

# China's Leadership Transition

## *The First Stage*

H. LYMAN MILLER

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The Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) 16th Party Congress delivered a turnover of top leaders that marks the first stage in a process of managed leadership transition unprecedented in People's Republic of China (PRC) politics. The congress brought to the party's top ranks a new generation of younger leaders and saw the retirement of the cohort of party leaders who had dominated China's politics since the early 1990s. The changes in the party's top leadership foreshadow comparable turnover in top PRC state posts at the 10th National People's Congress (NPC) in March 2003. The congress also ratified amendments to the party constitution that promise a watershed transformation of the party makeup in coming years.

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THE 16TH PARTY CONGRESS, held in Beijing on November 8–14, 2002, heard a long political report delivered by Jiang Zemin in the name of the outgoing 15th Central Committee. As anticipated, the congress amended the party constitution to incorporate the “three represents,” the formulation introduced nearly three years ago by Jiang Zemin calling on the party to broaden its base by admitting the economic, technical, and professional elites that have emerged in Chinese society as a consequence of two decades of market-based economic reform.

The congress elected a new 198-member Central Committee, which in turn elected the new membership of the party's leadership bodies in its First Plenary Session the day after the congress closed. These bodies include: the party decision-making Politburo and its key core group, the Politburo Standing Committee; the Secretariat, which oversees implementation of Politburo decisions throughout China's institutional hierarchies; and the Central Military Commission (CMC), the party's supreme military decision-making body. At the plenum, Hu Jintao succeeded Jiang Zemin as general secretary, the party's top leader, and he will likely succeed Jiang as PRC president at the upcoming NPC. But,

following a precedent set by Deng Xiaoping in 1987, Jiang retained his post as CMC chairman, the party's top military leader.

### **POLITBURO CHANGES**

The turnover of leaders in the party Politburo and its Standing Committee was sweeping.<sup>1</sup> Of the 21 full members of the outgoing Politburo, 13 retired. Among them, six of the seven members of the outgoing Politburo Standing Committee retired, leaving 60-year-old Hu Jintao as the sole continuing leader on the new body. These six included Jiang Zemin himself, PRC President Li Peng, Premier Zhu Rongji, and two others who had passed the age of 70, and so were obligated by an internal party norm to retire. Also retiring but not subject to this norm was Li Ruihuan, the 68-year-old chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), the umbrella "united front" organization that congregates China's trade unions, professional associations, religious bodies, and other civic institutions behind the party's purposes. PRC media have provided no explanation for Li's early retirement, but Hong Kong's China-watching journals, which thrive on reporting rumors and speculation circulating in Beijing, attribute the move to a power play brokered by Jiang Zemin on the eve of the congress.

In the broader Politburo, another seven members retired, in addition to the six from the Standing Committee. These seven included six who had passed the age of 70 and so were similarly obligated by the age norm. The seventh, Li Tieying, who was only 66, has in recent years served as president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences—not normally a Politburo responsibility—and so has appeared to have been a lame duck.

The new Politburo Standing Committee was expanded to nine members—the largest that body has been in the entire Reform Era. This expansion was accomplished by the unusual step of promoting the entire surviving cast of seven full members of the outgoing Politburo and by elevating former Politburo alternate member Zeng Qinghong onto the key decision-making core group (the previously mentioned lone Standing Committee holdover, Hu Jintao, rounds out the membership). The broader Politburo added 15 new full members, one of whom is the former Politburo alternate Wu Yi, bringing the total Politburo membership to 24. The plenum also appointed a single new alternate, party General Office Director Wang Gang.

The new Politburo lineup created in this expansion of the Standing Committee by the absorption of the surviving full members of the outgoing Politburo and by the staffing of the broader Politburo with new people in effect creates a new, two-tiered hierarchy at the top of the party. The Politburo Standing Committee has effectively become a body of senior members with prior Politburo experience, while the rest of the Politburo is composed of new, junior members, most of whom have no prior experience on the body. In addition, there is a clear age difference between the two groups. The new Politburo Standing Committee members are almost all in their early to mid-60s (the sole exception is 58-year-old Li Changchun), while most of the remainder of Politburo full members are in their middle to late 50s.

The implications of this arrangement are not clear, and PRC media have offered no explanation for it. It may, however, reflect an innovation intended to institutionalize a process of promotion through two tiers of Politburo membership that subsequent party congresses will follow in pursuing the orderly turnover of later leadership generations. The cluster of members on the new Politburo Standing Committee may thus be reappointed at the 17th Party Congress in 2007 before facing the established retirement age of 70, while those attaining junior status in the leadership as full members of the new Politburo may be eligible for promotion to senior status both in 2007 and at the 18th Party Congress in 2012 before facing the retirement norm.

#### **OTHER LEADERSHIP BODIES**

Like the outgoing one, the new party Secretariat includes eight members (including new party General Secretary Hu Jintao). Aside from Hu, the only other member of the new Secretariat who is concurrently a member of the Politburo Standing Committee is Zeng Qinghong, indicating that he will be in charge of the Secretariat's day-to-day operations. In this role, Zeng will presumably assist new General Secretary Hu Jintao in managing the party apparatus, replicating the arrangement in which Hu Jintao played that role in assisting Jiang Zemin from 1992 until his appointment as general secretary.

The turnover in the CMC leadership was comparably sweeping. Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao were reappointed as chairman and vice chairman, respectively, but the two remaining vice chairmen—Defense Minister Chi Haotian and Zhang Wannian—retired, as did four of the seven ordinary members of the CMC. Of the three surviving members

(all of whom were added to the CMC in 1998 and 1999 in preparation for the current leadership transition), two—Cao Gangchuan, outgoing director of the General Armaments Department, and Guo Boxiong, outgoing deputy director of the General Staff Department—were promoted as CMC vice chairmen and concurrently as Politburo members. The third—Xu Caihou, new director of the General Political Department—was appointed concurrently to the party Secretariat.

### LEADERSHIP LINEUP

As in the past, the Politburo Standing Committee membership has been publicized according to a rank order that, if past precedent is followed, provides insight into the other roles each leader will play. As usual, Hu Jintao as party general secretary is ranked first. Following him are Wu Bangguo, who presumably will be named NPC Standing Committee chairman at the 10th NPC in March, then Wen Jiabao, who will apparently become premier at the NPC, and then Jia Qinglin, who will be named CPPCC chairman.<sup>2</sup>

Ranked fifth is Zeng Qinghong, who is managing the party Secretariat.

The roles of the remaining members of the Politburo Standing Committee may not become clear until the 10th NPC completes the leadership transition by making appointments in the state hierarchy. The outgoing Politburo Standing Committee had seven members, the first five of whom performed the same leadership roles inferred for the new Standing Committee. The remaining two also had specific leadership responsibilities.

One—Central Discipline Inspection Commission (CDIC) Chairman Wei Jianxing—supervised law-and-order institutions and also served as head of China's umbrella trade union body. The other—Li Lanqing—served as executive vice premier and assisted Premier Zhu Rongji in managing economic affairs.

Whether and how the remaining four members of the new Politburo Standing Committee will assume these policy roles is not yet clear. The sixth-ranked member, Wu Guanzheng, was named head

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of the CDIC at the congress and so has taken on one of the roles Wei Jianxing performed. In addition, the Standing Committee's ninth-ranked member, Luo Gan, previously assisted Wei by serving as the party secretary holding that policy portfolio in the Secretariat, so he will likely continue to work in that sector on the Standing Committee. The last two Standing Committee members, seventh-ranked Huang Ju and eighth-ranked Li Changchun, may similarly divide the State Council and economic affairs responsibilities formerly performed by Li Lanqing as vice premier. Both previously assumed major economic responsibilities as province-level leaders before moving to the center—Huang as party chief in Shanghai, and Li as party chief in Guangdong.

The expansion of the Politburo Standing Committee has been widely speculated upon as the product of a power play by Jiang Zemin to stack the body with his cronies and thus hedge the power of new General Secretary Hu Jintao and sustain his own power in retirement. It may also reflect Jiang Zemin's concerns about Hu's leadership as China confronts new uncertainties in reform and foreign policy. In addition, there may also be a policy logic that helps explain the arrangement, over and above the appearance of an effort to institutionalize a process of promotion within a tiered Politburo, as was suggested above. The apparent doubling up of Standing Committee members responsible both for law and order and for economic affairs comes at a time when the regime is bracing for the anticipated impact of China's accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) on its domestic economy and, as a consequence, on its public order.

Appointments to the broader Politburo and Secretariat bear this inference out. In addition to the apparent division of Wei Jianxing's internal security responsibilities between two Standing Committee members, Wei's trade union leadership role has been taken up by new Politburo member Wang Zhaoguo. Also, at least two of the new party secretaries will devote their energies to this area on the Secretariat—He Yong, who was named CDIC deputy secretary under Wu Guanzheng, and Zhou Yongkang, who was named minister of public security after the congress. With respect to economic affairs, under the outgoing Politburo-Secretariat system, Wen Jiabao served as party secretary responsible for economic affairs, assisting Premier Zhu Rongji and Vice Premier Li Lanqing. Under the new arrangement, no party secretary appears designated to supervise implementation of economic decisions, as Wen Jiabao did previously. But, State Development Planning

Commission Minister Zeng Peiyan has been added to the Politburo and so may collaborate with Wen, Huang Ju, and Li Changchun on the Politburo Standing Committee, if those are to be their roles.

Other Politburo policy responsibilities show continuity with the previous arrangements:

- Heads of the two key Central Committee functional organs— Propaganda Department Director Liu Yunshan and Organization Department Director He Guoqiang—are full members of the Politburo. Both were named to these positions on the eve of the congress.
- As before, the Politburo again includes the two top representatives of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) brass—in this case the new CMC vice chairmen, Guo Boxiong and Cao Gangchuan. Cao is likely to become the new defense minister at the 10th NPC. In a departure from the previous arrangement, the new Secretariat also includes a top-ranking PLA leader, new General Political Department Director Xu Caihou.

Finally, regional representation on the new Politburo departs considerably from the patterns of the 1990s, although further transfer of some regional members to central roles may alter the initial picture. At the time of their appointment, an unprecedented nine provincial party

leaders were named to the Politburo—

Li Changchun in Guangdong, Wang Lequan in Xinjiang, Hui Liangyu in Jiangsu, Liu Qi in Beijing city, Zhang Lichang in Tianjin, Zhang Dejiang in Zhejiang, Chen Liangyu in Shanghai, Zhou Yongkang in Sichuan, and Yu Zhengsheng in Hubei. This number has been significantly reduced in the weeks since the congress. Li Changchun was replaced as Guangdong party chief by Zhang Dejiang on

November 23, Zhou Yongkang was replaced in Sichuan on December 5, and Hui Liangyu was replaced in Jiangsu on December 30, bringing the number of provincial leaders on the Politburo to six.

This number is still greater than at any other time since the Reform Era began in the late 1970s, so other transfers may follow. Even so,

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regional representation continues to favor strongly the coastal provinces and the capital, whose prosperity has benefited from the market-based economic reforms in the 1980s and 1990s and which supply the largest proportion of state revenue. The addition of Hubei—usually considered a “central” province—and Xinjiang—a “western region” province—may reflect a conscious effort to provide for representation of the less developed regions of China, whose progress Beijing has sought to promote in recent years. The inclusion of Xinjiang—which has seen perennial Muslim and Uighur separatist unrest—may also reflect the regime’s new focus on counterterrorism.

### THE NEW LEADERSHIP AS A GROUP

The new Politburo leadership strongly replicates many of the attributes that characterized the outgoing “third generation” Politburo leadership led by Jiang Zemin in the 1990s, and so is strikingly distinct from the generation of revolutionary leaders led by Mao Zedong and then Deng Xiaoping. In particular:

- The new Politburo led by Hu Jintao is young; its members average 60 years old. The Politburo leaders appointed at the 15th Party Congress under Jiang’s leadership averaged 63 years old on appointment. By contrast, the 12th Central Committee Politburo leadership appointed with Deng Xiaoping in 1982 averaged 72 years old.
- The new leadership is the best-educated group in PRC history. Of the 25 full and alternate members of the new Politburo, 22 have university educations. Among the 24 members of the 1997 Politburo under Jiang, 17 held university degrees. By contrast, none of the 25 members of the 1982 Politburo around Deng had a university education.
- The new leadership is strongly technical in educational background. Of the 22 members holding university degrees, 16 are engineers, one has a military engineering degree, and another (Wen Jiabao) has a degree in the hard sciences (geology). Two members have degrees in economics or management, and one has a military academy degree. The new leadership includes a solitary representative of the humanities—the lone philosopher Wang Gang. The Jiang Politburo appointed in 1997 was comparably technically oriented: among 17 members holding degrees,

14 were engineers, two were trained in the sciences, and one held a degree in enterprise management. In the new Politburo, five members—including Hu Jintao—graduated from Qinghua University, China's most prestigious engineering school.

- Most of the new Politburo members joined the CCP in the early to middle 1960s, on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. The official biographies of many of them state that they “awaited appointment” during the Cultural Revolution years of the late 1960s, and most of them saw their careers take off only with the onset of the reforms inaugurated by Deng Xiaoping in late 1970s.
- The new leadership has only marginally greater experience in military service. Aside from the two professional military leaders on the Politburo, only two members (Zeng Qinghong and Chen Liangyu) served in low-level PLA or military technician posts in the 1960s, and a third—Wang Lequan—served as secretary of the Xinjiang Production-Construction Corps. The rest have no military experience. Among the 1997 Jiang Politburo members, only Zeng Qinghong had military experience, aside from the two professional military men. By contrast, within the Deng leadership installed in 1982, 20 of 25 members had extensive past or continuing military experience.
- A plurality of the new Politburo members—11 of 25—hail from the coastal provinces. Four trace their origins to the three Manchurian provinces, five to north China (Hebei, Shanxi, and Shaanxi), and four more to the central-south (Jiangxi, Hubei, and Hunan). The Jiang leadership was similarly weighted toward the coastal regions, while the Deng leadership appointed in 1982 included much stronger representation from the interior provinces.

### **JIANG ZEMIN AND HU JINTAO**

Jiang Zemin's renewed appointment as CMC chairman repeats the pattern of Deng Xiaoping's retention in that post after his retirement from the Politburo at the 1987 13th Party Congress. Like Deng, Jiang holds the top military decision-making post without concurrent positions on the Politburo or Central Committee. Hu Jintao continues to serve as ranking CMC vice chairman, as he has since his appointment to that post in 1999.

In Deng's case, this arrangement was intended to bridge a transition under which new party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang could establish ties with the military brass as CMC vice chairman under Deng and eventually succeed Deng as chairman. When Deng did finally retire as party CMC chairman in November 1989 (he retired as state CMC chairman the following spring), Zhao had already fallen afoul of the leadership infighting accompanying the Tiananmen protests, and had been removed as party general secretary in May 1989. Zhao's successor as party chief, Jiang Zemin, thus succeeded Deng as CMC chairman later that fall with only a few months' experience on the CMC.

It is possible that Jiang's retention of the party CMC chairmanship is only a temporary measure to facilitate his overall retirement from both the party and state CMC positions at the 10th NPC in March 2003, where he will also retire from his PRC presidency in favor of Hu Jintao. It seems more likely, however, that Jiang will retain the post considerably longer to ensure continuity of leadership over the PLA at a time of broader leadership transition, as some media comment has suggested. In particular, the Hong Kong communist newspaper *Wen*

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*wei po* invited comparison of Jiang's reappointment as CMC chairman, despite his retirement from all other posts, to Deng's in 1987. "During the large-scale succession of the new to the old," it observed, "it is most important to maintain the stability of the armed forces. . . . Following the pattern set up by Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin's continuing to serve as CMC chairman is conducive to stabilizing the morale of the armed forces and [effecting] a smooth transition from the old to the new generation."<sup>3</sup>

Underscoring the still incomplete progress of the leadership transition, leadership speeches and authoritative press commentary have not designated Hu Jintao as the "core" of a new "fourth generation leadership collective" in a way that would parallel Jiang's designation as the "core" of the "third generation leadership collective" installed in 1989. Before the 16th Party Congress, leadership statements and authoritative commentary routinely pledged to "rally around the party Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the core." In the aftermath of

the congress, leadership statements and press commentary now routinely pledge allegiance to “the party Central Committee with Comrade Hu Jintao as the general secretary.” As to precisely how long this arrangement will persist and when Jiang will retire from his military leadership post, PRC media give no perceptible clue.

## **POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

Jiang’s continued dominant role, the specifics of leadership appointments made at the 16th Party Congress, the attributes of the new Politburo leadership, the existence of a new body of retired elders to kibbitz in the new leadership’s deliberations, and the thrust of much of the agenda laid out in Jiang’s political report to the congress all argue strongly for continuity in broad policy directions. According to the Xinhua News Agency, the political report’s drafting and review were supervised by Jiang in collaboration with Hu Jintao, who served as head of the drafting group, and it is likely to bear the imprimatur of both. Specifically:

- The Hu leadership is likely to push ahead with market-based economic reform under the new constraints imposed by China’s accession to the WTO. It will continue to see China’s prosperity and national strength sustained by further integration into the international economy. The presumed expansion of the number of Politburo Standing Committee members working on economic affairs attests to this expectation, as does the thrust of economic policy goals enunciated in the political report.
- The new leadership is not likely to loosen the regime’s authoritarian controls on dissent or expand political liberties in any meaningful sense at a time of anticipated economic adjustment and social unrest as China phases in its WTO commitments. The evident doubling up of leaders devoting their time to internal security—on the Politburo, its Standing Committee, and the Secretariat—attests to this focus.
- The new leadership is nevertheless apparently committed to incremental steps at “political reform” intended to address party corruption and to improve intraparty consultation and collaboration. The new formulation of building China’s “political civilization,” endorsed in the political report, calls for extending the two-decades-long effort to elaborate China’s system of

law, standardizing the party's internal processes, and rebuilding the party's roots in a society that has undergone tremendous change as a consequence of economic reform launched two decades ago. The incorporation of the "three represents" formulation into the preamble to the party constitution, the adjustment of party constitution stipulations for membership and regarding grassroots party cells in private enterprises, and the fundamental importance attached to the formulation in Jiang's report to the congress bear out this policy direction.

- Under Jiang's continued leadership of the CMC, and undoubtedly supported by the technocratic predilections of the new Politburo under Hu, Beijing will continue to press the effort at PLA modernization begun by Deng Xiaoping in 1985 and advanced considerably in the 1990s by Jiang's emphasis on the role of advanced technology in modern warfare.
- The Hu leadership will continue Jiang's evident effort to maximize areas of collaboration with Washington. The U.S. war on terrorism since the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon has given Beijing new opportunities in this respect. But the new leadership is not likely to be any less wary than the outgoing leadership about the implications of overwhelming U.S. power in the international order for China's overall security, while at the same time Beijing needs U.S. markets, investment, and technology to continue China's development. In this respect, the new Hu leadership faces the same dilemma that the Jiang leadership has dealt with since the end of the Cold War—finding ways to balance against the world's dominating strategic power while at the same time depending on the world's strongest economy.

JANUARY 5, 2003

*China's National Party Leadership (December 31, 2002)*

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CCP General Secretary	HU JINTAO (60)*
CCP Central Military Commission Chairman	JIANG ZEMIN (76)
CCP Central Discipline Inspection Commission Chairman	WU GUANZHENG (64)

CCP POLITBURO

*Standing Committee (rank order)*

HU JINTAO (60)	PRC vice president; vice chairman, Central Military Commissions [Anhui; hydraulic engineering]
WU BANGGUO (61)	Vice premier [Anhui; electrical engineering]
WEN JIABAO (60)	Vice premier [Tianjin; geology]
JIA QINGLIN (62)	[Hebei; electrical engineering]
ZENG QINGHONG (63)	Secretariat; president, Central Party School [Jiangxi; engineering]
WU GUANZHENG (64)	Chairman, CDIC [Jiangxi; electrical engineering]
HUANG JU (65)	[Zhejiang; electrical engineering]
LI CHANGCHUN (58)	[Liaoning; electrical engineering]
LUO GAN (67)	State councillor [Shandong; metallurgical engineering]

*Regular Members (stroke order)*

WANG LEQUAN (58)	Secretary, Xinjiang UAR CCP [Shandong]
WANG ZHAOGUO (61)	President, ACFTU [Hebei; power engineering]
HUI LIANGYU (58)	[Jilin; economics]
LIU QI (60)	Secretary, Beijing CCP [Jiangsu; metallurgical engineering]
LIU YUNSHAN (55)	Director, CCP Propaganda Department [Shanxi]
WU YI (64)	State councillor [Hubei; petroleum engineering]
ZHANG LICHANG (63)	Secretary, Tianjin CCP [Hebei; economics management]
ZHANG DEJIANG (56)	Secretary, Guangdong CCP [Liaoning; economics]
CHEN LIANGYU (56)	Secretary, Shanghai CCP; mayor, Shanghai [Zhejiang; architectural engineering]
ZHOU YONGKANG (60)	Minister of public security [Jiangsu; geophysics]
YU ZHENGSHENG (57)	Secretary, Hubei CCP [Zhejiang; missile engineering]
HE GUOQIANG (59)	Director, CCP Organization Department [Hunan; chemical engineering]
GUO BOXIONG (60)	Vice chairman, CMC [Shaanxi; PLA Military Academy]
CAO GANGCHUAN (67)	Vice chairman, CMC [Henan; USSR Military Engineering School]
ZENG PEIYAN (64)	Minister, State Development Planning Commission [Zhejiang; electrical engineering]

*Alternate Member*

WANG GANG (60)	Director, CCP General Office [Jilin; philosophy]
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CCP SECRETARIAT

ZENG QINGHONG (63)	Politburo Standing Committee
LIU YUNSHAN (55)	Politburo; director, CCP Propaganda Department

ZHOU YONGKANG (60) Politburo; minister of public security  
 HE GUOQIANG (59) Politburo; director, CCP Organization Department  
 WANG GANG (60) Politburo alternate; director, CCP General Office  
 XU CAIHOU (59) Member, CCP CMC; director, PLA General Political  
 Department  
 HE YONG (62) Deputy secretary, CDIC; minister of supervision

RETIRED ELDERS

WAN LI (86) SONG PING (85) BO YIBO (94)  
 QIAO SHI (78) ZHANG WANNIAN (74) ZHANG ZHEN (88)  
 LIU HUAQING (84) SONG RENQIONG (93) LI PENG (74)  
 LI RUIHUAN (68) WEI JIANXING (71) LI LANQING (70)  
 DING GUAN'GEN (73) TIAN JIYUN (73) LI TIEYING (66)  
 CHI HAOTIAN (73) ZHU RONGJI (74) QIAN QICHEN (74)  
 JIANG CHUNYUN (72)

*China's National State Leadership*

PRC President	JIANG ZEMIN (76)
PRC Vice President	HU JINTAO (60)
PRC National People's Congress Standing Committee Chairman	LI PENG (74)
President, Supreme People's Court	XIAO YANG (64)
President, Supreme People's Procuratorate	HAN ZHUBIN (70)
Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Chairman	LI RUIHUAN (68)

STATE COUNCIL

*Premier*

ZHU RONGJI (74)

*Vice Premiers*

LI LANQING (70)  
 QIAN QICHEN (74)  
 WU BANGGUO (61) Politburo Standing Committee  
 WEN JIABAO (60) Politburo Standing Committee

*State Councillors*

CHI HAOTIAN (73) Minister of national defense  
 LUO GAN (67) Politburo Standing Committee  
 WU YI (64) Politburo  
 ISMAIL AYMAT (66) Minister, State Nationalities Commission  
 WANG ZHONGYU (69) Secretary-general, State Council

## *China's National Military Leadership*

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### CCP CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

#### *Chairman*

JIANG ZEMIN (76) PRC president

#### *Vice Chairmen*

HU JINTAO (60) CCP general secretary; PRC vice president

GUO BOXIONG (60) Politburo

CAO GANGCHUAN (67) Politburo

#### *Members*

XU CAIHOU (59) Secretariat; director, PLA General Political Department

LIANG GUANGLIE (62) Chief of General Staff, PLA General Staff Department

LIAO XILONG (62) Director, PLA General Logistics Department

LI JINAI (60) Director, PLA General Armaments Department

### PRC CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

#### *Chairman*

JIANG ZEMIN (76) PRC president

#### *Vice Chairmen*

HU JINTAO (60) CCP general secretary; PRC vice president

ZHANG WANNIAN (74)

CHI HAOTIAN (73) Minister of national defense

#### *Members*

FU QUANYOU (72) Outgoing chief of General Staff, PLA General Staff Department

YU YONGBO (71) Outgoing director, PLA General Political Department

WANG KE (71) Outgoing director, PLA General Logistics Department

CAO GANGCHUAN (67) Politburo; outgoing director, PLA General Armaments Department

GUO BOXIONG (60) Politburo

XU CAIHOU (59) Secretariat

### OTHER MILITARY LEADERS

Commandant, National Defense University XING SHIZHONG (64)

Commandant, Academy of Military Science ZHANG DINGFA ( )

PLA Navy Commander SHI YUNSHENG (62)

PLA Air Force Commander LIU SHUNYAO ( )

Second Artillery Corps Commander YANG GUOLIANG (64)

People's Armed Police Commander WU SHUANGZHAN ( )

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\*Numbers in parentheses indicate age attained during the year 2002. Bracketed information includes province of origin and university degree, if any.

## NOTES

1. A chart of the new leadership is appended.
2. These leadership roles inferred from members' Standing Committee rank have not been confirmed by PRC media, which sustain the fiction that the party only nominates candidates for state leadership posts but does not have the authority to appoint them outright. Therefore, PRC media do not ordinarily make explicit the implications of the party lineup for appointments to state leadership posts. A *Beijing Review* account of the leadership changes at the 16th Party Congress, in an unusual departure in this regard, referred to "possible premier candidate Wen Jiabao." See *Beijing Review*, December 5, 2002, 14.
3. *Wen wei po*, November 16, 2002, in World News Connection, FBIS CPP-2002-1116-000016.