

## Studying the Three Represents

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Starting in June, Chinese media have been promoting a new campaign to study the “three represents,” Jiang Zemin’s ideological formulation that was enshrined in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) constitution at the 16th Party Congress in fall 2002. Following Hu Jintao’s efforts to emphasize a more populist approach to governance, including his “people’s war” against severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in April and May, the new campaign has raised new questions about the relationship between Hu and Jiang. Review of the evidence reveals that this campaign has long been in the works and thus should not—in and of itself—be taken as evidence of a reassertion of Jiang’s political clout, but there are nevertheless significant differences between the two leaders and their approaches to governance and ideology. Although the evidence suggests that Hu Jintao has been trying to inject new themes and approaches to governance, he remains willing to acknowledge the role of Jiang as elder statesman and refrains from challenging him directly. Thus, political differences are more likely to be played out in personnel decisions and policy priorities over the coming months than in the sort of political competition that is likely to lead to instability.

On June 11, *People’s Daily* published an authoritative editorial that called for a “new high tide” in the study of the three represents, Jiang Zemin’s contribution to the development of Chinese Marxism.<sup>1</sup> The editorial announced that the Chinese Communist Party “center” had issued a “circular” demanding that cadres and masses study Jiang’s “original works.”<sup>2</sup> The circular itself, which was publicized by Xinhua News Agency on June 22, specified that in the third and fourth quarters of this year, cadres should study Jiang’s speeches “On the ‘Three Represents’” and “On Party Construction” as well as selections from *Jiang Zemin on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*. Cadres are to be guided in their study by the just-issued *Study Guide to the Important Thinking of the ‘Three Represents.’*<sup>3</sup> Thus, the recent campaign to study the three represents has been linked closely and authoritatively to Jiang Zemin, who first enunciated the idea in a trip to Guangdong Province in February 2000; accordingly, the campaign has touched off renewed speculation about the relationship between newly anointed General Secretary Hu Jintao and his immediate predecessor, Jiang Zemin, who continues to hold the position of chairman of the Central Military Commission (CMC).

### Not New

Media speculation outside the Chinese mainland since the onset of this new ideological campaign has revolved around the notion that this is a new campaign and that it portends, or may portend, a reassertion of Jiang Zemin’s political centrality. The implications for leadership relations are discussed below; here, it is important to point out that this campaign appears to have been in the works for a long time, even if it has only become prominent in recent weeks.

First, it is not true, as some have asserted, that Hu Jintao abandoned the three represents as an ideological theme after he was named general secretary in November 2002. Because the three represents never disappeared, the recent campaign cannot be a reassertion of them. Indeed, it would have been impossible for Hu Jintao to abandon the three represents after the 16th Party Congress had made them its centerpiece and after they had been written into the party constitution (and would be written into the state constitution at the National People's Congress meeting in March 2003). In his remarks in the late fall and winter, Hu Jintao regularly invoked the three represents. For example:

- Shortly after the close of the 16th Party Congress, the Politburo on November 16 emphasized: “The important thought of the ‘Three Represents’ is the soul of the 16th Party Congress.”<sup>4</sup>
- On December 15, Hu Jintao, meeting with a propaganda group whose task it was to publicize the spirit of the 16th Party Congress, stressed that it was necessary to “profoundly understand the scientific content and essential spirit of the important thought of the ‘Three Represents.’”<sup>5</sup>
- Two days later, at the annual national meeting on organizational work in December 2002, Hu Jintao emphasized the need to “seriously implement the important thought of the ‘Three Represents.’”<sup>6</sup>
- Meeting with the Second Plenary Session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission on February 19, Hu Jintao stressed the importance of implementing the three represents in the fight against corruption.<sup>7</sup>

Second, in a clear indication that the current campaign has long been planned, Li Changchun, the Politburo member in charge of ideology, made clear in his address to the national meeting of propaganda department heads on January 8 that the three represents were to guide propaganda work. Moreover, he specifically stated that it was “necessary to tightly grasp the organization and writing of the *Study Guide to the Important Thinking of the ‘Three Represents’*”—the book that has just been published to guide the current campaign. He also called, as had the 16th Party Congress, for “whipping up a new high tide to study and implement the important thought of the ‘Three Represents’”—the precise phrase that has been used as the touchstone of the current campaign.<sup>8</sup>

These indications make more understandable the Politburo meeting on April 28 that discussed the three represents even as the SARS crisis was at its height. With the benefit of hindsight, it seems probable that that meeting made decisions on the timing and organizational arrangements for the current campaign. The April 28 meeting may also have reviewed the text of the *Study Guide to the Important Thinking of the ‘Three Represents,’* which was subsequently published in June.

## Different Interpretations

Jiang Zemin's longest and most important exposition of his three represents was his speech on July 1, 2001, at the 80th anniversary of the founding of the CCP. It was in

that speech that Jiang made his controversial call for qualified members of the various social strata that have emerged over the reform period—including private entrepreneurs—to be admitted to the CCP. Commentary surrounding the speech made clear that party leaders believed that it was necessary to admit—co-opt—the most dynamic social forces in China or face the same fate as did the communist parties of the former Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Jiang’s vision, as articulated in that speech and in the 16th Party Congress report, was clearly elitist; he recognized that technology, the domestic economy, and globalization were changing very quickly, and he wanted to incorporate those forces into the CCP.<sup>9</sup>

Since his selection as general secretary, Hu Jintao has presented himself in a much more populist guise than did the more formal and remote Jiang. His December talk at the revolutionary capital of Xibaipo, his address to the rural work conference in January, and his visits with peasants in the suburbs of Beijing and Inner Mongolia during the coldest part of the winter have all given Hu the persona of a “man of the people.” In addition, the propaganda theme of the “three closenesses” (*sange tiejin*—close to reality, close to the people, and close to life), his (and Premier Wen Jiabao’s) direct involvement in the SARS crisis, and the rescission of old regulations after a migrant worker, Sun Zhigang, was beaten to death in police custody have all presented the image of a leader intent on addressing the social injustices that have emerged in recent years.

These different approaches to understanding the three represents, which reflect different personalities, different leadership agendas, and different political interests, should not obscure a very real overlap in the approaches of the two leaders. Jiang Zemin raised to prominence the idea of “governing the country through law” and discussed the need for greater institutionalization if the CCP is to act more as a ruling party and less as a revolutionary party in his July 1, 2001, speech. Similarly, it was Jiang who raised the issue of “inner-party democracy”—the notion that political participation can be expanded modestly and that, accordingly, cadre selection and decision making can be improved and greater supervision can be exercised over leading cadres, all by expanding the rights of party members and avoiding real democracy. Hu may have different notions about how to implement these ideas, but there is no apparent conflict over these policy goals.

Whatever differences there may be between the two leaders did not prevent Jiang Zemin from giving a very strong endorsement of Hu’s leadership in March. Speaking to the Shanghai delegation to the National People’s Congress (before the SARS crisis may have exacerbated relations between the two leaders<sup>10</sup>), Jiang stated:<sup>11</sup>

Since the 16th Party Congress, the new leadership collective with comrade Hu Jintao as general secretary has worked in a down-to-earth manner, opened up new advances, and emphasized studying and implementing the important thinking of the ‘Three Represents’ and the spirit of the 16th Party Congress. They have grasped development—this most important task in maintaining this ruling party and in making the country prosperous. They have strengthened and improved party-building and have been concerned with the masses’ production lives, especially in demanding that

comrades throughout the party firmly keep in mind the “two musts”<sup>12</sup> and continue in hard struggle. We should say that these tasks have been grasped accurately and effectively; they are a good start in implementing the spirit of the 16th Party Congress.

## Launching a “New High Tide” of the Three Represents

In June, the CCP Propaganda Department issued the 125-page *Study Guide to the Important Thinking of the ‘Three Represents’* that Li Changchun had promised in January.<sup>13</sup> This guide was modeled after a similar volume issued in 1995 that promoted the study of Deng Xiaoping’s theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.<sup>14</sup> Intended for study by cadres at the county level and above, this guide breaks little new theoretical ground, largely repeating themes that have been developed previously. For instance, one-fourth of the volume is devoted to the subject of development, emphasizing Deng Xiaoping’s aphorism, “Development is the last word.” It does elaborate on the notion that development includes the “all-round development of man,” but it does not go beyond Jiang Zemin’s July 1, 2001, speech in this regard. Sections 8, 11, and 12 do discuss political construction, affirming the importance of “political civilization”—a term officially endorsed at the 16th Party Congress and given equal status with “material” and “spiritual” civilization. These sections elaborated on the need for institution-building as well as the need for “checks and balances” and “supervision” over those exercising political power.

As noted above, the “circular” that was issued on June 22 cited Jiang Zemin’s works as the authoritative texts to guide understanding of the three represents, indicating that Jiang Zemin remains the most authoritative figure in the CCP. This interpretation is consistent with the media treatment Jiang has received since his retirement in March as president of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Since then, on occasions when Jiang and Hu have met with important personages on the same day, *People’s Daily* has published identically sized pictures of the two leaders on its front page, suggesting that they are identical in stature. The only indication that Hu is officially the more important leader (i.e., holds the higher party position—general secretary) is that his picture appears to the left (the more authoritative side) of Jiang’s.<sup>15</sup>

Despite this special treatment for Jiang, the circular also gives prominence to themes that have been touted by Hu Jintao, suggesting the compromise nature of the document. For instance, it calls for “building a party that serves the interests of the public and governs for the people” (*lidang weigong, zhizheng weimin*), for giving “the highest priority to ordinary people’s health and safety,” and for “achieving, maintaining, and developing the fundamental interests of the masses of the people.”<sup>16</sup>

The tension between exalting Jiang Zemin’s personal authority and emphasizing the preferred themes of Hu Jintao also seemed evident in the wording of the June 11 and June 23 editorials in *People’s Daily* that kicked off the campaign. The June 11 editorial specified that the “cadres and masses” are to be organized to study the “original works of

Jiang Zemin,” while the June 23 editorial, which accompanied the release of the circular, made no mention of Jiang.<sup>17</sup>

## Speculation Preceding July 1

It was against this background that Hu Jintao prepared to give his “important speech” on July 1, 2003, the 82d anniversary of the founding of the CCP.<sup>18</sup> Prior to the speech, there was much speculation that Hu Jintao would use the occasion to advance new, and possibly far-reaching, ideas on inner-party democracy. Speculation revolved around an article by Zhen Xiaoying, vice president of the Central Academy of Socialism, and Li Qinghua, a doctoral student at the Central Party School, that was published in *Qiushi*, the party’s theoretical journal, two weeks before Hu Jintao’s speech. Titled “Using Inner-Party Democracy to Promote People’s Democracy”—a phrase drawn from Jiang Zemin’s July 1, 2001, address—the article argued that economic reform and development were insufficient to secure the CCP’s ruling position; “democracy with Chinese characteristics” was also necessary. Drawing on Lord Acton’s famous dictum, the article pointed out that “[u]nsupervised and unconstrained powers are bound to lead to corruption and to trampling on democracy.” Accordingly, the article went on to advocate several layers of supervision, including by the law, by the noncommunist parties in China, and by “public opinion.”<sup>19</sup>

There have been many articles in party journals in recent months advocating similar themes. For instance, Central Party School Professor Wang Guixiu, a redoubtable campaigner for inner-party democracy, pointed out in the school’s theoretical journal that the “party, in the final analysis, is the party of all its members (including leaders at various levels and all common party members) and is not the party of a minority or even of one certain person.”<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Wang Shoulin of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) Air Force Command Institute argued in the same journal that it was necessary to strengthen restrictions on the use of power.<sup>21</sup> So, the issues raised in the *Qiushi* (*Seeking Truth*) article are neither new nor startling, given the tenor of inner-party discussions, though it is apparent that someone highlighted the importance of this article for foreign reporters.

Nevertheless, even assuming that Hu Jintao is sympathetic to such ideas—and there are certainly indications that he would like to reform the party structure to fight corruption, strengthen supervision, and enhance the party’s popularity—he is still a new general secretary and unable to push far beyond the bounds set for him by Jiang Zemin, other senior leaders, and party institutions that have vested interests in continuing along established lines. Indeed, the history of reform in the PRC suggests that only incremental reform is possible. Thus, even before Hu spoke, Shi Zhongchuan, a senior professor at the Central Party School, gave an interview with *Lienhe zaobao* (*United Morning Daily*) denying that Hu would make far-reaching proposals for inner-party democracy.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, a preview in *Wen wei po* (a PRC-owned Hong Kong newspaper) stated that Hu would make a “deeper theoretical explanation” of the three represents but would “not go beyond the keynote set by the 16th Party Congress.”<sup>23</sup>

## Hu Jintao's Party Day Speech

On July 1, the 82d anniversary of the founding of the CCP, Hu Jintao gave a long speech on the three represents to the opening session of a theoretical symposium convened to explore the various implications of this ideological doctrine. Although decennial commemorations of Party Day are occasions for major speeches—such as Jiang's elucidation of the three represents two years before on the 80th anniversary—nondecennial or nonquinquennial anniversaries are normally observed simply by the publication of an editorial in *People's Daily*. Obviously, as the new party head, Hu wanted to make this party anniversary a special occasion.

Not only are lengthy ideological addresses unusual ways of observing the party anniversary in normal years, but the idea of convening a theoretical symposium to discuss the three represents also breaks convention. Theoretical symposia are sometimes convened to commemorate historical events or important milestones in the development of the CCP—such as that convened in late 1988 to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, which inaugurated the Reform Era. But symposia to discuss official ideology are rare, if only because the leadership wants to keep such tight control over every aspect of official ideology—the formulations (*tifa*) used, the interpretations given, the order and emphases of ideas presented, and so forth. The precedent of an open-ended theoretical symposium lay in the Theory Forum that was convened between January and April 1979 to sort out contentious ideological issues in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution and in the debate on “practice as the sole criterion of truth” the previous year.

Hu Jintao's speech was rather well constructed. He started by acknowledging the role of Jiang Zemin in explicating the three represents, thus paying respect to the senior leader. Then he stated that the three represents had developed in three stages—February 2000 (when Jiang first enunciated the concept) to June 2001, July 2001 (when Jiang gave his Party Day speech) to November 2002, and November 2002 (the 16th Party Congress) to the present. This exposition clearly presented the three represents as an evolving concept (a quality that has been inherent in the concept from the beginning) and thus gives Hu, as general secretary, scope to develop the three represents in the future (during a fourth or fifth stage). Hu also developed his exposition of the three represents by saying that he was putting forward his own understanding. This is the sort of self-deprecating, nonformal language an academic might use at a symposium. At the end of the speech, Hu listed some 14 questions, including how to improve the economy, how to expand employment, how to foster China's “national spirit” (*minzu jingshen*), and how to build the CCP's “ruling capacity” (*zhizheng nengli*). These questions will give party theorists plenty of scope to develop the three represents in the future.

In between, Hu developed his ideas around the theme of “building a party that serves the interests of the public and governs for the people” (*lidang weigong, zhizheng weimin*), a phrase introduced by Jiang in his July 1, 2001, speech but which Hu

emphasized by repeating 10 times. Whether or not cadres truly “build a party that serves the interests of the public and governs for the people,” Hu said, is the standard against which their understanding of the three represents and their sincerity in implementing them should be measured. Drawing on traditional Confucian language and ideas, Hu stated: “People’s support or nonsupport is the fundamental element that determines whether a political party or government will rise or decline.” Building on Jiang’s language, Hu went beyond his predecessor by asserting that in “building a party that serves the interests of the public and governs for the people, and insisting on appraising our policy decisions on the basis of whether *the people support them, endorse them, like them, and are receptive to them*, we will know whether we have a firm grip on the fundamental objective of implementing the important thinking of the ‘Three Represents’” (emphasis added). This phrasing gave a more populist interpretation of the three represents than anything Jiang has said in the past.

Hu also used his speech to praise people’s efforts in the fight against SARS and, indirectly at least, to tout his own leadership. Hu noted that the leadership had adopted “decisive measures” to “mobilize” people to carry out a “difficult and supreme struggle.” The central leadership had “in a timely manner” called on the “whole party and whole nation” to “grasp the great matter of prevention and control” of SARS on the one hand and to “grasp the central task of economic construction” on the other. The result was that “the various peoples of the whole country worked with one heart, forging their wills into a fortress, battling the epidemic together, and waging a mammoth people’s war against the disease”—a phrase that was attributed to Hu during the SARS crisis to evoke the spirit he hoped to forge. Together, the leadership and people wrote “a magnificent chapter about the Chinese people’s defiance of hardship and daring to achieve victory.”<sup>24</sup>

Apparently sidestepping controversy, Hu completely avoided discussion of inner-party democracy. This omission was strange in that there is widespread agreement within the leadership on the need for greater inner-party democracy. But, the details of how to achieve inner-party democracy appear to be very controversial, as the brouhaha over the publication of the *Qiushi* article suggests. So in the end, Hu simply avoided the topic.

## Hu’s Spin Machine

Chinese media are rarely averse to lauding the leadership, but usually they do so by giving incessant attention to the leaders’ appearances and talks. Hu seems to have taken this public promotion one step further by having the media call attention to his image and style. For instance, one article on the *People’s Daily* web page cites Xie Chunshou, deputy director of the Party History Institute at the Central Party School, as saying, “The more than two-month fight against SARS further created a good image of the CCP; in particular, the highest leadership going to the front line, joining the masses, and governing pragmatically and popularly [*qinmin*] gave people a sense that everything was fresh and new.” The article went on to quote Xie as saying that Hu insisted that the study of the three represents “did not stop at the level of a slogan” and that the fact that some cadres took the three represents as a mere slogan had adversely influenced people’s

understanding of the theory.<sup>25</sup> The article did not state that Jiang Zemin was guilty of such sloganeering, but certainly readers were free to draw that conclusion.

Articles directed to Hong Kong and foreign (English-speaking) audiences have been even more blatant. For instance, as early as January, Hong Kong's *Wen wei po* touted Hu's leadership, saying that in his first two months as general secretary Hu had "shown his talents for the first time" by voicing issues with which the general public was concerned.<sup>26</sup> In June, the same paper stated breathlessly that "Hu, Wen, and the new lineup of Chinese leaders, in their first 100 days in office, have opened up a whole new political style that espouses reform, pragmatism, hard work, and love for the people."<sup>27</sup> *China Daily* on June 27 declared that the "image of President Hu Jintao, Premier Wen Jiabao, and their colleagues as 'men and women of the people' has struck deeper in people's minds after the SARS ordeal."<sup>28</sup> Another *China Daily* article, posted on the *People's Daily* English-language web site, declared that what distinguished the new leaders was "their sincerity to introduce reason and democracy into decision-making." It went on to state: "There are plenty of signs of the new government's strong desire to break from outdated style and blaze new trails in democratization."<sup>29</sup>

The fact that the new leadership feels compelled to tout their attitudes—even if they are sincere—suggests that they continue to feel insecure in the shadow of Jiang and other older leaders.

## Beidaihe

The apparent differences among top leaders in the recent campaign to study the three represents, like those evidenced during the SARS crisis, led many to wonder how the annual leadership conference at the seaside resort of Beidaihe would turn out. Meetings at Beidaihe have often allowed senior, often retired, cadres to coalesce and force policy changes. Hu avoided this possibility by simply canceling the Beidaihe meetings, substituting regular meetings of authorized bodies in Beijing. According to *Wen wei po*, senior leaders were not to go to Beidaihe without authorization. The media, or at least the PRC-owned Hong Kong media, presented the cancellation as one of a number of steps the new leadership has taken to standardize and simplify government operations. Thus, the *Wen wei po* article quoted Lu Jianhua, deputy director of the Public Policy Research Center of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), as saying that the new leaders "have very clearly fostered a style of government marked by simplicity, approachability, and pragmatism. The cancellation of the holiday type of government meetings had been widely expected."<sup>30</sup>

Despite the official admonition against traveling to Beidaihe, Vice President Zeng Qinghong, accompanied by CCP Organization Department head He Guoqiang, Secretariat member Xu Caihou, and others, went to Beidaihe on August 2 to talk to intellectuals—including especially medical experts who had played a key role in the recent fight against SARS—and emphasize the importance of "human talent" in China's



economic and technological development.<sup>31</sup> Zeng's appearance struck a strange note of dissonance against Hu's effort to uphold a business-as-usual attitude.

## Army Day

If Zeng's appearance at Beidaihe caused eyebrows to be raised, then the rhetoric of PLA leaders around the time of Army Day (August 1) was even more provocative. On the eve of the anniversary of the PLA's founding, the military held a forum to celebrate the publication of the *Study Outline for Jiang Zemin's Thinking on National Defense and Army-Building*. Jiang's military thought, declared to be an "important part" of the three represents, was also declared to be on a par with that of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping and to be "the latest achievement in the development of Marxist military theory in China."<sup>32</sup>

It may be, as Hong Kong's *Ming pao* optimistically reported in June, that Jiang Zemin is now focusing his attention on the military, which he still heads, rather than on overall party affairs.<sup>33</sup> But, the reports, including the accolades heaped upon Jiang's military thought by senior PLA leaders, underscored the very real limitations of Hu Jintao's authority and the potential danger of dividing military and civilian authority the way the 16th Party Congress did. Clearly, China's leadership succession is not over.

## Conclusion

A close assessment of the way Hu Jintao has handled the campaign to "whip up a new high tide" for the study of the three represents suggests both the way in which Hu has sought to interject his own ideas and leadership style and the limits to Hu's actions. Media treatment of Jiang, the deference Hu pays to Jiang's ideas, the assertions of Jiang's importance (e.g., the call to study Jiang's "original works"), and the military's support for Jiang suggest that Jiang remains a powerful figure and that Hu must work within the framework constructed by Jiang. The difference between Hu's preferred themes and leadership style suggests a degree of tension between him and Jiang (as does the different language employed by such authoritative vehicles as *People's Daily* editorials). At the moment, this tension does not appear to be adversely affecting political stability; indeed, Hu seems careful not to allow his leadership to challenge Jiang's status directly. But, the differences between Hu and Jiang are sufficient to think that they will find expression in personnel appointments and policy preferences in the coming months.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The "three represents" is the notion that the Chinese Communist Party represents the advanced productive forces, represents advanced culture, and represents the fundamental interests of the vast majority of the people.

- <sup>2</sup> “Ba ‘sange daibiao’ zhongyao sixiang de xuexi guanche yinxiang shenru” (Deepen the study and implementation of the important thinking of the “Three Represents”), <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/guandian/26/20030610/1014029.html>.
- <sup>3</sup> “Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu zai quandang xingqi xuexi guanche ‘sange daibiao’ zhongyao sixiang xin gaochao de tongzhi” (CCP center circular on whipping up a new high tide in the study and implementation of the “Three Represents”), <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/1024/1928842.html>.
- <sup>4</sup> Xinhua News Agency, “Zhongyang zhengzhiju kaihui dui xuexi guanche shiliuda jingshen jinxing yanjiu bushu” (The Politburo meets to research measures to study and implement the spirit of the 16th Party Congress), <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/16/20021116/868110.html>.
- <sup>5</sup> *People’s Daily*, December 16, 2002, <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/16/20021216/888458.html>.
- <sup>6</sup> *People’s Daily*, December 18, 2002, <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/16/20021217/890146.html>.
- <sup>7</sup> Xinhua News Agency, February 19, 2003, <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/16/20030219/926520.html>.
- <sup>8</sup> Li Changchun, “Zai quanguo xuanchuan buzhang huiyi shangde jianghua” (Talk at the national conference of propaganda department heads), *Dangjian* (Party-building), 2003, no. 2: 6.
- <sup>9</sup> Joseph Fewsmith, “Rethinking the Role of the CCP: Explicating Jiang Zemin’s Party Anniversary Speech,” *China Leadership Monitor* 2 (spring 2002), <http://www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org/20011b/jf20011.html>.
- <sup>10</sup> Joseph Fewsmith, “China’s Response to SARS,” *China Leadership Monitor* 7 (summer 2003), <http://www.chinaleadershipmonitor.org/20033/jf.html>.
- <sup>11</sup> Xinhua News Agency, March 6, 2003, <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/252/10307/10314/20030306/937898.html>.
- <sup>12</sup> *Liangge biwu*—that party members must be modest, prudent, and free from arrogance and rashness on the one hand, and that party members must preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle on the other. This was the theme that Hu Jintao emphasized in his Xibaipo speech.
- <sup>13</sup> CCP Central Propaganda Department, “*Sange daibiao*” *zhongyao sixiang xuexi gangyao* (Beijing: Xuexi chubanshe, 2003).
- <sup>14</sup> Shi Zhongquan, “An Important Development in the Theory of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” *Jiefang ribao*, June 24, 2003, FBIS CPP-2003-0625-000195.
- <sup>15</sup> There have been four instances of such media treatment. See *People’s Daily* on April 5, March 26, July 1, and July 13. In addition, on April 4, when the leadership turned out for their annual tree-planting activity, Jiang was pictured dead center in the middle, indicating his special status.
- <sup>16</sup> “Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu.”
- <sup>17</sup> The June 23 editorial was titled, “Xingqi xueqi guanche ‘sange daibiao’ zhongyao sixiang xin gaochao” (Whip up a new high tide in studying and implementing the “Three Represents”), <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/guandian/1033/1928287.html>.
- <sup>18</sup> It is worth noting that *all* leadership speeches are designated “important.”
- <sup>19</sup> Zhen Xiaoying and Li Qinghua, “Yi dangnei minzhu tuijin renmin minzhu” (Using inner-party democracy to promote people’s democracy), *Qiushi*, June 15, 2003, <http://www.qsjournal.com.cn/qs/20030616/GB/qs^361^0^10.htm>
- <sup>20</sup> Wang Guixiu, “Shi dangnei minzhu wei dang de shengming, jiaqiang dangnei minzhu zhidu jianshe” (Viewing inner-party democracy as the life of the party, strengthening construction of the inner-party democratic system), *Lilun dongtai* 1588 (January 30, 2003): 14–23.
- <sup>21</sup> Wang Shoulin, “Jiaqiang dui qualin de zhiyue” (Strengthen restrictions on power), *Lilun dongtai* 1591 (February 28, 2003): 12–15.
- <sup>22</sup> [http://www.zaobao.com/gj/zg001\\_190603.html](http://www.zaobao.com/gj/zg001_190603.html).
- <sup>23</sup> Wen Han, “Hu Jintao’s 1 July Speech Is Expected to Contain New Ideas,” *Wen wei po*, June 20, 2003, FBIS CPP-2003-0702-000037.
- <sup>24</sup> “Hu Jintao zai ‘sange daibiao’ yantaohui shang de zhongyao jianghua (quan wen)” (Important talk of Hu Jintao at the symposium on the “Three Represents” [complete text]), Xinhua News Agency, July 1, 2003, <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/guojiji/1029/1946147.html>.
- <sup>25</sup> Qi Bin, “Zhongyang dangxiao xuezhe jiedu Hu Jintao jianghua: Lidang weigong, zhizheng weimin” (A scholar from the Central Party School interprets Hu Jintao’s talk: Building a party that serves the interests of the public and governs for the people) July 2, 2003, <http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/1026/1947417.html>.

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<sup>26</sup> Jen Hui-wen, "Hu Jintao Has Preliminarily Displayed His Talent," *Wen wei po*, January 17, 2003, FBIS CPP-2003-0117-000034.

<sup>27</sup> Yang Fan, "Never Before Has a New Chinese Leadership Had to Face Such Enormous Hardships during the First Six Months in Office, but Hu Jintao and Company Have Overcome Them All, Says Beijing Political Commentator," *Wen wei po*, June 23, 2003.

<sup>28</sup> *China Daily*, June 27, 2003.

<sup>29</sup> *People's Daily Online*, August 5, 2003,

[http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200308/05/eng20030805\\_121723.shtml](http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200308/05/eng20030805_121723.shtml).

<sup>30</sup> Wen Han, Peng Po, and Chung Hsueh-ping, "New Government of Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao Simplify Procedures and Promote Approachability and Pragmatism, Cancellation of Holiday Type of Government Meetings Already Expected," *Wen wei po*, July 18, 2003, FBIS CPP-2003-0718-000062.

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<sup>32</sup> Cao Zhi, "The Central Military Commission Holds Forum on Publication of 'Study Outline for Jiang Zemin's Thinking on National Defense and Army -Building,'" Xinhua News Agency, July 31, 2003, FBIS CPP-2003-0731-000092.

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