policies.

The second group, the “China Communist Youth League Faction,” or “*Tuanpai*,” is grounded in supporters of current CCP General Secretary Hu Jintao. Many of these officials have direct experience working in the CCP's nationwide youth organization, from which the faction draws its name. They also tend to share experience working in China's poorer, inland provinces, as well as experience in “Party Affairs” work such as propaganda, personnel administration, and the “united front” management of labor, ethnic, and religious organizations. Relative to their counterparts in the “princeling” or “Shanghai” groupings, the “*Tuanpai*” CCP cadres tend to favor policies that would benefit China's less-developed interior and address socioeconomic issues that threaten “social stability.” Also relative to their counterparts, they lack experience in some of the more complex aspects of national economic management, such as foreign trade relations or administering the financial sector. Prominent rising leaders from this group include Li Keqiang, on track to assume the role of State Council Premier early in 2013; and Liu Yandong, likely to continue a long career in youth and Party affairs by assuming responsibility for the Party's “united front” policy portfolio.

Despite the very real differences in background and policy preference that separate these two groups – and which could be generating serious backroom conflict, as seen in the Bo Xilai case profiled later in this report – these two rival groups must accommodate one another. Neither faction can muscle out the other from the political arena, and each has expertise in governance that the other lacks. Finally, these factional lines are not absolute, and they may blur at the edges. For example, stalwart *Tuanpai* members Li Yuanchao and Liu Yandong are themselves the princeling children of former high officials; and Xi Jinping, a candidate favored and promoted by Jiang Zemin and Zeng Qinghong, appears to possess many qualities that make him acceptable to the *Tuanpai* as China’s next paramount leader. Furthermore, while these two groups experience clashes of policy and personality, they share a commitment to maintain the unchallenged ruling status of the Communist Party. No matter their own policy preferences or factional loyalties, the CCP’s senior leaders remember quite clearly the lessons of spring 1989, when an open rift at the top of the Party nearly led to its downfall.

The coming leadership transition will be a major one, in terms both of personnel turnover and policy significance. In the current CCP Politburo of 25 members, 14 are expected to retire and turn over their seats to younger officials. The change will be even more dramatic for the most important political players in Beijing: The nine members of the Politburo Standing Committee (PSC), the executive committee that functions as the highest decision-making body in the country. Seven of the nine current PSC members are expected to hand over their seats to rising leaders of China’s “Fifth Generation,” who will determine the course of Chinese government policy well into the decade of the 2020s. The process of deciding the roster of the next Politburo and PSC is no doubt already underway, in secretive behind-the-scenes conversations between both serving senior leaders and “Party Elders” – nominally retired senior officials who maintain significant political influence, especially in regards to high-level personnel appointments. The new Politburo and Politburo Standing Committee are expected to reflect a delicate factional balance between the two coalitions – with neither side dominant, but with Hu Jintao’s *Tuanpai* likely emerging in a stronger position than in the previous Politburo.

A striking theme among the rising “Fifth Generation” of CCP leaders is the predominance of princelings, whether they be found in the loose princeling / Shanghai coalition, or more closely aligned with the *Tuanpai* political network of Hu Jintao. Of the leading candidates for the 18th PSC, four out of the six expected appointees share princeling backgrounds; and of the most prominent contenders for the remaining three seats, four out of the eight candidates profiled in this report also had parents in the elite circles of CCP officialdom. This is not a coincidence: It reflects the connections and career advantages that accompany “red royalty” bloodlines, as well as the anxiety of Party Elders to chose successors who can be relied upon to protect the CCP’s ruling status.

The coming leadership transition will also likely see a more prominent role for younger officials of the “Sixth Generation” of CCP officials expected to take a leading role in Chinese politics from 2022 onwards. Some of these younger officials – such as Inner Mongolia CCP Secretary Hu Chunhua, and Jilin CCP Secretary Sun Zhengcai – are clearly being groomed for positions of increased authority. Although they may not emerge in the most senior rank of Party leadership in the 18th Party Congress, they could be in the running for appointments (such as a seat on the full Politburo) that would put them in position for further advancement in the 2017 and 2022 CCP Party Congresses.

Section 1: The Role of the Communist Party in China's Political System

As a Leninist state,¹ the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) maintains a dual party-state structure, in which CCP committees penetrate and direct state institutions at all levels. The Party's ruling status is codified in the PRC Constitution: Although the National People's Congress (NPC), the country's legislature, is referred to as "the highest organ of state power,"² the NPC remains largely a ceremonial rubber stamp for Party policy decisions. Actual political power remains vested with the CCP, with the Constitution making repeated reference to the "leadership of the Communist Party" over Chinese society, and the necessity to maintain China's "socialist system."³

Within this system, all major policy decisions are made in CCP channels, although state institutions have some leeway to interpret how policy directives are to be implemented. Additionally, nearly all senior government officials are CCP members subject to Party discipline, and Communist Party committees are implanted as control mechanisms within government agencies, military units, and state-owned enterprises. Therefore, while the Party and state are nominally distinct entities with separate bureaucratic institutions, in reality the PRC state infrastructure serves as a host organism for the ruling Communist Party.

Although there are many issues to explore regarding the interactions between Party-state institutions, and between national and local levels of government, this report will focus on the rising CCP leaders emerging in the elite circles of Chinese politics: the members of the "Fifth Generation" and "Sixth Generation" of PRC politics.

Policy-Making Institutions and Processes in the CCP⁴

Chinese Communist Party National Congress

(中国共产党全国代表大会 / *Zhongguo Gongchandang Quanguo Daibiao Dahui*)

The **Chinese Communist Party National Congress** is a national convention of the CCP. Although in the earlier history of the CCP Party Congresses were held at irregular intervals, since the 11th Party Congress in 1977 the event has been held regularly every five years.⁵ The number of participants varies, but recent Congresses have had just over 2,000 delegates.⁶ The National Party Congress is nominally the "highest leading authority" of the CCP and selects from its ranks those who will serve in the Party's most senior bodies: the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Politburo Standing Committee.⁷ Chinese state media hails the Congresses as examples of democratic governance, as regional and institutional Party branches elect delegates to represent them at the national level.⁸ However, the contents of the Party Congresses are tightly scripted, with the agenda and outcomes settled beforehand; they serve as platforms in which policy platforms and leadership transitions are introduced to the public, rather than providing the forum in which these decisions are made.⁹

The 17th Party Congress, held in October 2007, codified China's current roster of senior leaders. The 18th Party Congress, which will convene sometime in autumn 2012, is expected to see the retirement of many of the CCP's current senior leaders, as well as the ascension of a new "Fifth Generation" of officials into the CCP Central Committee and the Politburo.

Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

(中国共产党中央委员会 / Zhongguo Gongchandang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui)

The membership of the **Central Committee** is drawn from the elite echelon of CCP officials in provincial posts, central Party-state institutions, the PLA, and state-owned enterprises. The membership of the Central Committee is announced at each Party Congress, and the body usually meets once a year in the autumn. The 17th Central Committee that emerged in October 2007 has 204 full members and 167 alternate members. Many positions (for example, serving as CCP Party Secretary of a province or “autonomous region”) convey a virtually-guaranteed seat in the Central Committee. In addition to holding the government title of President, Hu Jintao also serves as the General Secretary of the CCP Central Committee.

The apportionment of seats in the Central Committee is intended to provide representation to key bureaucratic constituencies within the Party. According to Dr. Bo Zhiyue, Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute of the National University of Singapore, in the 17th Central Committee

[p]rovincial leaders constituted the largest group with 155 members, 41.78 percent of the total... Central leaders were the second largest group with 125 members (33.69 percent). Military leaders came a distant third with 64 members (17.25 percent), and corporate leaders constituted the smallest group with 27 members (7.23 percent). Where full membership was concerned, central leaders ranked first with 95 members, followed by provincial leaders with 67. While there were 41 full members from the military, there was only one corporate full member. There were 88 provincial leaders with alternate membership, 52.69 percent of the total number of alternate members. The remaining 79 alternate members were evenly distributed among central (30), military (23), and corporate (26) institutions.¹⁰

The Central Committee nominally selects the membership of the Politburo and the Politburo Standing Committee. However, in reality the process is more top-down than bottom-up, with the country’s top leaders engaging in back-room negotiations and jockeying to select protégés to staff up the Party organs below them:

Based on the CCP Constitution, members of the Politburo should come from the Central Committee, members of the PSC from the Politburo, and the CCP General Secretary should arise from the PSC. In practice, however, the process is top-down rather than bottom-up: members of these leading Party organs guide the selection of members of the lower-level leadership bodies such as the Central Committee, which then “approves” the slate of candidates for higher-level positions such as membership in the next Politburo and the PSC. To call the Central Committee’s selection of the Politburo an election is something of a misnomer: members of the Politburo are actually selected by either the outgoing PSC or, as in the recent past, by paramount leaders like Deng Xiaoping.¹¹

Despite being a grouping of the most powerful officials in China, the body itself does not have decision-making power: “With few exceptions the Central Committee meetings (called plenums) discuss and announce policies rather than decide them... the Central Committee as a body has no real power... [however] party departments, called Central Committee departments, exercise a great deal of power.”¹²

Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Departments

The **Central Committee Departments** manage the daily affairs of the Party. The number of departments has changed over time, but the most prominent ones are:

- **CCP Central Organization Department**

(中共中央组织部 / *Zhonggong Zhongyang Zuzhi Bu*) (Director: Li Yuanchao)

The Central Organization Department (COD) is an extremely powerful body which oversees an extensive list of *nomenklatura* (see box below)¹³ appointments throughout China's government, media, academia, and state-owned industry.¹⁴ Its director, Li Yuanchao, is a favored protégé of Hu Jintao; in addition to his role with the Organization Department, Li is also a CCP Politburo member and the Secretary of the CCP Secretariat (see pp. 17-18), placing him in an influential dual role in managing the Party's internal administrative affairs. The COD maintains confidential files on CCP members eligible for appointments, to include the results of background investigations, confidential interviews with past associates, performance reviews, and assessments of loyalty to the Party. The power of the COD as a maker or breaker of careers makes it a focal point of internal CCP lobbying and backroom power-brokering by senior officials.¹⁵

The Role of the “Nomenklatura” in Chinese Politics and Society

The term *nomenklatura* (in Russian, “list of names”) is used by political scientists to refer to the senior positions in the party/government bureaucracy of a Communist state, over which the Communist Party maintains direct control.¹⁶ The precise size of China's overall *nomenklatura* system is difficult to calculate precisely, but numbers in the millions.¹⁷ The *nomenklatura* in the PRC reaches from the pinnacle of power at the elite circles of the CCP down to posts in local administration, as well as positions in education, the media, and state-controlled industry.¹⁸ As stated by Cheng Li, a specialist in Chinese politics at the Brookings Institution:

*Chinese leaders continue to claim, explicitly rather than implicitly, that the CCP is entitled to decide on major personnel appointments within the government. The defining feature of the Chinese political system has been, and continues to be, its Leninist structure, in which the state operates as the executor of decisions made by the Party. Although from time to time some top Chinese leaders have called for greater separation between the Party and the state and for more political participation from the public and social groups, the main objective of Chinese authorities has been, and is, the consolidation and revitalization of the Party leadership rather than the revision of the Leninist party-state system.*¹⁹

The collapse of Eastern Bloc Communist states and China's own domestic political crisis in 1989 led the CCP authorities to more closely evaluate the political loyalty of candidate cadres for *nomenklatura* appointments. The increasing complexity of requirements for positions in many fields – particularly in state-owned industry – has also led to an increased emphasis on the educational and professional qualifications of candidate cadres.²⁰ The CCP has also experimented with ways of recruiting and appointing for some official positions in a more competitive and transparent manner, but the *nomenklatura* remains at the core of the Party's personnel system.²¹

- **CCP Central Propaganda Department**

(中共中央宣传部 / *Zhonggong Zhongyang Xuanchuan Bu*) (Director: Liu Yunshan)

The Central Propaganda Department (CPD) is another very powerful entity. According to Dr. David Shambaugh, “virtually every conceivable medium which transmits and conveys information to the people of China falls under the bureaucratic purview of the CCP Propaganda Department,” to include all media outlets, the education system, literature and drama, film, and museums and other historical and cultural facilities.²² Aside from controlling content, the CPD also shares with the Organization Department power over personnel appointments in public positions related to the control of information.²³ *(For further discussion of the roles of the CCP Central Propaganda Department, see the Commission’s 2008 Report to Congress, pp. 291-293.)*

- **CCP United Front Work Department**

(中共统一战线工作部 / *Zhonggong Tongyi Zhanxian Gongzuo Bu*) (Director: Du Qinglin)

The United Front Work Department (UFWD) is the CCP’s leading organ for relations with groups outside the Communist Party.²⁴ It operates state-controlled “mass organizations” such as the All-China Federation of Labor Unions, and officially-sanctioned religious organizations.²⁵ The UFWD provides nominal “consultation”²⁶ on government policy to selected groups via stage-managed fora such as the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), whose activities are “closely supervised by the UFWD.”²⁷ The UFWD also operates in ethnically Chinese territories and communities beyond PRC government control, where it seeks to identify and win over influential people or civic groups to support the goals of the CCP.²⁸

- **CCP Central Committee General Office**

(中共中央办公厅 / *Zhonggong Zhongyang Bangong Ting*) (Director: Ling Jihua)

The Central Committee General Office has been described as “the nerve center of the party.”²⁹ It coordinates “communications and paper flow into leadership decision-making, arranges and maintains leadership office space and meeting rooms, administers leadership logistics and living arrangements, provides security for individual leaders and for the leadership as a whole, and supervises other services essential to the functioning of the leadership.”³⁰

The director of the General Office, Ling Jihua, is a protégé of CCP General Secretary Hu Jintao: Ling shares a background of service in the Communist Youth League dating back to the 1980s,³¹ and in recent years has served as a personal secretary and prominent aide to Hu Jintao.³²

Additionally, Ling is a Member of the Secretariat, making him a very influential “go-to” figure in the CCP’s elite leadership circles. *(For a fuller profile of Ling Jihua, see pp. 45 of this report.)*

- **CCP International Liaison Department**

(中共中央对外联络部 / *Zhonggong Zhongyang Duiwai Lianluo Bu*) (Director: Wang Jiarui)

The CCP International Liaison Department performs a number of foreign policy roles outside the channels of formal state-to-state diplomatic relations, with a heavy emphasis on engagement with foreign political parties.³³ It also plays an important role in the PRC’s relations with other Communist states, such as Vietnam, Cuba, and North Korea.³⁴ In recent years its Director, Wang Jiarui, has played a prominent role in leading the PRC’s diplomatic contacts with the North Korean government.³⁵

- **CCP Policy Research Office**

(中共中央政策研究室 / *Zhonggong Zhongyang Zhengci Yanjiu Shi*) (Director: Wang Huning)

This department provides policy analyses for the Politburo leadership. Wang Huning has served as its Director since 2002, and has also held membership in the Secretariat since 2007.³⁶ Officials from the Policy Research Office may also serve as advisors and aides to senior CCP leaders.³⁷

- **CCP Central Discipline Inspection Commission**

(中共中央纪律检查委员会 / *Zhonggong Zhongyang Jilu Jiancha Weiyuanhui*)

(Director: He Guoqiang)

The Central Discipline Inspection Commission (CDIC) is the Party's watchdog agency for corruption, with a vertical organization structure extending throughout the country. CDIC can be a fearsome agency when directed against a particular target; however, its effectiveness is compromised by its lack of independence from the Party power structure, and by the inherently politicized nature of corruption cases in China.³⁸ The importance of this body – in terms of both its role, and its political sensitivities – may be seen by the fact that it is headed by He Guoqiang, a member of the Politburo Standing Committee.

The Role of Corruption Investigations in PRC Factional Politics

Within the endemic corruption fostered by one-party control over the state and economy, many CCP officials are on the take, but the odds of facing prosecution can have much to do with one's political connections.³⁹ Furthermore, over the past two decades corruption investigations in the PRC have emerged as a weapon in elite-level political infighting. In 1995, Jiang Zemin used an anti-corruption campaign to sack Chen Xitong, the mayor and Party boss of Beijing "who ran a spoils system... as great as the famously corrupt Tammany Hall system of New York City" in the 19th century. Chen had developed a chilly relationship with Jiang, to reportedly include open challenges to the legitimacy of Jiang's authority as CCP General Secretary.⁴⁰



Image: A court in the city of Tianjin sentences former Shanghai CCP Secretary Chen Liangyu to 18 years in prison on corruption charges, April 11, 2008.⁴¹

One of the clearest examples of the corruption investigation as a political weapon was seen in 2006-2007, when a corruption probe driven by the central authorities in Beijing took down Chen Liangyu, the Party Secretary of Shanghai and a member of the Politburo. While Chen was indeed notoriously corrupt (among other misdeeds, he embezzled large sums from the Shanghai City pension fund), many other senior figures suspected of being equally corrupt escaped any prosecution. Chen's real crime may have been to openly cross swords with Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao on economic policy, and to lose the

protection of his former patron, Jiang Zemin.⁴² Chen's downfall was widely viewed as a successful assertion of authority by Hu Jintao, and a blow to Jiang's Shanghai-based political network.⁴³ (A dramatic recent example of an alleged corruption case with direct implications for elite-level CCP politics may be seen in the case of Wang Lijun, profiled in pp. 37-41 of this report.)

Figure 1:
Current Members of the CCP Politburo Standing Committee
 (following the 17th Party Congress, 2007-2012)

<i>Members arranged by order of Party rank, from left to right</i>									
	Hu Jintao 胡锦涛	Wu Bangguo 吴邦国	Wen Jiabao 温家宝	Jia Qinglin 贾庆林	Li Changchun 李长春	Xi Jinping 习近平	Li Keqiang 李克强	He Guoqiang 贺国强	Zhou Yongkang 周永康
Current Title(s)	CCP General Secretary; PRC Pres.; Chair, Central Military Commission (CMC)	Chairman of the National People's Congress	PRC Premier	Chairman, CPPCC	N/A	PRC Vice-President; CMC Vice-Chairman	PRC Vice Premier	Secretary, Central Commission for Discipline Inspection	Chairman, Politics and Law Comm.
Portfolio	All policy areas; lead voice on foreign policy (Chair, Foreign Affairs LSG)	General	Economics / Domestic Policy (Chair, Finance and Economics LSG)	United Front Activities (Chair, United Front LSG)	Propaganda (Chair, Ideology & Prop. LSG)	Party Affairs (Chair, Party Building LSG)	Economics / Domestic Policy	Anti-Corruption	Security (Chair, Politics and Law LSG)
Time / Place of Birth	Dec. 1942, Anwei Province	July 1941, Anwei Province	Sep. 1942, Tianjin	March 1940, Hebei Province	Feb. 1944, Liaoning Province	June 1953, Shaanxi Province	July 1955, Anwei Province	Oct. 1943, Hunan Province	Dec. 1942, Jiangsu Province
Previous Positions	Guizhou CCP Secretary; Tibet CCP Secretary; CCYL Sec.; PRC Vice-President;	Shanghai CCP Secretary	Extensive list of positions in Central Committee work departments	Fujian CCP Secretary; CCP Secretary and Mayor of Beijing	Shenyang CCP Secretary; Liaoning Governor; Henan CCP Secretary	Fujian Governor; Zhejiang CCP Secretary; Shanghai CCP Sec.	Liaoning CCP Secretary; Henan Governor and CCP Secretary	CCP Organization Department Director; Fujian Governor	Minister of Public Security; Sichuan CCP Secretary
Factional Affiliation	CCYL Faction	Shanghai Clique	State Council Technocrat (aligned with Hu Jintao)	Shanghai Clique	Shanghai Clique	Princeling Party / Shanghai Clique	CCYL Faction	Shanghai Clique	Shanghai Clique
Prospects for 18th Party Congress	Mandatory retirement, but likely to maintain major influence.	Mandatory retirement	Mandatory retirement	Mandatory retirement	Mandatory retirement	Presumptive successor as CCP General Secretary.	Presumptive successor as PRC State Premier.	Mandatory retirement	Mandatory retirement

Chinese Communist Party Politburo

(中共中央政治局 / Zhonggong Zhongyang Zhengzhiju)

The Political Bureau or **Politburo** is the senior decision-making body of the CCP, headed by the General Secretary.⁴⁴ The number of seats in the Politburo and the Politburo Standing Committee are not formally established in the CCP Constitution, and their size can vary with each Party Congress. The present Politburo consists of 25 individuals who meet monthly.

Chinese Communist Party Politburo Standing Committee

(中共中央政治局常务委员会 / Zhonggong Zhongyang Zhengzhiju Changwu Weiyuanhui)

The **Politburo Standing Committee** (PSC) is an executive committee of the Politburo, and represents the highest concentration of decision-making power in the CCP. At the 16th Party Congress (2002) it increased in size from seven to nine members, and stayed at that level for the 17th Party Congress (2007). The nine current Members of the Politburo Standing Committee are listed in the chart on the preceding page.

Figure 2: CCP Leadership Organs



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* The Members of the CCP Politburo Standing Committee are: (in descending order of official rank) Hu Jintao, Wu Bangguo, Wen Jiabao, Jia Qinglin, Li Changchun, Xi Jinping, Li Keqiang, He Guoqiang, and Zhou Yongkang.

**The Members of the full CCP Politburo are: (in Romanized alphabetical order) Bo Xilai, Guo Boxiong, He Guoqiang, Hu Jintao, Hui Liangyu, Jia Qinglin, Li Changchun, Li Keqiang, Li Yuanchao, Liu Qi, Liu Yandong, Liu Yunshan, Wang Gang, Wang Lequan, Wang Qishan, Wang Yang, Wang Zhaoguo, Wen Jiabao, Wu Bangguo, Xi Jinping, Xu Caihou, Yu Zhengsheng, Zhang Dejiang, Zhang Gaoli, and Zhou Yongkang.

***The Members of the CCP Secretariat are: (in descending order of official rank) Xi Jinping, Li Yuanchao (Secretary of the Secretariat); and (in Romanized alphabetical order) He Yong, Ling Jihua, Liu Yunshan, and Wang Huning.

The Central Committee Leading Small Groups

(领导小组 / *lingdao xiaozu*)

Another critical set of institutions in the CCP political process are “leading small groups” (LSGs), which serve as working groups of senior officials intended to oversee the formation and implementation of policy. Their activities and membership are not officially reported in the Chinese media except in oblique references,⁴⁶ with the result that “the workings of small leading groups are shrouded in secrecy.”⁴⁷ As described by Dr. Minxin Pei of the Carnegie Endowment,

*...coordination between the state bureaucracy and the party leadership is normally conducted through the mechanism of “small leading groups,” which consist of the principals from various government agencies and party groups. Such groups typically have a small administrative staff, headed by one of the principals... Since decisions made at the top affect many bureaucracies and institutions, the most important task of small leading groups is to facilitate consensus-building and coordinate policy-making among key political stakeholders.*⁴⁸

LSGs exist at all levels of government, and are often created on an *ad hoc* basis for crisis situations or high-profile events, such as an “Olympic Security Leading Small Group” created before the 2008 Beijing Games, or the “Lunar Orbiter Leading Small Group” formed for the PRC space program.⁴⁹ However, a handful of LSGs exist on a permanent basis at the senior levels of CCP leadership. The current layout and leadership of the Central Committee Leading Small Groups is as follows:⁵⁰

- **Foreign Affairs / National Security LSG:**⁵¹
 - Normally chaired by the CCP General Secretary, who leads the policy portfolio for foreign policy: Jiang Zemin (1993-2003), and Hu Jintao (2003-present). The deputy chairman (2007-present) is Xi Jinping.
 - Other prominent members are believed to include: Liu Yunshan (Politburo member, and Director of the Central Propaganda Dept.); PLA General Liang Guanglie (PRC Defense Minister); Meng Jianzhu (PRC Minister of Public Security) ; and Dai Bingguo (PRC State Councilor, and a leading diplomat).
- **Taiwan Affairs LSG:**
 - Normally chaired by the CCP General Secretary: Hu Jintao (2003-present). The deputy chairman (2003-present) is Jia Qinglin.
 - The Taiwan Affairs LSG contains members with backgrounds in a number of policy fields, but of particular note are members experienced in “United Front” work: Jia Qinglin (former director of the UFWD, and current PSC Member holding the United Front policy portfolio); Liu Yandong (deputy director and then director of the UFWD, 1995-2007); and Du Qinglin (director of the UFWD, 2007-present).⁵² Also prominent are security officials: Geng Huichang (PRC Minister of State Security – i.e., head of China’s leading intelligence service); Guo Boxiong (PLA General, and Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission); and Ma Xiaotian (PLA General, and Deputy Chief of the PLA General Staff).
- **Hong Kong-Macao Affairs Leading Group:**
 - By recent precedent, normally chaired by the “Understudy” slot in the PSC (*see pp. 27-28 of this report*): Zeng Qinghong (2002-2007), and Xi Jinping (2007-present).

- Finance and Economics LSG:
 - By recent precedent, normally chaired by the PRC Premier: Wen Jiabao (2003 – present). The deputy chairman (2007-present) is Li Keqiang.
 - Other prominent members include: Hui Liangyu, Zhang Dejiang, and Wang Qishan (all PRC vice-premiers, and Members of the full Politburo); and Zhou Xiaochuan (Governor, People’s Bank of China).
- Party-Building LSG:
 - By recent precedent, normally chaired by the “Understudy” slot in the PSC: Zeng Qinghong (2002-2007), and Xi Jinping (2007-present). The deputy chairman are Li Yuanchao and He Guoqiang (2007 – present).
 - Chairmanship of this LSG carries with it the policy portfolio for internal CCP personnel and management issues, and is also normally accompanied by the presidency of the CCP Central Party School.
- Leading Group on Ideology and Propaganda:
 - Chaired by a PSC Member appointed responsibility for the propaganda policy portfolio; by recent precedent, often a former Director of the CCP Central Propaganda Department. Chaired by Li Changchun (2003 – present). The deputy chairman is Liu Yunshan (2003 – present).
- Politics and Law Committee:
 - Chaired by a PSC Member appointed responsibility for the security portfolio; by recent precedent, it could be awarded to a former Minister of Public Security. Chaired by Luo Gan (1998-2008), and Zhou Yongkang (2008 – present). The deputy chairman is Meng Jianzhu (2008 – present), the current Minister of Public Security.
 - Chairmanship of this LSG carries with it the policy portfolio for internal security: i.e., overseeing the police and the judiciary, and the civilian security and intelligence services.

Patterns from the 16th Party Congress (2002) and 17th Party Congress (2007) indicate that membership slots in the Politburo Standing Committee may now be decided in part according to management of LSGs, and their attendant policy portfolios. *(For further discussion of this point as it relates to likely membership in the 18th PSC after autumn 2012, see pp. 27-28 of this report.)*

The Summer CCP Leadership Retreat at Beidaihe

Throughout the Communist era, the seaside resort town of Beidaihe on the Bohai Gulf has been the site of an annual summer meeting for China’s elite leaders, to include both actively serving officials and retired Party Elders.⁵³ The fact that many critical personnel and long-term policy decisions are made at these retreats – outside of formal channels, allowing for the participation of retired officials – further demonstrates the clout that Party Elders continue to hold in the political process, particularly in regards to the membership roster for the Politburo and its Standing Committee.

The summer 2002 Beidaihe retreat is believed to have played a major role in deciding the personnel line-up that emerged from the 16th Party Congress, to include highly contentious issues such as the retirement of then-CCP General Secretary Jiang Zemin.⁵⁴ Similarly, the summer 2012 retreat is likely to be the venue where much of the closed-door debate and factional horse trading takes place regarding

the senior personnel appointments that will emerge out of the 18th Party Congress in autumn 2012. As stated by Dr. Cheng Li of the Brookings Institution,

...it is expected that the outgoing PSC will have a closed-door meeting sometime in the summer of 2012 at Beidaihe, a resort near Beijing, to decide the preliminary slate of leaders to be elected to the next Politburo, PSC, and position of General Secretary. Prior to and after their meeting, the outgoing PSC is likely to consult retired top leaders such as Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, Zhu Rongji and other former PSC members. The outgoing PSC will then have another meeting in the fall, a couple of weeks prior to the convening of the 18th Party Congress, to finalize the list of candidates.⁵⁵



Image Left: In an undated photo, Liu Shaoqi (PRC head of state from 1959-1968) swims with his wife and one of his children at Beidaihe.⁵⁶ Image Right: PSC member (and holder of the United Front policy portfolio) Jia Qinglin shakes hands with students in a United Front Work Department-organized training course in Beidaihe, June 2007.⁵⁷

Chinese Communist Party Secretariat

中央书记处 / *Zhongyang Mishu Chu*

The **Secretariat** is an obscure but very powerful bureaucratic entity, which serves as the main administrative organ of the CCP Politburo and Politburo Standing Committee. The Central Secretariat stands at the apex of a countrywide system of CCP secretarial organs at all levels of government, which bear responsibility for managing the flow of paper through their parent body. These are “in effect the ‘harbors’ through which official documents pass on their way into or out of the organization and the [clearinghouse] for the veritable rivers of... documents and paperwork that flow through the Chinese bureaucratic system.”⁵⁸

Official Chinese sources are vague as to the specific authorities of the Secretariat, but accord to it a prominent role in routine government administration: “[U]nder the leadership of the Politburo and its Standing Committee the Central Secretariat is responsible for the day-to-day work of the Party, government, and military.”⁵⁹ According to Kenneth Lieberthal of the Brookings Institution, officials of the Secretariat “oversee the preparation of documents for Politburo consideration and turn Politburo decisions into operational instructions for the subordinate bureaucracies.”⁶⁰ The Secretariat also oversees the operations of the Central Committee General Office and the Central Committee Departments (*see pp. 10-12 of this report*).⁶¹

In recent years, the importance of the Secretariat has been emphasized by the seniority of the officials appointed to lead it. Currently, the Executive Secretary of the Secretariat is Xi Jinping, heir apparent to serve as the CCP’s paramount leader. Hu Jintao also held this position from 1997-2002 prior to assuming the post of CCP General Secretary; and from 2002-2007 the post was held by PRC Vice-President Zeng

Qinghong, a close associate of former CCP General Secretary Jiang Zemin.⁶² The Secretariat that emerged from the 17th Party Congress contains officials who are expected to assume prominent positions after the 18th Party Congress in autumn 2012, as well as others who are influential as advisors behind the scenes. The six members of the Secretariat are: Xi Jinping (PSC member, and heir apparent as CCP General Secretary); Li Yuanchao (Director of the CCP Organization Dept.; Politburo member, and a likely member of the next PSC); Liu Yunshan (Director of the CCP Propaganda Dept.; Politburo member, and a likely candidate to assume the propaganda portfolio in the next PSC); Ling Jihua (Director of the CCP Central Committee General Office, and a long-time protégé of Hu Jintao); Wang Huning (Director of the CCP Policy Research Office); and He Yong (Deputy Director of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission).

Central Military Commission

(中央军事委员会 /Zhongyang Junshi Weiyuanhui)

The Central Military Commission (CMC) is the executive committee by which the CCP commands China's armed forces, the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Just as the PLA maintains an identity and command structure as the Party's army, the CMC that commands it is also a CCP organ.⁶³ The central political role of this body is illustrated by the fact that CMC Chairmanship was the last political office given up by both Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin after they had retired from all other formal positions.⁶⁴ Chairmanship of the CMC currently stands as one of the triumvirate of offices held by China's paramount leader, along with that of CCP General Secretary and PRC President. *(Further discussion of the role and membership composition of the Central Military Commission will be contained in the second report in this series, "Rising Officers in the People's Liberation Army.")*

Section 2: Leadership Succession in the Chinese Communist Party

I. Processes for Leadership Succession Established Within the CCP: The Legacy of Deng Xiaoping

Throughout the First Generation of Communist Party leadership (1949-1976), political purges such as the “Anti-Rightist Campaign” (1957-1959) and the “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” (1966-1976) caused severe disruption to the cadre management system. After the death of Mao, the ascendance to power of Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s brought with it a shift to greater pragmatism, resulting in administrative reforms of the cadre system. Deng left an indelible stamp on the system of succession, both in terms of processes put in place and the individuals he selected to lead China from the 1990s up to the present day.

Figure 3:
Leadership “Generations” in the People’s Republic of China

Leadership Group	Timeframe	Prominent Figures	Prominent Political Groupings
“First Generation”	1949 — 1976	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mao Zedong • Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bureaucratic pragmatists (Liu/Deng), mid-1960s • Cultural Revolution Group (later “Gang of Four”), 1966-1976
“Second Generation”	1978 — early 1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deng Xiaoping • Bo Yibo, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Yang Shangkun, Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, Li Peng 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Party Elders” (aka the “Eight Elders” or “Eight Immortals”) • “Yang Brothers” Faction
“Third Generation”	Early 1990s — 2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jiang Zemin • Zhu Rongji 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Shanghai Clique”
“Fourth Generation”	2002 — 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hu Jintao • Wen Jiabao • Zeng Qinghong 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Shanghai Clique” • “Communist Youth League” (CCYL) Faction

Age Limits for Mandatory Retirement

In the early 1980s, the CCP began to set in place formal rules for the mandatory retirement of older CCP cadres. As stated by Deng Xiaoping, this process reflected the “strategic need of the revolution and construction to make cadres be more revolutionary, younger, better educated and more professional.”⁶⁵ The revised 1982 PRC Constitution accordingly set two-term limits for the most senior *state*, but not necessarily *party*, posts.⁶⁶ Deng encouraged many of the Party’s senior revolutionary-generation cadres to retire in the mid-1980s. He relinquished his own Politburo seat in 1987,⁶⁷ but held on to the powerful chairmanship of the Central Military Commission until November 1989.⁶⁸ However, despite these nominal retirements, Deng and other “Party Elders” – to include figures such as Chen Yun, Peng Zhen, and Li Xiannian – continued to wield decisive influence over Chinese politics well into the 1990s.⁶⁹

A more formalized set of procedures for mandatory Party retirements emerged during the 15th CCP National Party Congress in 1997. At that time, all Members of the Politburo over 70 years old – with the notable exception of CCP General Secretary Jiang Zemin – stepped down from their posts and retired.⁷⁰ At the 16th Party Congress in 2002, the age limit appeared to lower again, with Members aged 68 or older going into retirement. This practice was followed once more at the 17th Party Congress in 2007, and was formally announced to the public for the first time, with state media praising “the rigorous rule of ‘the retirement of members of the Politburo Standing Committee at the age of 68,’” and declaring that the “institutionalization and standardization of the replacement of high-level leaders have not only ensured political stability but set an example for the transfer of power in the future.”⁷¹



Image: A graphic showing the membership of the 12th CCP Politburo Standing Committee (1982). Clockwise from top left: Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, and Chen Yun. Deng was the PRC’s *de facto* paramount leader from the late 1970s into the 1990s. Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang both became CCP General Secretary, only to be purged (in 1987 and 1989, respectively) by Deng Xiaoping and the other “Party Elders.” Even following their formal retirements, Li Xiannian and Chen Yun remained powerful Party Elders throughout the 1980s, supporting Deng in the sacking of Zhao Ziyang and the violent crackdown against protestors in Beijing in June 1989.⁷²

The Legacy of the Cultural Revolution in CCP Elite Leadership Succession: “Avoiding Another Mao”

Another key element engineered by Deng was a system of collective leadership. Ironically, although Deng emerged as a paramount leader far stronger than any of his peers – and although he himself intervened in policy decisions in a very autocratic manner – he set in place a system designed to ensure that future leaders would wield far less authority. Deng and other prominent leaders of the CCP’s revolutionary generation (as well as their families) suffered repeatedly through Mao’s vindictive and capricious mass campaigns and purges. This culminated in the “Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution” of 1966-1976, in which Mao turned savagely against the institutions of his own Party, humiliating, jailing, and even killing many of the stalwart CCP revolutionaries who had helped bring him to power.⁷³

Following the death of Mao, these rehabilitated officials and their families returned to a place of predominance in Chinese government and society. Under the paramount authority of Deng, they instituted a more consensus-driven system of collective leadership in the upper ranks of the Party.⁷⁴ Such a system was intended to prevent another dictatorial figure from dominating the Party, and to prevent any further divisive and destructive mass campaigns directed at CCP institutions or personnel. Perhaps most importantly of all, it would also protect the personal safety and privileges of these elite figures and their families, and ensure that future political disputes ended with softer landings for the losers. Moving away from the dictatorial personality cult that prevailed under his predecessor, Deng laid the foundations for the oligarchic system that rules China today.

The Ideological Legacy of 1989 in CCP Elite Leadership Succession: “Avoiding Another Gorbachev”

The mass political protests that spread throughout China in the spring of 1989 – and the government’s bloody crackdown in early June – left an indelible mark on the Party’s processes for elite leadership succession. The crisis resulted in the sacking of CCP General Secretary Zhao Ziyang by Deng and the other “Party Elders,” as well as a subsequent purge of many reformist officials.⁷⁵ (However, Zhao’s senior aide Wen Jiabao – then the Director of the Central Committee General Office⁷⁶ – was able to weather the purges and emerge as a senior official in his own right. *See image below.*)



Image: Then-CCP General Secretary Zhao Ziyang meets with protestors in Beijing’s Tiananmen Square (May 19, 1989) prior to the crackdown. Current PRC Premier Wen Jiabao, then an aide to Zhao, stands behind him (second from right). *Source:* AFP photo, printed in Eric Eckholm, “Secret Memoir Offers Look Inside China’s Politics,” *New York Times*, May 14, 2009. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/15/world/asia/15zhao.html>.

Deng set firmly in place the Party’s official verdict on Tiananmen, which was that it was a “counter-revolutionary rebellion” fostered by hostile foreign forces.⁷⁷ Deng himself drew explicit parallels between the Tiananmen protests and the collapse of Eastern European Communist governments in 1989, blaming both on a subversive, U.S.-sponsored campaign of “peaceful evolution” aimed at overthrowing socialist states.⁷⁸

In the years since 1989, the CCP has undertaken an extensive effort to study the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc, and to draw lessons for the CCP’s own political survival.⁷⁹ Two of the key conclusions promoted in official CCP assessments of the Soviet collapse are that political elites must maintain a disciplined political loyalty to the Party, and that China must prevent any emergence of a politically reformist figure on the lines of Mikhail Gorbachev. As stated in a video series prepared for mandatory viewing by CCP officials, “the so-called democrats within the [Soviet Communist Party] sped

its split and that of the Soviet Union, encouraged by concepts advocated by Gorbachev, including democratization, openness and diversity of public opinion."⁸⁰

One result of these official narratives on Tiananmen and the Soviet collapse is a strong internal Party resistance to any emergence of “another Gorbachev” – i.e., to any leader who might undertake political reforms that could threaten the CCP’s ruling party status. It has also produced a strong preference for cautious, consensus-based decision-making, and for the grooming and promotion of younger cadres seen to be reliable defenders of the Party’s power and perquisites.

The Personnel Legacy of 1989 in CCP Elite Leadership Succession

Deng’s Selection of Jiang Zemin

In late May 1989 the most senior Party Elders, led by Deng Xiaoping, convened a private meeting in which they selected Jiang Zemin as the new CCP General Secretary.⁸¹ Jiang had served as mayor in Shanghai since 1985, and in 1987 also became Shanghai’s CCP Secretary and attained a seat in the Politburo. He was plucked from relative obscurity for the top slot due to his perceived firmness in dealing with “bourgeois liberalization” in the Shanghai media, and to the Shanghai city administration suppressing the spring 1989 demonstrations without violent incident. Furthermore, Jiang had played no part in the decision to deploy the army against protestors, and had no direct involvement in the bitter factional disputes that had split the leadership throughout spring 1989. This left him free from the taint of the massacre, and also made him an acceptable and non-threatening choice to most of the Party Elders.⁸²

In November 1989, Deng formally resigned his last official post – Chairman of the Central Military Commission – and Jiang also assumed this title.⁸³ Despite Jiang’s *de jure* elevation to the two most powerful offices in the PRC, he initially lacked a strong bureaucratic power base in the capital, and remained subject to the *de facto* authority of Deng and the other retired Party Elders. However, throughout the 1990s the revolutionary generation of Elders receded from the political scene, and Jiang was able to bolster his position by filling the Party bureaucracy with his supporters. Jiang also consolidated power by eliminating rivals such as Beijing CCP Secretary Chen Xitong, who was arrested on corruption charges and purged in 1995 after repeatedly insulting Jiang and opposing him on matters of policy.⁸⁴ (For more on the use of corruption charges as a tool in factional political struggle, see pp. 12-13 of this report; as well as discussion of the Wang Lijun affair, on pp. 37-41.)

Jiang Zemin and the “Shanghai Clique”

Jiang’s influence over personnel appointments led to the ascendance of the “Shanghai Clique” (上海帮/*Shanghai Bang*), cadres closely connected with Jiang’s administration in the Shanghai municipal government.⁸⁵ A partial list of prominent Jiang loyalists elevated from work backgrounds in Shanghai would include former Premier Zhu Rongji, former PRC Vice President Zeng Qinghong, former Vice-Premier Huang Ju, and current National People’s Congress Chairman Wu Bangguo.⁸⁶ The Shanghai Clique protégés of Jiang Zemin have remained very influential following the retirement of their patron: In the current Politburo Standing Committee, six of nine members have clearly identifiable patronage ties to the Shanghai Clique (see chart on p. 13 of this report, and the image on the following page).



Image: Although officially retired from the Politburo since 2002, and from the Central Military Commission since 2004, former CCP General Secretary Jiang Zemin still exercises a powerful influence over PRC politics. In this photo, CCP General Secretary Hu Jintao (center left) and Jiang Zemin (center right) stand in the middle of CCP Politburo Standing Committee members viewing the parade celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China (Beijing, Oct. 1, 2009).⁸⁷ Members with primary patronage ties to Jiang Zemin are: He Guoqiang (far left); Xi Jinping (second from left); Jia Qinglin (third from left); Wu Bangguo (fourth from left); Li Changchun (third from right); and Zhou Yongkang (far right).

In broad terms, the members of the Shanghai Clique have tended to favor policies that promote rapid economic growth – particularly in China's coastal regions – and to see growing disparities of wealth and social dislocation as inevitable outcomes of economic growth and social change. This has contrasted with policymakers closer to Hu Jintao, who have advocated for refocusing economic priorities to reduce social tensions and ensure “social stability” (*see below*).

Deng's Selection of Hu Jintao

However momentous his selection of Jiang Zemin to be China's next paramount leader, the legacy of Deng Xiaoping extended still further: Beyond the selection of his successor, Deng reached into the future and also determined his successor's successor. At the 14th Party Congress in 1992, Deng arranged for Hu Jintao, the then-CCP Provincial Secretary for Tibet, to be appointed to the Politburo Standing Committee. Hu Jintao was only 49 years old and did not hold a seat in the full Politburo when he was dramatically “helicoptered” into the Standing Committee over many more senior candidates.⁸⁸

Deng was reportedly impressed by Hu's strong hand in cracking down on unrest in Tibet in spring 1989.⁸⁹ Hu Jintao also had strong patronage ties: In the early 1980s he had been a protégé of then-CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang (no relation), who guided the younger Hu into leadership of the China Communist Youth League (*see box on the following page*). Additionally, in the 1970s and early 1980s Hu Jintao had spent many years working in Gansu Province under then-CCP Gansu Provincial Secretary Song Ping,⁹⁰ a close political ally of Deng Xiaoping who by the late 1980s had served as head of the CC Organization Department, and was a member of the Politburo Standing Committee.⁹¹ In the early 1990s, while on medical leave from Lhasa for altitude sickness, Hu reportedly became *de facto* executive director of the CC Organization Department, working in Beijing under his old boss and patron Song Ping.⁹²



Then-CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang (left) poses with up-and-coming CCP officials Hu Jintao (center) and Wen Jiabao (right) in 1986.⁹³ At the time, Hu Jintao was CCP Secretary of Guizhou Province, and Wen was Director of the CC General Office. Hu Yaobang was sacked by Party Elders the following year (1987), but the younger Hu and Wen survived politically, and ultimately emerged at the top of the Party hierarchy in the 16th Party Congress (2002).⁹⁴ Although the career of Hu Jintao has been built on political caution, he is believed to be a driving force behind a quiet campaign in recent years to rehabilitate Hu Yaobang's official reputation.⁹⁵

Hu Jintao's elevation in 1992 set him up for a potential twenty-year tenure on the Politburo PSC that – barring any major political misstep – would make him the senior candidate for succession in the “Fourth Generation” of CCP leadership expected to emerge in the early 2000s. Hu was also given the powerful post of executive secretary of the Secretariat, and made director of the Central Party School, thereby giving him prominent roles both in managing internal Party affairs and grooming rising CCP cadres.⁹⁶ Combined with the gradually evolving norms preventing life-time tenure in office for aging officials, this trio of offices put Hu Jintao in a commanding position to emerge as China's paramount leader. It also communicated clearly that Hu was Deng's choice to succeed Jiang Zemin, and that any efforts to set up a rival candidate would therefore represent an implicit challenge to Deng's legacy.

Hu Jintao and the Emergence of the “CCYL Faction”

The Chinese Communist Youth League (中国共产主义青年团 / *Zhongguo Gongchan Zhuyi Qingnian Tuan*), or CCYL, is the official youth organization of the CCP, intended primarily for teenagers and young adults in their twenties. As described in CCYL publicity materials, the organization is "an assistant and reserve force" for the CCP, whose tasks include "diligently bringing new blood into the Party, and cultivating youthful talent for the nation." It is a huge organization: As of 2007 it had over 75 million members in branches set up throughout the country, and employed over 190,000 full-time CCP cadres.⁹⁷ Hu Yaobang was the first Party Secretary of the CCYL, and served in that position for over two decades (1957-1978). The elder Hu helped to maneuver his protégé Hu Jintao into senior positions with the CCYL, leading to Hu Jintao heading up the organization in 1984-1985.⁹⁸



Image: Undated publicity photo of Hu Jintao meeting with members of the CCYL.⁹⁹

As CCP General Secretary, Hu Jintao has promoted to senior positions a number of figures who rose through the Party ranks in the CCYL. These cadres, collectively termed the “*Tuanpai*” (团派), or “League Faction,” represent a key pillar of Hu’s bureaucratic support. Hu’s most senior ally from the *Tuanpai* is Li Keqiang, who at the 2007 Party Congress was appointed to the Politburo Standing Committee and placed in position to succeed Wen Jiabao as PRC Premier in 2012. Li worked in the headquarters of the CCYL for thirteen years, to include spending the last five of those years (1993-1998) in charge of the organization.¹⁰⁰ Other prominent figures in this group include Liu Yandong, a Politburo Member who led the CCYL for most of the 1980s (1982-1991) before moving on to senior positions in “united front” work;¹⁰¹ and Li Yuanchao, Politburo Member and head of the CCP Organization Department, who served in senior positions in the CCYL bureaucracy in Shanghai during the 1980s.¹⁰²

In comparison to the Shanghai Clique officials raised up by Jiang Zemin – who have tended to hail from China’s more economically dynamic coastal regions – the members of the CCYL Faction tend to share records of work experience in China’s poorer, inland provinces. They also tend to have less experience with finance and international trade issues; their career experiences centered instead on CCP bureaucratic functions such as propaganda, personnel, and legal affairs.¹⁰³ The backgrounds of these cadres in China’s poorer, inland regions makes them natural ideological allies for the Hu-Wen administration’s “Scientific Development Concept” (科学发展观 / *Kexue Fazhan Guan*)¹⁰⁴ and its attendant slogan of “Making People the Foundation” (以人为本 / *Yi Ren Wei Ben*)¹⁰⁵: To look beyond raw numbers of national GDP growth, and pursue more balanced and equally distributed economic development intended to promote a “Socialist Harmonious Society” (社会主义和谐社会 / *Shehui Zhuyi Hexie Shehui*) by the year 2020.¹⁰⁶

Section 3: **Rising Figures of the “Fifth Generation” of the CCP**

The Emergence of the Fifth Generation Leadership

The “Fifth Generation” cadres of the CCP are on track to assume the leading posts in the CCP at the 18th Party Congress in autumn 2012. Born in the 1950s, these rising leaders experienced the Cultural Revolution in their formative years as “educated youths” (知识青年/ *zhishi qingnian*) who were “sent down to the countryside” (上山下乡 / *shangshan xiaxiang*) to learn about “proletarian” lives of simple living and hard physical labor. Many also had to cope with the personal tragedies that had befallen their families: Xi Jinping, for example, joined the CCP in 1974 while his father was still a political prisoner.¹⁰⁷ Dr. Cheng Li of the Brookings Institution has written that, for those with aspirations in politics, such experiences “forced these future leaders to cultivate valuable traits such as endurance, adaptability, and humility.”¹⁰⁸

These young cadres were able to continue their educations only after the end of the Cultural Revolution, and the reinstatement of college entrance exams in 1977. Unlike most of their Fourth Generation forebears – who studied engineering in the 1950s and 1960s amid the drive to emulate the rapid industrialization of the Soviet Union – many more of these students obtained degrees in economics, law, and the other social sciences. They subsequently went on to varied career paths, but key patterns in the careers of rising Fifth Generation cadres have been service in China’s provinces, work in the CCP bureaucracy, and advanced degrees from elite Chinese universities. Foreign education and work in state-owned enterprises, while increasingly important for China’s economic modernization, have not lent themselves well to positions in the CCP’s elite circles of political power.

The 17th Party Congress (2007) was a key event in the public emergence of the figures likely to play key roles in the “Fifth Generation” of Party leadership. In particular, the offices given to Xi Jinping – a seat on the PSC, responsibility for the Party Affairs portfolio in the PSC, and Executive Secretary of the Secretariat – placed him in pole position to become the next CCP General Secretary. His subsequent appointments as PRC Vice-President in 2008, and as a Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission in 2010, made his status as heir apparent unmistakable.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, Li Keqiang’s placement in the hierarchy of the PSC and his appointment as PRC Vice-Premier placed him clearly in position to succeed Wen Jiabao as Premier, and to assume significant responsibilities for China’s macroeconomic policies.¹¹⁰

Membership in the Politburo Standing Committee After the 18th Party Congress

The size and composition of the Politburo Standing Committee has shifted over time, but appears to be settling into a more formalized and institutionalized pattern. At the 16th Party Congress in 2002, the PSC was increased from seven to nine seats. Many expert observers believed that this occurred because a (nominally) retiring Jiang Zemin wished to pack the PSC with his supporters; however, it may also reflect an effort to strengthen the position of the PSC as the CCP’s central body for policy formulation.¹¹¹

The 17th Party Congress in 2007 maintained the nine-seat structure, and also carried forth another precedent set in 2002: that of apportioning the seats to match *ex officio* positions in the CCP hierarchy or PRC state government, and/or prominent policy portfolios.

Ex Officio Seats in the Politburo Standing Committee

The Four “Chairman” Seats in the Politburo Standing Committee:

The four senior-most positions in the PSC (by formal rank) all involve the leadership of a major Party or state institution.

1. CCP General Secretary:

- Held by Hu Jintao (2002-2012)
- Ranks #1 in the CCP hierarchy
- Serves concurrently as Chairman of the Central Military Commission, and PRC President
- Leads the portfolio for foreign policy (Chair of Foreign Affairs / National Security Leading Small Group)
- The *primus inter pares* in a collective leadership circle

2. Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress:

- Held by Wu Bangguo (2002-2012)
- Ranks #2 in the formal CCP hierarchy, although the Premier may wield more *de facto* authority
- Acts as the presiding figure (Chairman and Party Secretary) of China’s state legislature¹¹²

3. PRC Premier (Macroeconomic Policy):

- Held by Wen Jiabao (2002-2012)
- Ranks #3 in the formal CCP hierarchy, although this position may be the #2 position in terms of *de facto* authority
- Acts as Chairman of the State Council (the PRC state cabinet)
- Holds the portfolio for macroeconomic policy (Chair of Economics & Finance Leading Small Group)

4. Chairman of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (United Front):

- Held by Jia Qinglin (2002-2012)
- Ranks #4 in the CCP hierarchy
- Acts as Chairman and Party Secretary of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), a ceremonial “consultative” political body for representatives of Chinese society outside of the CCP. The CPPCC is controlled by the CCP United Front Work Department.¹¹³
- Holds the portfolio for “united front” work with minorities, religious groups, and overseas Chinese (Chair of United Front LSG)

The “Understudy” Politburo Seat:

This could shape up to be one of the most complex and contentious roles in the PSC. If current trends hold, the PSC will hold an “understudy” seat either for the rising figure expected to become the next CCP General Secretary, or for a senior figure trusted by Party power-brokers.

5. The Heir Apparent, or the Senior Caretaker (Party Affairs)

- Concurrently holds positions as: PRC Vice President, and Executive Secretary of the Secretariat. May also serve as a CMC Vice-Chairman, and Vice-Chair of Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group.
- Holds the portfolio for party affairs (Chair of “Party Building” Leading Small Group, President of Central Party School)

Heir Apparent:

This figure could be the next CCP General Secretary-in-waiting (if a successor has been identified). If current trends hold, such a figure may most likely emerge following odd-numbered Party

Congresses (i.e., as with Xi Jinping at the 17th Party Congress in 2007), when an incumbent General Secretary is entering his second term.

- Designation as the *heir apparent* would be revealed by appointment as: PRC Vice President; Executive Secretary of the Secretariat; CMC Vice-Chairman; and Vice-Chair of Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group.
- Held by Hu Jintao (1997-2002); and Xi Jinping (2007-2012).

Senior Caretaker:

If there is no identified *heir apparent*, this position could also be given to a senior figure close to another faction and/or to the previous General Secretary – someone “waiting in the wings” to keep watch on a new General Secretary, and perhaps ready to take over in the event of a serious leadership stumble. If current trends hold, this figure may most likely emerge following even-numbered Party Congresses (i.e., as with Zeng Qinghong at the 16th Party Congress in 2002), when a new General Secretary is entering into his first term in office.

- This would likely be a figure in their mid-sixties, who would face mandatory retirement at the subsequent Party Congress. This would prevent overt power plays against the (probably younger) CCP General Secretary.
- Held by Zeng Qinghong, 2002-2007.¹¹⁴

The Four “Policy Portfolio” Seats

Since 2002, the PSC has held four slots that carry with them responsibilities in four key policy areas. The numerical order given here does not necessarily reflect expected rank order in the PSC.

6. Propaganda:

- Held by Li Changchun (2002-2012)
- Holds the portfolio for ideology and propaganda (Chair of Ideology and Propaganda Leading Small Group)

7. PRC First Vice-Premier (Macroeconomic Policy)

- Held by Huang Ju (2002-2007); and Li Keqiang (2007-2012)
- Holds a prominent role in macroeconomic policy (Vice-Chair of Economics & Finance Leading Small Group)

8. Director of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission:

- Held by Wu Guanzheng (2002-2007); and He Guoqiang (2007-2012)
- Holds the politically sensitive position of the head of the CCP’s central body for investigating corruption

9. Security:

- Held by Luo Gan (2002-2007); and Zhou Yongkang (2007-2012)
- Holds the portfolio for internal security and intelligence (Chair of Politics and Law Leading Small Group)

Membership in the 18th Politburo Standing Committee: Incumbent Members

Due to recently established Party precedents on age, at the 18th Party Congress all Members of the current PSC except for Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang will be forced to retire. (However, the retirees may still maintain significant influence behind the scenes as Party Elders). Barring an unforeseen crisis or major policy stumble that would shake them loose from their succession tracks, Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang will retain their seats in the Politburo Standing Committee and move up in seniority.

Xi Jinping 习近平



Xi Jinping is currently PRC Vice President, Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission, sixth ranking member of the Politburo Standing Committee, highest ranking member of the Party Secretariat, and President of the Central Party School. He is also the Vice-Chair of the Foreign Affairs / National Security Leading Small Group, and Chair of the Hong Kong & Macao Leading Small Group. His offices clearly designate him as the paramount leader-in-waiting, who will become CCP General Secretary in autumn 2012, and PRC President after the convening of the National People's Congress in spring 2013. Whether or not he will also immediately assume Chairmanship of the CMC depends on whether Hu Jintao relinquishes that post, or chooses to cling to it as his predecessors have done. (*For more on this and other issues regarding the Central Military Commission, see the forthcoming second paper in this series, "Rising Officers in the Chinese People's Liberation Army."*)

The designation of Xi Jinping at the 17th National Party Congress to be the paramount leader of the Fifth Generation caught many knowledgeable observers of Chinese politics by surprise. Prior to the Congress, most expert commentary predicted that either Li Keqiang or Li Yuanchao – both veterans of service in the CCYL – would emerge as Hu's designated successor.¹¹⁵ However, Xi appears to have been a more popular choice among members of the CCP Central Committee,¹¹⁶ and in particular among Party Elders (*see box, pp 31-32*).

Xi Jinping emerged as a compromise choice for CCP General Secretary, due both to his popularity with Party Elders and prominent members of the Shanghai Faction, as well as to his acceptability to the Hu-Wen leadership team and their supporters in the *Tuanpai* (*see box below*). Xi has particularly close ties with former Vice President Zeng Qinghong – himself a princeling, and a right-hand man for Jiang Zemin – and Zeng reportedly played a key role in ensuring Xi's elevation to the PSC and his position as *heir apparent*.¹¹⁷

Xi Zhongxun and His Impact on the Career of His Son Xi Jinping

Xi Jinping's father was Xi Zhongxun, a veteran revolutionary who held the office of PRC Vice-Premier from 1959-1962. The elder Xi was purged by Mao in 1962 and spent much of the next 16 years in prison, performing menial labor, or enduring the abuse of Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution (*see image on the following page*). At age 15, the younger Xi was himself sent to "learn from the peasants" as a farm laborer in a rural area of Shaanxi Province, where he lived for seven years.¹¹⁸

The elder Xi was rehabilitated after Mao's death – in part due to assistance from Hu Jintao's patron Hu Yaobang – and served as Governor of Guangdong from 1979-1981, where he played a major role in supporting economic reforms.¹¹⁹ Xi Zhongxun stepped down from his seat in the Politburo in 1987; by one account it was punishment for his support of Hu Yaobang,¹²⁰ but it was more likely part of a large number of retirements that year by aging revolution-era senior cadres.¹²¹ Whichever the case, Xi Zhongxun's friendship and political alliance with Hu Yaobang "in the long run gave political credits to his son [Xi Jinping] in the eyes of liberal Party officials and the so-called 'Youth League faction'," thereby

adding to the younger Xi's value as a compromise candidate acceptable to both of the CCP's most powerful factions.¹²²



Image Left: In an undated photo from the Cultural Revolution period, the "Anti-Party Element Xi Zhongxun" is paraded through the streets by Red Guards.¹²³ Image Right: After Mao's death, the elder Xi was rehabilitated and returned to an influential position in the CCP leadership. Here, Xi (standing, center right) is photographed with fellow Party Elders: PLA Marshal Ye Jianying (sitting) and Hu Yaobang (right).¹²⁴

Unlike his predecessors Hu and Jiang, Xi possesses some military experience, albeit no field experience. He served as an active-duty PLA officer from 1979-1982, working at the General Office of the Central Military Commission. During this period, he served as the *mishu* (personal secretary and assistant) to then-Defense Minister Geng Biao, who was a friend of Xi senior.¹²⁵ Additionally, Xi Jinping has gained further military contacts during years working in the provinces of Zhejiang and Fujian.¹²⁶ This exposure to military affairs, and personal connections with many officers in the defense establishment, will likely give him a better starting relationship with the PLA brass than was the case with his two predecessors.

The outlook and policy views of Xi Jinping are difficult to determine, and much of what has been reported is hearsay or conjecture: Like his predecessor Hu Jintao, Xi Jinping may have been successful in rising through the CCP bureaucracy in part by being attentive to senior leaders, and circumspect in expressing his own views. Such reporting as is available paints a picture of a man who is very personable; very politically ambitious, with his eyes on a senior leadership post from an early age; and possessed of a confident belief that the children of the CCP's revolutionary generation are the natural heirs to rule China.¹²⁷

Xi Jinping's views of the United States are unclear. He is believed to hold an orthodox interpretation of Communist ideology,¹²⁸ and holds a degree in "Marxist Theory and Ideological Education" from Tsinghua University.¹²⁹ He is also said to be a personal friend of Liu Yuan – a PLA general known for his nationalistic, anti-Western rhetoric – and some expert observers of Chinese politics believe that Mr. Xi is laying the groundwork for General Liu to be appointed as a vice chairman of the CCP Central Military Commission at the 18th CCP Party Congress in autumn 2012.¹³⁰ (For a more complete profile of General Liu Yuan, see the forthcoming second paper in this series, "Rising Officers in the Chinese People's Liberation Army.")

However, Xi has also held many meetings with U.S. officials and has spoken of the importance of maintaining strong U.S.-Chinese relations, calling China's relationship with the United States "one of the most dynamic and important bilateral relations in the world."¹³¹ His daughter is also reportedly enrolled as a student at Harvard University under an assumed name, giving him a direct family tie to America.¹³²

During a February 2012 visit to the United States, Xi also took time to visit with a farming family in Iowa that hosted him as a guest during a 1985 delegation trip by Hebei provincial officials to examine agricultural issues.¹³³

“Party Elders” and the Political Rise of the Princelings

The designation of Xi Jinping at the 17th Party Congress to be the paramount leader of the Fifth Generation caught many knowledgeable observers of Chinese politics by surprise: Prior to the Congress, most expert commentary predicted that either Li Keqiang or Li Yuanchao would emerge as Hu’s designated successor.¹³⁴ Some unconfirmed sources have indicated that Hu Jintao did indeed make an attempt to have Li Keqiang designated as his successor, but that he encountered resistance from some Party Elders. As a result, Hu agreed to nominate Xi Jinping as a compromise choice who would be acceptable to all of the Party’s major power brokers.¹³⁵

The full list of Party Elders involved is uncertain, but included Jiang Zemin and other retired officials close to him: For example, Zeng Qinghong, a right-hand man to Jiang Zemin throughout Jiang’s tenure (and himself a princeling), was reportedly a leading figure in brokering Xi’s selection as heir apparent.¹³⁶ Xi Jinping is also believed to be personally popular with many other elder figures within the CCP, as someone who is both personable and responsive to their concerns. Another academic source has indicated that, prior to the 17th Party Congress, the Politburo “solicited opinions from retired leaders such as Wan Li, Jiang Zemin, Song Ping, Qiao Shi and Liu Huaqing, most of whom suggested Xi [as a] more suitable” choice than Li Keqiang to be the designated General Secretary-in-waiting.¹³⁷

In particular, Xi has made notable efforts to flatter and cultivate Jiang Zemin as a patron. For example, in an October 2009 meeting with German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Xi made a public show of presenting her with copies of two books published under Jiang’s name.¹³⁸ These actions have a parallel in efforts made by Hu Jintao in the late 1990s – as he bided his time under Jiang Zemin’s shadow – to publicize and praise ideological theories attributed to Jiang.¹³⁹



“Chinese Vice President Xi Jinping (L) presents two books written by former Chinese leader Jiang Zemin to German Chancellor Angela Merkel at the start of their meeting in the Chancellery in Berlin, capital of Germany, Oct. 12, 2009” (original Xinhua caption).¹⁴⁰

Xi’s lineage may also serve him in good stead with many older CCP cadres: His father was Xi Zhongcun, a veteran revolutionary who served in a number of important posts in the Communist government, but also suffered through much of the 1960s and 1970s as a victim of Mao’s purges.¹⁴¹ Aside from goodwill

towards his father among older cadres, Xi Jinping has also benefitted politically from the fact that he, too, experienced hardship during the Cultural Revolution as a “sent-down” youth in the countryside.¹⁴²

Over the two decades since the Tiananmen protests and the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and Soviet Union, some CCP Elders have sought to promote the children of first-generation revolutionaries – based in part on the belief that these “princelings” will feel the greatest personal stake in the survival of the CCP,¹⁴³ and will avoid any Gorbachev-like political liberalization that could threaten the Party’s ruling status.¹⁴⁴ Elements of corruption and self-protection may also play into these considerations: Many prominent CCP leaders and their families have established lucrative stakes in sectors of the economy, and may regard princeling candidates as the people least likely to threaten their interests or expose their activities.¹⁴⁵ *(For more on the economic interests of prominent political actors in China, see the forthcoming third paper in this series, “China’s Rising Leaders in the State-Owned Economy.”)*

Li Keqiang 李克强

Li Keqiang has served as Executive Vice-Premier and a member of the Politburo Standing Committee since 2007. He is a core member of Hu Jintao’s *Tuanpai* faction: Li worked in the headquarters of the CCYL for thirteen years, to include spending the years 1993-1998 as its senior official.¹⁴⁶ Li is regarded by many observers as being a genuinely knowledgeable technocrat on economic issues, holding a Ph.D in economics from Beijing University. He is also viewed as someone who is like-minded and works smoothly with current Premier Wen Jiabao on most issues.¹⁴⁷ During the Cultural Revolution, the youthful Li spent four years of labor in the countryside, which “was instrumental in fostering some important personal traits such as endurance and adaptability to hardship, ability to communicate with uneducated farmers, and a deep understanding of rural poverty.”¹⁴⁸



Image : PRC Executive Vice Premier Li Keqiang meets with former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Beijing, March 2010.¹⁴⁹

Despite the patronage of Hu Jintao, Li’s ascent has been dogged by politically damaging scandals and accidents in areas under his administration. In the 1990s, Henan Province was the site of a large-scale program of selling blood plasma in which peasants provided blood donations in exchange for payment; the donated blood was pooled and the plasma removed, before blood was re-injected back into the donors. The result was a massive AIDS outbreak that may have infected as many as one million people in Henan, and left entire villages devastated. Although most of the activity occurred during the term of his

predecessor, Li Changchun (Henan Party Secretary, 1992-1998), Li Keqiang was left to deal with the fallout. Further, his own term in Henan (Governor of Henan, 1999-2003; Henan Party Secretary, 2002-2004) continued policies of covering up the scandal, and suppressing media coverage of the epidemic or the plight of infected persons.¹⁵⁰ He also acquired the nickname of “Three Fires Li” following a series of major fires in the province, including one at a shopping mall in the city of Luoyang that resulted in over 300 deaths.¹⁵¹ This streak of bad luck followed him to his next job as Party Secretary in Liaoning Province (2004-2007), where, in February 2005, an explosion in a coal mine killed over 200 miners.¹⁵²

Li Keqiang is regarded as one of the more reformist-minded members of the Fifth Generation leadership.¹⁵³ Although speculative, it is possible that this factor may have hurt him in the 2007 competition with Xi Jinping for the top Party leadership slot. There has also been some speculation that, in the event of a bureaucratic defeat for CCP General Secretary Hu Jintao in the run-up to the 18th Party Congress, Li Keqiang might be derailed from succession to the premiership (perhaps in favor of Wang Qishan) and instead shifted to a more ceremonial position such as Chairman of the National People’s Congress.¹⁵⁴ However, barring a major political crisis, Li Keqiang appears firmly on track to succeed Wen Jiabao as PRC Premier, and thereby to become the leading official in charge of China’s macroeconomic policies.

Membership in the 18th Politburo Standing Committee: Expected Members¹⁵⁵

Assuming that the PSC will emerge from the 18th Party Congress maintaining its current structure of nine seats, there will be seven slots opened up by mandatory retirements. There has been widespread speculation over which cadres will assume these seven seats; some of the most likely candidates are profiled below.

Li Yuanchao 李源潮



Li Yuanchao is currently the head of the Central Organization Department and a member of the Politburo. Hu appointed Li as head of the Central Organization Department at the 17th Party Congress in 2007; this, in addition to his serving on the Secretariat, gives him a powerful role in managing the Party bureaucracy.¹⁵⁶ Li’s parents were persecuted during the Cultural Revolution, and he spent four years performing manual labor in the countryside. Li’s father Li Gangcheng was a former Vice Mayor of Shanghai; while this makes the younger Li a princeling, his rise to power has benefited more from his connection to the Communist Youth League, which he served in senior positions in the 1980s.¹⁵⁷

Li was previously the Party Secretary of both Nanjing and Jiangsu. An example of the higher levels of formal education found among rising CCP leaders, Li holds a doctorate in law from the Central Party School, and also studied public administration for a time at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government.¹⁵⁸ Australian journalist Richard McGregor has described Li as “one of the more open-minded figures of the new generation of Chinese leaders.”¹⁵⁹ Based on his background and qualifications, Li is a likely candidate to succeed He Guoqiang in the PSC seat holding the anti-corruption policy portfolio (*see pg. 50 of this report*).

Liu Yandong 刘延东



Image: In a publicity photo from June 2010, Politburo Member Liu Yandong (right) meets with Ms. Quentin Bryce, the Governor-General of Australia (left).¹⁶⁰

Liu Yandong's career has been spent primarily in two fields of CCP administration: She first spent most of the 1980s working in youth affairs, where from 1982 – 1991 she served both as Executive Secretary of Chinese Communist Youth League Secretariat, and also as the President of the All-China Youth Federation. Subsequently, in the mid-1990s she shifted over to the related field of “united front” work, serving first as the Deputy Director of the UFWD (1995-2002), and then as Director (2002-2007). Since 2008, she has served as the Vice Chairman and Deputy CCP Secretary of the Beijing Olympic Committee, and as a State Councilor on the PRC State Council.¹⁶¹

Liu is a princeling, the daughter of former Vice Minister of Agriculture Liu Ruilong.¹⁶² However, with long experience in the CCYL, she is believed to be a stalwart member of the *Tuanpai*. Her deep background in united front work and her close patron-protégé relationship with Hu Jintao make her a strong candidate to succeed Jia Qinglin in the Politburo Standing Committee slot for Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and its attendant duties for managing the united front policy portfolio.

If indeed selected for this position, Liu would be the first woman ever to hold a seat on the Standing Committee. On the heels of Wu Yi, the first woman not the wife of a senior leader to serve on the full Politburo (2002-2007), and ahead of Shen Yueyue, a rising political figure of the “Sixth Generation” (see profile on p. 49), Liu's political ascent could signify broadening career prospects for women in the upper tiers of the traditionally all-male Party elite.¹⁶³

Liu Yunshan 刘云山



Liu Yunshan has served as a member of the Politburo since 2007. A native of Inner Mongolia, Liu spent the earlier part of his career (from the late 1960s to early 1990s) in Party administrative positions in his home province. He also has long experience in the CCP media and propaganda system, ranging from time spent with the Xinhua News Agency (1975-1982) in Inner Mongolia up to senior positions in the Central Propaganda Department in the 1990s. From 1993-2002 he worked as the Deputy Director of the

CPD, to include a concurrent appointment (1997-2002) as head of the “Commission for the Promotion of Spiritual Civilization.”¹⁶⁴

Although he has not worked in the China Communist Youth League, Liu’s career background working in a poor, inland province – as well as his long experience working in the CCP propaganda system – link him more closely to Hu’s *Tuanpai* than to any other factional group. His background marks him as a natural candidate to succeed Li Changchun in the PSC seat responsible for the “Propaganda and Ideology” policy portfolio.

Unlike Liu Yunshan, incumbent Li Changchun had no particular qualifications to prepare him for handling the propaganda portfolio; instead, Li Changchun rose to the Standing Committee as a loyalist of Jiang Zemin. If Liu’s appointment takes place as expected, it could mark an increased formalization of this position, establishing a career track leading from the Central Propaganda Department to the PSC Leading Small Group for Ideology and Propaganda.

Wang Qishan 王岐山



*Image: U.S. Vice-President Joseph Biden (left) and PRC Vice-Premier Wang Qishan (right) shake hands at the opening of the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue, May 2011.*¹⁶⁵

Wang has served as a member of the Politburo in 2007, and since early 2008 as the Vice-Premier of the State Council holding the economic portfolio for finance and foreign trade.¹⁶⁶ Wang has distinguished himself in finance- and trade-related negotiations with the United States, to include taking a leading role in the “Strategic and Economic Dialogues” conducted in the George W. Bush and Barack Obama Administrations.¹⁶⁷ In contrast with more conservative CCP officials concerned about the social impacts of economic liberalization, Wang is believed to be more inclined towards policies to favor increased private sector activity and higher-rate GDP growth, and reforms in the financial sector.¹⁶⁸ Despite the higher ranks of Premier Wen Jiabao and Vice-Premier Li Keqiang, some observers believe that Wang may actually wield the single most influential voice in China’s macroeconomic policy-making.¹⁶⁹

Previously, Wang served as the Mayor of Beijing from 2004 to 2008, and as an Executive President of the Beijing Organizing Committee for the 2008 Olympic Games.¹⁷⁰ Although not himself of red royal blood, Wang is a princeling by marriage: he is married to Yao Mingshan, the daughter of late Vice-Premier Yao Yilin. Wang is also believed to enjoy the patronage of Jiang Zemin and Vice-President Xi.¹⁷¹

Wang has been praised by foreign leaders for his intelligence, confident and outgoing manner, and technocratic knowledge of complex economic issues. Former U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson Jr. has described Vice-Premier Wang as

decisive and inquisitive. He is an avid historian, enjoys philosophical debates and has a wicked sense of humor. He is a Chinese patriot, but he understands the U.S. and knows that each of our two countries benefits from the other's economic success. And he is bold — he takes on challenges, does things that have never been done before and succeeds... [he is] the man China's leaders look to for an understanding of the markets and the global economy.”¹⁷²

There has also been some speculation that Wang might be a potential candidate to supplant Li Keqiang in the succession track to become the next State Council Premier.¹⁷³ However, all external signs (meetings with foreign leaders, press coverage, etc.) continue to indicate that Li Keqiang is secure in his succession track. More likely PSC slots for Wang Qishan would be Chairman of the National People's Congress; or, leveraging his economic experience, the position of Executive Vice-Premier, which carries with it vice-chairmanship of the Economics and Finance Leading Small Group.

Membership in the 18th Politburo Standing Committee: The Wild Card Race

Bo Xilai 薄熙来

Until March 2012, Bo Xilai was concurrently Chongqing CCP Secretary and a member of the Politburo. Bo had previously served as Minister of Commerce (2004-2007) and as Governor of Liaoning Province (2001-2004), where he received praise for his successes in promoting economic growth. Bo became a Politburo member in 2007, although his being sent to Chongqing led to speculation about his waning career prospects.¹⁷⁴ As Chongqing Party Secretary, Bo has risen in popularity on the strength of his “Chongqing Model” of economic development, which has focused on reducing disparities of wealth and providing more extensive social services. His administration has also been noteworthy for its ongoing “Chang Hong, Da Hei” (“Sing Red, Strike Black”) Campaign, which has promoted a revival of revolutionary-era Communist culture, while simultaneously cracking down on the municipality's entrenched crime and corruption.¹⁷⁵

Bo Xilai comes from a distinguished Communist Party pedigree and is one of the most high-profile princeling political figures of the CCP's “Fifth Generation.” Bo's father Bo Yibo joined the CCP when he was 17 and was a veteran of the legendary Long March. Between 1949 and the Cultural Revolution Bo Yibo served in a number of senior posts related to state finances and economic planning. During the Cultural Revolution, Bo Yibo was purged and imprisoned, and his wife (Bo Xilai's mother) was beaten to death. (Bo Xilai was himself imprisoned from 1968-1972, and subsequently worked for six years in a Beijing-area factory.¹⁷⁶) The elder Bo was rehabilitated and re-emerged as a very powerful figure in the late 1970s. Even after formal retirement Bo Yibo remained a very powerful figure behind the scenes, to include backing Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms; supporting the June 1989 crackdown; and acting as a patron for Jiang Zemin as Jiang consolidated power in the 1990s.



Image left: Bo Xilai (right) and his son Bo Guagua (left) at a 2007 memorial service for Bo Xilai's father Bo Yibo. The elder Bo was one of the "Eight Immortals" – CCP Party Elders who wielded great authority during the 1980s and part of the 1990s. *Image right:* Bo Xilai at a "Red Song" concert in Chongqing, June 2011.¹⁷⁷

As a princeling popularly known for his economic successes, charisma, and Maoist "red" propaganda in the Chongqing cultural campaign, Bo's name has frequently been mentioned as a top contender to become a member of the Politburo Standing Committee in the 18th Party Congress.¹⁷⁸ Chongqing's high growth in spite of the global financial crisis, rapid infrastructure construction, and growing civil aviation sector also served to bolster Bo's political star status.¹⁷⁹

Xi Jinping and other senior leaders from Beijing have visited Chongqing to praise Bo's policies – but notably, Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao have not been among them. One speculative theory is that Xi may wish to get more of his fellow princelings onto the PSC in order to better push forward his own preferred policies, and to counterbalance the influence of Hu's *Tuanpai* loyalists.¹⁸⁰ As Brookings scholar Cheng Li has said, "The future of Bo Xilai will have a huge impact on the future of China, particularly if he ascends to a more important position at the Standing Committee of the Politburo."¹⁸¹

Bo Xilai and the Curious Case of Wang Lijun

A dramatic series of events occurred in Sichuan Province in early February 2012, which have serious implications for Bo Xilai's future political prospects. These events centered around Wang Lijun, the former deputy mayor and director of the Public Security Bureau for Chongqing Municipality.¹⁸² Wang previously served in the same roles in Jinzhou City, Liaoning Province, where he worked under then-Liaoning CCP Provincial Secretary Bo Xilai. In 2008 Wang followed Bo Xilai to Bo's new posting as Chongqing CCP Secretary. Wang has been a central figure in Bo's very public campaign against organized crime, dubbed the "Da Hei," or "strike black elements," campaign.¹⁸³

Wang Lijun is a very colorful figure: He is said to be a martial arts expert, and has relished his reputation as a dedicated crime-fighter. He has provided interviews and reenactments for Chinese media outlets regarding a reported shoot-out and other clashes with organized crime elements in Liaoning,¹⁸⁴ and has even been the subject of a television police drama (*see image next page, below left*).



Image left: A still photo from the television series “Iron Blood Police Spirit” [铁血警魂 / *Tie Xie Jing Hun*].
Image right: Bo Xilai (L) and Wang Lijun (R) together in happier days: Wang is awarded the title of “Chongqing City People’s Guardian” in February 2010.¹⁸⁵

On February 6, 2012, Wang Lijun entered the U.S. Consulate in Chongqing and remained there for one day, fueling widespread speculation that he may have requested political asylum from U.S. authorities.¹⁸⁶ The particulars of what occurred next are murky. The U.S. State Department issued a statement that Wang had been in the consulate on or about February 6th but had subsequently left of his own volition, and State declined any further comment.¹⁸⁷ By various press accounts, at the time of Wang’s departure there was a stand-off outside the consulate between a large number of police from Chongqing (a long drive from Chengdu, and across lines of political jurisdiction) who had surrounded the building, and unidentified security personnel answering to central government authorities.¹⁸⁸

Wang Lijun dropped out of sight after leaving the consulate. On February 8, the Chongqing City information office released a curious statement that Wang was undergoing “vacation-style treatment” at an undisclosed location for overwork, stress, and depression.¹⁸⁹ Searches on a publicly-accessible Chinese travel website indicated that Wang Lijun had flown from Chengdu to Beijing on Feb. 8th, and that Qiu Jin, a deputy head of the Ministry of State Security, had flown on the same flight.¹⁹⁰ Another intriguing element is suggested by the fact that Zhou Yongkang – the PSC Member in charge of the security and intelligence portfolio, and a figure closely linked to Jiang Zemin¹⁹¹ – may have been present in Chongqing on February 8th, ostensibly to take part in a legal conference. However, this is unconfirmed.¹⁹² Meanwhile, Wang Lijun has vanished from public view, but some press reports have indicated that Wang Lijun was taken to Beijing in the custody of officials dispatched from the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, the CCP’s central body for investigating charges of corruption.¹⁹³



Image: Guan Haixiang, Wang Lijun’s replacement as head of the Chongqing Public Security Bureau.¹⁹⁴

On February 18th, PRC state media announced that Wang Lijun's successor in charge of the Chongqing Public Security Bureau would be 42-year-old Guan Haixiang (關海祥). Guan has no previous experience in law enforcement or security issues; instead, he spent his entire professional career from 1994-2009 in a variety of positions with the China Communist Youth League, before transferring to posts in the Chongqing City administration.¹⁹⁵ Guan's selection appeared to be a not-terribly-subtle move by Hu's *Tuanpai* faction to assert authority over the Chongqing city security apparatus at the expense of Bo Xilai's own authority, and further bolsters suspicions that Hu Jintao and his supporters had a hand in this apparent strike directed against Bo Xilai.¹⁹⁶ The animosity between the Hu-Wen team and Bo is an open secret: Premier Wen, in particular, has made indirect but pointed comments that have been strongly critical of Bo's administration in Chongqing.¹⁹⁷

These events were followed by the dramatic announcement on March 15th that the CCP Central Committee had relieved Bo Xilai of his positions, and that he had been replaced as Chongqing CCP Secretary by Zhang Dejiang, a Politburo member and Vice-Premier responsible for economic policy related to technology and heavy industry.¹⁹⁸ (See profile of Zhang Dejiang on p. 42 of this report.) The calculus of the central leadership in appointing Zhang Dejiang to assume the reins in Chongqing is unknown. Multiple possibilities exist, to include: (1) Appointing Zhang Dejiang (a Jiang loyalist) alongside Guan Haixiang (a Hu loyalist) provides factional balance at a sensitive time in the Chongqing administration; (2) As a North Korean-educated specialist in heavy industry, Zhang's appointment signals that there will be no rapid dismantling of Bo Xilai's policy of supporting state-owned enterprises (sometimes at the expense of private industry); (3) It could be a crisis-management test for Zhang, to evaluate his suitability for a seat on the PSC; or (4) It could be a means to get Zhang out of the capital and sideline him from the jockeying for a PSC seat. With only very terse announcements provided in the PRC state press, it is difficult to know which of these calculations, if any, could be true.¹⁹⁹

The ground truth of the Wang Lijun case has yet to come to light, and all commentary on the case is at best educated guesswork. Whatever the case, the unfolding drama in Chongqing carries clear implications for the coming leadership transition, and could yet prove to be "an earthquake event in Chinese elite politics, with the potential to change the balance of power among competing factions"²⁰⁰ in the lead-up to this year's CCP leadership transition.

Theories Surrounding the Wang Lijun Affair

There are several competing theories to explain the mysterious affair of Wang Lijun's flight from Chongqing to Chengdu. One of the more credible speculative rumors surrounding the Wang case is that Wang Lijun had become the target of a corruption probe in the city of Tieling, Liaoning Province, where Wang served as the deputy head of the Public Security Bureau from 1995-2000. According to this storyline, Wang had collected information on corrupt activities of Bo Xilai and his family involving real estate and the transfer of financial assets overseas. Upon learning of the corruption investigation, Bo's administration demoted Wang to a lesser position and arrested several of Wang's associates. Wang then fled Chongqing, hoping either to use the incriminating information on Bo and his family members to secure defection to a safe third country, or to cut a deal with central authorities in Beijing by informing on the Bo family's own alleged corrupt activities.²⁰¹

However, even if this were to prove true, it leaves unanswered the question of how Wang became the focus of such an investigation in the first place. Another prominent theory is that Wang may be a proxy target for Bo, as "launching investigations against important allies of the actual target is a typical

approach in the party's history of power struggles.”²⁰² Revelations of corruption within Bo Xilai’s administration would certainly be politically damaging, and would seriously weaken his bid for a seat on the Politburo Standing Committee – perhaps to the benefit of Hu’s *Tuanpai* faction.

There are a number of possible reasons that Bo Xilai may have drawn the wrath of powerful figures in Beijing. Bo’s unabashed self-promotion, high-handed approach to law-and-order in Chongqing, and advocacy of a Neo-Maoist “Chongqing Model” of development²⁰³ – deviating from the macro-economic policies promoted by the Hu-Wen team – may also have earned him opponents in the capital.²⁰⁴ Bo’s crime-busting campaign has been interpreted by some as a purging of influential figures left in place by Bo’s immediate predecessor Wang Yang (currently the CCP Secretary of Guangdong Province), a China Communist Youth League loyalist of Hu Jintao and a competitor with Bo for a seat on the Politburo Standing Committee; as well as Wang Yang’s own predecessor He Guoqiang, who ironically now heads up the Central Discipline Inspection Commission.²⁰⁵ Bo’s “*Da Hei*” campaign has also been viewed by some as a shake-down of wealthy businessmen intended to help finance the expanded social services offered by Bo’s city administration as a component of the “Chongqing Model.”²⁰⁶

An associate of Wang Lijun has alluded to political tensions resulting from the crackdown, referring to “umbrellas” – higher-level officials – who exerted their influence to protect figures implicated in the campaign.²⁰⁷ Disapproval from at least some senior figures in Beijing may also have been signaled in oblique commentaries in official state media, and in rare public comments from Wen Jiabao that criticized the abuses of the Cultural Revolution.²⁰⁸

Bo has also displayed a willingness to cross other powerful officials, which may have created additional political enemies eager to see his ascent derailed.²⁰⁹ There is inconclusive, albeit strongly suggestive evidence to indicate that the Wang Lijun affair may involve disputes between rival elder-princeling political networks. The clearest example of this is the case of Li Zhuang. Li is an attorney from Beijing who came to Chongqing to defend Gong Gangmo, an accused organized crime figure swept up in the “*Da Hei*” crackdown. In December 2009 Li was himself arrested by Chongqing authorities, and the following month convicted on charges of presenting false evidence and coaching his client to perjure himself.²¹⁰

Li Zhuang worked for a Beijing law firm titled Kangda, which is owned by Fu Yang – a son of the late Peng Zhen, one of the “Eight Immortals” of the CCP.²¹¹ The Kangda law firm itself was “spun out of the legal department of an immensely profitable and unaccountable corporate-charity empire called Kanghua, which was run by Deng Pufang, son of Deng Xiaoping.”²¹² Therefore, it appears that the managers of this extremely well-connected law firm – tied in to the family networks of both Peng and Deng – sent an emissary to intervene in one of the “*Da Hei*” trials, only to see him arrested and jailed by Bo Xilai. If there wasn’t already a concealed political fight underneath the crackdown in Chongqing, this would almost certainly have ignited one.²¹³ If political or personal rivalries were playing themselves out in the case of Li Zhuang, it would demonstrate once again how less powerful figures may become proxy targets when rival political patrons fight it out.

Another distinct possibility is that Bo’s effort to promote a revival of Maoist ideology – complete with Cultural Revolution-era songs and mottos, the dispatching of students and professional workers to work in the countryside, the striking out against “black elements,” and a growing cult of personality around Bo himself – did not go down well among other figures in the Party. The current oligarchy of the PRC is based heavily on the survivors and descendants of the “revolutionary families” persecuted by Mao

during the Cultural Revolution, and Bo's campaign may have unnerved some senior officials who clearly remember the years between 1966 and 1976.²¹⁴

Without access to insider accounts, there's no way to know which of these versions of the story (if any of them) might be correct. However, if a deputy minister of the Ministry of State Security did escort Wang Lijun back to Beijing, it indicates a senior level of leadership concern with the case, as well as its extreme political sensitivity. Also, the reports of Chongqing police and security personnel surrounding the U.S. Consulate in Chengdu would indicate that Bo Xilai's administration was taking desperate measures to get hold of Wang Lijun.

The clearest winners in the political downfall of Bo Xilai are the current Hu-Wen leadership team, and Hu's ascendant CCYL Faction. From their viewpoint, taking down Bo Xilai removes from the political chessboard a troublesome – and very ambitious – advocate of rival policies, as well as a figure likely to have tilted his support in favor of the Shanghai – princeling coalition. Bo's downfall could also open room for another Hu loyalist – perhaps Wang Yang or Ling Jihua – to move into the PSC. Clearly, there is much more at stake here than just a run-of-the-mill investigation into official corruption, but only time will reveal the true political undercurrents of the Wang Lijun affair.

Meng Jianzhu 孟建柱



Meng Jianzhu is currently Minister of Public Security and the Deputy Secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.²¹⁵ He concurrently serves as the ranking political commissar for the People's Armed Police,²¹⁶ and as a Deputy Chair of the Tibet Work Leading Group.²¹⁷ Originally from Jiangsu, he began his career in Jiangxi and spent a good deal of time in Shanghai, working under Jiang Zemin from 1977 to 1990.²¹⁸ He was promoted to Jiangxi Party Secretary in 2001 and has been a member of the 16th and 17th Central Committees.²¹⁹

Meng is close to his superior Zhou Yongkang. He is also a loyalist of Jiang Zemin's Shanghai Clique, and some have argued that his further advancement could depend on Jiang's health and continuing relevance in CCP elite politics.²²⁰ Furthermore, Meng is not a current member of the Politburo, and ascension to the PSC would therefore require an unusual skip-echelon promotion over the heads of more senior candidates.

However, other factors argue in favor of Meng's prospects for ascending into the PSC. Zhou Yongkang appears to have established a new precedent for a Minister of Public Security to be promoted up to the PSC slot holding the security portfolio²²¹ – a logical progression, which can only be strengthened by the anxiety of the CCP leadership regarding issues of "social stability." Furthermore, the Ministry of Public Security is currently engaged in a propaganda campaign in support of Zhou Yongkang's policies of "social management" – a step that bolsters Meng's political credentials among his senior patrons²²² – and Meng's political ties to Jiang Zemin would also add to factional balance on an 18th PSC likely to see a

majority of Hu supporters. Furthermore, some sources had speculated that Bo Xilai was in the running for the PSC security portfolio; but with Bo likely eliminated from consideration, Meng's resume marks him as the leading candidate for that slot.

Wang Yang 汪洋



Wang is currently the Party Secretary of Guangdong Province and is a member of the Politburo.²²³ He previously served as Vice-Minister of the National Development and Reform Commission, Executive Deputy Secretary General of the State Council, and Party Secretary of Chongqing.²²⁴ Wang is believed to be a political loyalist of Hu Jintao's CCYL Faction, and he served in senior positions in the Anhui Province CCYL bureaucracy in the 1980s.²²⁵

Wang Yang's administration in Guangdong came into the spotlight in 2011, when unrest in the village of Wukan became the subject of international media attention. In Wukan, villagers staged a revolt against the corrupt local Party leadership, drove them from town, and blocked surrounding roads against government security forces. Describing the villagers' grievances as "a quest for fairness," Wang authorized an official inquiry into local corruption and promised village elections to resolve the standoff.²²⁶ It remains to be seen whether Wang's steps to peacefully diffuse the crisis will win him support in the higher echelons of the CCP, or if security hardliners might view his policies as too soft in dealing with unrest.

Wang has also acted as a public spokesman for many of the economic policies promoted by the Hu-Wen leadership team intended to address disparities of wealth, and the plight of poorer elements of Chinese society. He has also publicly advocated for Guangdong to serve as a laboratory for experiments in political reform, urging "local officials to overcome ideological and political taboos," while remaining loyal to the ruling CCP.²²⁷ His cautiously reformist "Guangdong Model" has been contrasted with Bo Xilai's Neo-Maoist "Chongqing Model" of development, and the two men developed a very unusual public rivalry in 2009-2010.²²⁸ The stalling of Bo's career could directly benefit Wang, by clearing the way for him to obtain a PSC seat in autumn 2012.

Zhang Dejiang 张德江

Zhang Dejiang is a member of the Politburo, and until mid-March 2012 also a Vice-Premier of the State Council holding the economic portfolio for energy, technology, and heavy industry.²²⁹ Until 2007, he was Secretary of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and has also held key provincial posts in Jilin and Zhejiang. In March 2012 Zhang was abruptly reassigned to Chongqing, to take over the role of regional Party boss from the disgraced Bo Xilai.

Zhang is a native of Liaoning Province, which contains a large ethnic Korean population. He is fluent in Korean, and received his B.A. in economics from Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang²³⁰ – an educational background perhaps of dubious value for managing effective macroeconomic policy, but valuable for serving as a liaison to the North Korean political leadership (*see image below*). Zhang is a princeling – the son of PLA Major General Zhang Ziyi – and a protégé of former CCP General Secretary Jiang Zemin.



Image: Zhang Dejiang (center) presents a gift to Kim Jong-Il.²³¹

Though he is known for his good relations with businessmen and has been a supporter of state-owned enterprises at home and abroad, Zhang's performance in Guangdong has raised questions about his judgment.²³² Among the blemishes on his record, he was implicated in efforts to conceal the SARS epidemic, engaged in a series of disputes with Guangdong's relatively independent newspapers, and failed to deal effectively with land rights issues.²³³ Zhang Dejiang's political standing may also have been damaged by scandals involving the railway system in 2011. (As Vice-Premier responsible for heavy industry, railways fall within Zhang's portfolio.) In February, Minister of Railways Liu Zhijun was sacked and later charged with corruption related to railway contracts.²³⁴ In July 2011 two high-speed trains collided on a bridge near Wenzhou, Zhejiang Province; the accident killed 40 people, and prompted great public outrage when revelations emerged of official corruption negatively impacting safety equipment and procedures on the high-speed rail network.²³⁵

As a two-term member of the Politburo, Zhang may be considered "more entitled" to further promotion than many of his peers.²³⁶ However, his sudden reappointment to Chongqing could indicate that he will not be on the short list of contenders for the PSC at the 18th Party Congress (*see discussion on p. 47 of this report*).

Yu Zhengsheng 俞正声



Yu Zhengsheng has served as Shanghai Party Secretary since 2007, and as a member of the Politburo since 2002. He was formerly Party chief of Hebei Province, Minister of Construction, and Mayor of Qingdao. He was educated at the prestigious Harbin Institute of Military Engineering, and worked in various capacities under Jiang Zemin early in his career. Later, he also worked with Deng Pufang (Deng Xiaoping's eldest son) at the China Welfare Fund for the Disabled.²³⁷

Sometimes called the "big brother among the princelings,"²³⁸ Yu has a very colorful family background. Yu's father was Yu Qiwei, an underground CCP activist and the first husband of Jiang Qing – who in turn became the fourth wife of Mao Zedong and a prominent member of the "Gang of Four" during the Cultural Revolution. Yu Zhengsheng is also the brother of Yu Qiangsheng, an official with the PRC's

Ministry of State Security who defected to the United States in 1985.²³⁹ Yu Qiangsheng is believed to have provided U.S. intelligence officials with information that allowed them to uncover Larry Wu Tai-Chin, a longtime mole for Chinese intelligence inside the CIA.²⁴⁰ Yu Zhengsheng's close relationship to the Deng family likely helped him to weather the political fallout that might otherwise have wrecked his career.

The factors in favor of Yu obtaining a seat on the Politburo Standing Committee include his good connections with the Deng family, the Shanghai Clique, and the rising generation of senior princeling officials. Also in his favor is the fact that he has already served two terms on the Politburo, giving him seniority over many other aspirants. Some scholars also believe that CCP General Secretary Hu Jintao is lending his support to Yu for a seat on the PSC.²⁴¹ Yu's age could be a factor in any such decisions: When the 18th Congress opens he will be 67, the maximum age for assuming a seat on the PSC.²⁴²

Princelings Among the Rising 5th Generation Leaders

One of the most striking factors in PRC politics today is the highly disproportionate – and rising – number of “red royalty” cadres in the highest ranks of the Party. In the current full Politburo, seven out of 25 members are identifiable as princelings.²⁴³ In terms of candidates for the 18th Politburo Standing Committee profiled above, four of the expected appointees share princeling backgrounds. Of the “wild card” contenders listed, four out of the six (Bo Xilai, Yu Zhengsheng, Zhang Dejiang, and Zhang Qingli) also had parents in the elite circles of CCP officialdom. These princelings and their relations are:

Expected to Take Seats on the 18th Politburo Standing Committee:

- Xi Jinping: Son of Xi Zhongxun (*see pp. 29-30 of this report*)
- Li Yuanchao: Son of Li Gancheng, former Vice Mayor of Shanghai²⁴⁴
- Liu Yandong: Daughter of Liu Ruilong, former Vice Minister of Agriculture²⁴⁵
- Wang Qishan: Son-in-law of Yao Yilin, former First Vice Premier²⁴⁶

“Wild Card” Contenders for the 18th Politburo Standing Committee:

- Bo Xilai: Son of Bo Yibo (*see pp. 36-37 of this report*)
- Zhang Dejiang: Son of former PLA Major General Zhang Zhiyi²⁴⁷
- Zhang Qingli: Nephew of PLA General Zhang Wannian, former Vice Chairman of the CMC²⁴⁸
- Yu Zhengsheng: Son of Yu Qiwei, a CCP underground activist and a former husband of Jiang Qing.²⁴⁹ Yu is also a close friend of Deng Pufang (son of Deng Xiaoping); and the brother of Yu Qiangsheng.²⁵⁰

Ling Jihua 令计划



Ling Jihua is currently the Director of the CCP Central Committee General Office, a member of the Politburo, and a Member of Secretariat.²⁵¹ Ling is a protégé of CCP General Secretary Hu Jintao: Ling shares with Hu a background of service in the Communist Youth League dating back to the 1980s, to include Ling's holding senior positions in the media and propaganda bureaucracy of the CCYL.²⁵² In recent years Ling Jihua has served as a personal secretary and prominent aide to Hu Jintao,²⁵³ who likely exercised his influence to have Ling elevated to the Politburo in 2007. As both Director of the CCP General Office and a Member of the Secretariat, Ling occupies key positions in the nerve centers of the CCP's elite leadership circle, making him a very influential "go-to" figure.

Sinologist Cheng Li predicts that Hu Jintao will push for his longtime confidant's continued advancement: "Just as Jiang Zemin made Zeng Qinghong a member of the PSC in 2002, Hu will likely push for Ling's two-step promotion" to the Politburo Standing Committee in autumn 2012.²⁵⁴ Whether or not Ling is selected over the heads of more senior candidates could be an indicator of Hu Jintao's political clout relative to that of rival factional groups.

Zhang Gaoli 张高丽



Zhang is currently Party Secretary of Tianjin and a member of the Politburo.²⁵⁵ He was previously the Governor of Shandong Province and also sat on the 16th Central Committee. Zhang began his career in Guangdong Province, serving as Vice-Governor from 1988 to 1993 and Shenzhen Party Secretary from 1997 to 2001.²⁵⁶ Concurrent with his Shenzhen position, he was the 1st Secretary of the Party Committee at the PLA's city garrison.²⁵⁷ Because he is slightly older than many of his fifth generation colleagues, Zhang was not "sent down" to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution.²⁵⁸

An economist by training, Zhang has consistently advocated for attracting greater foreign investment and, according to author Robert Kuhn, "has asserted that any idea that is in line with international practice and conducive to innovation and development may be tried—and tried boldly."²⁵⁹ Cheng Li submits Zhang is "widely known" to be Jiang Zemin's protégé.²⁶⁰ He seems to have embraced an understated management style, recently telling "a foreign visitor that he was more interested in promoting a 'down-to-earth style of intense effort with a low profile.'"²⁶¹ In a similar vein, Zhang has also been quoted as saying "Do more. Speak less."²⁶²

Zhang Qingli 张庆黎



Zhang is currently the Party Secretary of Hubei Province and is member of the 17th Central Committee. He also served as a full member of the 16th Central Committee without having previously served as an alternate.²⁶³ Previously, he served in Xinjiang as the commander of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, and as Party Secretary in Tibet throughout the unrest of 2008.²⁶⁴ He acquired the reputation of a hardliner on Tibet: Referring to the Dalai Lama at that time, he said, “[w]e are now fighting a bitter struggle of blood and fire against the Dalai clique, a struggle of life and death.”²⁶⁵ Also while in Tibet, although he was a proponent of expanding development of the region’s mineral resources, he favored doing so in an environmentally prudent manner.

Zhang Qingli is a princeling – the nephew of PLA General Zhang Wannian, a former Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission (from 1995-2002). However, he has long been associated with the Chinese Communist Youth League (CCYL), serving as the Deputy Director of its Central Committee in the early 1980s under Hu’s leadership.²⁶⁶ Zhang’s relative lack of seniority – he is not currently a member of the Politburo – argues against his selection for the PSC. However, his patronage ties and service in Tibet could serve him well in terms of further advancement within the ranks of the CCP leadership.

A Possible Line-Up for the 18th CCP Politburo Standing Committee

High-level PRC politics are very opaque, and the Party takes great pains to ensure that its smoke-filled backrooms are kept far removed from public scrutiny. This makes any predictive analysis regarding PRC leadership successions a very hazardous enterprise, and even the most expert opinions are highly speculative. The outcomes of the 17th Party Congress in October 2007 – to include the selection of Xi Jinping as *heir apparent* – caught many expert observers by surprise. However, reasoned speculation about the coming leadership transition can be made based on factors such as the professional experience of the candidates, the strength of their patronage ties to senior leaders, and subtle signals sent in PRC state media outlets. Taking these factors into account, one plausible arrangement of the next PSC may be found in the chart on page 48.

The leadership roster as laid out in the following chart relies on a handful of underlying assumptions:

- *Firstly, that the central authorities will attempt to maintain a balance on the Standing Committee between Hu’s Tuanpai faction and the princeling – Shanghai coalition.* However, as Jiang Zemin continues to advance in age, and as Hu Jintao has had a decade in office to fill the bureaucracy with his supporters, the *Tuanpai* is likely to emerge as the strongest cohesive political bloc within the Party’s elite leadership.
- *Secondly, that the political career of Bo Xilai is likely at an end.* The announced decision of the CCP Central Committee to relieve Bo Xilai of his posts in Chongqing means that his prospects of

entering the Standing Committee are virtually nil. It is possible that Bo Xilai may be allowed to retain his seat on the full Politburo before being sent into retirement, and/or to be given a powerless ceremonial position, but his career as a power player is finished.

- *It is uncertain how the appointment of Zhang Dejiang as CCP Secretary in Chongqing affects his standing in the PSC “wild card” race (see p. 39 of this report). However, an approximately six-month tenure in Chongqing, before returning to Beijing to assume a PSC seat in autumn 2012, would be unusually short. Furthermore, having selected a compromise choice to sweep up the political debris in Chongqing in the aftermath of Bo Xilai’s downfall, the central leadership may wish to avoid a destabilizing revolving-door of Party leadership in the region. Of Zhang Dejiang and Yu Zhengsheng, Yu’s reported personal connections (across factions, and to the Deng family) and status as Shanghai Party boss likely make him the stronger candidate for the Politburo Standing Committee.*
 - *Zhang’s posting to Chongqing does not remove him from the race: Xi Jinping served a brief tenure as CCP Secretary of Shanghai in 2007 (following the sacking of Chen Liangyu), but Xi’s term was cut short to allow him to enter the 17th PSC in October 2007. However, in early 2007 Xi Jinping was likely already the leading contender to become heir apparent, putting him in a very different position from Zhang Dejiang.*

Figure 4:
A Possible Line-Up of the Future CCP Politburo Standing Committee?
(2012 – 2017, following the 18th Party Congress)

Candidate for the Politburo Standing Comm.	 Xi Jinping 习近平 (Princeling)	 Li Keqiang 李克强	 Wang Qishan 王岐山 (Princeling) <i>Potential Alternate Candidate:</i> Yu Zhengsheng	 Liu Yandong 刘延东 (Princeling)	 Yu Zhengsheng 俞正声 (Princeling) <i>Potential Alternate Candidate:</i> Wang Qishan	 Liu Yunshan 刘云山	 Wang Yang 汪洋 <i>Potential Alternate Candidate:</i> Wang Qishan	 Li Yuanchao 李源潮 (Princeling)	 Meng Jianzhu 孟建柱
Probable Title(s)	CCP General Secretary; PRC President; Chair, CMC	PRC Premier	Chairman, National People's Congress	Chairman, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	President, CCP Central Party School	N/A	PRC Executive Vice-Premier	Director, Central Discipline Inspection Comm.	N/A
Portfolio	All Policy Areas / lead voice on foreign pol. (Chair, Foreign Affairs LSG)	Economics / Domestic Policy (Chair, Economics & Finance LSG)	General / Economic Policy	United Front Activities (Chair, United Front Work LSG)	Party Affairs (Chair, Party Building LSG)	Propaganda (Chair, Ideology & Prop. LSG)	Economics / Domestic Policy (Vice-Chair, Economics & Finance LSG)	Anti-Corruption	Security (Chair, Politics and Law LSG)
Year / Place of Birth	1953, Shaanxi Province	1955, Anwei Province	1948, Shanxi Province	1945, Jiangsu Province	1945, Zhejiang Province	1947, Shanxi Province	1955, Anhui Province	1950, Jiangsu Province	1947, Jiangsu Province
Previous Positions	PRC Vice-President; Director, Central Party School	Liaoning CCP Secretary; Henan Governor and CCP Secretary	Mayor of Beijing; Exec. Chairman, Beijing Olympic Committee	State Councilor; United Front Work Dept. Deputy Director	Hubei CCP Secretary; Minister of Construct.	Director, Central Publicity Dept.; Inner Mongolia CCP Deputy Secretary	Chongqing CCP Sec.; Vice-Min., Natl. Dev. and Reform Comm.	Jiangsu CCP Secretary	Jiangxi CCP Secretary; Shanghai Vice-Mayor
Factional Affiliation	Princeling / Shanghai Clique	CCYL Faction	Princeling Party	CCYL Faction	Princeling Party	CCYL Faction	CCYL Faction	CCYL Faction	Shanghai Clique

Analytic Justifications for the Predictions on 18th PSC Membership

The particular rationales for each projected slot on the next Standing Committee are as follows:

1. Xi Jinping: CCP General Secretary

- Xi's succession to the post of CCP General Secretary (and attendant post of President of the PRC) is virtually guaranteed by virtue of the posts he has held since 2007. It would require a major political stumble to derail his ascension to the top leadership slot.
- A major issue to watch will be whether or not Hu Jintao holds on to the chairmanship of the Central Military Commission, or whether he also hands over this post to Xi.

2. Wang Qishan: Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

- Wang Qishan's reported savvy with macroeconomic policy, and his recent high-profile diplomatic role, both promise a top slot for Wang.
- His alignment with the princeling group would help to provide factional balance near the top of the PSC "top four" hierarchy: the princelings Xi and Wang on one side, with *Tuanpai* loyalists Li Keqiang and Liu Yandong on the other.
- *Potential alternate candidate: Yu Zhengsheng.*

3. Li Keqiang: PRC Premier (Macroeconomic Policy)

- Li's succession to become PRC State Council Premier looks solid: He enjoys the patronage of Hu Jintao; his current position as First Vice-Premier makes him the logical successor to the premiership; he reportedly has a good working relationship with current Premier Wen Jiabao; and his public appearances continue to match up with his succession track.

4. Liu Yandong: Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (United Front Policy)

- Liu's current seniority, and long experience with youth and united front work, give her the strongest resume to assume the united front policy portfolio. She also enjoys close patronage ties to Hu Jintao. Furthermore, elevating a woman to the PSC would allow the Party leadership to project a more forward-looking and progressive image.

5. Yu Zhengsheng (Party Affairs)

- With no clearly designated heir apparent for the 2022 leadership transition, this slot will likely go to a "senior caretaker." Yu is believed to enjoy a good working relationship with both major factional groupings, making him a potential choice for this sensitive position. Yu's ability to appeal across factions may be further buttressed by his close ties to children of Deng Xiaoping.
- Due to his age Yu will face mandatory retirement at the 19th Party Congress in 2017, which would rule him out from any power plays for the top leadership slot.

6. Liu Yunshan (Propaganda)

- Liu Yunshan's long career experience in the media and propaganda fields – to include a decade-long tenure as head of the Central Propaganda Department – make him the natural choice for this policy portfolio.

7. Wang Yang: PRC First Vice-Premier (Macroeconomic Policy)

- The political downfall of Bo Xilai offers room for Wang to step up into the PSC. As a loyalist of the *Tuanpai*, and as a outspoken supporter of the economic policies of the Hu-Wen team, Hu Jintao and his backers could see Wang Yang as a promising choice to help secure Hu's longer-term legacy.
- *Potential alternate candidate: Wang Qishan.* It is possible that the princeling – Shanghai coalition might wish to ensure a top seat at the economic policy table for one of their

number; if so, Wang Qishan would be a natural choice. Wang Qishan's expertise in finance and international trade could be valuable in this position, and could also provide balance to the more domestically-focused economic experience of Li Keqiang.

8. Li Yuanchao: Director of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission

- With his extensive experience in Party organization and personnel issues, Li has a strong background for assuming management of the anti-corruption portfolio. According to the Xinhua News Agency, Li played the role of point man for Beijing in announcing Bo's sacking to the Chongqing CCP bureaucracy,²⁶⁷ suggesting that Li may already be easing into this policy area.
- The Central Discipline Inspection Commission can be a powerful political weapon; as the outgoing paramount leader, Hu Jintao may wish to ensure that this weapon is kept in the hands of a dependable *Tuanpai* loyalist.
- The incumbent in this position, He Guoqiang, also served as director of the Central Organization Department (2002-2007) prior to his elevation to the PSC.²⁶⁸ It would present a logical progression for Li Yuanchao, as the current head of the Organization Department, to follow in this career track.

9. Meng Jianzhu (Security and Intelligence)

- Although his elevation to the PSC would require a skip-echelon promotion over more senior contenders (i.e., Meng is not a current Politburo member), his experience as Minister of Public Security since 2007 provides him with a compelling background to take charge of China's civilian security and intelligence services. Meng is also believed to have a good working relationship with his current superior, Zhou Yongkang. Against a backdrop of continuing social and ethnic unrest in many parts of China, the leadership's continuing concern for "social stability" could incline them in favor of a smooth handover of the security portfolio.

Such an arrangement of appointments to the next PSC would represent a solid mix of professional experience, as well as a rough balance between factional / patronage networks. However, many factors unknown to outside observers will affect the choices being made this year inside the CCP leadership compound of Zhongnanhai, and at the summer retreat at Beidaihe. The eventual outcome of this year's Party Congress could well include surprises for even the most seasoned China watchers.

Section 4: Rising Figures in the “Sixth Generation” of the CCP

Party leaders of the “Sixth Generation” born in the 1960s are expected to assume high-level leadership posts in 2022-2023, following the retirements of the Xi-Li Administration officials. These cadres could be designated to take up seats in the full Politburo at the 18th Party Congress in 2012. Unlike their Fifth Generation counterparts, most of these individuals spent their childhood years during the Cultural Revolution and therefore were too young to be sent down to “learn from the peasants” in the late 1960s. Many of these leaders completed higher education degrees in the social sciences, a continued departure from the engineering backgrounds of the Fourth Generation leadership.

Some observers speculate that these leaders, having grown up during the era of “reform and opening up,” could be more reform-minded than their Fourth and Fifth Generation predecessors. However, the same criteria used to evaluate rising Fifth Generation cadres – caution, deference to superiors, and a commitment to CCP one-party rule – also apply to these younger officials. This makes any dramatic moves towards either economic or political reform unlikely. Some analysts have also suggested that Hu Jintao may be looking to maintain his future influence by securing a track for either Hu Chunhua or Zhou Qiang as Xi Jinping’s successor.²⁶⁹ Five of the Sixth Generation officials considered to have particularly promising career paths are profiled below:

Figure 5: Rising Officials of the “Sixth Generation” of the CCP					
	Hu Chunhua 	Sun Zhengcai 	Zhou Qiang 	Lu Hao 	Shen Yueyue 
Born	1963	1963	1960	1967	1957
Education	Beijing University (BA Chinese literature), Central Party School (MA)	China Agricultural University (Ph.D agriculture)	Southwest University of Political Science and Law (BA, MA law)	Beijing University (MA economics)	Ningbo Normal College (BA Mathematics), Central Party School (MA)
Current Title(s)	Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Party Secretary	Jilin Party Secretary	Hunan Party Secretary	First Secretary of CCYL	Central Organization Department Executive Vice-Director
Party Experience	2003-2006: Tibet Deputy Chief 2003-2005: Vice Chairman of Tibet Autonomous regional government 2007: Member of Central Committee 2009: Governor of Hebei	2002: Party Chief of Shunyi District, Beijing 2006: Minister of Agriculture 2009: Jilin Party Secretary 2010: Chairman of Jilin Provincial People’s Congress	1985-1995: Ministry of Justice (Cadre, Deputy Chief, Chief, Deputy Director) 1995: Secretariat of CCYL 1998: First Secretary of CCYL 2007: Governor of Hunan	1999: Director of Management Committee, Zhongguancun Science and Technology Park 2003: Vice Mayor of Beijing 2008: First Secretary of CCYL	1986-1993: Zhejiang Youth League Deputy Secretary and Secretary 2001: Anhui Party Committee Vice-Secretary 2003-2007: Vice-Minister of Human Resources and Social Security
Factional Connection	Communist Youth League	Princeling / Shanghai Clique	Communist Youth League	Princeling / Shanghai Clique	Communist Youth League

Hu Chunhua 胡春华

Hu Chunhua is currently the Party Secretary of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. A protégé of Hu Jintao (no blood relation) with similar background and experience as President Hu, Hu Chunhua is known as “Little Hu.” Like Hu Jintao, Hu Chunhua has had experience in Tibet, having spent over 20 years in the region, to include four years as deputy secretary of the CCYL Tibet Committee. Hu junior eventually moved up to First Secretary of the CCYL.²⁷⁰ In response to protests in Inner Mongolia in May 2011, Hu held meetings with students, urged bringing those responsible to justice, and gave orders to suppress the protests.²⁷¹ Interestingly, like his mentor Hu Jintao’s response to the 1989 Tibet Uprising, Hu Chunhua’s crisis management of the ethnic protests in Inner Mongolia appears to have won him the good opinion of senior leaders.

Many observers believe that Hu could be the frontrunner to succeed Xi Jinping as Party General Secretary and President in 2022.²⁷² There has been some speculation that Hu Jintao might seek to have Hu Chunhua elevated to the PSC at the 18th Party Congress.²⁷³ If so, it would place the younger Hu clearly in pole position to become the CCP’s senior leader in 2022. However, in light of the more senior candidates ahead of him for a PSC seat, and the possible resistance among Hu Jintao’s factional rivals to a skip-echelon promotion that would anoint a successor at such an early date, a less dramatic promotion (such as a seat on the full Politburo) would be a more likely outcome.

Sun Zhengcai 孙政才

Sun Zhengcai is currently the Party Secretary of Jilin. Sun received a Ph.D in Agriculture from the Beijing Academy of Agriculture and Forestry Sciences, and previously served as PRC Minister of Agriculture from 2006-2009.²⁷⁴ Sun is not a princeling but is considered close to the loose princeling / Shanghai factional group.²⁷⁵ Sun is a protégé of Shanghai Clique member Jia Qinglin, and Sun served as chief of staff to Jia during his tenure as Beijing CCP Secretary from 1996 to 2002.²⁷⁶ Sun is also thought to be close to Jiang Zemin and Zeng Qinghong. He is considered a leading candidate to succeed Li Keqiang as State Council Premier in 2022.²⁷⁷

Zhou Qiang 周强

Zhou Qiang is currently the Party Secretary of Hunan. His academic concentration was law, and Zhou worked at the Ministry of Justice for 10 years. A protégé of Hu Jintao, Zhou served in the CCYL Secretariat and later as CCYL First Secretary in 1998.²⁷⁸ Zhou served as Governor of Hunan from 2007 to 2010, and was elevated to Hunan CCP Secretary in 2010. Zhou is perhaps best known for receiving the United Nations “Champion of the Earth” award in 2005: At the time the Chairman of the All-China Youth Federation (ACYF), Zhou was recognized for the ACYF’s “China Mother River Protection Operation” for environmental clean-up in the Xiangjiang River in Hebei Province.²⁷⁹

Lu Hao 陆昊

Lu is currently the First Secretary of the Chinese Communist Youth League (CCYL) and President of the China Youth University for Political Sciences.²⁸⁰ In 2003, at the age of 35, he was appointed Vice-Mayor of Beijing, becoming “the youngest political leader of a vice ministerial rank in China.”²⁸¹ Although not a member of the 17th Central Committee, he is widely expected to enter the 18th as a full member.

After graduating from Beijing University with an economics degree, Lu began working in a state-owned factory and was appointed general manager at the age of 28. He later served as Deputy Director and

Director of the management committee of Beijing's Zhongguancun Science and Technology Park (sometimes referred to as "China's Silicon Valley").²⁸² His success led him to a promotion as Vice Mayor of Beijing in 2003, a role in which he was worked mainly in charge of industrial policy, and in restructuring the state-owned sector.²⁸³ Like Sun, Lu is not a princeling but was mentored by Xi Jinping and Zeng Qinghong, and is therefore considered a member of the princeling – Shanghai faction.

***Shen Yueyue* 沈跃跃**



One of the highest ranking women in the Party, Shen is currently Executive Vice-Director of the Central Organization Department and a member of the 17th Central Committee.²⁸⁴ She previously served as Vice-Minister of Human Resources and Social Security, Party Secretary of the city of Shaoxing, and as an alternate member of both the 15th and 16th Central Committees.²⁸⁵

Although she began her career as a shop assistant, she later earned a degree in mathematics and rose to prominence as Vice-Secretary of the Communist Youth League in her native Ningbo.²⁸⁶ She served as Deputy Secretary and Secretary of the Zhejiang Youth League from 1986 to 1993 and attended the Central Party School in 1996. When she was appointed Vice-Secretary of the Anhui Party Committee in 2001, she was 44 years of age.²⁸⁷ Long affiliated with the CCYL, she is thought to be aligned with Hu Jintao's *Tuanpai* faction.

Conclusions

When visiting the United States, Hu Jintao is invariably referred to as “China’s President,” rather than “General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party” – the office that carries the ring of true power. The CCP cloaks itself in the outer garb of the government; although foreign observers often fail to look critically beyond China’s formal state structure, few Chinese citizens would be so fooled. In the People’s Republic of China, it is the Party that rules both state and society.

The 2012 leadership transition will be a watershed event in Chinese politics. For the first time, a paramount leader will emerge who was not selected by the Elders of the CCP’s revolutionary generation. It will also mark a greater institutionalization of the processes for leadership turnover in the CCP. Aside from new Party norms requiring officials to retire in their late sixties, it could also firm up a new ten-year cycle in leadership politics, in which senior leadership teams elevated in even-numbered Party Congresses (16th Congress in 2002, 18th Congress in 2012, 20th Congress in 2022, etc.) have a decade in power to pursue their preferred policies and groom protégés before handing over the reins to their successors. In recent decades the problem of leadership succession has dogged Communist regimes, which have tended to either splinter (as with Yugoslavia) or to devolve into *de facto* family dictatorships (as with Cuba and North Korea). If CCP elites can continue to keep their political infighting under control and behind closed doors – as they have done for the past two decades – they could emerge as the rare Communist leaders to have forged a successful process for leadership transition.

The outcome of the 2012 leadership transition bears tremendous implications for the United States, as these new leaders will shape Chinese policy decisions well into the decades of the 2020s. The next few years are unlikely to see dramatic shifts in Chinese policy, as the new members of the Politburo and its Standing Committee consolidate their positions under the watchful eyes of actively serving political rivals, as well as the retired (but still very influential) Elders who remain involved in major decisions on policy and personnel. They will also remain constrained by the consensus nature of CCP elite decision-making. However, as they come into their own in the years ahead these officials will be in an increasingly powerful position to shape China’s economic and foreign policies.

It is difficult to predict how these new senior leaders will act in office, particularly as their ascent to the top of the Party hierarchy has been reliant on currying favor with superiors while holding their own cards close to the vest. However, as a group they have broader experience than their predecessors with the world beyond China’s borders, and they are more educated and experienced in economic and social policy. Most have also successfully navigated challenging career paths in provincial administration. These will likely be valuable skill sets as they seek to navigate the host of complex issues confronting China in the 21st century. However, they can also be expected to be very nationalistic, and firmly dedicated to preserving the Party’s absolute grip on power. Many have also grown up amid privilege, and may demonstrate the overconfidence of those who are “born to rule.”

The leadership succession of autumn 2012 will set in place a leadership team that will govern China for the next decade, and whose influence will likely be felt even further into the future. For a ruling party that controls the government, military, and economy of the world’s most rapidly rising great power, these events will be of tremendous significance far beyond China’s own borders. One cannot understand China’s rise without understanding the imperatives that drive China’s leaders. Future papers in this series will assess the rising leaders within China’s military and state-owned economy, and consider the implications for future U.S.-China relations.

ENDNOTES

¹ Leninist theory modifies original Marxist theory by positing that the proletariat is incapable of fulfilling its ultimate role to overthrow capitalism, unless the proletariat is led by a vanguard party of dedicated revolutionaries. (See Vladimir Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?: Burning Questions for Our Movement* (first published 1902), contained within *Lenin's Collected Works* (Moscow, Russia: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961), Vol. 5, pp. 347-530. Full text available at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1901/witbd>.) Once established, Leninist regimes maintain a one-party system (or a nominal coalition government under the *de facto* control of the ruling party), in which party and state institutions are officially separate, but in which the ruling party maintains authority over all major personnel appointments. For discussion of the functioning of this personnel system in China, see: John P. Burns, "China's Nomenklatura System," *Problems of Communism*, Sept.-Oct. 1987; Sebastien Heilmann, "The Chinese Nomenklatura in Transition," *China Analysis*, No. 1, June 2000, http://www.chinapolitik.de/studien/china_analysis/analysis1.pdf; and Hon S. Chan, "Cadre Personnel Management in China: The Nomenklatura System, 1990-1998," *The China Quarterly*, No. 179, 2004.

² *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* (as adopted Dec. 4, 1982), Chap. 3, Sec. 1, Art. 57. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/constitution/constitution.html>.

³ "Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the guidance of Marxism- Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people of all nationalities will continue to adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship and follow the socialist road, steadily improve socialist institutions, develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and work hard and self-reliantly to modernize industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology step by step to turn China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy... The Chinese people must fight against those forces and elements, both at home and abroad, that are hostile to China's socialist system and try to undermine it." *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* (as adopted Dec. 4, 1982), Preamble. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/constitution/constitution.html>.

⁴ Unless otherwise cited, the material on CCP institutions in this section has been adapted from: Michael Martin, "Understanding China's Political System" (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, April 14, 2010); Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform* (New York, NY: WW Norton & Co., 2004); and Alice Miller, "The Central Committee Departments Under Hu Jintao," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 27, 2009, <http://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor/article/5566>; Alice Miller, "The CCP Central Committee's Leading Small Groups," *China Leadership Monitor*, Issue #26 Fall 2008, <http://www.hoover.org/publications/clm/issues/27770964.html>; and Richard McGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2010).

⁵ For example, 17 years passed between the 6th Party Congress in 1928 and the 7th Party Congress in 1945; and in the first two decades following the founding of the PRC there were only two Congresses, the 8th convened in 1956 and the 9th convened in 1969. However, in the interim periods these Congresses would still meet periodically in "plenum" meetings. See "Country Study: China" (Library of Congress Call Number DS706.C489 1988), Appendix B, "Chronology and Lists," Federal Research Division (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, March 2011). http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/china/cn_appnb.html

⁶ For example, 2,048 delegates attended the 15th Congress in 1997, and 2,120 attended the 16th Congress in 2002. See "Q&A," *Press Center of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China* (in English), October 7, 2007. <http://english.cpcnews.cn/92277/6277861.html>.

⁷ "Q&A," *Press Center of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China* (online, in English), October 7, 2007. <http://english.cpcnews.cn/92277/6277861.html>.

⁸ "The delegates selected to attend the Party Congress are elected from within the Party... The Party committees of various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government are all predetermined electoral units. Some additional electoral units may be designated according to changes within the Party administrative structure and in departments directly under the CPC Central Committee, offices of the central governments, affiliated institutes, and the military troops. Delegates from various provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government are elected by the respective Party congresses at the provincial level. Delegates from the departments directly under the CPC Central Committee, offices of the central governments, the financial sector, and the business sector are elected through respective Party meetings held by [subordinate committees of] the CPC Central Committee." See "Q&A," *Press Center of the 17th National Congress*

of the Communist Party of China (online, in English), October 7, 2007.

<http://english.cpcnews.cn/92277/6277861.html>.

⁹ "Still in Mao's Shadow," *The Economist*, October 11, 2007.

¹⁰ Bo Zhiyue, "The Seventeenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Institutional Representation," *Issues & Studies*, vol. 44, no. 3 (September 2008). <http://iir.nccu.edu.tw/attachments/journal/add/4/1-41.PDF>.

¹¹ Cheng Li, "The Battle for China's Top Nine Leadership Posts," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2012.

¹² Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform* (New York, NY: WW Norton & Co., 2004), pp. 174 and 79.

¹³ The term *nomenklatura* (in Russian, "list of names") is used by political scientists to refer to the senior positions in the party/state bureaucracy of a Communist state, over which the Communist Party maintains direct control.

The term as actually used in Chinese is (职务名称表 / *zhiwu mingcheng biao*). For discussion of the functioning of the *nomenklatura* system in China, see: John P. Burns, "China's Nomenklatura System," *Problems of Communism*, Sept.-Oct. 1987; Sebastien Heilmann, "The Chinese Nomenklatura in Transition," *China Analysis*, No. 1, June 2000, http://www.chinapolitik.de/studien/china_analysis/analysis1.pdf; and Hon S. Chan, "Cadre Personnel Management in China: The Nomenklatura System, 1990-1998," *The China Quarterly*, No. 179, 2004.

¹⁴ As stated by Cheng Li, "Chinese leaders continue to claim, explicitly rather than implicitly, that the CCP is entitled to decide on major personnel appointments within the government. The defining feature of the Chinese political system has been, and continues to be, its Leninist structure, in which the state operates as the executor of decisions made by the Party. Although from time to time some top Chinese leaders have called for greater separation between the Party and the state and for more political participation from the public and social groups, the main objective of Chinese authorities has been, and is, the consolidation and revitalization of the Party leadership rather than the revision of the Leninist party-state system." See: Cheng Li, "From Selection to Election?: Experiments in the Recruitment of Chinese Political Elites," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26, Fall 2008. For a discussion of the roles and functions of the CCP Organization Department, see: Richard Macgregor, "The Party Organiser," *Financial Times*, September 30, 2009; and Richard MacGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2010), chap. 3, "The Keeper of the Files: The Party and Personnel," pp. 70-103.

¹⁵ See Richard McGregor, "The Party Organiser," *Financial Times*, September 30, 2009; and Andrew Nathan and Bruce Gilley, *China's New Rulers: The Secret Files* (New York, NY: New York Review of Books, 2003), pp. 3-37.

¹⁶ The term as actually used in Chinese is (职务名称表 / *zhiwu mingcheng biao*). For discussion of the functioning of the *nomenklatura* system in China, see: John P. Burns, "China's Nomenklatura System," *Problems of Communism*, Sept.-Oct. 1987; Sebastien Heilmann and Sarah Kirchberger, "The Chinese Nomenklatura in Transition," *China Analysis*, No. 1, June 2000, http://www.chinapolitik.de/studien/china_analysis/analysis1.pdf; and Hon S. Chan, "Cadre Personnel Management in China: The Nomenklatura System, 1990-1998," *The China Quarterly*, No. 179, 2004.

¹⁷ In 1987, one academic author calculated that the *nomenklatura* system in 1982 consisted of 8,130,787 positions. (See John P. Burns, "China's Nomenklatura System," *Problems of Communism*, Sept.-Oct. 1987.) Another academic study from 2000 estimated the overall number of country-wide appointed cadre positions at 40,190,000, to include an elite level of 2,400 cadre positions (provincial leadership and ministerial level) appointed by the CCP central authorities. (See Sebastien Heilmann and Sarah Kirchberger, "The Chinese Nomenklatura in Transition," *China Analysis*, No. 1, June 2000, http://www.chinapolitik.de/studien/china_analysis/analysis1.pdf.)

¹⁸ For an extensive list of positions covered by the PRC's *nomenklatura* system, see Hon S. Chan, "Cadre Personnel Management in China: The Nomenklatura System, 1990-1998," *The China Quarterly*, No. 179, 2004.

¹⁹ Cheng Li, "From Selection to Election?: Experiments in the Recruitment of Chinese Political Elites," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26, Fall 2008. For a discussion of the roles and functions of the CCP Organization Department, see: Richard Macgregor, "The Party Organiser," *Financial Times*, September 30, 2009; and Richard MacGregor, *The Party: The Secret World of China's Communist Rulers* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2010), chap. 3, "The Keeper of the Files: The Party and Personnel," pp. 70-103.

²⁰ Sebastien Heilmann and Sarah Kirchberger, "The Chinese Nomenklatura in Transition," *China Analysis*, No. 1, June 2000, http://www.chinapolitik.de/studien/china_analysis/analysis1.pdf

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- ²¹ For discussion of these CCP experiments with a more open system of personnel appointments, see “A Paradigm Shift in Chinese Leadership Selection,” Strategic Forecasting (STRATFOR), January 16, 2011; and John Dotson, “The Confucian Revival in the Propaganda Narratives of the Chinese Government” (U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission staff report, July 20, 2011), pp. 14-15, http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/Confucian_Revival_Paper.pdf.
- ²² David Shambaugh, “China’s Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy,” *The China Journal*, No. 57, January 2007.
- ²³ For discussion of this topic, see U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *2008 Annual Report to Congress* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, November 2008), pp. 291-292.
- ²⁴ Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform* (New York, NY: WW Norton & Company, 2004), p. 216.
- ²⁵ Anne-Marie Brady, *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), p. 27.
- ²⁶ The term “consultation” [xieshang / 协商] is the one used most frequently in UFWD sources to refer to its work on government policy with groups outside the CCP. See: “Zhuyao Zhineng” (Major Functions), official website of the United Front Work Department. Translation by the author. http://www.zyztb.cn/09/introduce/200910/t20091010_577660.html
- ²⁷ Lyman P. Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends: The United Front in Chinese Communist History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1967), p. 238.
- ²⁸ For discussion of CCP United Work activity in Hong Kong, see Cindy Yik-Yi Chu, “The Long History of United Front Activity in Hong Kong,” *Hong Kong Journal*, July 2011; and Joseph Cheng, “Just Like Spy Sex, the United Front Achieves Results,” *The Standard (Hong Kong)*, July 12, 2010. http://www.thestandard.com.hk/news_detail.asp?sid=28870198&art_id=100360&con_type=1&pp_cat=20. For a case study discussion of UFWD activity in Taiwan, see John Dotson, “Retired Taiwan Officer Exchanges Offer Insight into a Modern ‘United Front,’” *China Brief*, October 14, 2011.
- ²⁹ Willy Wo-Lap Lam, *Chinese Politics in the Hu Jintao Era: New Leaders, New Challenges* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006), p. 19.
- ³⁰ Alice Miller, “The Central Committee Departments Under Hu Jintao,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 27, 2009, <http://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor/article/5566>
- ³¹ From 1985—1995, Ling Jihua served in senior administrative and propaganda positions in the CYL. (“Ling Jihua 凌计划,” biographical profile on *ChinaVitae.com*. http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Ling_Jihua/career.) Hu Jintao served from 1982-1985 as the national Secretary for the CYL. (“Hu Jintao 胡锦涛,” biographical profile on *ChinaVitae.com*. http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Hu_Jintao/career.)
- ³² As one example, see mention of Ling Jihua traveling in Hu Jintao’s entourage in “Hu Jintao Arrives in Washington, Kicking off His State Visit to the U.S.,” People’s Republic of China Ministry of Foreign Affairs press release, January 19, 2011. <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/topics/hjtzdmgfw/t788243.htm>.
- ³³ “The Important Position of the CPC International Relations,” website of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. <http://idcpc.org.cn/english/inrelations/position.htm>.
- ³⁴ David Shambaugh, “China’s ‘Quiet Diplomacy’: The International Department of the Chinese Communist Party,” *China: An International Journal* Vol. 5, No. 1 (March 2007).
- ³⁵ As one example, see Bonnie S. Glaser and Scott Snyder, “Wang Jiarui’s New Year’s Visit to Pyongyang and China’s New Approach to North Korea,” *China Brief*, Vol. 9 No. 4 (February 20, 2009).
- ³⁶ “Wang Huning -- Secretariat Member of CPC Central Committee,” *Xinhua News Agency*, October 22, 2007. http://www.bjreview.com.cn/17thCPC/txt/2007-10/23/content_82521.htm.
- ³⁷ For example, Shi Zhihong, Deputy Director of the Policy Research Office, was included in Xi Jinping’s entourage for a trip to Italy, Cuba, Uruguay and Chile in June 2011. “Chinese Vice President Leaves for Four-Nation Visit,” *Xinhua News Agency*, June 1, 2011.
- ³⁸ Minxin Pei, *China’s Trapped Transition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2006), pp. 148-149. For discussion of the politicized nature of corruption cases and their use in inner-Party factional struggles, see: Cheng Li, “Was the Shanghai Gang Shanghaied?—The Fall of Chen Liangyu and the Survival of Jiang Zemin’s Faction,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 20 (Winter 2007). <http://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor/article/5877>.

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- ³⁹ David Barboza, "Politics Permeates Anti-Corruption Drive," *New York Times*, September 3, 2009. For general discussion of the problem of corruption in Chinese society, see also Ting Gong, "New Trends in China's Corruption: Change Amid Continuity", in Lowell Dittmer and Gouli Liu (eds.), *China's Deep Reform* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), pp. 451-470; and Ting Gong, "Corruption and Local Governance: The Double Identity of Chinese Local Governments in Market Reform", *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (March 2006); and Jean-Louis Rocca, "Corruption and its Shadow: An Anthropological View of Corruption in China", *China Quarterly*, No. 130 (June 1992); and Minxin Pei, *China's Trapped Transition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2006), pp. 148-149;
- ⁴⁰ Bruce Gilley, *Tiger on the Brink: Jiang Zemin and China's New Elite* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 242. See also Yan Sun, *Corruption and Market in Contemporary China* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 126-131; and Melanie Manion, *Corruption by Design: Building Clean Government in Mainland China and Hong Kong* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 193-195.
- ⁴¹ Image source: Agence France-Presse — Getty Images, drawn from: David Barboza, "Former Party Boss in China Gets 18 Years," *New York Times*, April 12, 2008.
- ⁴² Cheng Li, "Was the Shanghai Gang Shanghaied? The Fall of Chen Liangyu and the Survival of Jiang Zemin's Faction," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 20 (Winter 2007).
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- ⁴⁴ Michael F. Martin, "Understanding China's Political System," *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress*, April 14, 2010.
- ⁴⁵ Chart adapted by the author from: "Chart of the Central Organizations of the CPC," *China.org.cn* (PRC Government website), May 20, 2003, http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/state_structure/64735.htm; "PRC Government Structure," *China Business Review*, 2010, <http://www.chinabusinessreview.com/public/1005/prc-government-chart.pdf>; "China Information and Sources: The Communist Party of China," *ChinaToday.com* (PRC Government website), <http://www.chinatoday.com/org/cpc>; Michael Martin, "Understanding China's Political System" (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, April 14, 2010), <http://www.fas.org/sqp/crs/row/R41007.pdf>; Alice Miller, "The Central Committee Departments Under Hu Jintao," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 27, 2009, <http://www.hoover.org/publications/china-leadership-monitor/article/5566>; "CPC, Central Committee, Politburo, Secretariat," *ChinaVitae.com*. <http://www.chinavitae.com/institution/par/1010.101001001002&show=list>; and Open Source Center, "OSC Report: Organizational Chart of New Leadership of Communist Party of China," October 25, 2007, OSC ID CPP20071025035001, www.opensource.gov.
- ⁴⁶ Alice L. Miller, "The CCP Central Committee's Leading Small Groups," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26 (Autumn 2008).
- ⁴⁷ Minxin Pei, "Inside the Black Box: A Guide to Policymaking in China," Macquarie Equities Research, May 17, 2011. <http://macq.wir.jp/l.ut?t=dVMxcYq>.
- ⁴⁸ Minxin Pei, "Inside the Black Box: A Guide to Policymaking in China," Macquarie Equities Research, May 17, 2011. <http://macq.wir.jp/l.ut?t=dVMxcYq>.
- ⁴⁹ See James Mulvenon, "The Party Holds the Ring: Civil-Military Relations and Olympic Security," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26 (Autumn 2008); and Patrick Bessa, "Policy Making In China's Space Program: A History and Analysis of the Chang'e Lunar Orbiter Project," *Space Policy*, No. 26 (2010). An additional example of a possible *ad hoc* LSG is provided by an uncorroborated account that the 2010 awarding of the Nobel Prize to PRC dissident Liu Xiaobo so alarmed the CCP leadership that a Politburo-level "leading small group" (*lingdao xiaozu*) was formed in response. Headed by security czar Zhou Yongkang and propaganda czar Li Changchun, the "special anti-Liu working group" was reportedly formed to coordinate the PRC's worldwide policy response. [See: "China Sets Up 'Anti-Liu Working Group' in Wake of Nobel Award Ceremony," *Intelligence Online* (of France, in English – a subscription publication on the world of intelligence), December 16, 2010].
- ⁵⁰ The information on membership in the LSGs as contained in this section is drawn primarily from: Alice L. Miller, "The CCP Central Committee's Leading Small Groups," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26 (Autumn 2008).
- ⁵¹ The National Security LSG was created in 2000, in part as a result of the 1999 accidental bombing of the PRC Embassy Annex in Belgrade by U.S. aircraft during the Kosovo Campaign. [See Susan Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 234.] Although the Foreign Affairs and National

Security LSGs exist formally as two separate bodies, they share identical membership and administrative support. [See Alice L. Miller, "The CCP Central Committee's Leading Small Groups," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26 (Autumn 2008)].

⁵² Terms in office for Liu Yandong and Du Qinglin drawn from biographical entries in *ChinaVitae.com*: "Du Qinglin 杜青林," http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Du_Qinglin|81; and "Liu Yandong 刘延东," http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Liu_Yandong/career.

⁵³ See Nicholas Kristof, "Where the Chinese Go To Play," *New York Times*, September 13, 1993; and Bruce Gilley, "The 'End of Politics' in Beijing," *The China Journal*, No. 51 (Jan., 2004).

⁵⁴ Willy Lam, "Bad Start for China's Beidaihe Meet," *CNN.com*, July 20, 2002. <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/east/07/30/china.meetings>.

⁵⁵ Cheng Li, "The China Diviner: China's New G9," Macquarie Economics Research, July 6, 2011. <http://macq.wir.jp/l.ut?t=dmw2iZW>.

⁵⁶ "Liu Shaoqi and His Nine Children, Old Photos." <http://oldphoto.wojiali.com/war/figures/13.html>.

⁵⁷ "Top Advisor Calls For Learning President Hu's Keynote Speech," *People's Daily Online* (in English), July 5, 2007. <http://english.cpc.people.com.cn/91400/91401/6208458.html>

⁵⁸ James Mulvenon and Michael Chase, "The Role of *Mishu* in the Chinese Political System," in David Finkelstein and Maryanne Kivlehan (eds.), *China's Leadership in the 21st Century: The Rise of the Fourth Generation* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), p. 144.

⁵⁹ Li Haiwen, "Zhonggong Zhongyang Shujichu de Youlai ji Zhiquan" ("The Origin and Official Powers of the CCP Central Secretariat"), *Zhongguo Gongchandang Xinwen* (Chinese Communist Party News Network), September 20, 2006. <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/68742/69118/69658/4835911.html>. Original text: "中央政治局仍是决策机关，在中央政治局及其常务委员会领导下，中央书记处仍负责党政军的日常工作。" Translation by the author.

⁶⁰ Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform* (New York, NY: WW Norton & Co., 2004), pp. 175.

⁶¹ William Joseph, *Politics in China: An Introduction* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.169.

⁶² Alice Miller, "The Politburo Standing Committee Under Hu Jintao," *China Leadership Monitor*, no. 35 (Winter 2011). <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/CLM35AM.pdf>

⁶³ The CMC does maintain a nominal dual identity as both a Party and state entity; however, the distinction has little meaning, as the state and Party CMCs have identical membership. The existence of a state CMC is maintained primarily for ceremonial or diplomatic purposes. See Russell Hsiao, "China's Central Military Commissions After the NPC," *China Brief*, March 28, 2008.

⁶⁴ Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard, "Jiang Finally Steps Down: A Note on Military Personnel Changes and the CCP's Governing Capacity," *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, No. 19, 2004.

⁶⁵ Deng Xiaoping, "Streamlining is a Revolution," speech delivered before the CCP Politburo, January 13, 1982. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/cpc2011/2011-03/25/content_12473700.htm.

⁶⁶ Art. 66 of the 1982 Constitution limited the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to two consecutive terms; Art. 79 did the same for the offices President and Vice-President of the People's Republic of China; and Art. 87 did the same for the Premier, Vice-Premier, and State Councilors of the State Council. See *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* (as adopted Dec. 4, 1982). <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/constitution/constitution.html>.

⁶⁷ David Holley, "Chinese Debating Deng's Plan to Quit Politburo," *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1987.

⁶⁸ Kjeld Erik Brodsgaard, "Jiang Finally Steps Down: A Note on Military Personnel Changes and the CCP's Governing Capacity," *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, No. 19, 2004.

⁶⁹ Andrew Nathan and Bruce Gilley, *China's New Rulers: The Secret Files* (New York, NY: New York Review of Books, 2002), pp. 139-144.

⁷⁰ Suisheng Zhao, "The New Generation of Leadership and the Direction of Political Reform after the 16th Party Congress," in Yun-han Chu et al. (eds.), *The New Chinese Leadership: Challenges and Opportunities after the 16th Party Congress* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), p. 35. Some academic analysts believe that Jiang may have implemented this rule as a tactic to forcibly retire Qiao Shi, a major figure in Chinese intelligence who was then Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and a potential political rival to Jiang. See Susan Shirk, "The Succession Game," in Gang Lin and Susan Shirk (eds.), *The 16th CCP Congress and*

Leadership Transition in China (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center, Sep. 2002), p.5, <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/asiarpt105.pdf>; and Alice Miller, "The 18th Central Committee Politburo: A Quixotic, Foolhardy, Rashly Speculative, But Nonetheless Ruthlessly Reasoned Projection," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 33, Summer 2010. <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/CLM33AM.pdf>.

⁷¹ Chuang Kung-pai, "With the Stable Transition of the CPC Political Bureau Standing Committee, the 'Core' of the 18th Party Congress Begins to Show Up," *Zhongguo Tongxunshu*, October 22, 2007. OSC document ID CPP20071022136006. www.opensource.gov. The news article is quoted in Alice Miller, "The 18th Central Committee Politburo: A Quixotic, Foolhardy, Rashly Speculative, But Nonetheless Ruthlessly Reasoned Projection," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 33, Summer 2010.

<http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/CLM33AM.pdf>.

⁷² Image source: "Chinese Communist Party Information – Members of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), September 1-11, 1982, Beijing," *ChinaToday.com*. http://www.chinatoday.com/org/cpc/cpc_12th_congress_standing_polibureau.htm. For mention of the role played by Li Xiannian and Chen Yun in the June 1989 crackdown and dismissal of CCP General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, see: Zhao Ziyang, *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Zhao Ziyang* (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2009), pp. 39-40.

⁷³ Roderick MacFarquhar and Michael Schoenhals, *Mao's Last Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

⁷⁴ Frederick Teiwes, "Politics at the 'Core': the Political Circumstances of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin," *China Information*, Vol. 15:1 (2001).

⁷⁵ James Miles, *The Legacy of Tiananmen* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 26-30; and "The Ghosts of Purges Past," *The Economist*, May 31, 2007.

⁷⁶ "Wen Jiabao 温家宝," *ChinaVita.com*. http://www.chinavita.com/biography/Wen_Jiabao/career.

⁷⁷ For a detailed example of the information presented to the Politburo leadership regarding the nature of the Spring 1989 demonstrations, see Andrew Nathan and Perry Link (eds.), *The Tiananmen Papers* (New York, NY: Public Affairs Books, 2001), pp. 338-348 ("Western Infiltration, Intervention, and Subversion").

⁷⁸ Speaking in autumn 1989, Deng explained the Tiananmen crackdown by stating that "The West really wants unrest in China. It wants turmoil not only in China but also in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The United States and some other Western countries are trying to bring about a peaceful evolution towards capitalism in socialist countries... We should be on guard against this. Capitalists want to defeat socialists in the long run. In the past they used weapons, atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs, but... now they are trying peaceful evolution... China will get nowhere if it does not build and uphold socialism. Without leadership by the Communist Party, without socialism and without the policies of reform and opening to the outside world, the country would be doomed. Without them, how could China have gotten where it is today?" [See Deng Xiaoping, "We Are Confident that We Can Handle China's Affairs Well," speech from September 16, 1989. From the *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol. 3 (Beijing, China: Foreign Languages Press, 1994).

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/vol3/text/d1040.html>.]

⁷⁹ For a detailed discussion of this topic, see David Shambaugh, *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation* (Wilson Center Press, 2008), Chap. 4, "The Chinese Discourse on Communist Party States" (pp. 41-92).

⁸⁰ Rowan Callick, "DVDs Tell Faithful How to Escape Russia's Fate," *The Australian*, 11 Dec 2006.

http://www.chinesepolitics.blogspot.com/2006_12_01_archive.html

⁸¹ Andrew Nathan and Perry Link (eds.), *The Tiananmen Papers* (New York, NY: Public Affairs Books, 2001), pp. 308-314 ("The Elders Choose Jiang Zemin").

⁸² Joseph Fewsmith, *China Since Tiananmen: The Politics of Transition* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 22-26.

⁸³ "Deng Resigns as Military Chairman," *Associated Press*, November 9, 1989.

⁸⁴ John Tkacik, "Premier Wen and Vice President Zeng: The 'Two Centers' of China's 'Fourth Generation'," in Andrew Scobell and Larry Wortzel (eds.) *Civil-Military Change in China: Elites, Institutes, and Ideas After the 16th Party Congress* (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, September 2004), pp. 140-143.

⁸⁵ Michael F. Martin, "Understanding China's Political System," *Congressional Research Service Report for Congress*, April 14, 2010.

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- ⁸⁶ Career profiles for Zhu Rongji, Zeng Qinghong, Wu Bangguo, and Huang Ju, as drawn from *ChinaVitae.com*.
- ⁸⁷ Source: *Xinhua News Service* photo, posted in "[Photos of Chinese Leaders Watching National Day Celebrations \(Updated\)](#)," *China Digital Times*, Oct. 3, 2009. <https://cdtweb1.info/china/1949-60-years>.
- ⁸⁸ Alice Miller, "The Problem of Hu Jintao's Successor," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 19 (Autumn 2006).
- ⁸⁹ Richard Daniel Ewing, "Hu Jintao: The Making of a Chinese General Secretary," *The China Quarterly*, No. 173, March 2003.
- ⁹⁰ Willy Wo-Lap Lam, *Chinese Politics in the Hu Jintao Era: New Leaders, New Challenges* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006), p. 6.
- ⁹¹ Zhiyue Bo, *China's Elite Politics: Political Transition and Power Balancing* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2007), p. 33.
- ⁹² Richard Daniel Ewing, "Hu Jintao: The Making of a Chinese General Secretary," *The China Quarterly*, No. 173, March 2003.
- ⁹³ Photo taken from: John Garnaut, "Decades After Call for Reform, Tibet Remains in Crisis," *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 4, 2010. <http://www.smh.com.au/world/decades-after-call-for-reform-tibet-remains-in-crisis-20100903-14uo4.html>. The exact time and location of the photo is unknown; however, it was likely taken in early 1986, when Hu Yaobang spent the Lunar New Year holiday in Guizhou. [See Willy Wo-Lap Lam, *Chinese Politics in the Hu Jintao Era: New Leaders, New Challenges* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006), p. 7.]
- ⁹⁴ Despite the sacking of Hu Yaobang in 1987, and a widespread purge of Party political reformers after June 1989, some of Hu Yaobang's protégés survived politically to achieve high positions in the CCP. Another example would be Li Ruihuan, who was a senior figure in the propaganda and ideological fields in the 1990s, and who held a seat in the PSC from 1997-2002. [See Willy Wo-Lap Lam, *Chinese Politics in the Hu Jintao Era: New Leaders, New Challenges* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006), p. 10; and Geremie Barme, *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 29-30.]
- ⁹⁵ John Garnaut, "A Remarkable Comeback," *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 29, 2010.
- ⁹⁶ Alice Miller, "The Problem of Hu Jintao's Successor," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 19 (Autumn 2006).
- ⁹⁷ "Zhongguo Gongqingtuan Jieshao" (中国共青团简介 – "Introduction to the Chinese Communist Youth League"), official website of the CCYL (in Chinese), accessed January 17, 2011. Translation by the author. http://www.gqt.org.cn/695/gqt_tuanshi/gqt_qhlc/gqt_introduce/introduce. According to this source, at the end of 2007 the CCYL had a total membership of 75,439,000, with 191,000 CCP cadres assigned to work in the organization.
- ⁹⁸ Richard Daniel Ewing, "Hu Jintao: The Making of a Chinese General Secretary," *The China Quarterly*, No. 173, March 2003. Specifically, Hu Jintao served as Secretary of the CCYL Secretariat from 1982-1984, and then as General Secretary of the CCYL from 1984-1985. See "Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 – Career Data," *ChinaVitae.com*. http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Hu_Jintao/career.
- ⁹⁹ *Tuan Lishi Zhanlanguan* (团史历展览馆 – "League Historical Archive"), from the official webpage of the Chinese Communist Youth League (accessed Jan. 17, 2011). http://www.gqt.org.cn/695/gqt_tuanshi/
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- ¹⁰¹ Andrew Nathan and Bruce Gilley, *China's New Rulers: The Secret Files* (New York, NY: New York Review of Books, 2003), p. 153; and "Liu Yandong 刘延东 – Career Data," *ChinaVitae* website. http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Liu_Yandong/career.
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- ¹⁰³ Cheng Li, "Hu's Policy Shift and the Tuanpai's Coming of Age," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 15 (Summer 2005).
- ¹⁰⁴ For discussion of this ideological construct, see Joseph Fewsmith, "Promoting the Scientific Development Concept," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 11 (Summer 2004).
- ¹⁰⁵ For discussion of the meaning of this slogan, see "The Scientific Meaning of Making People the Foundation" (以人为本的科学内涵 / *Yi Ren Wei Ben de Kexue Neihan*), *Chinese Communist Party News Network* (中国共产党新闻网 / *Zhongguo Gongchan Dang Xinwen Wang*), August 1, 2008. <http://theory.people.com.com/GB/40557/130316/130317/7600245.html>.

¹⁰⁶ For discussion of the “Socialist Harmonious Society” concept as advocated by official CCP propaganda, see John Dotson, “The Confucian Revival in the Propaganda Narratives of the Chinese Government,” U.S.-China Economic & Security Review Commission staff report, July 20, 2011.

http://www.uscc.gov/researchpapers/2011/Confucian_Revival_Paper.pdf.

¹⁰⁷ Paul Eckert, “Sizing Up China’s Next Leader,” *Reuters Special Report*, February 2011.

<http://graphics.thomsonreuters.com/11/01/XiJinping.pdf>.

¹⁰⁸ Cheng Li, “China’s Fifth Generation: Is Diversity a Source of Strength or Weakness?” *Asia Policy*, No. 6, July 2008, pp. 53-93.

¹⁰⁹ Michael Wise, “Chinese Promotion Puts Official on Track for Presidency,” *New York Times*, October 18, 2010.

¹¹⁰ Alice Miller, “The Preparation of Li Keqiang,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 31 (Winter 2010).

¹¹¹ “[T]he expansion served to enhance the role of the Standing Committee as the decision-making core of the leadership at the expense of the broader Politburo. The expansion to nine members thus brought together all of the key leaders necessary for the Standing Committee to address any significant issue in all of the major policy sectors – economy, foreign and security policy, party affairs, propaganda, and internal security.” Alice Miller, “The 18th Central Committee Politburo: A Quixotic, Foolhardy, Rashly Speculative, But Nonetheless Ruthlessly Reasoned Projection,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 33 (Summer 2010).

¹¹² The PRC Constitution identifies the National People’s Congress as “the highest organ of state power.” [See *Constitution of the People’s Republic of China* (as amended March 14, 2004), Chap. 3, Sec. 1, Art. 57.

http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Constitution/2007-11/15/content_1372965.htm.] However, in reality it serves as a largely ceremonial rubber stamp for policy decisions made within Party circles.

¹¹³ “The CPPCC is an organization of the patriotic united front of the Chinese people. It is an important organization of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the [Chinese Communist Party].” “The Nature of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC),” *Gov.cn* (official web portal of the Chinese Government). http://english.gov.cn/2005-09/02/content_28614.htm. See also Howard DeVore, *China’s Intelligence and Internal Security Forces* (Alexandria, VA: Janes, 1999), p.56.

¹¹⁴ Many expert observers of Chinese elite politics believe that Jiang Zemin was unhappy with having Hu Jintao forced upon him as a successor, and that Jiang would have preferred to designate his loyal right-hand man, Zeng Qinghong, as CCP General Secretary in 2002. Although Jiang was unable to maneuver Zeng into the top slot in the Party hierarchy, Zeng was placed in a *de facto* second-ranking position in the 16th Politburo (2002-2007), and was further bolstered by Jiang’s continuing influence in politics.

¹¹⁵ For examples, see Cheng Li, “China’s Two Li’s: Frontrunners in the Race to Succeed Hu Jintao,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 22 (Fall 2007), <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/CLM22CL.pdf>; and Alice Miller, “Beijing Prepares to Convene the 17th Party Congress,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 22 (Fall 2007), <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/CLM22AM.pdf>.

¹¹⁶ Zheng Yongnian and Chen Gang, “Xi Jinping’s Rise and Political Implications,” *China: An International Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 2009).

¹¹⁷ Zeng Qinghong Overturns the Arrangements of the Tuanpai and Introduces the Era of the Princeslings,” [曾庆红颠覆团派布局迎来太子党新时代 / *Zeng Qinghong Dianfu Tuanpai Buju Yingli Taizidang Shidai*], *Duwei Monthly Magazine* [多维月刊 / *DuoWei Yue Kan*] (Chinese-language newspaper based in New York, NY), November 5, 2007. <http://politics.dwnnews.com/news/2007-11-05/3444543.html>. See also Zheng Yongnian and Chen Gang, “Xi Jinping’s Rise and Political Implications,” *China: An International Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March 2009).

¹¹⁸ “Xi Jinping,” profile in the *New York Times*, January 31, 2012.

http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/x/xi_jinping/index.html.

¹¹⁹ Robert Lawrence Kuhn, *How China’s Leaders Think: The Inside Story of China’s Reform and What This Means For the Future* (Singapore: John Wiley & Sons Asia, 2010), chapter 6 (“Reform’s Epic Struggle”).

¹²⁰ Zheng Yongnian and Chen Gang, “Xi Jinping’s Rise and Political Implications,” *China: An International Journal*, Vol. 7 No. 1 (March 2009).

¹²¹ At the 13th Party Congress held in late October of that year, Xi Zhongxun was among ten of twenty members of the Politburo who announced their formal retirements, to include five of the famous “Eight Immortals”: Deng

Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, and Wang Zhen. See Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Politics of China: The Eras of Mao and Deng* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993), p. 407.

¹²² Zheng Yongnian and Chen Gang, "Xi Jinping's Rise and Political Implications," *China: An International Journal*, Vol. 7 No. 1 (March 2009).

¹²³ Source: "Scenes of Cultural Revolution Denunciation: 11 Photos of Xi Jinping's Father Xi Zhongxun, etc. Being Paraded Through the Streets" [文革批斗场景 习近平之父习仲勋游街等 11 张图 / *Wenge Pidou Changjing Xi Jinping zhi Fu Xi Zhongxun Youjie deng 11 Zhang Tu*], *Boxun News* (in Chinese), January 11, 2012. http://boxun.com/news/qb/z_special/2012/01/201201110210.shtml.

¹²⁴ Source: John Garnaut, "The Party's No Fun for Children of the Revolution," *The Age* (Australia), October 17, 2011. <http://www.theage.com.au/world/the-partys-no-fun-for-children-of-the-revolution-20111016-1lrm0.html#ixzz1lu8cyZtn>.

¹²⁵ Cheng Li, *China's Leaders: The New Generation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), p. 148.

¹²⁶ For a list of the extensive party/military roles held by Xi Jinping during his career as a provincial official ("First political commissar of the anti-aircraft artillery reserve division of Fujian Provincial Military Area Command," etc.), see James Mulvenon, "Xi Jinping and the Central Military Commission: Bridesmaid or Bride?" *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 34 (2011); and "Xi Jinping – Career Data," *Chinaviva.com*, http://www.chinaviva.com/biography/Xi_Jinping/career.

¹²⁷ Paul Eckert, "Sizing Up China's Next Leader," *Reuters News Service*, February 17, 2011, <http://graphics.thomsonreuters.com/11/01/XiJinping.pdf>; and Jeremy Page, "Xi's Career Gives Few Clues to His Beliefs," *Wall Street Journal*, October 18, 2010.

¹²⁸ Warren Sun (professor at Monash University) as quoted in John Garnaut, "China's Party Princelings Fight for a Chance to Go Back to the Future," *Sydney Morning Herald* (Australia), May 24, 2011. <http://www.smh.com.au/business/chinas-party-princlings-fight-for-a-chance-to-go-back-to-the-future-20110523-1f0pu.html>.

¹²⁹ "Xi Jinping -- Vice Chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission," *Xinhua News Service* (in English), October 18, 2010. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-10/18/c_13563059.htm.

¹³⁰ Strategic Forecasting, Inc. (STRATFOR), "Former President's Son on Track for a Powerful Military Position," July 23, 2011; and Willy Lam, "The Military Maneuvers of Xi Jinping," *Wall Street Journal*, January 26, 2011. http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704698004576103513580674214.html?mod=googlenews_wsj.

Note that Gen. Liu Yuan (刘源), the son of Liu Shaoqi and the current Political Commissar of the PLA General Logistics Department, should not be confused with Maj. Gen. Luo Yuan (罗援), a senior officer assigned to the PLA Academy of Military Sciences. Both men are outspoken hawks sometimes quoted in the Western media, so they could sometimes be confused with one another.

¹³¹ "China, U.S. Agree Bilateral Relations 'Most Important'" *People's Daily Online* (in English), January 13, 2009. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6572553.html>.

¹³² "Xi Jinping," profile in the *New York Times*, January 31, 2012. http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/x/xi_jinping/index.html.

¹³³ "Governor's Office Reveals New Details for China Vice President Xi Jinping's Visit to Iowa," press release from the Office of the Governor of Iowa, February 6, 2012. <https://governor.iowa.gov/2012/02/governor%E2%80%99s-office-reveals-new-details-for-china-vice-president-xi-jinping%E2%80%99s-visit-to-iowa/>. See also Tan Yingzi, "Xi to Revisit Iowa After Memorable Trip 27 Years Ago," *China Daily*, February 9, 2012.

¹³⁴ For examples, see Cheng Li, "China's Two Li's: Frontrunners in the Race to Succeed Hu Jintao," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 22 (Fall 2007), <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/CLM22CL.pdf>; and Alice Miller, "Beijing Prepares to Convene the 17th Party Congress," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 22 (Fall 2007), <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/CLM22AM.pdf>.

¹³⁵ "Wikileaks: From Xi Jinping's Rise to Jiang Zemin's Buddhism," *China Digital Times*, June 21, 2011. <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2011/06/wikileaks-from-xi-jinpings-rise-to-jiang-zemins-buddhism>.

¹³⁶ John Garnaut, "Lifting the Lid on the Secret Life of Point Piper's Grand Princeling," *Sydney Morning Herald* (Australia), October 16, 2010.

¹³⁷ Zheng Yongnian and Chen Gang, "Xi Jinping's Rise and Political Implications," *China: An International Journal*, Vol. 7 No. 1 (March 2009).

¹³⁸ “Chinese Vice President Holds Talks with Merkel on China-Germany Ties,” *Xinhua News Service* (in English), October 13, 2009. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-10/13/content_12219587.htm. For commentary on the significance of this event, see: Victor Shih, “Xi Jinping Sends Signals by Giving Merkel Books by Jiang,” *Elite Chinese Politics and Political Economy Blog*, October 15, 2009, http://chinesepolitics.blogspot.com/2009_10_01_archive.html; and Willy Lam, “Cracks in China’s Great Politburo Wall,” *Asia Sentinel*, October 13, 2009.

¹³⁹ Willy Wo-Lap Lam, *Chinese Politics in the Hu Jintao Era: New Leaders, New Challenges* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2006), p. 12-15. For discussion of the tradition in CCP politics of praising a leader’s writings or speeches as a means of signaling loyalty, see Victor Shih, “‘Nauseating’ Displays of Loyalty: Monitoring the Factional Bargain through Ideological Campaigns in China,” *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 70 No. 4 (October 2008).

¹⁴⁰ Photo source: “Chinese Vice President Holds Talks with Merkel on China-Germany Ties,” *Xinhua News Service* (in English), October 13, 2009. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-10/13/content_12219587.htm.

¹⁴¹ Xi Zhongxun was appointed head of the Central Propaganda Dept. in 1950; as a Member of the Central Committee in 1956; and as Vice-Premier from 1959-1962, after which he was purged. He was rehabilitated after the Cultural Revolution, and served from 1978-1982 as Provincial CCP Secretary and Governor of Guangdong; and in 1982 entered the Politburo. He died in 2002. See: biographical entry for “Xi Zhongxun [习仲勋],” *China.com.cn* (Chinese government information website), September 22, 2002. www.china.com.cn/chinese/zhuanti/208065.htm.

¹⁴² Keith Richburg, “Rising Leader Xi Jinping’s Family Suffered in Chinese Power Struggles,” *Washington Post*, October 24, 2010.

¹⁴³ Paul Eckert, “Sizing Up China’s Next Leader,” *Reuters Special Report*, February 2011. <http://graphics.thomsonreuters.com/11/01/XiJinping.pdf>.

¹⁴⁴ Rowan Callick, “DVDs Tell Faithful How to Escape Russia’s Fate,” *The Australian*, 11 Dec 2006. http://www.chinesepolitics.blogspot.com/2006_12_01_archive.html.

¹⁴⁵ “In the 1990s the princelings were viewed with great suspicion by many in the party who resented their use of blood ties to secure top positions, but in more recent years party leaders appear to have rallied around them. They probably calculate that people like Mr. Bo and Mr. Xi are the safest bet for upholding the party’s traditions, and crucially for holding on to its monopoly of power.” “The Princelings Are Coming,” *The Economist*, June 23, 2011. See also Paul Eckert, “Sizing Up China’s Next Leader,” *Reuters Special Report*, February 2011. <http://graphics.thomsonreuters.com/11/01/XiJinping.pdf>.

¹⁴⁶ “Li Keqiang 李克强 – Career Data,” *ChinaVitae.com*. http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Li_Keqiang/career.

¹⁴⁷ Barry Naughton, “China’s Economic Leadership after the 17th Party Congress,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 23 (Winter 2008).

¹⁴⁸ Cheng Li, “China’s Two Li’s: Frontrunners in the Race to Succeed Hu Jintao,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 22, 2007.

¹⁴⁹ Image source: “Chinese Vice Premier Urges U.S. to Respect China’s Core Interests,” *People’s Daily Online* (in English), March 16, 2010. <http://english.people.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6920456.html>.

¹⁵⁰ “Locked Doors: The Human Rights of People Living with HIV/AIDS in China,” Human Rights Watch, August 2003. <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/china0903short.pdf>.

¹⁵¹ Geoff Dyer, “Who Will Be China’s New Leaders?” *Financial Times*, March 4, 2011.

¹⁵² “Coal Mine Gas Explosion Kills 209 in Liaoning,” *China Daily*, February 16, 2005.

¹⁵³ Chris Buckley, “Insight: China Premier-In-Waiting Schooled in Era of Dissent,” *Reuters*, October 28, 2011.

¹⁵⁴ Bruce Gilley, “The Politics and Policy of Leadership Succession,” *China Brief*, January 20, 2012.

¹⁵⁵ The analysis in this section regarding likely future PSC Members draws heavily from the predictions of Dr. Cheng Li of the Brookings Institution; Dr. Alice Miller of Stanford University; Dr. Willy Wo-Lap Lam of the Jamestown Foundation; and Dr. Bo Zhiyue of the National University of Singapore. See: Cheng Li, “The Battle for China’s Top Nine Leadership Posts,” *Washington Quarterly*, 35:1 (Winter 2012); and Alice Miller, “The 18th Central Committee Politburo: A Quixotic, Foolhardy, Rashly Speculative, But Nonetheless Ruthlessly Reasoned Projection,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 33, Summer 2010; and Willy Lam, “Changing of the Guard: Beijing Grooms Sixth-Generation Cadres for 2020s,” *Jamestown Foundation*, September 2010; and Zhiyue Bo, *China’s Elite Politics: Governance and Democratization* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2010), p. 386.

¹⁵⁶ Richard McGregor, “The Party Organizer,” *The Financial Times*, September 30, 2009.

¹⁵⁷ Cheng Li, “China’s Two Li’s: Frontrunners in the Race to Succeed Hu Jintao,” *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 22, 2007, pp. 1-22.

¹⁵⁸ Cheng Li, “The Chinese Communist Party: Recruiting and Controlling the New Elites,” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 13-33.

¹⁵⁹ Richard McGregor, “The Party Organiser,” *Financial Times*, September 30, 2009.

¹⁶⁰ “At the end of a packed visit to Shanghai and Beijing, the Governor-General had an hour long meeting with one of the most prominent women in China, Politburo Member and State Councillor Madam Liu Yandong, 11 June 2010,” posting on the official webpage of the Governor-General of Australia. <http://www.gg.gov.au/event.php/view/id/976/title/at-the-end-of-a-packed-visit-to-shanghai-and-beijing-the-governor-general-had-an-hour-long-meeting-with-one-of-the-most-prominent-women-in-china-politburo-member-and-state-councillor-madam-liu-yandong>.

¹⁶¹ “Liu Yandong 刘延东 – Career Data,” *ChinaVitae.com*.

http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Liu_Yandong/career.

¹⁶² Andrew Nathan and Bruce Gilley, *China’s New Rulers: The Secret Files* (New York, NY: New York Review of Books, 2003), p. 153.

¹⁶³ Women have served in high-level positions in the PRC, but these have tended to be ceremonial positions given to the wives of senior leaders. Soong Ching-Ling, widow of Sun Yat-Sen) was one of two “Vice-Chairmen of the People’s Republic of China” in the years immediately following Communist victory; and Deng Yingchao (wife and widow of Zhou Enlai) was given a seat on the Politburo from 1978-1985. Most notably (or notoriously) of all, Mao’s fourth wife Jiang Qing was a powerful figure in the “Cultural Revolution Group” of the Cultural Revolution and a Politburo Member from 1969, but lost power and was imprisoned after Mao’s death in 1976.

¹⁶⁴ The “Central Commission for the Promotion of Spiritual Civilization” (*Zhongyang Jingshen Wenming Jianshe Zhidao Weiyuanhui* /), or CCPSC, is a subordinate/parallel branch of the CPD that concerns itself with public morals and hygiene. The Director of the CPD concurrently heads up the CCPSC, which presents awards to public institutions – “civilized work unit,” “civilized apartment block,” etc. – and also organizes cultural events and public holiday celebrations. [See Anne-Marie Brady, *Marketing Dictatorship: Propaganda and Thought Work in Contemporary China* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), pp. 25-26, 117. Members of the banned Falun Gong religious movement have accused the CCPSC of playing an active role in the suppression of their organization. [See “Investigative Report on the ‘610 Office’ CCP Central Committee,” The World Organization to Investigate the Persecution of Falun Gong (Falun Gong front organization), December 1, 2003. <http://www.zhuichaguoji.org/en/node/35>.] PRC officials have not made explicit a role for the CCPSC in suppressing “evil cults” such as Falun Gong, but have done so obliquely. [For one such example: “Liu Yunshan, deputy head of the Publicity Department and director for the Cultural and Ideological Progress Office, said... that the battle against Falun Gong is the battle between justice and evil, civilization and blindness, science and superstition.” See “Beijing Holds Exhibition to Expose Evil Cult,” press release of the Permanent Mission of the People’s Republic of China to the United Nations, June 17, 2001. <http://www.china-un.org/eng/zt/flqwt/t29519.htm>.] Such a role is also consistent with the CCPSC’s mission to uphold public “spiritual civilization,” which excludes heterodox philosophical or religious beliefs condemned by the Party.

¹⁶⁵ Image source: Associated Press, drawn from: “China, U.S. Clash on Trade Imbalance, Basic Human Rights,” *Toledo Blade*, May 10, 2011.

¹⁶⁶ In emerging precedent, there are usually four State Council Vice-Premiers (and concurrent Members of the Politburo) responsible for overseeing different sectors of the economy. Currently, these officials are: Li Keqiang

(macro-level economic policy and planning); Wang Qishan (trade, foreign economic relations, and finance); Zhang Dejiang (energy, technology, and heavy industry); and Hui Liangyu (agriculture). See Barry Naughton, "A New Team Faces Unprecedented Economic Challenges," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26 (Autumn 2008).

¹⁶⁷ Willy Lam, "Changing of the Guard: Beijing Grooms Sixth-Generation Cadres for 2020s," *Jamestown Foundation*, September 2010.

¹⁶⁸ Cheng Li, "The Battle for China's Top Nine Leadership Posts," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 35 No. 1 (Winter 2012).

¹⁶⁹ For example, this is the view expressed by Professor Barry Naughton (University of California – San Diego), in "A New Team Faces Unprecedented Economic Challenges," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 26 (Autumn 2008).

¹⁷⁰ "Wang Qishan," *The US-China Business Council*,

<https://www.uschina.org/public/china/bb2007/bio/wangqishan.html>

¹⁷¹ Cheng Li, "The Battle for China's Top Nine Leadership Positions," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2012.

¹⁷² Henry M. Paulson Jr., "The 2009 Time 100: Wang Qishan," *Time Magazine*, special issue 2009.

http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1894410_1893847_1893846,00.html.

¹⁷³ Jamil Anderlini, "China's Leaders Jockey for Politburo Positions," *Financial Times*, November 23, 2011.

¹⁷⁴ Joseph Fewsmith, "Bo Xilai Takes On Organized Crime," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 32, Spring 2010.

¹⁷⁵ Hu Yanan, "Chongqing Turns into 'Red Capital'," *China Daily*, March 1, 2011.

¹⁷⁶ "Bo Xilai 薄熙来," biographical profile on *ChinaVitae.com*.

http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Bo_Xilai/career.

¹⁷⁷ Source of images: Jeremy Page, "Children of the Revolution," *Wall Street Journal*, November 26, 2011.

¹⁷⁸ Kathrin Hille and Jamil Anderlini, "China: Mao and the next generation," *Financial Times*, June 2, 2011.

¹⁷⁹ Bo Zhiyue and Chen Gang, "Bo Xilai and the Chongqing Model," *East Asian Policy*, 42-49, July 17, 2009.

¹⁸⁰ Willy Lam, "Xi Jinping's Chongqing Tour: Gang of Princelings Gains Clout," *China Brief*, Vol. 10 Issue 25 (December 17, 2010).

¹⁸¹ "Intellectuals Divided: The Growing Political and Ideological Debate in China," The Brookings Institution, September 14, 2011.

¹⁸² Unless otherwise noted, information about Wang Lijun's career is drawn from: "Wang Lijun 王立军 – Career Data," *ChinaVitae.com*, http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Wang_Lijun/career. As a municipality, Chongqing is one of a handful of large cities in China – to include Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin – that are administered by the central government, and have status equivalent to a province. "Chongqing Municipal Government," Chongqing City Government homepage. <http://en.cq.gov.cn/>.

¹⁸³ Joseph Fewsmith, "Bo Xilai Takes On Organized Crime," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 32, Spring 2010; and "Wang Lijun 王立军 – Career Data," profile on *ChinaVitae.com*,

http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Wang_Lijun/career.

¹⁸⁴ As one example, see "Mafia Fighting Hero Wang Lijun: The Tender Side of Iron Blood"

[打黑英雄王立军:铁血柔情 / *Da Hei Yingxiong Wang Lijun: Tie Xie Rouqing*], *Tv.sohu.com*.

<http://tv.sohu.com/20110114/n278874421.shtml>.

¹⁸⁵ Source of images: "Wang Lijun Before the Holiday," *BeijingShots.com*.

<http://www.beijingshots.com/2012/02/wang-lijun-before-the-holiday>.

¹⁸⁶ Keith Richburg, "Speculation Grows Over Chinese Official's Mysterious Visit to U.S. Consulate," *Washington Post*, February 10, 2012.

¹⁸⁷ As stated by State Department spokesperson Victoria Nuland, "Wang Lijun did request a meeting at the U.S. Consulate General in Chengdu earlier this week in his capacity as vice mayor. The meeting was scheduled, our folks met with him, he did visit the consulate and he later left the consulate of his own volition. So – and obviously, we don't talk about issues having to do with refugee status, asylum, et cetera." See U.S. Department of State daily press briefing, February 8, 2012. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2012/02/183574.htm#CHINA>.

¹⁸⁸ As commented by Victor Shih, professor of political science at Northwestern University, "It's as if the governor of Ohio has just sent armed forces across the border into Indiana. What would that say about the stability of the U.S. and what does this say about the future of China?" Victor Shih, as quoted in Dexter Roberts, "News of Provincial Showdown Travels Far on Chinese Web," *Businessweek* (Online Edition) February 14, 2012. See also John Garnaut, "China Power Play: Anti-Corruption Officials Vanish," *Sydney Morning Herald* (Australia), February 9, 2012.

¹⁸⁹ Tania Branigan, "China's Anti-Gang Police Chief Placed on Stress Leave," *Guardian* (UK), February 8, 2012. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/08/china-police-chief-wang-lijun-stress-leave>.

¹⁹⁰ Allison Jackson, "Police Chief Flies to Beijing Amid Defection Rumors," *Agence France Press*, February 11, 2012.

¹⁹¹ Zhou Yongkang has been identified as a member of Jiang's "Shanghai Gang" faction. By some reports of unknown reliability (coming primarily from the banned dissident religious group Falun Gong), he may also be married to a niece of Jiang Zemin. Zhou Yongkang is also a "semi-princeling" of sorts: He is the son of Zhou Yiping, a mid-level official who served as the CCP Secretary of a prefecture in Zhejiang Province in the 1960s, and as a Deputy CCP Secretary for a western district of Beijing in the 1970s. [See Bo Zhiyue, *China's Elite Politics: Governance and Democratization* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2010), p. 22.

¹⁹² An article from the official state Xinhua News Service has described Zhou as giving "written instructions" to a conference on the importance of establishing a "scientific and transparent judicial auction system" that was held in Chongqing on Feb. 8th. However, the article is unclear as to whether or not Zhou himself was physically present. ["Senior Chinese Leader Stresses Transparent Judicial Auction," *Xinhua News Service* (in English), February 8, 2012.]

¹⁹³ John Garnaut, "China Power Play: Anti-Corruption Officials Vanish," *Sydney Morning Herald* (Australia), February 9, 2012.

¹⁹⁴ Image source: "Who's Who: Guan Haixiang," *Want China Times*. <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/whoswho-cnt.aspx?id=20120221000020&cid=20>

¹⁹⁵ "Guan Haixiang Appointed Secretary of the Party Committee for the Chongqing City Public Security Bureau" (*Guang Haixiang yi Churen Chongqing Shi Gong'anju Dangwei Shuji*), *Chinese Communist Party News Network* (*Zhongguo Gongchandang Xinwen Wang*) (in Chinese), February 18, 2012. <http://renshi.people.com.cn/17149321.html>.

¹⁹⁶ For one view of the Wang Lijun affair as a thinly-disguised political vendetta directed by Hu Jintao's *Tuanpai* against Bo Xilai and his alleged supporters in the "Princeling Party," see Willy Lam, "Hu Jintao Draws Blood with the Wang Lijun Scandal," *China Brief*, Vol. 12 Issue 5 (March 2, 2012).

¹⁹⁷ Tania Branigan, "China Needs Political Reform to Avert 'Historical Tragedy,' Says Wen Jiabao," *Guardian* (UK), March 14, 2012. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/14/china-political-reform-wen-jiabao>.

¹⁹⁸ "Zhang Dejiang Replaces Bo as Chongqing Party Chief," *Xinhua News Service*, March 15, 2012.

¹⁹⁹ As an example, see "Zhang Dejiang Appointed Party Chief of Chongqing," *People's Daily Online* (in English), March 15, 2012.

²⁰⁰ Dr. Cheng Li, as quoted in Keith Richburg, "Speculation Grows Over Chinese Official's Mysterious Visit to U.S. Consulate," *Washington Post*, February 10, 2012.

²⁰¹ See David Bandurski, "[Wang Lijun and the Tieling Corruption Case](http://cmp.hku.hk/2012/02/14/19184/)," *China Media Project*, February 14, 2012. <http://cmp.hku.hk/2012/02/14/19184/>; and Scott Greene, "Wang Lijun -- Tip of the Iceberg?" *China Digital Times*, February 13, 2012. <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2012/02/wang-lijun-tip-of-the-iceberg/>.

²⁰² Wang Xiangwei, "Chongqing's Political Mystery Deepens," *South China Morning Post*, February 13, 2012. <http://topics.scmp.com/news/china-news-watch/article/Chongqing%27s-political-mystery-deepens>. As stated by Sinologist Tony Saich, "Personal power and relations with powerful individuals are decisive throughout the political system and society... most Chinese recognize very early on that the best way to survive and flourish is to develop personal relationships (*guanxi*) with a powerful political patron. Thus, the Chinese political leadership is riddled with networks of personal relationships and is dominated by patron-client ties. This system of patron-client ties lends itself easily to the formation of factions within the leadership... on occasion an individual is attacked as a surrogate for a top leader who is the head of one of the patronage systems." See Tony Saich, *Governance and Politics of China* (New York, NY: Palgrave Publishing, 2001), p. 83.

²⁰³ François Godement (a senior research fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations) has summarized the Chongqing Model in this way: "Bo Xilai... has used massive state subsidies to woo flagship foreign firms... [and] launched a giant social housing program that is also predicated on migrants turning in their native land for development by the city; fought the local mafia; and promoted a new version of the PRC's collective ethos... [T]he Chongqing experiment is also becoming part of a controversial bid for a seat at the top table of Chinese politics. Both Zhou Yongkang, the security czar and a well-known hardliner, and Xi Jinping... have made a point of visiting and praising Chongqing. But Hu Jintao [and Li Keqiang] appear to be lending their authority to the promotion of another model: that of Guangdong, China's thriving export capital. The Guangdong model is based on the idea of

moving up the technology value chain, improving the rule of law and representation of the people by NGOs. It thus seems to converge with international expectations of a legal and market-based transition by rising China. Guangdong's Party secretary [Wang Yang]... is also a candidate for one of the nine top jobs [on the Politburo Standing Committee]." See Francois Godemont, "One or Two Chinese Models?" European Council on Foreign Relations, November 2011.

[http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/China Analysis One or two Chinese models November2011.pdf](http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/China%20Analysis%20One%20or%20two%20Chinese%20models%20November2011.pdf).

²⁰⁴ "Political Sacking in China's Chongqing Province," Strategic Forecasting, Inc. (STRATFOR), February 9, 2012.

²⁰⁵ Kent Ewing, "Bo Xilai: China's Brash Populist," *Asia Times* March 19, 2010; and Joseph Fewsmith, "Bo Xilai Takes On Organized Crime," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 32 (Spring 2010).

²⁰⁶ "Chinese Infighting: Secrets of a Succession War," *Financial Times*, March 4, 2012.

²⁰⁷ Huang Jiren, head of the Chongqing Writers Association, as quoted in Didi Kirsten Tatlow, "Inside China's Great Mystery," *IHT Rendezvous* (New York Times blog), February 12, 2012.

<http://rendezvous.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/12/inside-chinas-greatest-mystery>.

²⁰⁸ Kathrin Hille and Jamil Anderlini, "China: Mao and the New Generation," *Financial Times*, June 2, 2011, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/eb239472-8d48-11e0-bf23-00144feab49a.html#axzz1oM8Z9vFG>; and Melinda Liu, "China's Leader Breaks a Taboo," *The Daily Beast*, November 6, 2011,

<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2011/11/05/chinese-premier-wen-jiabao-criticizes-cultural-revolution.html>.

²⁰⁹ Ian Johnson and Jonathan Ansfield, "Scandal May Topple Party Official in China," *New York Times*, Feb. 17, 2012

²¹⁰ Joseph Fewsmith, "Bo Xilai Takes On Organized Crime," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 32 (Spring 2010).

²¹¹ Joseph Fewsmith, "Bo Xilai Takes On Organized Crime," *China Leadership Monitor*, No. 32 (Spring 2010).

²¹² John Garnaut, "Born to Reign," *The Age* (Australia), February 13, 2010. <http://www.theage.com.au/world/born-to-reign-20100212-nxj9.html>. Deng Pufang, the son of Deng Xiaoping, was crippled during the Cultural Revolution when he was thrown out of a window by Red Guards. Deng Pufang founded Kanghua as a nominal charity to benefit disabled persons in China, but it grew into a conglomerate with a wide variety of business interests. "Created... ostensibly to finance disability assistance, Kanghua is now known as one of the more notorious examples of post-Mao elite corruption. Drawing on special trade privileges granted it because of its disability-assistance mission and its association with the Deng family, Kanghua ballooned in size during the mid-1980s and was involved in a wide variety of highly lucrative import-export schemes. The party leadership shut down Kanghua not long after quashing the 1989 Democracy Movement because student protesters had so publicly denounced Kanghua and its ties to Deng Pufang." See Matthew Kohrman, "Why Am I Not Disabled?: Making State Subjects, Making State Statistics in Post-Mao China," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2003), footnote #4.

²¹³ Although highly speculative, it is possible that older tensions between the Bo family and Peng Zhen's network may also have figured into in the political duel in Chongqing. One such possibility involves Qiao Shi – a former chief of the PRC security and intelligence system and former member of the Politburo Standing Committee, and a outspoken and bitter political rival of Jiang Zemin. [For examples of the frosty relationship between Qiao Shi and Jiang Zemin, see: Gang Lin and Xiaobo Hu (eds.), *China After Jiang* (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003), p.25; and Samuel Wade, "Caixin Post on Leadership Leaks Ordered Removed," *China Digital Times*, January 19, 2012. <http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2012/01/caixin-post-on-leadership-leaks-ordered-removed>.] Qiao Shi rose through the Party ranks as a protégé of Peng Zhen, who held the "Politics and Law" (i.e., security) policy portfolio both before the Cultural Revolution, and again for much of the 1980s. [For mention of the client-patron relationship between Qiao Shi and Peng Zhen, see Michael E. Marti, *China and the Legacy of Deng Xiaoping: From Communist Revolution to Capitalist Evolution* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2001), p. 6. Peng Zhen was a chairman of the Politburo-level "Politics and Law" Leading Small Group – the body setting policies for the judiciary and the security services – from 1958-1966, and again from 1980-1983. See Alice Miller, "The CCP Central Committee's Leading Small Groups," *China Leadership Monitor*, Issue #26 Fall 2008, <http://www.hoover.org/publications/clm/issues/27770964.html>.] By some accounts, Jiang Zemin secured the agreement of Bo Yibo to pressure Qiao Shi into retirement at the 15th Party Congress in 1997; this reportedly left Qiao resentful towards the Bo family for assisting Jiang's efforts to have him sidelined. [Richard Baum, "Jiang Takes Command: The Fifteenth National Party Congress and Beyond," contained in Hung-Mao Tien and Yun-Han Chu

(eds.), *China Under Jiang Zemin* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), p. 24.] None of this proves a role for Qiao Shi or his clients in the political infighting in Chongqing, but it does further suggest bad blood between the Bo and Peng political networks.

²¹⁴ Keith Richburg and Andrew Higgins, "In Chinese Official's Ouster, Hints of a Win for Reformers," *Washington Post*, March 16, 2012.

²¹⁵ Dr. Cheng Li, as quoted in Keith Richburg, "Speculation Grows Over Chinese Official's Mysterious Visit to U.S. Consulate," *Washington Post*, February 10, 2012.

²¹⁶ "Chinese Police Chief Stresses All-Around Efforts to Safeguard Social Stability," *People's Daily Online* (in English), January 8, 2011.

²¹⁷ Chinese Leaders: Meng Jianzhu, *International Tibet Network*. <http://chinese-leaders.org/meng-jianzhu/>

²¹⁸ "Meng Jianzhu: Biographical Profile" http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Meng_Jianzhu/career

²¹⁹ "Meng Jianzhu: Biographical Profile" http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Meng_Jianzhu/career

²²⁰ Willy Lam, *Changing of the Guard: Beijing Grooms Sixth Generation Cadres for 2020s*, (The Jamestown Foundation, Washington, D.C.: 2010), 48.

²²¹ See the profile of Zhou Yongkang on p. 13 of this report; see also pp. 27-28 for discussion of policy portfolio slots on the Politburo Standing Committee.

²²² Peter Mattis, "Security Chief's Efforts to Seal Up the Political-Legal Chairmanship," *China Brief*, Vol. 12 Issue 4 (February 21, 2012). http://www.jamestown.org/uploads/media/cb_02_21.pdf

²²³ Cheng Li, "The Battle for China's Top Nine Leadership Positions," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2012, 139.

²²⁴ Cheng Li, "Hu's Southern Expedition: Changing Leadership in Guangdong," *China Leadership Monitor* No. 24, 2008. <http://media.hoover.org/sites/default/files/documents/CLM24CL.pdf>

²²⁵ "Wang Yang 汪洋," biographical profile on ChinaVitae.com.

http://www.chinavitae.com/biography/Wang_Yang/career.

²²⁶ Andrew Jacobs, "Resident's Vote in Chinese Village at Center of Protest," *New York Times*, February 1, 2012.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/02/world/asia/residents-vote-in-chinese-village-at-center-of-protest.html>

²²⁷ Cheng Li, "The Battle for China's Top Nine Leadership Posts," *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter 2012, 140.

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