

# China to 'elect' President, Vice-President in March

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**SINGAPORE, DEC. 28.** China's "new legislature" will "elect the country's President and Vice-President" in March 2003.

The other "top state and government leaders" will also be elected during the first plenum of 10th National People's Congress, China's Parliament, which is scheduled to begin its session in Beijing on March 5 in the New Year.

Today's official announcement in Beijing on these lines is indicative of the possibility that the Vice-President, Hu Jintao, will succeed Jiang Zemin as President next March.

At last month's 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), which exercises a constitutional monopoly of power in the country, Mr. Jiang was succeeded by Mr. Hu as General Secretary of the powerful political organisation.

Under China's political and constitutional practices, the change at the highest party echelon has already catapulted Mr. Hu to the position of Mr. Jiang's heir-apparent for the state presidency.

The decisions on the schedule of elections were taken at a meeting of the Standing Committee of Parliament, the National People's Congress (NPC), in Beijing today.

The decisions were enshrined in a 'resolution' which set out 'suggestions' for the agenda of the first session of the new legislature. The resolution was adopted at a meeting of the NPC panel.

The phraseology of the new official announcement is remarkable for its non-committal brevity as regards the question whether the "new legislature" will actually 'elect' new leaders, fresh faces, across the entire spectrum of China's State and Government structures.

What can be underlined is that there is no specific mention of the possibility that any of the present leaders might be re-elected next March, observers say.

It is this that has fuelled a speculation that a shuffle of leaders, including some significant changes, might take place at the state and government levels during the first plenum of the next NPC.

As diplomats and analysts in China's neighbourhood began to gaze at the crystal ball behind the so-called Bamboo Curtain, an 'intelligent' guessing about the possible personnel changes gained momentum.

Mr. Jiang at present holds the dual positions of Chairman at the apex of China's state-level Central Military Commission and Chairman of the CPC's distinctive panel with the same name.

In the light of the overall legacy of Deng Xiaoping, the main architect of

China's constitutional politics after the passing of Mao Zedong, Mr. Jiang's position at the helm of the party's Central Military Commission gives him a decisive say over China's powerful military establishment.

As a result, a substantive question is whether China will choose a new President with or without the chairmanship of the CPC's Central Military Commission.

A key factor that might come into play behind the scenes is that Mr. Jiang was actually "re-elected" as the head of the party's prestigious military-related panel only last month.

The presidential sweepstakes, insofar as the concept can be applied to China, will cover this critical aspect as well, though Mr. Hu is generally reckoned to be in line for succeeding Mr. Jiang as the Head of State, given especially the fact that the former was identified by Deng himself and that

the recent change at the party's pinnacle was effected in the overall context of Deng's principles of politics.

As for other State and Government positions, Wu Bangguo now holds the second-ranking position in the party hierarchy under Mr. Hu's leadership.

The question is whether this aspect would fetch him the post of the new Parliament's chief, given that the Chairman of the existing NPC Standing Committee, Li Peng, was second only to Mr. Jiang within the party hierarchy until last month's CPC changes.

As for the key Prime Minister's post, speculation among Sinologists centres on Wen Jiabao, arguably on grounds of 'precedents', and equally importantly on Zeng Qinghong, on the basis of his standing as Mr. Jiang's "right hand man" in politics.

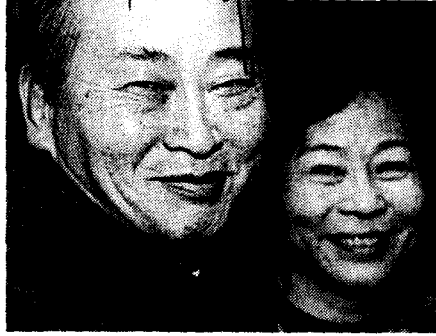
However, the fact remains that China's political leaders and activists certainly, not China-watchers — select the country's rulers.

## 'More dissidents awaiting release in China'

NEW YORK, DEC. 25. The release of the Chinese democracy advocate, Xu Wenli, is welcome, but many thousands still remain unjustly imprisoned in China, Human Rights Watch said today. Mr. Xu Wenli, who spent 16 years in Chinese prisons, was sentenced most recently in December 1998 to a 13-year term for his association with the China Democracy Party (CDP).

"We are thrilled that Xu Wenli is free. But no one should mistake his release as a sign of improvement in China's human rights record," said Brad Adams, Executive Director of the Asia division of the Human Rights Watch.

"This was a token gesture to the Bush administration, and a cynical move by Beijing to head off international criticism." The Human Rights Watch urged the U.S. and other Governments to press for the immediate, unconditional release of other key organisers of the China Democracy Party Wang Youcai and Qin Yongmin, sentenced the same week as Mr. Xu, are serving 11-



Xu Wenli, a leading Chinese pro-democracy activist, smiles alongside his wife, He Xintong, in New York on Tuesday. — AP

and 12-year terms on subversion charges for the same alleged offence as Mr. Xu's.

At least 10 other CDP members, less well-known outside China, received similarly long sentences. "Unfortunately, Xu had to

accept exile as the price of freedom," Mr. Adams said. "This is a trade-off no one should be forced to make. And Xu Wenli should never have been imprisoned in the first place."

Mr. Xu is now 60 years old. According to his family, his health was affected by the 12 years he spent in prison from his detention in April 1981 until his release on parole in May 1993. The charge at the time was "illegally organising a clique to overthrow the Government" and referred to his many Democracy Wall (1979-1981) related activities including editorship of the influential samizdat-style journal *April Fifth Forum*. "If the new leadership in Beijing really wants to improve its image, it can start by declaring a general amnesty for all political prisoners, rather than releasing one or two and detaining many more," said Mr. Adams, pointing out that even as Mr. Xu was released, others were detained for such offences as posting material critical of the Government on the Internet.

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# China's political transition — II

By P. S. Suryanarayana

THE MYSTIQUE of China's latest political succession in mid-November this year was sought to be heightened by the manner in which Hu Jintao and his new team of eight others stood in front of a massive portrait of the majestic Great Wall for a "live" television show in the presence of national and foreign journalists. Their objective was to introduce themselves to the Chinese people and the international community after being elected to the Standing Committee of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC).

For Mr. Hu and his nucleus team of fellow leaders, it would have been difficult to find a better symbolism. The pictorial backdrop of the Great Wall of China inside the impressive Great Hall of the People in Beijing was in itself a message that Communist China's defensive wall would not crumble in the manner of the Berlin Wall whose fall in the late 1980s signalled the collapse of communism in Europe.

By any standard, the latest political succession in Beijing is the most orderly one in Communist China's contemporary history. While the rise of the People's Republic of China in 1949 was punctuated by a civil war, the Chinese took quite a while to sketch out a post-Mao dispensation following his death in 1976 and the arrest of the "Gang of Four" that included Mao's wife. Although Deng Xiaoping, once purged during Mao Zedong's long reign, succeeded in taking China towards a definitive form of order, the events of 1989 at Tiananmen Square and the related social and political realities marred the initial phase of the rise of Jiang Zemin as China's new architect in the Deng-mould of a cautious political entrepreneur of the communist kind. It is this political landscape that prompted the Chinese authorities to project their latest succession in the best possible manner, and they did succeed in their endeavour.

The 16th National Congress of the CPC, which "elected" Mr. Hu and his team, was not spoilt by any kind of political protest. While the in-camera discussions might not have been free from some candid exchanges of views, neither the activists of the Falun Gong nor indeed any of the Chinese "dissidents" had managed to stage a "sit-in strike" or any other form of spectacular protest in the public domain during the CPC Congress at this time. This reality certainly redounds to the credit of the CPC leaders that they have either marginalised the so-called "dissidents" at this moment or in-

sleeping giant by any standard, finds itself hard pressed to move the world". Part of the reason has to do with the challenges of China's unfinished internal evolution as an economic powerhouse. Cognisant of this, the CPC has by now completed a very careful and gradual "demystification of Mao" (Immanuel C.Y. Hsu's phrase in a major work on the rise of modern China). However, there has never been, and certainly not at present too, any move by the CPC to follow the example of Khrushchev who took a particularly dim view of his predecessor in the former Soviet Union.

## *It will be simplistic to talk of 'Red capitalism' as the new banner of the Communist Party of China.*

deed addressed their "concerns" in some substantive way or other.

However, it is also considered possible that the Chinese "dissident" groups, such as they exist, did not quite manage to draw the international community to their side during the latest CPC Congress. The reason, in part, is that the U.S.-led international community is at present too preoccupied with the Iraq question to pay intensive attention to the other regions of the world. Moreover, China is crucial to the current American calculus of "safeguarding" the world, in particular the U.S. mainland and Washington's worldwide interests, from the predatory terrorist moves of religious radicals. China, which too faces a terrorist threat in Xinjiang province, is a veto-empowered permanent member of the United Nations Security Council — the only full-fledged Asian country with this power. The significance of the current political transition in Beijing is also derived from China's international profile.

Napoleon had said: "China? There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep. For when he wakes he will move the world". Today, China, no

More importantly, the CPC continues to regard both Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the party's inalienable legacy. Also commended by the CPC, over a period of time, is the Deng Xiaoping Theory that first introduced communist China to selective capitalist practices in the larger national interest.

The latest CPC Congress has, for the first time, enshrined the "important thought of Three Represents" in the party's constitution. This "thought" is Mr. Jiang's contribution to modern China's political-economic evolution. According to him, the party should "represent" China's "advanced productive forces" (a reference to the benign elements of capitalist enterprise) besides the country's advanced cultural "orientation" and also the "fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people". The "important thought of Three Represents is a guiding ideology that the party must uphold for a long time to come", the CPC has further underlined. It will be simplistic, however, to talk of "Red capitalism" as the new banner of the CPC.

According to the CPC, its "three

major historical tasks" at the moment are "to propel the (ongoing) modernisation drive" in the economic sphere, "to achieve national reunification" and "to safeguard world peace and promote common development" of all countries. The foreign policy content of the CPC's new agenda is the key aspect that will eventually determine China's "reunification" and economic "rejuvenation" as a "socialist" state with "Chinese characteristics". In this sense, the most critical of China's foreign policy concerns is the complex orientation of the U.S. towards Beijing. While China is at present capitalising on America's requirement of friends and allies in "the global campaign against terrorism", Beijing knows full well, as underlined by Wang Hongwei, one of China's leading strategic experts, that the Taiwan issue holds the "key" to any real Sino-U.S. rapprochement. Although the Chinese do not actually wish to visualise the long-term strategic value that Taipei might hold for the U.S., the fact remains that Taiwan, which Beijing wants to reunify with China, can serve Washington's interests in much the same way as Cuba had played a role in the former Soviet Union's strategic gamesmanship as regards America.

China's other foreign policy priorities, as Mr. Hu begins to function as the CPC General Secretary, include Russia, both within as also outside the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, besides Japan and India. Although Neville Maxwell's version of India's China War is still current in the strategic affairs circles in Beijing, a conscious effort is being made by the Jiang administration to engage New Delhi very seriously. For China, Pakistan as a steadfast "partner" in the overall regional situation, besides North Korea as a possibly nuclear-armed neighbour, will also be no less important, whether or not Islamabad and Pyongyang have had a nuclear arms-ballistic missiles deal.

(Concluded)

# CPC reaffirms supremacy over military

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**BEIJING, NOV. 26.** China's People's Liberation Army (PLA), a highly regarded institution in the country, has acquired a new-look leadership profile under the supervisory control of Jiang Zemin, Chairman of the powerful Central Military Commission (CMC) of the Communist Party of China (CPC).

Mr. Jiang was re-elected to this powerful post even as he gave up his position as General Secretary during the CPC's 16th National Congress, which concluded here last week. As China's President, Mr. Jiang continues to hold the highest position in the CMC too.

Xu Caihou, a member of the commission, is the new head of the political command of the PLA. He was earlier holding the rank of the deputy chief in the same department. Liang Guanglie is the new Chief of General Staff. Within the hierarchy of the CMC, Hu Jintao, the party's new General Secretary and Chi-

na's Vice-President, besides Guo Boxiong and Cao Gangchuan rank as Vice-Chairmen next only to Mr. Jiang as the chief of this military panel of the party. While these and other personnel appointments are important, the ultimate authority on all matters concerning the PLA rests with Mr. Jiang in his capacity as the Chairman of the CMC. The reason has to do with the CPC's supremacy and supervisory jurisdiction over all wings of the country's military forces.

Shortly after being re-elected Chairman of the CMC, Mr. Jiang told the PLA, "All officers and men must uphold the absolute leadership of the party over the Army". Mr. Jiang's other piece of advice to the PLA was to place itself on a fast-track of development by "accelerating the building and reform of the Army".

The PLA plays a pivotal role in China, but this major power does not practise the more conventional forms of a "prae-torian system" of national governance that generally assigns a definitive politi-

cal space to the military establishment. It is in this sense that Mr. Jiang has reaffirmed the CPC's "absolute leadership" over the affairs of the PLA. In the new context of the changes within the CPC hierarchy, Mr. Jiang underlined that the "strengthening" of China's "national defence" would be a "strategic task" that could promote the country's "modernisation drive". The augmentation of national defence would be "an important guarantee for building a well-off society in an all-round way".

It is against this background that the Chief of General Staff has called upon the military forces to "accelerate" the pace of their "modernisation" by following the "guidelines" set out by the CPC in its commendation of Mr. Jiang's "important thought of Three Represents" about the party's more inclusive representational character.

Such an embellished jargon of the CPC's politics of "socialist modernisation" does not, however, obscure Chi-

na's priorities of improving the capabilities of all its military wings so that they could withstand the present uncertainties of an unsettled phase in the post-Cold War politics on the world stage. While China is actively engaged in reinforcing its contacts and cooperation with the U.S., in some follow-up action after the recent Sino-American summit in Crawford, Texas, Beijing is enhancing its interaction with Russia too.

Russia is emerging as China's important partner in the military sphere including the sub-sectors of equipment and know-how. China's Foreign Ministry announced on Monday that the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, would visit Beijing by early December to fine-tune the emerging strategic equation between the two countries.

Independent of these cross-currents, but not without some relevance to them, China has also been evincing a heightened interest in engaging India too, more actively than before.

# China's political transition — I

By P.S. Suryanarayana

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THE MICROCOSM of China's internal politics has witnessed a momentous change without any outward signs of simmering tension or of a nebulous future shock. This reality transcends the fact that the unusual ferment in Chinese politics is not without the challenges of an extraordinary change. The new-look leadership at the helm of affairs in Beijing has, in fact, been chosen by the in-camera process of consensus and accommodation within the Communist Party of China (CPC) — the sole repository of political power in the world's most populous nation. On balance, however, the latest political succession, announced with a touch of high drama inside the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on November 15, 2002, has been engineered in a smooth but not surreal fashion.

Hu Jintao is the new general secretary of the CPC, a post that entitles him to China's presidency in due course and in accordance with the country's current constitutional practices. Jiang Zemin stays as the President until, according to current indications, the mantle passes to Mr. Hu under, perhaps, a "due process" with Chinese characteristics at the time of the next session of the National People's Congress (Parliament) in March next year. This procedure need not necessarily be seen as an apt case of ifs-and-buts, given the remarkable mood of fraternal bonhomie that the leaders and delegates at the CPC's 16th National Congress, which elected the party's new leadership, have exuded in the public domain. It is in this overall context that Mr. Jiang retains his critical position as Chairman of the CPC's powerful Central Military Commission.

Not very clear at the moment is the timing of an anticipated move by Mr. Jiang, at some time in the future, to give up his overall command of China's immense military machine and enormous armed forces and hand over this highly sensitive

charge to Mr. Hu. Any such transfer of power (in a robust sense of the term) is regarded in Beijing as the inexorable aspect of the present-day trends in China's politics.

In a limited sense, Mr. Jiang has now emulated Deng Xiaoping, the undisputed patriarch of China's post-Mao political era which began technically in the wake of his death in 1976 but gradually headed towards the modernisation and reform of a communist system. Mr. Jiang has now retained the reins

ed achiever — a strong, silent leader who, for the most part, had functioned in Deng's grand shadow. Much of the amazing economic progress that China has attained in recent years, under the banner of "socialist modernisation" (or, in reality, an unspoken capitalist manifesto with Chinese characteristics), can be traced to the policies of the CPC's "collective leadership with Mr. Jiang at the core" (the party's official phraseology). However, there has never been any suggestion

post, that "all officers and men must uphold the absolute leadership of the Party over the Army".

Viewed in this perspective, Mr. Hu's emergence as Mr. Jiang's successor as leader of the CPC does not mark a complete transfer of power. The latest developments in Beijing mark a measured transition. The galaxy of leaders who have now retired from active politics will, of course, fade away, perhaps at a galactic pace in the case of Mr. Jiang in particular. Important, though, is that a change in leadership has indeed occurred as indicated to this journalist by authoritative Chinese sources on the inside track ahead of the actual event. This kind of Chinese-style glasnost is a new trend.

The CPC has now chosen to enlarge its representational character within society, but the party has sought to extend its unchallenged political supremacy in China for the foreseeable future and beyond through this strategy.

The CPC's Constitution, amended during the party's 16th National Congress is now an inclusive document. A resolution adopted on November 14 states that "the (CPC) Congress unanimously agrees to make it clear in the Constitution that the Communist Party of China is the vanguard both of the Chinese working class and of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation as well as the core of leadership for the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics and that (the party) represents the development trend of China's advanced productive forces (as also) the orientation of China's advanced culture and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people".

The long-winded central theme of this resolution does not, however, obscure the CPC's urge to keep itself relevant to the changing times and prove the likes of Gordon Chang wrong in their prognosis of an imminent collapse of communism and its state structure in China.

## *Hu Jintao's emergence as Jiang Zemin's successor as leader of the Communist Party of China does not mark a complete transfer of power.*

over the military establishment even in the context of a change in the leadership of the CPC itself. Deng had, during his heyday in power, crafted the changes at the party's top echelons. Holding complete sway over the CPC in the 1980s and until the middle of the 1990s, Deng moulded the party according to his wishes but by-keeping the other senior leaders too with him on most occasions and by feeling the pulse of the people, almost unerringly, even in the absence of conventional democracy of the Western style or its vibrant Indian version. Not surprisingly, Deng had come to be known as China's "paramount leader".

Mr. Jiang himself was hand-picked by Deng to lead the CPC in the tumultuous circumstances of the "June 4 incident" of 1989 — the military crackdown on the so-called "pro-democracy" protesters at the historic Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Now, Mr. Jiang has certainly earned a distinctive name for himself by managing China and placing it on an upward trajectory in the economic sphere, especially so after Deng's passing in 1997. There is a body of opinion in China that tends to portray Mr. Jiang as the unherald-

ed achiever — a strong, silent leader who, for the most part, had functioned in Deng's grand shadow. Much of the amazing economic progress that China has attained in recent years, under the banner of "socialist modernisation" (or, in reality, an unspoken capitalist manifesto with Chinese characteristics), can be traced to the policies of the CPC's "collective leadership with Mr. Jiang at the core" (the party's official phraseology). However, there has never been any suggestion

that Mr. Jiang be elevated to the rank of Deng. Mr. Jiang's latest retention of ultimate control over China's powerful military hierarchy should be evaluated with this caveat in mind. Communist China is a major country where the unchanging political party in power owns the state's military establishment because of the blurred distinction between the CPC and the Chinese polity. This unique political feature in China should not be equated, though, with the popular impression about Pakistan where the military establishment tends to think that it has a country to rule instead of allowing the state itself to possess and control the army and other security forces. In China, as in other parts of the civilised world, an ultimate civilian control over the military forces as also over the state apparatus is ensured. Significantly, in this sub-text, the Chairman of the CPC's Central Military Commission functions as a civilian political leader regardless of whether or not he has had links with the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Not surprisingly, Mr. Jiang has now told the PLA, shortly after his re-election to the CPC's top military-related

China's social evolution is a product of the entrepreneurial revolution

# Marriage of advantage

SUNANDA K. DATTA-RAY

**T**he Chinese Communist Party's decision to accommodate businessmen follows a precedent already established in West Bengal by the Communist Party of India (Marxist). The difference is that while Calcutta's Marxists and merchants are engaged in a clandestine liaison, Jiang Zemin's Three Represents doctrine proudly marries communism with capitalism.

No pussyfooting there by bourgeois professionals who hanker to be gentlemen without shedding the ruling communist party's rewarding patronage. No surreptitious footsy under the table either by opportunistic traders who have latched on to the CPI(M) in West Bengal but are the Bharatiya Janata Party's backbone elsewhere. "I am a cadre first and an entrepreneur second," boasts Sheng Wenring, president of a steel conglomerate, with a candour that leading lights of the Indian Chamber of Commerce should note.

Jiang's strategic coup overshadows the 16th congress's relatively inconsequential political innovations. Ideology died with the Long March. Democracy in the sense of transparent participative decision-making is unknown. Politics is about personalities, not principles. But as a Chinese Singaporean editor observed, the heir apparent, 59-year-old Hu Jintao, is more apparent than heir. Little is known of the CCP's new secretary general beyond his predilection for ballroom dancing (does that too strike a bell in Calcutta?) and repression in Tibet.

Despite his American cowboy hats and addiction to Western and country music, Jiang has crudely lived up to Mao Zedong's aphorism about power growing out of the barrel of a gun. Having packed every tier of the power structure with his cronies — 80 per cent of the 198-member central committee, at least half the 24-member politburo, and at least four of nine politburo standing committee members — he remains chairman of the central military commission. That makes him boss of the 2.5-million strong People's Liberation Army.

**H**ere now is one reason for ranking "the most potent forces of production" — shorthand for capitalists — with peasants and workers among the 66 million party faithful. The PLA controls 15,000 companies with annual sales of around \$10 billion. Many might make a loss, but they nicely line the military's pockets. No wonder PLA delegates enthusiastically endorsed Jiang's thesis even before the CCP vote. The Three Represents assures the mili-

tary of its place in the financial sun; it assures the regime (and Jiang) of continued military support.

In fact, the congress was all about constituency consolidation. Peasants and public sector workers are an endangered species. A party that restricts membership to these two declining classes would be without power, money and — ultimately — members.

The official figure of 14 million jobless is probably a gross underestimate. Even the authorities admit that 25 million workers have been laid off in recent years. One expert places urban unemployment at 20 per cent. Another estimates 20 million poor people in the cities. According to Wei Jingsheng, China's most famous dissident, 200 million farm hands are out of work. About 300 million peasants will be forcibly resettled in cities to provide cheap labour and give a fillip to demand.

Not surprisingly, unemployment is highest in the socialist bastions of the north-east whose bankrupt administrations cannot afford pensions for the jobless. Nor is it surprising that the capitalist provinces are free of labour unrest.

The CCP has therefore set its sights on millionaires and a middle class — still a politically dubious term — that numbers 130 million and is expected to burgeon to 400 million in 10 years. A family income of \$14,000 — officially, the per capita income is \$840 — permits such status symbols as stylish clothes, locally made colour television, DVD player and the ubiquitous cellphone.

The politburo standing committee confirms that pragmatic communism gives short shrift to both the idea of class warfare and idealization of the proletariat. Hu is a hydroelectric engineer. His colleagues include a geologist and a German-trained metallurgist. The other six are engineers. One specializes in

electronics and another in rockets. What could be more middle class than, perhaps, the Bar or teaching.

This social evolution parallels — indeed, is a product of — the entrepreneurial revolution. Faced with rural revolts, Beijing recognizes that only a dynamic private sector can tackle the world's biggest unemployment problem.

Private enterprise was hamstrung in the Eighties so that it could not challenge state undertakings; now, people are encouraged to set up their own companies. There were only 90,000 private

firms in 1998; now there are more than two million. The number of state undertakings has dwindled from over a lakh in the Eighties to 42,900.

But it has taken time to reconcile and rationalize the theologies of capitalism and communism. His physician's revelations about the ageing Mao confirmed that communist success leads to capitalist indulgence. Then came Deng Xiaoping's Southern Tour in 1992 pursuing "socialism with Chinese characteristics". It was glorious, he said, to be rich; it mattered not

whether a cat was black or grey providing it caught mice.

Like Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi or Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew, Deng did not need the trappings of high office to exercise authority. The only position he held latterly was head of a bridge club. Yet, his word was law. His views on moneymaking proved immensely popular, not least because, being a shrewd operator, he made a virtue of necessity.

Apparently, the CCP discussed this shift at its 15th congress in 1997. Jiang Xipei, who runs a cable producing corporation, says that the matter came up at the 13th congress a decade earlier. Jiang's promise of "policies based on reform and engagement in the world economy" is only the final touch. It could be the end of political posturing.



Strategic coup

The spectacular rise of the *taizidang* (little princelings), as the elite's pampered offspring are called, struck a blow for realism. According to one report, 98 per cent of the spouses and children of senior officials hold key positions and earn 120 times the national average. About 78 per cent are suspects in fraud cases involving sums of more than \$ 600,000. Over 600 reportedly fled the country when charged with corruption.

**S**uch scandals forced the government to take action in the Nineties, even to closing down a company run by Deng's son where lawbreaking was rampant. Zhou Beifang, son of an important CCP member, was given a suspended death sentence for accepting bribes while heading a major state-run steel firm. And Chen Xiaotong, whose father was disgraced as chief of the CCP's Beijing unit, was jailed for 12 years for graft.

Today's princelings are less blatant. Many are educated abroad; most, if not all, run business ventures. Even if they do not epitomize outright nepotism, they reflect the power of privileged birth, high connections and expensive education. They are far removed from the egalitarian ethic of the proletarian paradise.

Jiang's own son, Jiang Mianheng, a high-tech whiz kid known as the Prince of Information Technology, has a finger in many pies from telecom to computer chips. Zhu Rongji's son, Zhu Yunlai, heads the China International Capital Corporation, the country's first joint venture bank, in collaboration with Morgan Stanley. Li Peng's son, Li Xiaoping, runs a state power giant while his daughter is a senior executive in an energy investment firm.

In a pattern with which Calcutta is familiar, Beijing will now shower land and credit on businessmen, allow them to issue bonds, relax taxation, ease market access, waive import restrictions and grant export incentives. The recipients of lavish favours will, of course, wax even richer. But they won't all be only the party chief's personal toadies. Undoubtedly, they will give handsomely to the party. But that won't be the sum total of their service.

**Y**ou can bet your bottom yuan that Chinese businessmen who now flaunt the Hammer and Sickle will add value to the economy by setting up factories, adding to productivity and creating jobs. That is the difference between entrepreneurs and comprador-traders, between a purposeful compact and a conspiracy to loot.

# CHANGES IN CHINA

## Much Expected From New Team In Beijing

By DMITRY KOSYREV

5-6 2011  
At the 16th congress of the Communist Party of China, which closed on Thursday, Hu Jintao, deputy head of the CPC, acted as the general secretary. This fact is seen in Moscow as yet another sign that within the next few days Hu Jintao will officially replace 76-year-old Jiang Zemin at the top party post and then, in spring, also at the top state post — that of the president.

This latter proof was hardly required at all, though. In the words of a source close to the top circles of the Chinese leadership, there has never been a longer-term and more planned takeover in China and the rest of the world.

### "With brilliant knowledge"

The narrow circle of the party leadership knew that Hu Jintao was the most obvious and realistic successor to Jiang Zemin way back. A decade ago, when Hu Jintao, on the initiative of the patriarch of Chinese reforms Deng Xiaoping, was transferred from the province to Beijing, he headed the Chinese Komsomol and became a member of the standing committee of the CPC Politburo. Although he was elected to act for Jiang Zemin only in 1998, the Chinese political circles had known long before that he was the country's potential new leader.

Hu Jintao will turn 60 in December. The most typical characteristics one can hear about him in China are "a quiet man who does not seek conflicts and is capable of compromise", a man "with brilliant knowledge and training" and lastly, a man of "poor health". For the latter reason, they say in Beijing, Hu Jintao even suggested

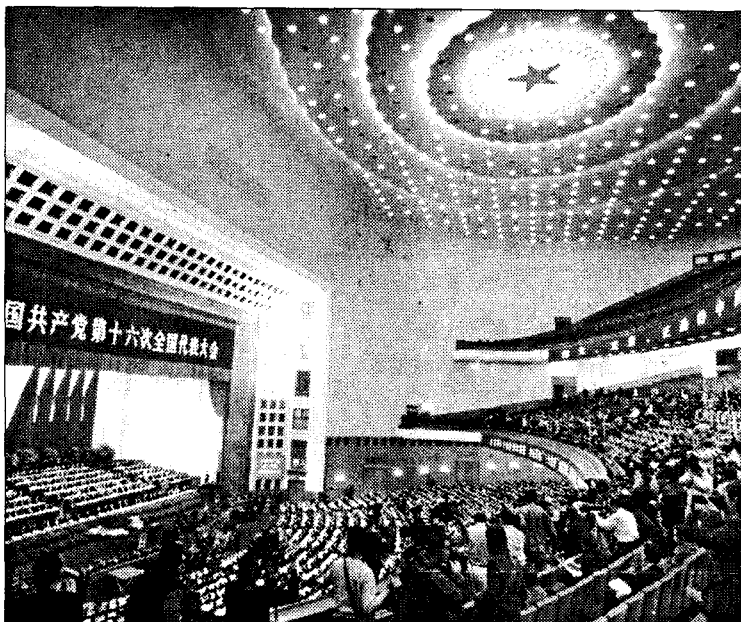
*The author is a political analyst with Ria Novosti.*

a year ago that he should be withdrawn from the leadership.

The top Russian leaders spoke highly of his knowledge and training in December last year, when the future Chinese leader started from Moscow a series of familiarisation trips abroad. It turned out that he was well-prepared for the visit and well-versed in all Sino-Russian and

particular, in relation to the USA or Russia.

Nevertheless, in China itself the new leader is considered to be an expert in the most difficult internal economic problems. There are no more difficult and less developed provinces in China than those where he worked on key positions — these are Gansu and Tibet in China's Far West.



international issues. In Beijing they say that for several years now he has been responsible in the party for the Taiwan issue, that is, China's most acute foreign-policy problem, and in general, has been familiar with international affairs for a long time.

### Technocratic qualifications

Sources also believe that the new leader is aware that the Chinese foreign policy is being developed gradually and by consensus and this is why there can be no abrupt changes in it, in

Incidentally, from Tibet he was transferred to the executive post in Beijing ten years ago, because after he headed the provincial party committee right after the events of 1988, he helped to achieve peace and tranquillity there and had done a lot for Tibet's current economic upswing. Incidentally, the people who know him by work in the provinces say that for all his mildness, restraint and proneness for compromise, unusual even for China, one can expect from this man very quick and resolute actions.

Hu Jintao is an engineer-hydrologist, a graduate of Xinhua University, which is perhaps, the country's best one. He was a brilliant student, just like his wife, with whom he studied together. The same can be said about his friends, among whom there are ministers of the central government and the leaders of provinces. Western sources believe that over the years of work on secondary positions, Hu Jintao has created the best among Chinese leaders' network of personal ties both in the capital and in the provinces.

### Tense relations

Much is expected from this team, which within the next year is to take new positions. It is also believed here that despite the many-year school of compromise, Hu Jintao has many ideas of his own on different problems and may become a more radical reformer than Jiang Zemin. However, as the old generation will be withdrawing from power as gradually as Hu Jintao was coming to it, the new leader may get full control over the situation and ample opportunities to translate his ideas into life only in 2007, that is, after the next party congress.

Vladimir Putin, who is expected to visit China in the near future, may become the first foreign leader to meet Hu Jintao in his new capacity. However, this does not yet mean that China intends to lay greater emphasis on relations with Moscow than before. The problem of Chinese foreign policy lies in the fact that although Beijing has better political mutual understanding with Moscow, China's trade with the USA is several times its trade with Russia, despite more tense political relations. This is why the talk-between the two leaders in Beijing will be very important.

20 NOV 2002

THE STATESMAN

# China for stronger ties with Pak.

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**BEIJING, NOV. 18.** China has reaffirmed its policy of "expanding a comprehensive cooperative partnership" with Pakistan in the present dynamic situation on the international stage.

A categorical reiteration of this substantive policy, at the highest political level in China, follows the Pakistan leader, Pervez Musharraf's assumption of office as President. Without reference to the political controversies over Gen. Musharraf's latest action, the Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, pledged to work with the former to deepen the strategic ties of friendship between the two countries.

China and Pakistan had developed, over half a century, an "all-weather" friendship which indeed witnessed a steady progress, Mr. Jiang underlined while sending an exceptionally warm message of congratula-

tions to Gen. Musharraf. Mr. Jiang said China continued to cherish its traditionally friendly relations with Pakistan. Noting further that their bilateral cooperation was suffused with mutual benefits for the peoples of the two countries, the Chinese President praised Gen. Musharraf for having brought about "national stability and development" in complicated situations on its domestic and external fronts.

While Pakistan's strategic importance to China may have been reaffirmed through this message of conventional courtesies that are directly related to a political development in Islamabad at this moment, diplomatic circles in Beijing, especially the Western quarters, are beginning to look at Pakistan in a larger regional context.

The word in these circles is that North Korea's ambitious claims about its possession of a

nuclear weapon, even if these be ambiguous assertions, may once again bring Pakistan under the spotlight for its alleged role in rendering strategic assistance towards Pyongyang's programmes of making and deploying weapons of mass destruction, more especially the atomic bomb.

The latest announcement over Pyongyang's state-controlled radio is not regarded as being conclusive as a statement on North Korea's possession of a nuclear device. The Korean language words used in that broadcast last night are said to be not definitive enough to convey a message that Pyongyang has already crossed the nuclear Rubicon. However, the Western countries, especially the U.S. and its allies, are likely to engage China more intensively than before over the North Korean puzzle, according to diplomats here.



# Mystery man at the helm

*Hu Jintao, who has taken over the reins of the world's most populous nation, is an inscrutable man. There is no policy or point of view associated with him. But his past suggests that he values power over vision. Joseph Kahn looks at the face behind the mask*

LOW-PROFILE even by the hermetic standards of China's one-party system, Hu Jintao last week took over the most important political position in the world's most populous nation by appealing to the one constituency that counts: elite party insiders.

A merchant's son, Hu survived a decade-long leadership trial by persuading elders that he was the perfect party mandarin, pragmatic and flexible, yet discreet and fiercely loyal. That he rose to the top while scarcely showing his face even as China opened its economy to the world is testimony to the unresolved contradictions of the Chinese experiment with a one-party market economy.

Hu, 59, is the enforcer who was the top official in Tibet when China imposed martial law in 1989 to quell unrest. He is the nationalist who supported anti-American protesters after a US bomb destroyed the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia in 1999.

Yet he is also the innovator who installed broadband Internet access at the Communist Party school and encouraged academic debates about democracy and separation of powers. How he will deal with the challenges of combining modernisation with China's announced goal of continued one-party governance is not clear. "People think Hu will fulfill their own dreams," says Wu Guoguang, an expert in Chinese politics at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. "The liberals see a reformer; the conservatives see a hard-liner. Sooner or later he will have to make some choices, and people will see his real colours. But it may take years for that to happen."

As yet there are few clues to Hu's inner convictions, and at least at first he will be watched over closely by loyalists to the man he succeeds as the party's general secretary, Jiang Zemin. Indeed, if Hu harbours secret plans for change, he is likely to be constrained by a power structure tilted toward Jiang.

There is, so far, no policy, phrase or point of view clearly associated with Hu. When he speaks in public, which is rare, he never strays from the party's prescribed oratory. But his past suggests that he values power over vision. People who have worked with him say they expect him to tinker rather than reinvent and to commit himself only after cultivating broad support.

Even his personal traits — his 100-watt smile, his carefully coiffed hair, his engaging manner with people above and below his rank and his prodigious memory for facts and figures — suggest someone programmed to lead through the consensus of the elite.

Bao Tong, a former senior party official ousted after the violent suppression of the democracy movement in 1989, compares Hu to the moon, a term of art in Chinese politics. He reflects light or turns dark, depending on circumstances. "What he will be like after he has steadied his position is something I don't know," Bao says. "Probably nobody knows, not even himself."

Still, some people who have met Hu said it would be a mistake to underestimate him. In 1992, when he was plucked from obscurity at the behest of Deng Xiaoping, then China's paramount leader, and given a seat on the ruling standing committee of the party's Politburo at the age of 43, he became both heir apparent and target No. 1.

Chinese leaders have often elevated loyal apparatchiks to towering posts and, about as often,



The new President of China is a man who is expected to tinker rather than reinvent. Analysts liken him to the moon which, in Chinese political parlance, means he can reflect light or turn dark depending on the situation

watched them flounder amid the capital's factional politics. Hu seemed to face long odds, especially after Deng died in 1997. He needed finely tuned political instincts to survive.

He has built a power base through the Communist Youth League, which he headed in the early 1980s and whose alumni now oversee important party posts nationwide. Unlike Jiang, who moved

unexpectedly to Beijing to become the party chief during political turmoil in 1989 after spending his entire career in Shanghai, Hu has installed his own protégés in key national positions. "Hu is a reformer who wants to accomplish things," said a party official who knows him. "He will wait for the right time to bring out his ideas."

Hu Jintao was born in Shanghai in 1942 to a

family of itinerant sesame oil merchants. He grew up in Taizhou, more than 300 km northwest of Shanghai. Hu's mother died when he was young. He was raised by relatives including his great-aunt, Liu Bingxia, who lived with him from infancy until he left to attend college. Liu, now 88, describes her nephew as bookish, modest and unfailingly obedient.

Despite a bourgeois family background that might have made him a political target, Hu earned a spot at Qinghua University in Beijing through his academic performance and received a degree in hydrologic engineering. By the time of his graduation in 1965 he had joined the Communist Party.

During the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, Hu, like most educated youths, was sent to labour in poor areas. He worked on a hydroelectric project in Gansu in western China. There he caught the eye of a veteran party stalwart named Song Ping, who was recruiting young talent for senior posts.

By 1982 Hu had moved to Beijing, and a short time later he was named head of the Communist Youth League. He also came to the attention of the party's top official, General Secretary Hu Yaobang, at the time China's leading liberal.

It was Hu Yaobang's death in 1989 that rallied students advocating democracy to stage the mass demonstrations at Tiananmen Square that touched off that year's political turmoil. Hu Yaobang had Hu Jintao appointed to the party's Central Committee at age 39 and made a provincial party secretary at the age of 42, in both cases the youngest person to achieve those milestones.

Hu Jintao's career overseeing provincial affairs, first in Guizhou and then Tibet, sent mixed signals. Guizhou became a haven for liberal intellectuals who fell out of a favour during Beijing's political mood swings. In Tibet, though, he proved his willingness to use force. Shortly after he took over responsibility for the region in 1989, followers of the Dalai Lama took to the streets of Lhasa, the capital. China declared martial law, and Hu oversaw three years of what human rights groups described as brutal oppression.

The crackdown appeared to earn him some credit in Beijing. When he joined the Politburo standing committee in 1992, there was already talk that he would succeed Jiang, who had just consolidated his own power and was soon to add China's presidency to his posts as party and military leader. Hu became Jiang's vice president in 1998.

Unlike Jiang, who speaks a bit of Russian and English, Hu is comparatively provincial. But he staked out an aggressive foreign policy position two days after the US bombed China's embassy in Belgrade in 1999, an incident Washington says was an accident. He went on government-run television and pledged to support "all protest activities in accordance with the law". Hu's address was viewed within the party as a successful ploy to keep control of surging nationalism.

On his maiden trip to the US last spring, some people Hu met privately described him as personable, even funny. In public, though, Hu took few chances. He gave no interviews, stuck firmly to established policy and read his speeches verbatim. He sometimes recited copious statistics about agricultural policy or auto production, leaving audiences deflated.

At home, within the party, the trip was regarded as a great success.

1971

# China: change of personnel, not policies

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**BEIJING, NOV. 16.** The meticulously choreographed political succession at the highest echelons of the ruling Communist Party of China (CPC) has brought the ground realities, too, into a sharp focus. The change of personnel at the top does not translate into a drastic change of policies — at least, not for now.

A more important pointer to the future is that the CPC's latest statements can, if these are fully implemented, transform the basic representational character of the party so as to strengthen its hold on power in the world's most populous nation. The party's present policies, which may remain unchanged for at least the immediate future, have already been crafted to enhance the party's representational ethos.

The CPC amended its constitution during the just-concluded party congress to describe the communist organisation as the "vanguard of the whole of the Chinese people and the Chinese nation" and not just the working class as in the first principles of socialism. The efforts that the CPC might make from now onwards to become an all-inclusive party are also designed to enlarge the party's overall political space. In the absence of any plans to change China's basic political system itself, the CPC's strategic thinking becomes quite obvious.

While Chinese sources on the inside track see the inevitability of the present changes of personnel as a response to the political dynamics of China itself in the current international environment, there is no hard evidence to indicate any conflict of interests or personality clashes

within the CPC at this time. This explains the final configuration of the CPC leadership that emerged at the end of the latest party congress here. Although China's President, Jiang Zemin, bowed out as the CPC General Secretary in favour of Hu Jintao, the overall political consensus within the organisation has resulted in a political arrangement that would turn the spotlight on both these leaders for different reasons, though.

Though Mr. Jiang and a few other leaders will gradually fade away from the party's centre stage as a direct result of the latest leadership arrangement, China's President will continue to guide the party, not only behind the scenes but also within the open arena itself. Mr. Jiang's continuance as the Chairman of the CPC's powerful Central Military Commission is important in the context of the

party's supervisory control over China's armed forces. China's political system is not defined by the more traditional notions of "praetorian" orientations about the role of a country's military forces in its general governance.

Contemporary China has already crafted a political system that bears the imprint of the country's "civilisational traits" from the era of Confucius onwards as also the influences of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's thoughts besides Deng Xiaoping's Theory that progressively introduced a "socialist system" to some basic trends of capitalism itself in the larger national interest of peace and prosperity. It is this political background that explains the comfort-level of Jiang-Hu team in their respective capacities as Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the CPC's Central Military Commission.

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1 7 NOV 2002

WHO'S HU IN CHINA: 59-YEAR-OLD MAY BE NEXT PREZ

# Ring out the Jiangs, ring in the young

Anil K Joseph  
BEIJING 14 NOVEMBER

Bif-2  
China



CODE RED: Jiang Zemin and (right) Hu Jintao raise their hands to vote for Zemin's political theory in Beijing on Thursday. — Reuters

AVING the way for the younger generation to take up the reins of China's Communist Party, President Jiang Zemin and five other top leaders stepped down, leaving vice president Hu Jintao as the only politburo member to be re-elected to its 300-plus central committee here on Thursday. The 59-year-old Hu, first top leader of China whose party career began after the communists took over in 1949, is expected to take over from Mr Jiang as party head when the central committee meets on Friday and also as President of the world's most populous nation and Asia's fastest growing economy in March.

The party's landmark 16th congress, attended by 2,100 delegates, also unanimously approved Mr Jiang's proposal of opening party membership to formerly reviled capitalist entrepreneurs in its closing session. "The congress is a complete success. It is a congress of unity, a congress of victory and a congress of progress," Mr Jiang said while being flanked by the top Chinese leadership here at the great hall of the people. The 356-member central committee for the new term has been elected at the con-

gress, thus ensuring smooth succession of the new collective of the central leadership of the party to the previous one," he said.

Mr Jiang, 76, also ensured the retirement of the old generation of Chinese leaders from the seven-member politburo standing committee except Mr Hu. Mr Jiang and "five of his colleagues in the party's top decision-making body are not on a new central committee of the CPC elected here this (Thursday) morning," Xinhua news agency said.

Mr Jiang's five colleagues who also stepped down are: Premier Zhu Rongji, parliament head Li Peng, both 74, Li Ruihuan (68), chairman of Chinese people's political consultative conference, Wei Jianxing (71), head of central commission for discipline in-

spection and Li Lanqing (70), vice premier. The new CPC central committee is composed of 198 full members and 158 alternate members. Some 180 out of the 356 members and alternate members are new faces.

Mr Hu was picked a decade ago by the late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping to become Mr Jiang's successor. He is set to become the general secretary of the CPC, the world's largest political party, which boasts of a membership of 66 million. While Mr Hu is expected to be the only candidate for the top party post, Hong Kong media reports say Mr Jiang's close aide, Zeng Qinghong, 63, is also vying for the coveted party title. Mr Hu had demonstrated toughness in dealing with the Tibetan movement. — PTI

The Economic Times

13 NOV 2002

13 NOV 2002

# Hu is crowned, but Jiang is kingmaker

HT-1  
16/11 ✓

Jeremy Page and  
John Ruwitch  
Beijing, November 15

HU JINTAO took the helm of China on Friday, but Jiang Zemin kept his post as head of the Central Military Commission, which commands the world's biggest army.

Hu, 59, was appointed party chief at the head of the fourth generation of leaders — following Chairman Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and Jiang — charged with guiding China's wrenching economic reforms while maintaining the party's grip on power.

After months of secretive jockeying, the new line-up emerged from behind a carved wooden and lacquer screen in the Great Hall of the People in the dramatic finale to the first succession in Communist China untainted by purges, plots or bloodshed.

"On behalf of all members of the newly-elected central leadership, I thank all comrades of the party for their trust," said Hu, in a dark suit and red tie, as China's new leaders faced the world's media for the first time.

The ceremony, televised live, was the first many of China's 1.3 billion people learned of the most sweeping shake-up since Jiang took power in 1989 after a bloody crackdown on student protests on Tiananmen Square.

"Jiang Zemin's not there!" a stunned Li Jiahui exclaimed in a Beijing carpet shop as he



REUTERS

Hu Jintao waves to reporters after taking over in Beijing on Friday.

watched his new leaders file out behind Hu, the only one on the previous politburo standing committee.

"We didn't expect so many to retire," said Zui Yan, 29, finance officer at a joint venture company in Beijing.

The new standing committee — the pinnacle of power — was expanded from seven to nine members and packed with Jiang allies, guaranteeing him a say in policy making as China grapples with rising unemployment and emerges as a world power.

"The more people you have, the less power each individual has," said one Chinese political scientist, who declined to be identified. "And the more allies Jiang has, the more he can influence decision-making after retirement."

Agencies

16 NOV 2002

## Communist Revolution

China's transition from communism to capitalism and its leadership change from Jiang Zemin to Hu Jintao have gone through like a dream — no hitches, no bottlenecks, no rebellion in the ranks. Much has been made in the international media about the anonymity of the new incumbent. They forget this runs in the Chinese communist party. Deng Xiao Peng was hardly known to the outside world when, in the '50s, he was made general secretary of the communist party. Nor was Jiang Zemin a big name when he was elevated by Deng from the mayoralty of Shanghai to replace the discredited Zhao Ziyang after the Tiananmen Square upheaval. However, Hu Jintao represents a new generation of completely indigenous Chinese leaders. Raised in the traditions of Deng's pragmatism, the younger lot are relatively, if not wholly, untainted by Maoist extremist views. Among the first generation Chinese leadership, there were many with a French education, and the second generation, including Jiang Zemin, were all Soviet-educated. Hu Jintao is a native Chinese product and so are his new colleagues. Of course, some of the old elements will still influence policy. Jiang Zemin, for instance, has followed in the footsteps of mentor Deng in retaining the chairmanship of the powerful military commission and thereby having a decisive voice in defence and foreign policies of his country.

Yet, the changeover is remarkable. Of the nine members of the standing committee of the politburo, eight are newcomers, the only continuing member being Hu Jintao himself. Nearly half of the central committee has been retired because the members were thought to be too old, and of the new additions most are engineers. The standing committee was expanded from seven to nine primarily to accommodate the nominees of different retiring leaders such as Jiang Zemin, Li Peng and Zhu Rongji. However, the dynamics of leadership all over the world has been such that once a leader is installed, he grows in his office. Unlike the radical transition from Mao to Deng, the changes from Deng to Jiang Zemin and the latter to Hu Jintao have a continuity. China has its own style of projecting its leaders to the world, and it will not be long before Hu Jintao becomes as well-known as Jiang Zemin. What is clear through all this is China's gradual yet dramatic transformation. Hu Jintao's launching pad will be the vision set out by the 16th party congress. And that is a clear invitation to capitalism.

# Hu in reforms vow

ASHIS CHAKRABARTI

Beijing, Nov. 15: China's new leader Hu Jintao assured the world today that the country's commitment to opening up its economy will remain unchanged in the new regime he will preside over.

Hu and his team presented themselves to the international media at a simple ceremony here this morning.

He was elected the new general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party at the first plenum of the new central committee earlier today and becomes the country's next president at the session of the People's Congress (parliament) next March.

Once again proving some western China pundits wrong, Hu addressed the media — without, however, taking questions.

The custom so far was for the new topmost leaders — the members of the standing committee of the politburo — to walk into the Grand Eastern Room of the Hall of the People after their election by the central committee, pose for pictures and leave the podium

without speaking.

In the small podium decked with autumn flowers, Hu and eight other members of the new standing committee stood for nearly half an hour, a large painting of the Great Wall providing the backdrop, a typical Ming-dynasty flower vase at the opposite wall and ornate chandeliers reflecting the lights.

"The world is curious to know what China's new leaders will do," Hu read from a prepared speech.

"I want to say clearly that our policies have been stated in unambiguous terms in the political report of the Congress.

The Three Represents, along with Marxism and the thoughts of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, will be our guideline for a long time to come."

There was one change, though, from the previous standing committee — the number this time is nine, Hu included, compared to Jiang Zemin's seven.

But the most important change, which Hu himself hinted and many analysts predict-

ed, is that it is now time for collective leadership. China seems to have finally passed the age of one-man leadership.

One thing, however, didn't change.

True to tradition, there is no woman even this time among the topmost leaders.

In its 80-year history, the Chinese Communist Party never had one on the standing committee. Gender reforms in the party have to wait longer.

THE TELEGRAPH

16 NOV 2002

# Jiang retains military control

China Daily/ANN

BEIJING, Nov. 15. — Chinese President Mr Jiang Zemin was re-elected today as chairman of the Central Military Commission, according to Xinhua report.

Mr Hu Jintao (59) was elected as the new general secretary of the incumbent Communist Party of China at the first plenary session of the 16th Central Committee of the party. The session was held today in Beijing at the Great Hall of the People.

Mr Jiang's continuation as head of the CMC, a post which makes him the country's military commander-in-chief, is seen by analysts as a clear indication that the 76-year-old leader, who dominated Chinese politics for 13 years since the Tiananmen square incident, is unwilling to fade away.

The plenary session also elected a new nine-member Political Bureau Standing Committee, headed by Hu Jintao. The other eight members are: Wu Bangguo, Wen Jiabao, Jia Qinglin, Zeng Qinghong, Huang Ju, Wu Guanzheng, Li Changchun and Luo Gan.

Hu Jintao, Guo Boxiong and Cao Gang-

chuan were elected vice-chairmen of the commission. Xu Caihou, Liang Guanglie, Liao Xilong and Li Jinai were elected members of the commission. Wu Guanzheng was elected as secretary of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection.

During the plenum, a 24-member Central Committee Political Bureau members were

also elected. They are: Wang Lequan, Wang Zhaoguo, Hui Liangyu, Liu Qi, Liu Yunshan, Li Changchun, Wu Yi (female), Wu Bangguo, Wu Guanzheng, Zhang Lichang, Zhang Dejiang, Chen Liangyu, Luo Gan, Zhou Yongkang, Hu Jintao, Yu Zhengsheng, He Guoqiang, Jia Qinglin, Guo Boxiong, Huang Ju, Cao Gangchuan, Zeng Qinghong, Zeng Peiyan and Wen Jiabao. The alternate member of the Politburo is Wang

Gang. Secretariat of the Central Committee consists of Zeng Qinghong, Liu Yunshan, Zhou Yongkang, He Guoqiang, Wang Gang, Xu Caihou and He Yong.

During a press conference Mr Hu, newly elected general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), pledged to continue the reform process, opening-up drive and modernisation.



Mr Jiang Zemin: Not just yet

# Hu takes over as party chief

By P. S. Suryanarayana *China*

BEIJING NOV. 15. China today scripted a crisis-free political succession with poise and precision. The Central Committee of the governing Communist Party of China (CPC) elected the 59-year old Hu Jintao as its new General Secretary.

Jiang Zemin gave up this post on Thursday to facilitate an orderly change of leadership on the basis of a political consensus within the party. Mr. Jiang, who will retain his status as China's President until perhaps the end of his present term within the next few months, had become the CPC's General Secretary in the tumultuous circumstances that characterised the "June 4 incident" or the "Tiananmen Square crisis" in 1989.

As China's Vice-President at the present juncture, Mr. Hu is expected to succeed Mr. Jiang as President in due course and in accordance with the country's current constitutional practices. Mr. Hu's election, as also that of eight others as members of the CPC's nucleus of power, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, signalled a smooth political transition towards a new generation of leadership in China where the Government and the party with a political monopoly remain in a state of symbiotic relationship.

The political transition was laced with the significant re-



Hu Jintao waves after he was named head of the Communist Party, in Beijing on Friday. — AFP

election of the party's outgoing General Secretary to the pivotal post of Chairman of the CPC's Central Military Commission. As China's President, Mr. Jiang will remain the ex-officio Chairman of the country's overall Central Military Commission too. This critical aspect of today's political denouement in Beijing is viewed, in the informed circles here, as either a sign of Mr. Jiang's undiminished political authority or as a goodwill gesture towards him from Mr. Hu and his new team of collective

16/11 leadership within the party.

Mr. Hu's career graph in politics has, for the most part, remained on the upward trajectory since his rise to prominence in October 1992 as the youngest ever member of the CPC Politburo's Standing Committee. His talent as the potential leader of Communist China's "fourth generation" was detected by none other than Deng Xiaoping, the patriarch of China's post-Mao politics of reform and modernisation.

Mr. Hu, a technocrat, has served the CPC's cause in Tibet among other places. With Mr. Jiang having acquired the reputation of "China's Mikhail Gorbachev" without the latter's political failings and tragedies, Mr. Hu's credentials as a reformist are bound to come under the microscope both at home and abroad.

Wu Bangguo and Wen Jiabao, who rank next only to Mr. Hu in the CPC's new executive line-up, and Zeng Qinghong, considered close to Mr. Jiang, are among the more prominent new leaders.

## New team to carry on Jiang legacy

By P. S. Suryanarayana

BEIJING, NOV. 15. By high noon on a cold and windy Friday, harsh weather even by Beijing's acute standards of early winter, the new political establishment here exuded a spring-season optimism to press forward along a course that was set by Jiang Zemin, the leader who had stepped down, only a day earlier, as the General Secretary of the ruling Communist Party of China (CPC).

For the CPC's new General Secretary, Hu Jintao, and his colleagues in the party's rejuvenated Central Committee, Mr. Jiang's sustainable relevance is a matter of both political correctness and civilisational courtesy. Not surprisingly, Mr. Jiang was today re-elected by the CPC's new Central Committee as Chairman of the party's powerful Central Military Commission. Mr. Jiang has shed all other portfolios except that of China's President, a tenure post that will run its full course by March next year, and the concurrent position as Chairman of the national-level Central Military Commission.

The political coexistence be-

tween Mr. Hu's new team and China's President is traceable to the equation between the two leaders and the political compulsion to draw upon Mr. Jiang's expertise in managing the country's sensitive military matters. Thursday's strategic surgery of the political kind within the CPC was, therefore, followed by a prescription of post-operative care in this fashion. While this might have helped smoothen China's latest political transition, Mr. Hu and the CPC's new Political Bureau have yet to portray his image within the party with a definitive touch.

Informed sources point out that Mr. Hu stood at the head of a line-up of new members of the Standing Committee of the CPC's Politburo in a political cameo in front of Chinese and foreign journalists here today. This contrasts strongly with the manner in which Mr. Jiang had occupied the "core position" in a similar political cameo when he presented his team to the outside world several years ago, it is said.

In the end, even as the CPC today reordered its political priorities, it became clear that the

Western predictions of a power struggle, or at least a possible factional wrangling, were ill-conceived from the beginning. The comments by some key delegates after the conclusion of the CPC's latest national congress indicate that Mr. Hu's team would like to navigate with the help of the party's old ideological compass as also Mr. Jiang's theory about the party's multi-dimensional representative character.

If Mr. Jiang was, in the end, disappointed that the party did not associate his name with his theory which was now enshrined in the CPC constitution through an amendment, he did not betray any traces of such emotions.

The near-adulatory appreciation that he received for stepping down from the party's high perch at this time was to be seen to be believed.

As for the party's perceived move towards a 'liberalised' future under the socialist banner, neither Guy Kawasaki's humorous notion of a capitalist manifesto nor the separate idea of "red capitalists" will suit the CPC as it seeks to watch its own steps.



SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 2002

## SMOOTH TRANSITION IN CHINA

16/11  
A REMARKABLY TENSION-FREE handing over of power at the highest echelons of its leadership has perhaps been the most significant achievement notched up by the Communist Party of China (CPC) at its Sixteenth Congress. Jiang Zemin who has led China for the last 13 years, General Secretary of the CPC till the last day of the Congress, has handed over his post to Hu Jintao, a person who has been groomed for the job for more than five years and who is likely to take over as President of the country next year. Mr. Hu was the only member of the Standing Committee of the CPC's Politbureau to retain his place in China's highest decision-making body as five other senior leaders — including the Prime Minister, Zhu Rongji, and the head of Parliament, Li Peng — followed Mr. Jiang's example by giving up their positions in the Central Committee. Eight younger leaders have joined Mr. Hu in an expanded Standing Committee and two among them, Wen Jiabao and Wu Bangguo, are expected to replace Mr. Zhu and Mr. Li in their governmental posts in due course. Sweeping changes have also been effectuated in the Politbureau (now expanded from 21 members to 24) as well as the Central Committee in line with the recently introduced unwritten rule that officials who have crossed 70 years of age should step down. While the outgoing senior leaders are expected to continue to exert influence for some time to come, the CPC has effectuated an orderly transition from the third to the fourth generation of the cadre that has served it for 81 years.

The new leadership of the CPC will be the first that had not initially been tempered by the revolutionary wars and the efforts to consolidate communist rule in China. For many, the really formative experiences would have been the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution and the processes of economic reform ushered in during the 1980s. They would have been at the middle rungs of the party hierarchy when it had to contend with the traumatic

challenges thrown up by the Tiananmen Square incidents and should therefore be well acquainted with the stresses that surges in popular sentiment can exert. Those experiences could prove invaluable to Mr. Hu and his associates as they try to guide China through a multi-dimensional and delicate transitional phase. Questions that are faced by all developing societies — the choice of strategies for economic growth that will neither entail mass unemployment in the short term nor widen income disparities in the long — require even more sophisticated answers in China's case given the vanguard role that the party has taken on itself. The new leadership of the CPC will find the immediate future even more complicated as it has to manage China's integration into the global economy following its entry into the World Trade Organisation a little less than a year ago.

In a demonstration that it considers changes in its organisational make-up and programmatic thrust as a continuum with the past rather than a break, the CPC has recast its Constitution to incorporate the "theory of the three Represents" propounded by Mr. Jiang though his name has not been specifically appended (as it was in the case of Mao Zedong thought or Deng Xiaoping theory). With the incorporation of the theory into its Constitution, the CPC has shaded its personality as the vanguard of the workers and peasants and now presents itself as the representative of "advanced productive forces" and "advanced cultural forces" as well. It is widely believed that the theory has been hammered into the Constitution in order to enrol China's new entrepreneurial class into the party though only a minuscule percentage has shown any interest till now. High levels of official corruption do enable the members of the new class to manipulate governmental decisions and perhaps the hope is that such covert influence will be reduced if China's new rich are provided the means to debate policy within the party forums.

16 NOV 2002

THE HINDU

# Hu to take over as new President of China in March

**Beijing:** Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin on Thursday ushered in a new generation of leaders under Hu Jintao in the first orderly succession since the party took power in 1949. Mr Jiang will step down as President in March.

But the new leadership, to be unveiled on Friday after months of secretive jockeying for power, will be packed with Mr Jiang's allies, allowing him to pull the strings from behind the curtain, sources close to the party said. "Wherever Mr Hu looks —up, down, left or right—he will see Mr Jiang's men," a political scientist remarked.

More than 2,000 delegates burst into applause in the Great Hall of the People when the results of the election for the new Central Committee were announced. Vice president Hu, 59, is the only member of the current seven-man leadership elected to the Central Committee, indicating that he would head the "fourth generation" of leaders after Chairman Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and Mr Jiang.

The new Standing Committee will parade out from behind a screen in the Great Hall on Friday as the climax of a tense drama in which most of the action has taken place off stage.

The new line-up, hammered out by retiring leaders, is a fiercely guarded secret and the subject of months of speculation.

"With the election of a new Central Committee, the party's leadership has ensured a smooth transition from the old to the new," Mr Jiang, 76, told the 16th Congress before it closed to the strains of the 'Internationale'. Among the others who are not on the new panel are parliament chief Li Peng and Premier Zhu Rongji. They will also leave their government posts in March.

The previous transitions have been tainted by purges, plots and bloodshed. In fact, Mr Jiang had been appointed as the party chief after the crackdown on protests around Tiananmen Square



Jiang Zemin

in 1989. "We won't know for sure until we see who comes out and in what order," a political scientist said, adding,

"Leadership succession is more institutionalised than it used to be. But it is still very opaque."

However, it is rumoured that Mr Jiang has shoehorned at least four key allies into the new Standing Committee. They say the body might be expanded to nine, with six people from his camp.

While Mr Jiang has secured a seat for his protegee Zeng Qinghong, who stepped down as head of the party's organisation department last month, Mr Zhu is backing his deputy Wen Jiabao to take over the nation's economy. Not to be outdone, Mr Li has negotiated a seat for his protegee Luo Gan, who is likely to take over the party's corruption watchdog.

Meanwhile, with an overwhelming number of allies in the new dispensation, Mr Jiang will continue to have a say in decision-making and protect his family's interests after his retirement, sources said.

Besides, he could also remain chairman of the Central Military Commission, as Mr Deng did between 1987 and 1989.

The President's hand was also strengthened when the Congress approved a plan to write his "Three Represents" political theory into the party constitution, putting him on a symbolic plane with Mao and Deng, whose theories are also enshrined in the charter.

It also boosts his power in retirement, requiring him to be consulted on any further reforms.

Analysts said Mr Hu would have to defer to Mr Jiang for the next few years, but might try to promote his own allies through the ranks to build up a power base. Reuters

# China's old guard makes way for new faces

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**BEIJING, NOV. 14.** An entire galaxy of China's top leadership will fade away from its political firmament, following a momentous decision by the ruling establishment here today.

The leaders who bid farewell to politics include the Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, and the Prime Minister, Zhu Rongji, who will, nonetheless, retain their official positions for the present.

Li Peng, a powerful ideologue who has ranked next only to Mr. Jiang at the top echelons of the Communist Party of China (CPC), is among the others who will retire from active politics. Mr. Li, too, will keep his position as the chief parliamentarian for the present.

The other party veterans who have agreed to step down from the CPC's Central Committee are Li Ruihuan, Wei Jianxing and Li Lanqing.

While all the six leaders are

above or about 70 years old, China's Vice-President, Hu Jintao, who is hardly 60, is the only leader within Mr. Jiang's brains trust to have made the grade to a new Central Committee of the CPC, even as the party voted for massive changes in a transparent ambience of peace and amity during the concluding stages of its week-long 16th National Congress at the Great Hall of the People.

Mr. Hu is widely expected to succeed Mr. Jiang as the CPC

general secretary when a plenum of the new Central Committee, which was constituted today, meets here tomorrow to set up a new-look Politburo and its Standing Committee. With that, Mr. Hu will come into the reckoning for the post of China's President, under the country's current constitutional practices, as and when Mr. Jiang completes his term within the next few months. Of political significance in this context is whether Mr. Jiang will, under the party "laws," be able to retain his position as chairman of the CPC's Central Military Commission.

The other significant decision that the CPC took today was the adoption of an amendment to the party's constitution. Hailing the theory of "Three Represents," which defines the party's new political identity, the CPC sought to fast-forward China's present movement towards capitalism within a framework of "socialist modernisation." However, there was no mention of a capitalist manifesto as distinct from the original communist manifesto under the aegis of a "Red Star."

# Jiang proteges step into Central Committee

Agence France Presse

BEIJING, Nov. 14. — A large number of outgoing Chinese leader Jiang Zemin's proteges were voted into the Communist Party's elite Central Committee today, according to a list of new members published by state media.

Among the 198 full members of the body, are officials who have accompanied Mr Jiang for years and risen to the top along with their mentor.

The new Central Committee was formally approved this morning by the Communist Party's 16th Congress.

Among Mr Jiang allies are Mr Zeng Qinghong, the president's political right hand man and chief tactician, as well as Mr Jia Qinglin, head of the Communist Party in the capital Beijing, according to the list released by the China News Service.

Others are Mr Huang Ju, former party secretary in China's largest city Shanghai, and Mr Tang Jiaxuan, foreign minister since 1998. Mr Zeng Peiyan, the country's top economic planner, is another well-known Jiang ally on the list.

Mr Jiang will continue to be President till March 2003, when he would hand over power to his deputy, Mr Hu Jintao, who is slated to be elected the next General Secretary of the CPC here tomorrow.

Politicians associated with Zhu Rongji, a Jiang rival also standing down from the party's top echelon and expected to retire as premier next year, seem much rarer on the list. But Mr Zhu ally Mr Dai Xianglong, likely to remain central bank governor for a few more months, was among them.

## Women slighted in new set-up

Despite Mao Zedong's famous line that "women hold up half the sky", female Communist Party members were an increasingly endangered species in a new party elite appointed today.

Out of 198 full members of the party's Central Committee, only five are women, according to a list published by the state-run China News Service. That compares unfavourably with the previous Central Committee, where seven out of 193 seats were held by female party members.

The new committee was officially rubber-stamped by the party's 16th Congress in Beijing, which ended today.

Delegate Ms Li Yixia indicated that more women may have won posts as alternate Central Committee members. "There were more than 20 women who were elected (as both full and alternate members)." The list of alternate members has not been revealed.

THE STATESMAN

15 NOV 2002

# Hu takes over from Jiang

China Daily/Asia News Network

BEIJING, Nov. 14. — Paving the way for the younger generation to take up the reins of China's Communist Party, President Jiang Zemin stepped down, leaving Vice-President Mr Hu Jintao as the only politburo member to be re-elected to its central committee today.

Besides Mr Zemin, Mr Li Peng, Mr Zhu Rongji, Mr Li Ruihuan, Mr Wei Jianxing and Mr Li Lanqing also stepped down. This decision was taken during the closing session of the party's National Congress today, where the new CPC central committee, comprising 356 members of whom 180 are new, was elected.

More than 2,100 delegates to the Congress showed appreciation for Mr Zemin and his colleagues for the "breadth of their political vision and sterling integrity". The election

began shortly after the closing session started. As executive members of the Presidium of the 16th CPC National Congress, Mr Zemin and his colleagues, who had not been listed as candidates for membership of the new central committee, sat in the front row on the podium.

As is customary, a new CPC central committee holds its first plenary session on the day following the conclusion of a party National Congress. The plenum will elect the CPC central committee's general secretary, members of its politburo and politburo standing committee.

The delegates also approved of President Zemin's "Three Represents" theory, adding capitalist-style ideology to their party constitution. The theory declares that the party represents all social segments of an increasingly capitalist China.

Another report on page 3



Clockwise from top left: Mr Hu Jintao, the only CPC politburo member to be re-elected to the central committee. Top leaders, Mr Jiang Zemin, Mr Li Peng and Mr Zhu Rongji, have made way for the younger generation. — AFP

# Jiang goes, his shadow lives

Beijing, November 14

PRESIDENT JIANG Zemin today decided to step down from the party helm, but he has packed the new leadership his allies, allowing him to pull strings from behind the curtain.

Chinese sources with close party links said Jiang has shoehorned at least four key allies into the new Standing Committee.

The body could also be expanded to nine, with six people from his camp, they say.

Jiang has secured a seat for his main protege and hatchet man, Zeng Qinghong, 63, who stepped down as head of the party's organisation department last month, they say.

Vice-Premier Wen Jiabao, 60, is sure to join the Standing Committee, backed by Premier Zhu Rongji, 74, and is expected to take over the reins of China next year.

Parliament chief Li Peng, 74, has negotiated a seat for his protege, internal security chief Luo Gan, 67, who is expected to take over the party's corruption watchdog.

The other candidates for the Standing Committee, whether it is seven or nine, all have close links to Jiang — either through personal friendship or as part of a "Shanghai Gang" of natives or former officials from China's financial centre.

Huang Ju, 64, who stepped down as Shanghai party chief last month, is expected to join the new leadership and may take over the National People's Congress, China's Parliament, next year.

Beijing's former party boss, Jia Qinglin, 62, a close friend of Jiang, is likely to take a Standing Committee seat despite being tainted by a massive smug-



**FINAL SALUTE:** A military delegate salutes Chinese President Jiang Zemin (extreme right) after the closing session of the 16th Communist Party Congress in Beijing on Thursday.

gling scandal that unfolded under his watch in the southeastern province of Fujian.

Vice-Premier Wu Bangguo, 61 and a former Shanghai party boss will join the Standing Committee, probably as executive Vice-Premier, but perhaps instead of Huang as Parliament chief. If the Standing Committee is expanded, two more Jiang allies are likely to join, the Chinese sources and analysts say.

They are Li Changchun, 58,

party boss of the southern province of Guangdong, and Wu Guanzheng, 64, party chief of Shandong province in the east.

The overwhelming number of Jiang allies in the new leadership will guarantee him a say in decision-making and protect his family's interests after his retirement, the sources said.

Jiang could also remain Chairman of the Central Military Commission, which commands the armed forces, af-

ter leaving the Central Committee, as Deng did the same from 1987 to 1989.

Jiang's hand was also strengthened when the Congress approved a plan to write his Three Represents political theory into the party Constitution, putting him on a symbolic plane with Mao and Deng, whose theories are also enshrined in the charter.

The theory says the party represents advanced productive

forces, advanced culture and the majority of the Chinese people.

It broadens the party's support base of workers and peasants to private entrepreneurs and other social strata. But it also boosts Jiang's power in retirement, requiring him to be consulted on any further reforms.

Hu will have to defer to Jiang for the next few years but will try to promote his own allies through the ranks to build up his own power base, Chinese sources and analysts said.

"Before that, I'm afraid Jiang Zemin and his cronies are going to keep the situation very much under control," said Jean-Pierre Cabestan, director of the French Center for Research on Contemporary China.

## Where are the women?

Despite Mao Zedong's famous line that "women hold up half the sky", female Communist Party members were an increasingly endangered species in a new party elite appointed today.

Out of 198 full members of the party's Central Committee, only five are women, according to a list published by the state-run China News Service.

That compares unfavourably with the previous Central Committee, where seven out of 193 seats were held by female party members.

The new committee was officially rubber-stamped by the party's 16th Congress in Beijing, which ended today.

Delegate Li Yixia indicated that more women may have won posts as alternate Central Committee members. "There were more than 20 women who were elected (as both full and alternate members)," Li said.

Reuters

14/11 China

# CPC Congress heading for transition

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**BEIJING, NOV. 13.** The Communist Party of China tonight stood poised for a possible political transition at a formal ceremony scheduled for tomorrow at the Great Hall of the People here. With the 16th National Congress of the CPC today winding down its week-long deliberations, it became clear that the choices had been made.

However, the CPC let a sense of dramatic suspense prevail, in a transparent effort to sustain the mystique of the political transition in a country that had not always witnessed a smooth transfer of power from one generation to another or even from one leader to another. No formal announcements were, therefore, made, and this fuelled speculation, which was based on supposed "inside stories", among foreign diplomats and political analysts here. Even as sufficient hints had already been dropped by authoritative Chinese sources and others about the possibility of a generational change of leadership at the top echelons of the CPC, two issues came into prominent focus here today.

First, tomorrow's closing session of the congress might determine the fine print of a proposed amendment to the party's constitution as regards the theory of the "Three Represents" (Three R-s), Propounded by the CPC General Secretary and China's President, Jiang Zemin, the theory defines the political complexion of the party in a manner suited to the post-modern era in international affairs, or more precisely, in a way designed to manage China's own transition towards market-oriented "socialism" or a form of capitalism with Chinese characteristics.

The foremost political issue is whether or not the party will associate Mr. Jiang's name with the theory if it is enshrined as a guiding norm for the rank and file. The existing philosophical guidelines for the party cadre are Marxism-Leninism as also Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory.

The second was the choice that the CPC might make to move away from gerontocracy. Widely remembered at this stage is a principle laid down by Deng, the undisputed patriarch of post-Mao politics in China,



**CHOICES MADE?:** The meeting of the presidium of the Communist Party's 16th National Congress in progress in Beijing on Wednesday. — AP

that elderly leaders should, after a certain age and in spite of their proficiencies, make way for deserving younger colleagues. It is in this context that Mr. Jiang's exit from the centre stage of the CPC is considered likely at a formal ceremony to-

transparent manner in which Mr. Hu has been projected by the Chinese hierarchy both within and outside the country in recent months.

It was during the final stages of the 14th National Congress of the CPC in 1992 that Deng made a dramatic appearance on stage, without a prior announcement, in a quiet but decisive endorsement of the Jiang-led team. Mr. Jiang had been nominated to the highest post in 1989 itself following the circumstances in which China resolved the "Tiananmen crisis" during the same period. Tomorrow's closing session of the 16th National Congress is not expected to match the high and decisive drama of the 1992 session, but the CPC is determined to prove wrong the likes of Gordon Chang who has done a "treason" on what he sees as the coming collapse of communism and its state apparatus in China. Though formal elections will be held tomorrow, the presidium of the 16th National Congress of the CPC today chose, through a process of voting by a show of hands, members and alternate members of a new Central Committee.

# Jiang to step down from party helm: Delegates

Beijing, November 13

DELEGATES TO China's Communist Party Congress have ended months of speculation, confirming Jiang Zemin will step down as party chief and make way for a new generation of leaders this week.

Five other leaders, including Parliament chief Li Peng and Premier Zhu Rongji, will also retire from the seven-man Politburo Standing Committee in the first peaceful and orderly succession in the history of Communist China, they said.

Vice-President Hu Jintao, 59, is the only member of the current leadership standing for reelection to the Central Committee, they said on Wednesday, of-

fering the first clear indication he would take over as head of the party.

Delegates hold formal Central Committee elections on Thursday. Under the party constitution, its general secretary must be a member of the Politburo Standing Committee, which will be chosen from the new Central Committee members on Friday.

"None of the leaders except for Hu are Central Committee candidates," one delegate said, breaking a strict code of silence that has surrounded the leadership changes. "They are all getting old and want to make room for younger leaders to promote development."

After months of furtive jock-

eying for power, these were the first definitive signs that the "fourth generation" of leaders after Chairman Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and Jiang will take the helm of the world's most populous nation.

Jiang must step down as President at a Parliament meeting in March, when his second term ends. Chinese were left in the dark about the secretive reshuffle ending Jiang's era of reforms that fed an economic boom and improved living standards, but also brought rampant corruption. "He's taken good care of China during his 13 years and deserves to relax and take a break," said traffic policeman Zhang Ji, 31.

Like almost everyone else, Bei-

jing insurance agent Dong Mei, 28, said she knew little about Hu, but suggested that did not matter. "China is like a train," she said. "It's been put into motion and now it can only go forward."

Jiang still wields power. The new leaders will not be known for sure until they emerge from behind a screen in the Soviet-style Great Hall of the People in a ceremony expected on Friday.

However, Jiang will wield considerable power in retirement by packing the new leadership with allies and having his political theory written into the party constitution, party sources say.

He could also stay on as head of the head of the Central Mil-

itary Commission (CMC) after leaving the Central Committee, as his predecessor Deng Xiaoping did, they say.

The changes have been thrashed out in advance through horse-trading between retiring leaders anxious to keep a say in decision-making and protect family interests, but must go through a choreographed election process at the congress.

Delegates refused to discuss the new lineup, highlighting the sensitivity of the most sweeping reshuffle since Jiang was chosen to head the party in the wake of the 1989 massacre of student protesters around Tiananmen Square.

Reuters



# China's party top brass reviews leadership line-up

**Beijing:** After months of furtive jockeying for position, China's Communist Party elite was shown a list of candidates on Monday for a new generation of leaders to take over from President Jiang Zemin and others this week.

But the final line-up is still a top secret and dozens of confusing and contradictory rumours are circling about how Mr Jiang, 76, will cling to power through allies in the new leadership or maybe by keeping one of his three posts.

The 16th party congress, which opened on Friday, was supposed to mark the first orderly succession in the history of Communist China, but the continuing uncertainty shows how its political system remains entirely opaque and unpredictable.

Although never officially announced, vice-president Hu Jintao, 59, is expected to take over as party chief on Friday after leaders over 70, including Parliament chief Li Peng and Premier Zhu Rongji, quit party posts, Chinese sources say.

Mr Jiang has secured promotion of at least

four key allies, including his main protege, Zeng Qinghong, to the new politburo standing committee, the party's top decision-making body which now has seven seats, they say.

Beyond that, there is still a range of possibilities, including expanding the standing committee to nine people and Jiang keeping his third post as head of the military, they say.

"There are so many different versions of the new leadership flying around," said one Western diplomat.

Censors have threatened Chinese reporters with jail sentences for leaks and even party sources say the final line-up will not be known for sure until the new standing committee emerges from behind a screen in the Great Hall on Friday.

Over the next three days, delegates discuss the candidate list, expected to have about five per cent more names than there are seats on the central committee, and hold preliminary votes to make sure everything goes according to plan, party sources say. Reuters

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THE TIMES OF INDIA

# CPC focus shifts to economic issues

By P. S. Suryanarayana

BEIJING, NOV. 10. As China's ruling establishment carried forward its multi-channelled in-camera discussions, the focus on the margins of the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) on Sunday shifted to economic issues from the larger political question of a possible leadership change within the next few days.

At a different level within the overall framework of the CPC's conclave, delegations from different provinces held discussions on the issues before them. During these discussions, some of which were open to the press, the delegates brought to bear a certain degree of transparency and candour within the larger context of the party's traditional objectives and new directions that were outlined by China's President and CPC helmsman, Jiang Zemin, on Friday when the week-long Congress began.

There were no dissenting voices as such, while the grassroots-level confabulations were marked by some intensity of purpose. On the political plane, the CPC leaders dropped no new hints today about the possible succession at the party's highest echelons. However, a political message is still being conveyed by the regularity at which judgement is pronounced within the party's hierarchy on the performance of "the third generation collective leadership" that has had "Mr. Jiang Zemin at the core".

Mao Zedong's creation of a communist state and Deng Xiaoping's "paramount



**A protester is pushed into a police van at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on Sunday. The protester's intention was not known. — AP**

leadership" are the defining contributions of the two earlier generations at the CPC's top layers. At one level, the intended message obviously is that the "collective leadership" under Mr. Jiang is poised for the history books.

At another level, though, the sustainability of the policies of this "collective leadership" is seen as a subtle hint about the continuing relevance of Mr. Jiang or at least

his policies. It is against this duality of interpretations that the mystique of political succession is still being kept alive in a manner that is true of Western-style democracies.

The official word today on the main political issue was summed up as follows by a spokesman of the Congress: "In the 13 years since the founding of the third generation collective leadership with Mr. Jiang Zemin at the core, China has made remarkable achievements in reform and opening-up. The Central Party Committee (under Mr. Jiang's guidance) has held high the great banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory (which introduced Chinese communism to a select class of capitalist principles)".

Mr. Jiang's team has also "implemented the thought of "Three Representations" (on how the CPC should represent the Chinese population as a political entity).

The Jiang team "followed the path of building socialism with Chinese characteristics" and took steps for a "socialist modernisation drive", it was underlined by the spokesman. While the reference to the 13-year period of the Jiang era is, arguably, a testament to the stability and progress that he and his team have brought about since the Tiananmen Square incidents of 1989, the resplendent Square in Beijing, which bears a Mao leitmotif and stands today as a symbol of the political stability and economic progress of the Jiang era, was also a scene of China's most momentous transformation into a communist state over half a century ago.

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# Long live reform, if it is not political

ASHIS CHAKRABARTI

Beijing, Nov. 10: Economic reforms, yes; political reforms, no. Jiang Zemin's political report, which predicted an even greater push to economic reforms, has dashed hopes for any change in its authoritarian politics.

"We should never copy any models of the political system of the West," Jiang said in his report, plunging pro-democracy groups in frustration.

Yet, before the congress began, there was just a flicker of hope that some basic political rights could now have a chance. It was based on the party's decision to invite comments and opinions of the small non-communist groups on Jiang's report.

It is not known if any such comments have been forthcoming. At least the government-controlled media, which publicised the invitation to other political groups a day before the congress began last Friday, has been silent on this so far.

That means pro-democracy groups, which surreptitiously campaign on the brutal suppression of their movement at Tiananmen Square on June 3-4, 1989, and the Falun Gong members, who claim it to be a spiritual outfit, will continue to be where they are — behind bars, labour camps or in exile abroad.

The record of the outgoing

leadership in meeting demands for political reforms has been dismal. Jiang himself came to power from behind after the then party secretary Zhou Ziyang was banished for his failure to prevent the Tiananmen incident. Zhou remains in house arrest even today.

Li Peng, the number two man in the present leadership, was credited in the party for strongly supporting the military crackdown at Tiananmen.

Western observers here see little hope of things changing for the better under the new leader, Hu Jintao. He too has a tarnished image for pro-democracy groups, because of his record as a ruthless rule as governor of Tibet.

Only Wen Jiabao, widely speculated as the next Prime Minister, ranks just a shade better as a political reformer. But analysts do not think he can make any difference, especially because Jiang may continue to control the party apparatus through his nominees in the next politburo and the central committee.

"Western observers have misjudged the political course in China all these years," says a longtime observer, "their theory that political reforms will be unstoppable after the economic reforms hasn't worked in China. The new rich and middle classes



A Chinese protester is led away by a policeman before he is able to fling leaflets into the air outside the Great Hall of the People. (Reuters)

in the cities too are happy with the wealth they have accumulated in one generation. Why should they want to upset the regime that's given them the windfall?"

But Jiang knows the party is having new problems because of the new creed of money. Hence the stress in his report on reforms within the party. It's all in

the party — if you open up the economy to competition, party-men too will compete for it. The reforms suggested are therefore for the new breed

and the new creed of party-men, but not for the people who want political rights other than what the communist party would give them.

Delegates tight-lipped over secret leadership reshuffle

# Jiang's capitalist move hailed

JEREMY PAGE

Beijing, Nov. 9 (Reuters): All eyes turned to China's secretive leadership succession today as delegates at a pivotal Communist Party Congress hailed President Jiang Zemin's move to embrace the new capitalist elite.

Jiang, also party boss, offered no clear clues in his speech opening the 16th congress yesterday as to who will lead the world's most populous nation if he and other leaders over 70 retire from their party posts as expected next week.

In the Great Hall of the People, delegates meeting to discuss the speech were tight-lipped on a reshuffle in which Jiang, 76, is

expected to hand his top post to Vice-President Hu Jintao, 59, but cling to power by installing allies in key positions.

One delegate from the eastern province of Shandong let slip that the party's Politburo, made up of the 21 most powerful people in China, was also meeting today, but did not reveal what was on their agenda.

"What personnel changes?" Shanghai party boss Chen Liangyu snapped at reporters when pressed on the leadership changes. "There are no personnel changes in Shanghai."

Chen, counted among Jiang's proteges, took over the top job in China's financial centre last month and is now likely to take a

place on the Politburo after the congress.

His predecessor, Huang Ju, is also a Jiang ally and tipped for a place on the Politburo Standing Committee — the party's top decision-making body which now has seven members.

But the leadership change — billed as the first orderly succession in Communist China — is so sensitive that only a tiny elite circle know the final lineup, Chinese sources say.

Those lower down the party ladder can only swap rumours and titbits of information. Ordinary Chinese are left in the dark.

"We can say anything we want," said Li Liucheng, 44, owner of a news stand on a busy

Beijing thoroughfare. "In the end it's just silly and empty words.

"My first priority is to survive. After that, I'll start thinking about new leaders," he said. "We hear Hu Jintao is up next. What can we do even if we object?"

On Thursday, the congress of 2,114 delegates will formally elect a new Central Committee of about 200, which will hold its first meeting the next day and choose a new Politburo and Politburo Standing Committee.

The result is actually set in advance through horse-trading between top leaders anxious to maintain political influence and protect their family interests.

# Jiang's blueprint in prime focus

By P.S.Suryanarayana

BEIJING, NOV. 9. Leaders of the Communist Party of China today rallied behind its chief executive and the President, Jiang Zemin, over his call for a new sense of direction in national affairs, even as the CPC held in-camera sessions during its ongoing congress. While Li Peng, a veteran CPC leader, praised Mr. Jiang for outlining guiding principles for the party and the country, China's Prime Minister, Zhu Rongji, was no less categorical in welcoming the Jiang initiative.

However, the emphatic and positive comments by Hu Jintao, China's Vice-President and a key leader of the CPC, indicated how the party was exploring ideas for refashioning its ideological foundation to meet the latest political and economic

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challenges. Mr. Hu described Mr. Jiang's "important thought of 'Three Represents'" as "a long-term guiding theory of the Communist Party together with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory."

By endorsing Mr. Jiang's ideas as a new legacy of the CPC, these leaders did signal the possibility of a change at the helm of the party. In a different perspective, though, Mr. Jiang's sustainable relevance to the party was no less underlined by these leaders.

While the overwhelming vote of confidence in Mr. Jiang's leadership was exemplified by the tone and tenor of the statements by several important leaders, certain other references to the present helmsman of the CPC sounded like a vote of thanks to him for having steered

the party and the country during the early and uncertain phase of the post-Cold War period.

Such subtle politics of ideology and personalities did not overshadow the ideas of statecraft in the current focus. While Mr. Jiang's formula for the future was replete with such ideas as "socialist democracy" and "spiritual civilisation" at one level, besides "centralism on the basis of democracy" and "democracy under centralised guidance" at another level, the party leaders were not at a loss to comprehend the intended nuances. As a result, the party leaders clearly let the cadre, whose ranks may soon witness a qualitative value-addition too, know that a brave new vision of the future Chinese polity was the substance of Mr. Jiang's latest agenda.

THE HINDU

10 NOV 2002

# Resume cross-Straits negotiations: Jiang

## 'There is but one China in the world'

John D. ... a/11

The China Daily/Asia News Network

BEIJING, Nov. 8. — Chinese President Mr Jiang Zemin appealed to the Taiwan authorities today that "on the basis of the one-China principle, let us shelve for now political disputes and resume the cross-Straits negotiations as soon as possible."

Mr Zemin said in a report to the 16th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party that "adherence to the one-China principle is the basis for the development of cross-Straits relations and the realization of peaceful reunification. There is but one China in the world, and both the mainland and Taiwan belong to one China, and China's sovereignty and territorial integrity brook no division."

He expressed opposition to all words and deeds aimed at creating "Taiwan independence," "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan," saying the future of Taiwan lies in the reunification of the motherland. "We are willing to exchange views with all political parties and personages in Taiwan on ... promotion of peaceful reunification," he said.

The two sides should expand mutual contacts and work together to carry forward the tradition of Chinese culture. As the direct links of mail, air and shipping services, and trade across the Taiwan Straits serve the common interests of the compatriots on both sides, there is every reason to take positive steps to promote such direct links and open up new prospects for cross-straits economic cooperation.

Mr Zemin said "one country, two systems" is the best way for reunification between the two sides. After its reunification with the mainland, Taiwan may keep its existing social system unchanged and enjoy a high degree of autonomy. "The 23 million Taiwan compatriots are our brothers and sisters, for which no one is more eager than we are to resolve the Taiwan question through peaceful means." China will be reunified, and the Chinese nation will be rejuvenated he said.

# Defence system to be modernised

The China Daily/Asia News Network

BEIJING, Nov. 8. — Chinese President Mr Jiang Zemin said today that China will uphold the principle of coordinated development of national defence and the economy and push forward the modernisation of national defence on the basis of economic growth.

The army must take Mao Zedong's military thinking and Deng Xiaoping's thinking on army building in the new period as the guide to action and fully implement the important thought of Three Represents, he said in a report to the 16th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

It must persist in taking the road of fewer but better troops with Chinese characteristics and become more revolutionary, modernised and regularized in compliance with the general requirements of being qualified politically and competent militarily and having a fine style of work, strict discipline and adequate logistic support, he said.

"There must be no wavering in upholding the fundamental principle and system that the Party leads the people's army," Mr Jiang Zemin said.

The army must implement the military strategic principle of active defence and raise its defence capabilities and combat effectiveness under high-tech conditions, he said, adding that in response to the trend of military changes in the world, it must carry out the strategy of building a strong army through science and technology.

Efforts should be made to accomplish the historical tasks of mechanization and IT application, thereby bringing about leapfrog development in the modernisation of the army, Mr Jiang Zemin said.

Party organizations and governments at all levels and the people should be concerned with and support the building of national defence and the army, and the army should support and take an active part in national construction, Mr Jiang Zemin said.



CHINA MARCHES ON: People's Liberation Army soldiers outside the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on Friday. — AFP

CHINA / COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS OPENS

# Jiang hints at need for change

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, NOV. 8. The Chinese President and the chief executive of the Communist Party of China (CPC), Jiang Zemin, on Friday set the tone for the anticipated new era in the country's politics at the beginning of the 21st Century.

Presenting a report to the 16th National Congress of the CPC, Mr. Jiang delivered a virtual "state-of-the-union" address in which he commended his own "Three Represents Theory" that might be enshrined in the party's constitution alongside Mao Zedong's Thought and Deng Xiaoping's Theory.

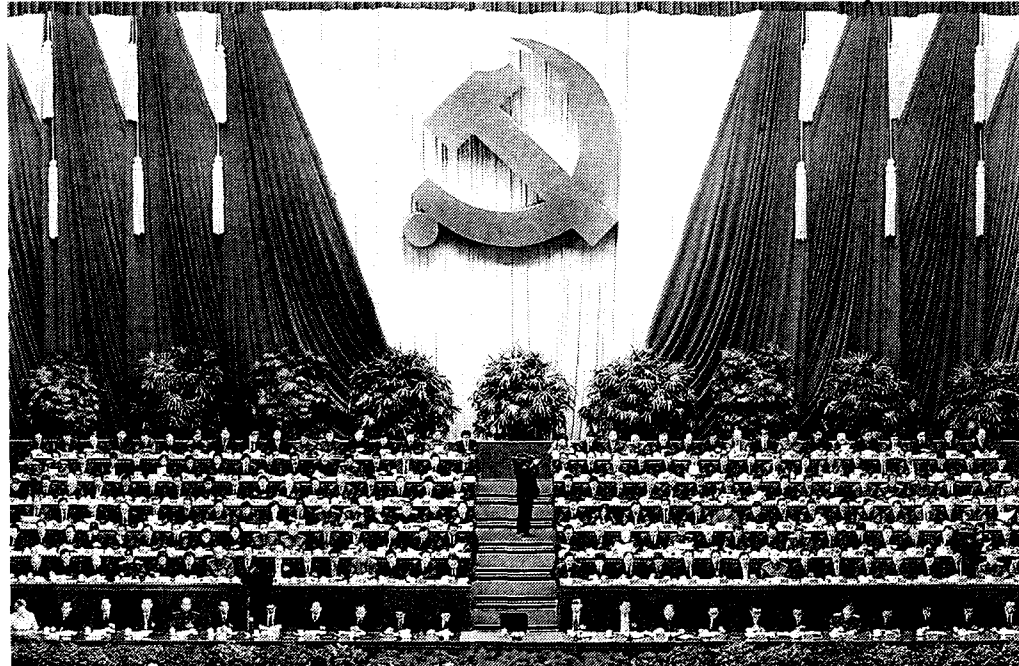
While the international community is bracing itself for a possible change at the helm of the CPC during the Congress, Mr. Jiang left the issue in a delicate state of political speculation.

However, while setting up new goal posts for the party and the country and evaluating the march of communism and socialism in a historical perspective and in a Chinese context, Mr. Jiang left no one in doubt that the priority task before the one-billion-plus Chinese people was economic growth in an atmosphere of peace at home that required a similar external environment.

Exhorting the CPC to fashion a world view with Chinese characteristics, he pointed out that



The Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, delivers his address as Secretary-General of the Communist Party of China, during the opening session of the 16th party Congress at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on Friday. (Right) A view of the delegates. — AFP



"socialist modernisation" and the construction of a "well-off society in an all-round way" were the essential ingredients of progress. It was in this context that he outlined the importance of national defence and "army-building" as also the principle of "one country, two systems", the latter being the basis of China's endeavours to unify all its territorial entitlements, including Taiwan. China's practice of an "independent foreign policy of peace" was also underlined

so as to complete the picture of a country with a comprehensive domestic vision and an equally important external outreach.

Deng Xiaoping Theory, which introduced communist China to the possibilities of intertwining socialism with some capitalist ingredients in a nation-building exercise, was in a sense refined by the "Three Represents Theory", while Mao's original contributions of political thought would serve as the backdrop of contemporary

history, Mr. Jiang hinted. The "Three Represents Theory" is, in essence, an exhortation to the CPC to represent three forces in the Chinese society — the advanced production forces, the advanced cultural forces and the overwhelming majority of the people.

While the international community, the West in particular, tends to see the inclusion of the advanced production forces as a subtle invitation to the "capitalists" or at least as a hint that

China would be willing to adopt capitalist practices in new and innovative ways, Mr. Jiang did not fully define the Chinese world view that he had in mind. Indicating, however, that he was looking at a future horizon different from the one that was dominated by the image of a "Red Star over China" in the mid-20th century, Mr. Jiang suggested in a subtle manner that the CPC should move away from its glass-house and onto a new political turf.

9 NOV 2002

THE HINDU

# Jiang gives away no clues on quit factor

BENJAMIN KANGLIM

Beijing, Nov. 8 (Reuters): When Communist Party chief Jiang Zemin laid out China's economic and political reform agenda today, he gave little clue as to the real question on the minds of China watchers — will he quit?

Most expect he will, but the closest he came to a hint on the subject were repeated references to 13 years, the period he has been in the party's top post. And he gave up even less on who would succeed him.

In his speech opening the party's 16th congress, Jiang broke from precedent and reviewed the 13 years since he took power after the 1989 crackdown on student-led protests around Tiananmen Square, rather than the usual five since the last congress.

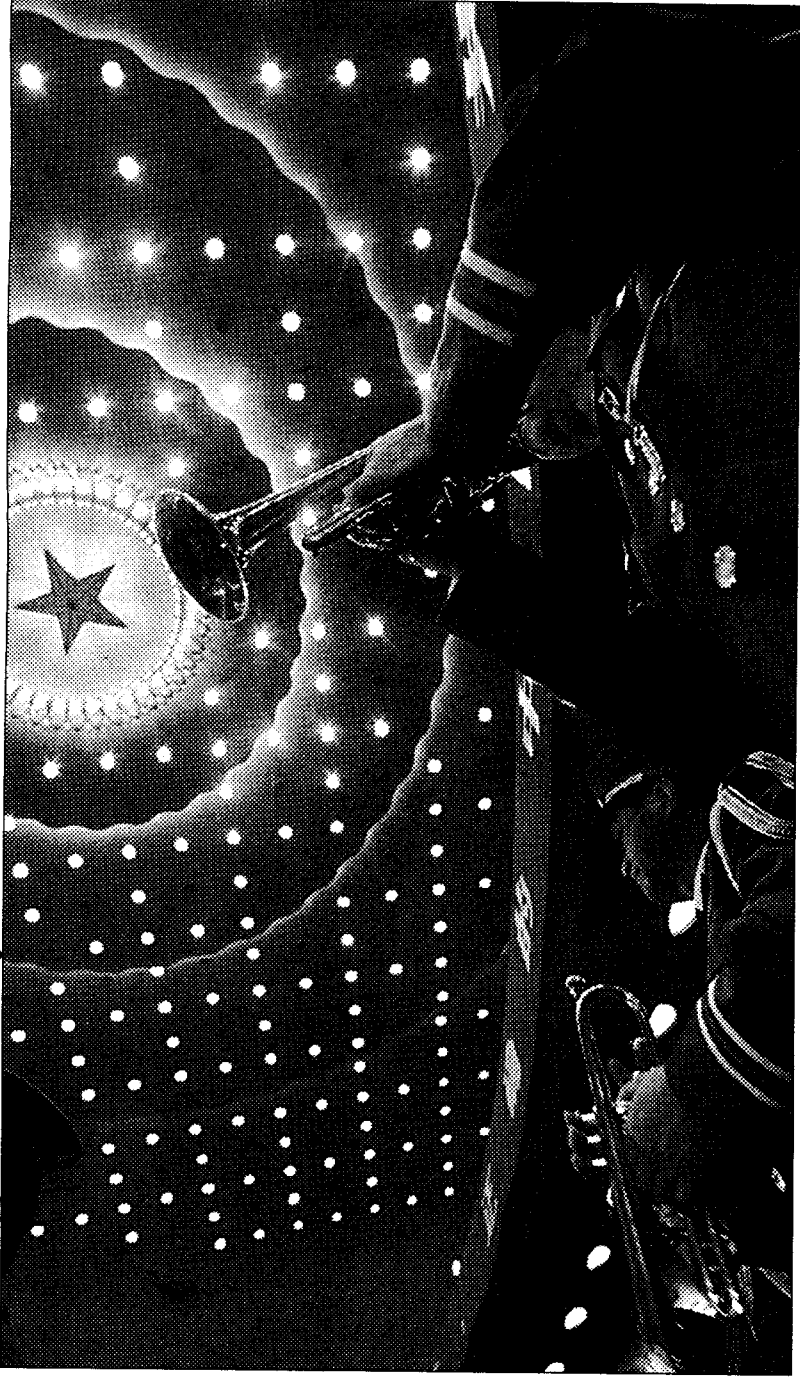
"Jiang summing up 13 years of achievements shows he will step down from the party's number one position," Wu Guoquan, a China specialist at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, a former editor of the *People's Daily*, the party newspaper.

But China watchers said there were no clear clues in his speech about who would run the world's most populous nation if Jiang and other leaders over 70 retire as expected at the congress.

"Any reference to a 13-year record is a way of saying: 'This is what I've done. This is the Jiang era and its accomplishments,'" said Kenneth Lieberthal, a China expert at the University of Michigan.

"I think it's a way of his highlighting what he thinks has been accomplished on his watch."

Jiang, 76, is widely expected to be replaced by Hu Jintao as



A band plays the national anthem at the start of the 16th Communist Party Congress at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on Friday. (Reuters)

party general secretary during the week-long congress, but will retain influence by packing the party's powerful Politburo Standing Committee with loyalists. Jiang can also assert to be the most authoritative interpreter of his political theory, the Three Represents, which sanctions admitting capitalists into the party and is due to be enshrined in the party charter during the congress.

Some analysts said the speech did not sound like his last. "It was written like any

speech. You can't say by looking at it that it was the last speech of Jiang Zemin," a Western diplomat said. It was hard to say whether the 90-minute speech was a farewell pep rally for the new younger leadership, or a suggestion he was needed and would be around a while.

Addressing the 2,114 delegates in Beijing's cavernous Great Hall of the People, Jiang spoke of "a world that is far from being tranquil and the formidable tasks before us."

"We must be keenly aware of

the rigorous challenges brought about by the ever-sharpening international competition as well as risks and difficulties that may arise on our road ahead," said Jiang, wearing a black suit and red polka dot tie.

One retired Chinese official noted he had made no mention of the fourth generation of leaders, headed by Hu, 59. Jiang is head of the third generation after chairman Mao Zedong, who died in 1976, and Deng Xiaoping, who died in 1997.

"He is unlikely to pass on

power thoroughly," said the official who spoke on condition of anonymity. "What Jiang is saying is that China faces many daunting problems today and the new generation of leaders lacks the experience to handle them."

In one startling move, Jiang cut his speech short, reading only what he called the "main points" and sparking speculation about his health.

Journalists had been advised to be ready for a two to three hour speech.

# A political ghost called Zhao

Beijing, Nov. 8 (Reuters): An 83-year-old man with a receding silver hairline lives in a spacious courtyard home in a quiet leafy lane in central Beijing, virtually secluded for more than a decade.

He kills time by reading and trying to improve his golf handicap. But Zhao Ziyang, once China's second most powerful man but who has been politically sidelined and silenced for 13 years, is still deemed a security threat to the Communist Party.

Zhao has been living under house arrest since his mentor, Deng Xiaoping, dumped him for opposing an army crackdown on student demonstrations for democracy in and around Beijing's Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989.

The current leadership is still nervous about Zhao's residual influence, fearing the liberal former party chief could re-emerge as a rallying point for reformists in the government and workers disgruntled about soaring unemployment and the widening gap between rich and poor.

Analysts said Zhao is a political ghost haunting his successor, Jiang Zemin, but lacks the power to influence the day-to-day world of politics.

"Without huge political transformation in China, Zhao has no chance," said a Chinese academic who spoke on condi-



Zhao Ziyang appeals to students to leave Tiananmen Square before the June 4 massacre in this 1989 file picture. (Reuters)

tion of anonymity. Cut off from the world, apart from the occasional visit to a golf course outside Beijing and trips to provinces, Zhao has been sidelined from politics and is now a largely forgotten figure.

Zhao lives with his wife, Liang Boqi, and their daughter, an executive at an auction house.

However, he still has the potential to stir up public dissent. The passing of Chinese leaders has often been the spark for street protests — purged party chief Hu Yaobang's death in April 1989 led to the Tiananmen movement.



# China shadows lengthen behind the shine

ASHIS CHAKRABARTI

Beijing, Nov. 7: It is a festival of lights but the leaders are in shadowy retreats to give final touches to the coronation of China's new leadership.

It is not so much the elevation of Jiang Zemin's heir apparent and Vice-President Hu Jintao that is in question. The big shadow is on what the party may look like hereafter.

Streets and buildings around Tiananmen Square and the Great Hall of the People are bathed in magical illumination. Tomorrow morning at nine, the curtain goes up there to usher in New China's change of guard at the Chinese Communist Party's seven-day 16th congress.

There are other shadows lengthening behind the lights — of the June 1989 brutal military crackdown on the pro-democracy movement, of new dissidents and of the growing unrest among an increasing army of jobless peasants and workers across the country.

But the most important of them is the shadow over the character of the party. The fundamental question that party delegates will have to answer is: whose party is it anyway?

The question has been rocking the party and the people ever since Jiang Zemin took the path-breaking initiative to give party membership to businessmen and entrepreneurs. It is like the CPM in Bengal welcoming R.P. Goenka or Harsh Neotia to the party fold. It is one thing for Calcutta businessmen now to drop

in, at the party's Alimuddin Street office on occasion, but a vastly different one to become party members.

The officialese will still not describe them as "capitalists" but that is precisely what many of them are. And many of the old guard are actually calling them that and publicly wondering whither the party is heading.

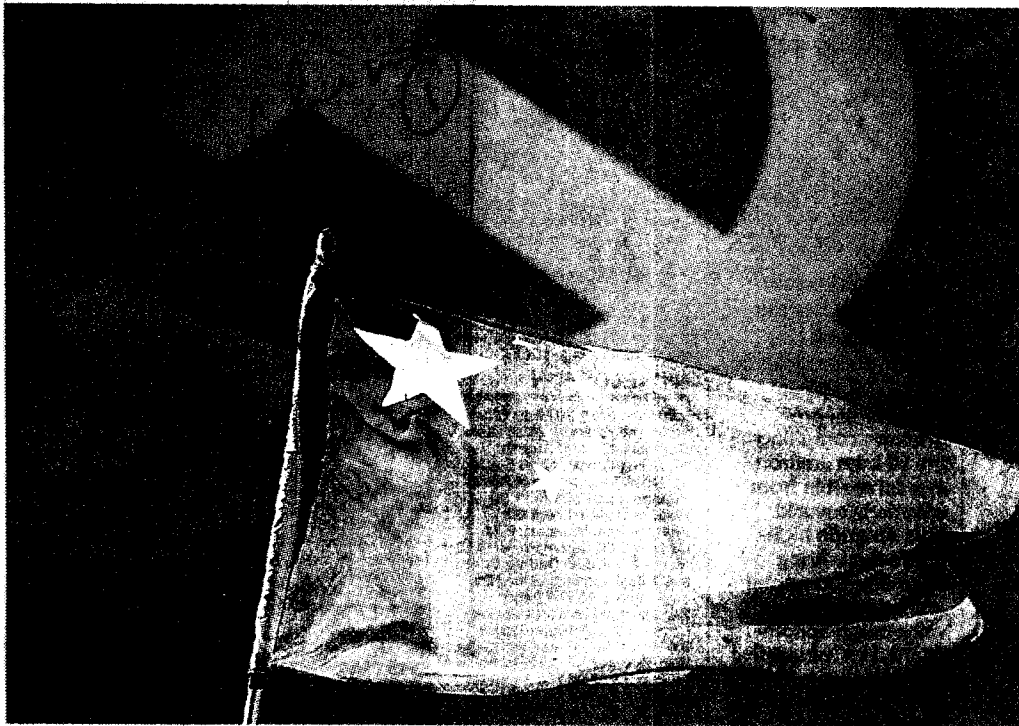
Many of these old conservatives have circulated letters and petitions questioning the party bosses' wisdom of opening the world's largest communist party to capitalists. "We sacrificed our lives for the revolution, for new China," one of the letters says, "and now Jiang wants to change the party's orientation and allow capitalists into the party."

One former party bigwig, Bao Tong, lamented that the CPC has become the "party of the rich, the noble and the powerful". Somewhat in the same vein, Benoy Choudhury, a veteran Bengal minister, had complained before his death that the CPM had become a party "of the contractors, for the contractors and by the contractors".

But Jiang is no pussyfooting Indian communist. He has tried hard to convince the party that the only way communists can remain relevant in today's world is not just by aligning with capitalists, but throwing the door open to them. The doubters were given last-minute doses of the new doctrine at a conclave earlier this week at the Jianxi Hotel where layers of security are known to have matched layers of secrecy over the deliberations.

## CONGRESS MADE EASY

India has its general election every five years, China also holds its party congress every five. It serves the same purpose: decides the Communist Party chief, the supreme leader, and the premier or prime minister, apart from an array of party and government functionaries



### WHAT'S AT STAKE THIS TIME?

A whole lot of changes because many leaders above the age of 70 are stepping down



### HOW IMPORTANT ARE THEY?

Jiang Zemin (left), party general secretary or chief, better still China's supreme leader; Li Peng, called parliament chief and No. 2 in party; and Premier Zhu Rongji, No. 3

### WHO WILL SUCCEED THEM?

Hu Jintao (right), now vice-president, is likely to take over from Jiang as party chief. Little else can be said with even remote certainty. What happens to Jiang, as Chinese leaders retire only on death? He is expected to continue to call the shots



### WHAT IS HE DOING TO PERPETUATE POWER?

His rival Li Ruihuan, No. 4 in party, is rumoured to have been retired, though he is only 68. Zeng Qinghong (left), a Jiang protégé, is set to join the top policy-making body, the politburo standing committee. He is from Shanghai

### THAT BRINGS US TO THE 'SHANGHAI GANG'...

Jiang himself is from Shanghai. He is backing several others from the place where market socialism is thriving. Shanghai, by the way, is the city where Mao Zedong held the first congress to establish the party in 1921

### HOW ARE ALL THESE PEOPLE CHOSEN?

The congress' 2,120 delegates will elect a central committee of around 200 members. This committee will choose the 22 politburo members. The politburo will pick the seven (may be expanded to nine) wise men of the standing committee that will guide China for the next five years

### IS THE 'ELECTION' NOW OVER?

Yes. But no congress is really over without some serious theorising

### WHAT'S IT THIS TIME?

Jiang Zemin's Three Represents philosophy: the party represents advanced productive forces, advanced culture and the vast majority of Chinese people. It's a euphemism for enrolling private entrepreneurs as party members

Graphic: RAJ

China

CHINA / LANDMARK MEET OPENS TODAY

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# Hu to lead party Congress

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, NOV. 7. The Communist Party of China (CPC) on Thursday announced that the country's Vice-President, Hu Jintao, would officiate as the Secretary-General of the party's 16th National Congress, which is slated to begin in Beijing on Friday. The Congress will last till Nov. 14.

The "election" of Mr. Hu as the Secretary-General of the Congress, a position that should not be confused with the status of the party's chief, has intensified the speculation in international circles that he might, in the end, emerge as the new leader of China. However, Mr. Hu's appointment to the supervisory post, which he is no stranger to, cannot be taken as a clear hint of his possible elevation to the highest party position.

Authoritative Chinese sources told *The Hindu* here on Thursday that a leadership change at the highest echelons of the CPC was likely at the party's National Congress. However, the possibility of new ideas coming from a new leadership



Hu Jintao

should not be mistaken at this stage as the sign of a shift in the political direction of the CPC.

The political interactions within the framework of the party Congress have yet to take place. This reality tempers the significance of Thursday's developments concerning Mr. Hu.

Announcing the events on the party's calendar this month, Ji Bingxuan, spokesman for the 16th Congress, said in Beijing on Thursday that "a new term of CPC Central leadership would be elected" at the first plenum of the Central Committee following the conclusion of the Congress. Mr. Ji was quoted by China's official Xinhua news



ALL DECKED UP: A man decorates a street with the Communist Party flags and national flags in Guangzhou, Guangdong province, China, on Thursday. — Reuters

agency as having said that all "preparatory work" for the Congress had been completed.

A preparatory meeting, held in Beijing on Thursday, set the agenda for the Congress and "elected a 236-member Presidium of the Congress". It was at this meeting that Mr. Hu was "elected" as Secretary-General of the Congress.

In international circles, Mr. Hu is regarded as the man likely to succeed China's President and CPC leader, Jiang Zemin, at an appropriate time after the conclusion of the party Congress.

The Congress, according to the spokesman, is expected to make "strategic arrangements for the overall advancement of China's reform and opening up (processes) and socialist modernisation drive".

AP reports: Awash in communist red, China's increasingly Westernised capital mobilised on

Thursday for the Congress, deploying banners and palm fronds on Tiananmen Square and tightening security as a nation in transition prepared itself for a new generation of leaders.

"Beijing has got everything ready," the official Communist Party newspaper *People's Daily* said. "The capital at night looks resplendent, lustrous and brilliant everywhere."

But even as Government-controlled media touted China's dynamic progress, the Congress remained veiled in secrecy and calls for reform echoed from inside and outside the country.

As the Congress begins, China finds itself in the throes of a systemic transition from a planned communist economy to a profit-driven one, the extension of reforms introduced two decades ago.

China has also made a point of inviting foreign reporters to cover the Congress.

## New linguistic model

BEIJING, NOV. 7. China on Thursday used the eve of its Communist Party Congress to unveil a new linguistic weapon in its battle to reconcile the country's official Marxism with sweeping market reforms — the concept of "dialectical totality". China will strive to achieve this state on its way to building a socialist democratic political system, a leading Communist Party official said ahead of the 16th Party Congress.

"To develop a socialist democratic political system, the fundamental key is to strike a balance between adhering to the party leadership, the principle of the people as masters of their home and running the country according to law," said Ji Bingxuan.

He did not explain the concept, but ruled out a Western-style system. — AFP

# China gears up for change of guard

By Harvey Stockwin  
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

*HK*  
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**Hong Kong:** The Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) long-awaited 16th Party Congress begins on Friday amidst tight security, with the police taking additional precautions in case demonstrating workers in north-east China try to come to Beijing.

The Congress will be mainly notable for marking the beginning of the first peaceful transfer of power between generations in Chinese communist history although the generational switch will only be completed at the session of the National People's Congress due next spring.

Pre-Congress factional and personal jockeying has, of course, been carried out in secrecy, with the controlled Chinese press unable to report on what is taking place.

After much earlier doubt on this score, it is now widely assumed that President Jiang Zemin will be stepping down as CCP Secretary-General, while Prime Minister Zhu Rongji and NPC Chairman Li Peng will cease to be members of the most powerful ruling institution in China, the Standing Committee of the CCP Politburo. They are likely to give up their government posts at next year's NPC session.

However, it is not yet certain whether Mr Jiang

will also quit as the chairman of the CCP Military Commission. If the unwritten rule that those who are above the age of 70 must step down is followed, five of the seven Standing Committee members will have to quit.

The widespread expectation that Vice-President Hu Jintao will become the party Secretary-General after Mr Jiang was more or less confirmed on Thursday afternoon after Mr Hu's selection as the Secretary-General of the 16th Party Congress, a post which makes him responsible for running the 200-member presidium which is in charge of the Congress. It is widely assumed that current Vice-Premier Wen Jiabao, who is expected to replace Mr Zhu as Prime Minister next year, will also become a member of the Politburo Standing Committee at this Congress.

Beyond that, the only certainty is that there is intense jockeying for places on the Standing Committee, the Politburo and the CCP Central Committee. But the key question for China's future stability is whether or not the third generation of leaders, led by Mr Jiang Zemin, will hand over power smoothly to the fourth generation led by Mr Hu Jintao.

The fact that the 16th Congress was postponed from September to November seemed to indicate unresolved differences. Whether or not these have been satisfactorily resolved remains to be seen.



Jiang Zemin



Zhu Rongji



Hu Jintao



Wen Jiabao

8 NOV 2002

## China's new leader an unknown face

The Times, London



Mr Hu Jintao

PEKING, Nov. 6. — China's next leader is almost completely unknown to his own countrymen and the world. He has never given a press conference.

Mr Hu Jintao was anointed future leader a decade ago by Deng Xiaoping. He has since attended hundreds of politburo meetings, but never asserted himself. He had never travelled abroad until recently. Even when Mr Hu, 59, became vice-president four years ago, he left the speechmaking to President Jiang Zemin.

Many took Mr Hu's silence as a sign of weakness. He will soon assume top position in Chinese leadership and views are shifting. The fact that he has survived so long at all is seen as a success. A Beijing-based Western diplomat said: "His ability to bite his tongue for so long should be regarded as one of his greatest strengths. He has self-discipline and perseverance."

Mr Hu's rise probably says more about the political system than the man himself. Clandestine factionalism means leaders who attract the fewest enemies can build coalitions. This theory will be tested at the opening tomorrow of the party congress.

Western observers who want democracy in China say Mr Hu's stewardship of the Central Party School, a progressive think-tank, indicates liberal leanings. Liberals also take heart from the fact that Mr Hu reportedly organised dance parties as a Qinghua University student. The old guard is reassured by Mr Hu's earlier political work. He presided over a violent crackdown in Tibet as provincial party secretary in the Eighties.

# CPC members pin hopes on party congress

China Daily/ANN

BEIJING, Nov. 6. — With the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China drawing near, many grassroots party members believe the congress will frame a new outline for China's development in the new century.

On the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau over 3,000 km away from Beijing, locals have been eager to learn the news of the coming National Congress via TV and newspaper.

Lobsang, Communist Party secretary of a committee in Lhasa City, says the congress will exert favourable influence on the country's economic and social development. Located on the north of the Potala Palace, the community where Lobsang lives is a newly constructed area of living quarters at a cost of over 80 million yuan from the government.

Lobsang, 63, grew out of serfdom and has witnessed the changes taking place in Tibet over the past decades. He says the supportive policies of the government have helped Tibet achieve overall development.

In the past 10 years, living standards of residents in the community have been improving. It is commonplace for the households to have TV

sets, refrigerators, washing machines and phones. What's more, 24 households have bought cars.

Qinggele, secretary of Wuda District Commission for Discipline Inspection of Wuhai City in north China's Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, says the CPC Central Committee has strengthened party building and punished a host of corrupt members in recent years.

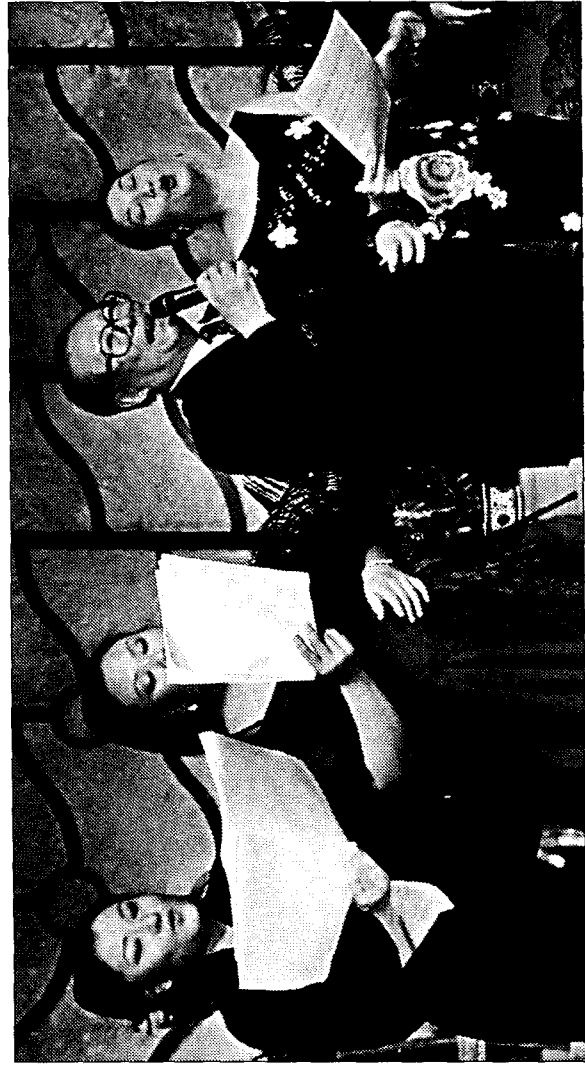
Communist Party committees have been set up in many neighbourhoods in Beijing. Liu Lixin, secretary of a community Communist Party committee, says city management is undergoing profound changes.

Ren Yongchang, secretary of Communist Party Committee of Suining City in Sichuan Province, pays more attention to rural affairs and the development of the country's west. He believes the policies worked out by the party congress will further revitalize the nation and bring more benefits to the people.

Shao Jun, Communist Party secretary of Jiangsu Federation of Industry and Commerce, thinks the congress will give a stronger push on the province's non-state economy.

Ma Chengzu, director of Yunnan Ethnic Legal Service Department, hopes the CPC congress will promote the enactment of more practical laws.

# China hints at change of guard, welcomes capitalists to party fold



Chinese President Jiang Zemin sings with Chinese sopranos during the annual meeting of the International Council of the Museum of Television and Radio in Beijing on Wednesday.

Beijing, November 7

CHINA'S COMMUNIST Party offered the vaguest of clues to a new leadership line-up today as the Government gave sagging stock markets a shot in the arm on the eve of a watershed party Congress.

More than 2,000 party delegates from every corner of China gathered in the cavernous Great Hall of the People to elect a Presidium spanning the old and new guard to oversee its 16th congress.

In front of the imposing Soviet-style building, Tiananmen Square was sealed off from the public but strewn with red flags, slogan-bearing banners and even coconut palms to mark what is billed as the first orderly succession in Communist China.

President Jiang Zemin (76) is expected to step down as party chief with other leaders over 70

in the most dramatic reshuffle since purges following the bloody 1989 Tiananmen crackdown on student protesters.

On Friday, Jiang is due to deliver his last policy speech hailing the country's achievements and outlining policy for the next five years.

Chinese authorities have gone out of their way to create a "favourable atmosphere" for the Congress, detaining an outspoken democracy activist, executing dozens of criminals and warning Chinese reporters they will be jailed for leaks.

The Government gave China's 60 million stock punters a pre-Congress perk, saying select foreign investors would be allowed into the massive \$500 billion stock markets in a move expected to boost share prices which have fallen 30 per cent in 17 months.

"The implication of the tim-

ing is clear to all," said one analyst who declined to be identified.

The Congress is also expected to change the party's Constitution to allow private entrepreneurs to join in a bid to make it more relevant to rapidly changing China.

Congress spokesman Ji Bingxuan said today the party would broaden its membership to include "outstanding elements from new social strata" — code for private entrepreneurs long excluded as capitalist exploiters.

But the party would not forsake its core membership of workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and party cadres, congress spokesman Ji said.

"I think I can tell you with no doubt at all enrolment of outstanding people from new social strata will not change the nature or purposes of the party at all,"

he said. "We must proceed from our own national conditions and unswervingly embark on a road of our own toward political development," he said.

His comments set the ideological tone for the congress but shed little light on expected personnel changes.

The Presidium elected Vice-President Hu Jintao as secretary-general of the Congress, along with a 32-member Presidium Standing Committee, the Congress spokesman said.

Jiang is expected to hand his top party post to Hu but to maintain power by installing allies into the Politburo Standing Committee, the party's top policy body which now has seven members, Chinese sources say. Several candidates for those seven seats joined the Presidium Standing Committee, analysts said.

Reuters

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# China boots banker, silences critic

**JEREMY PAGE**

**Beijing, Nov. 5** (Reuters): China's Communist Party put the finishing touches to a generational leadership change and kicked out a disgraced banker today after silencing one of its most outspoken critics in the final days before a pivotal congress.

The party's 325-strong Central Committee also approved a change to the party constitution, allowing private entrepreneurs to join for the first time, at its pre-congress plenum, the official Xinhua news agency said.

The moves highlighted the

party's drive to clean up official corruption and maintain rigid political control while adapting itself to an increasingly pluralistic and capitalistic society — major themes of its 16th congress due to open on Friday.

President Jiang Zemin is expected to retire as party chief at the congress, along with other leaders over 70, but to maintain power by installing allies in key posts and having his political theory made official doctrine, analysts say.

The plenum in the Soviet-style Jingxi Hotel was shrouded in secrecy, but Chinese sources said it finalised the most sweep-

ing leadership change since purges that followed the crack-down on protests around Tiananmen Square in 1989.

Police have thrown a security cordon around Beijing while propaganda chiefs threaten to punish leaks with jail sentences, spotlighting the sensitivity of what has been billed as the first orderly succession in Communist Chinese history.

Last evening, more than 10 policemen detained Fang Jue, a frail but outspoken government official turned democracy activist, from his home in central Beijing, his younger sister Liu Jing said. "The 16th party con-

gress doesn't have anything to do with us," she said. "His actions have all been legal. They're the ones who have broken the law by not telling his family anything about his whereabouts."

In 1998, the former researcher at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences called for direct elections, freedom of the press and the right to form political parties and free trade unions.

Later, he was jailed for selling oil import quotas illegally when he was a government planner in the southern city of Fuzhou.

Fang was released from jail in July and has been beating the drum of reform ever since. Local

police declined to comment.

China frequently rounds up dissidents and punishes wayward officials in the runup to sensitive meetings like the congress. Xinhua said the plenum decided to strip banker Wang Xuebing of his alternate membership in the Central Committee and expel him from the party.

"Wang Xuebing took advantage of his position to embezzle and accept bribes," it said. Wang, a protégé of Premier Zhu Rongji, was sacked as head of the China Construction Bank in January over problem loans made during his tenure as head of the Bank of China.

# Communism — Chinese style

By M.V. Rappai

THE CONTEMPORARY discourse on social sciences does not have a prime role for ideology. However, in a society where one-party rule is still the norm, ideology plays a key role. Even though it may not be a big concern for ordinary people, such discourses form an integral part of politics and society. In present day China a serious debate on Marxism is in progress; this is also linked to the ongoing transition process.

During the mid-1970s when power was handed over to the second-generation 'core' led by Deng Xiaoping, the debate was mainly on personalities and managing a crisis situation. An absolutely tough situation prevailed due to the abuse of power by a few leaders and their cronies under the influence of the notorious "gang of four". In the early 1990s, when the baton was passed on to the third generation led by Jiang Zemin, current party secretary-general and 'core' leader, the focus shifted to stability. Now the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is ready to hand over the reins to a fourth generation 'core' leader, Hu Jintao. The current change is significant in many ways. It will be the first time a leadership in China will be taking charge of both the party and the nation.

At another level also the discourse on the interpretation of Marxism gains significance. The "Mao Zedong thought", propounded largely during the course of the liberation struggle, formed the basic structure of communist theory for China. One of Mao's significant successes was that he could reinterpret Marxism in terms of peasants being at the vanguard of society. He understood the basic impulses of a society steeped in the traditional values of agriculture and its accompanying vagaries well. The success of this role model in liberating China inspired many other nations and leaders to experiment with Marxism. If in the earlier period the CCP dogmatically stuck to the tenets of Mao's interpretation of communism, his successors turned out to be more pragmatic theorists, especially the second-generation core leader, Deng Xiaoping. Within a short period, Deng realised the folly

of keeping human initiative and entrepreneurial spirit under the strait-jacket of ideology.

For Deng, ideology was only a convenient tool to achieve his end. One fundamental trait with him was that he never believed in dogma, for him ideology was a living entity. In his concept of Marxism, people were paramount; any ideology which could not solve their problem was useless. A pragmatist to the core, Deng was deeply immersed in the Oriental tradition of common aspiration and progress of the majority of the people. Society and its common welfare was the norm, the individual

my over the last two decades. However, this was not such a smooth process. The enhanced freedom gave an assured growth of economy, yet it led to unprecedented chaos in society. The aroused democratic aspiration of the masses finally exploded in the Tiananmen Square massacre and associated problems.

The post-June 4, 1989, period also witnessed the sudden collapse of the socialist bloc and a thorough degradation of Marxism as an ideology. A free-wheeling market liberalisation was promoted around the world. A shrewd politician like Deng who had his ears to the ground suddenly be-

people. To a large extent this embodies the pragmatic nationalist spirit of present day China; at another level, this concept can be easily comprehended by large sections of the masses. It also satisfies their aroused nationalist and material aspirations. Since the early 1990s, the CCP's propaganda machinery has deliberately played up the nationalism card. An ideal tool at a time when the party is trying to fight the debilitation of communism as an ideology the world over. It also conforms with China's plans to finish the job of territorial consolidation — the reunification of Taiwan with the mainland.

Putting the garb of nationalism on a very vibrant, but almost defunct ideology has its own consequences. This inevitably raises the question of how long can communism be the sole ideology for the party and therefore, how long can the CCP remain the sole ruling outfit? Can economic progress alone sustain the long-term interests of the people? These questions loom large in front of the ruling elite of China.

The immediate concern of the party leadership will be to accommodate the newly emerging classes within its fold. These new classes represent a wide variety of interests. Yet, the predominant groups among them are closely linked to the party's fortunes. A vast array of party functionaries, senior bureaucrats, technocrats, teachers and military officers still form the core of the "power elite". The entrepreneurial class is still not only very small numerically but it is also closely linked to the interests of the very same "elite" core. The predominant interests of all these groups merge in protecting the existing order.

Therefore, the immediate concern of the various groups with, or seeking, a share in power in China will be to keep the ongoing economic reforms on track. Hopefully, our elite will learn some lessons from the Chinese experiments of making national wealth and sharing it. In the CCP's concept, the collective behaviour of the peasants still forms a key factor for social stability.

(The writer is Visiting Fellow, Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi.)

*The immediate concern of the various groups with, or seeking, a share in power in China will be to keep the ongoing economic reforms on track.*

and his freedom were subordinate to this larger goal. Therefore, he re-interpreted the whole concept of Marxism to suit the ground reality of China. This resulted in a clarion call for "liberating the productive forces". He virtually broke the dogmatic superstructure of sharing poverty and replaced it with "getting rich gloriously and sharing it proudly".

Deng spoke in the common man's language, very rarely did he invoke the jargon of a dry theorist. For him the "colour" of the cat was immaterial — he was only bothered about the end result, whether it could catch the mouse or not. Some of his ideas were originally experimented on a small scale in some remote corners of the country. Once they were found to be successful he extended the same on an all-China basis. This method allowed him to implement even some of the toughest reforms quietly, without a murmur from even staunch supporters of conservative thinking.

Deng's freewheeling experiments with the reinterpretation of Marxism has had a long lasting impact. It allowed enough manoeuvring space for both the leadership and the masses. His decision to break the conventional "iron pot", liberated the productive forces and paved the way for a sustained growth in the econo-

gan calling a different tune of "nationalism". To a large extent, his magical knots of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" filled the ideological space for all practical purposes. The concept of "class struggle" was discarded without a whimper. Mr. Jiang, who started wielding his power at this juncture, was suddenly hoisted to the highest post in China without adequate groundwork. He took a long period to emerge out of Deng's shadow.

After Deng's death in early 1996, Mr. Jiang slowly began making his own theoretical experiments. Some of these were only a mere reinterpretation of the ideas propounded by Mao and Deng. At one level, Mr. Jiang knew his limitations very well; on the other he was also under a compulsion to do something. As the ruling party secretary-general, the masses looked up to him for a theoretical interpretation of Marxism. In the traditional mould of imperial hierarchy, the "emperor" alone is endowed with the ability to interpret the holy text. As an answer, Mr. Jiang came up with the idea of "three representations" — the CCP represents the development trend of China's advanced social productive forces, the orientation of China's advanced culture and the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the

4 NOV 2002

THE HINDU

# Who is Hu? Man from nowhere to lead China

DAMIEN MCELROY

**Beijing, Nov. 3:** The first chill winds of winter gust across Tiananmen Square as a gang of workers begin erecting plastic palm trees along its flanks in preparation for the start of this week's Communist Party congress.

For the 2,000 delegates who are beginning to arrive in Beijing, the incongruity of fake tropical flora on the edge of the north China plain will be nothing compared with the latest chapter in the long-running enigma in Chinese politics: the fate of Hu Jintao, the man destined to be anointed the country's next leader.

As his apparent since 1992 and vice-president since 1996, Hu, 59, has remained an elusive figure, little known by the public, who enjoys "dancing alone" at parties, according to an official biographer. He is certain to emerge as general secretary of the Communist Party from the five-yearly congress that opens on Friday — the first step towards being appointed President at next spring's parliamentary session.

This is when President Jiang

Zemin, having served two terms in office, must step down. Jiang, however, has done his utmost to ensure that his influence over the party continues after he leaves office by packing the politburo with his henchmen — in particular Zeng Qinghong, who acts as his "enforcer".

As powerful as Jiang will remain, he has been unable to derail the accession of Hu, who was picked out by Deng Xiaoping with the words "Hu is not bad" in 1992. Jiang hopes that, with Hu's and Zeng's factions at war with each other, he will be able to play the Grand Old Man of Chinese politics. If he is to be an effective leader, Hu will have to move out of Jiang's shadow and start answering questions about his background and what he stands for.

In the town where he grew up, in the poor central province of Anhui, Liu Bingxia, 88, his wizened great-aunt who raised the engineer-turned-apparatchik after his mother died when he was five, is unable to provide much enlightenment.

"His character was good when he was young," says Liu. "Now I don't know. People change year by year."

In the decade since Hu last

paid her a flying visit, when he was governor of Tibet, she has suffered an unusual degree of hardship for a relative of a high official, but has not elicited the slightest expression of concern from him.

She was evicted from the family home as it was condemned for demolition to make way for a bank. She tried to argue that the vice-president would be displeased. When the bankers contacted his office, Hu is reported to have replied: "If you want to knock it down, knock it down. The house is not mine — it's hers."

The dank little flat she received in compensation has no cooker, refrigerator or television. Still, she has hope that her great-nephew will one day return to visit. "My circumstance is not good," she says. "He doesn't know because he doesn't visit, but he knows I'm all alone."

Hu, aware that the designated successor to the leader is the most precarious figure in Chinese politics — both Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping purged two of their putative heirs — has concentrated his energies on managing party institutions and formulating ideology.

Only once has he been seen to

act decisively. In Tibet, he declared martial law in 1989 — a move that resulted in the massacre of thousands of monks demonstrating for independence. Despite his record in Tibet, he is seen as a closet reformer who recognises that the ruling party cannot indefinitely stonewall demands to match economic modernisation with political change.

Western diplomats who have dealt with Hu say that although he is sympathetic to reforms within the party, such as punishing abuses of power and promoting younger leaders, he remains an adamant opponent of popular democracy.

"Hu recognises that the party must make arrangements that emphasise freedom and opportunity, otherwise we cannot sustain economic growth," said one official from the more liberal wing of the party. "But he's adamant that reforms must come with stability and must be suitable to China's situation."

As the head of the Communist Party's Central School, Hu has encouraged research into democratic reforms undertaken by eastern European communists and liberal democratic parties of the West. Lectures on rival politi-

cal philosophies and systems, ranging from ancient Greece to Tony Blair's reforms of the Labour Party, are mandatory for rising stars of the bureaucracy during short courses at the school.

The vice-president is as little known abroad as he is at home. In the past year, foreign governments have courted him, seeking to secure influence in a post-Jiang government. A year ago, he toured Britain, and in April he visited the United States. "He barely left an impression on the seat, never mind the President," said a US diplomat.

There are indications that Hu will attempt to portray himself and the China he leads as more fiercely independent than under his predecessor. His close aides have implicitly criticised President Jiang as being slavishly pro-American, although his tenure has seen a series of confrontations with Washington, including the riots after China's Belgrade embassy was bombed by Nato and last year's spy plane standoff. As he showed during last month's trip to President George Bush's ranch in Texas, Jiang constantly seeks the approval of US leaders.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH



Hu Jintao (right) with President Jiang Zemin. (AFP)



# Falun Gong sues China President

Associated Press  
5:10 PM

BEIJING, Oct. 23. — Falun Gong supporters have sued Chinese President Jiang Zemin in US federal court, accusing him of committing torture and genocide in China's crackdown on the spiritual movement, a lawyer for the group said today. The announcement came on the first day of Mr Jiang's trip to the USA.

The organisation's lawyer, Ms Terri E Marsh, said a notice of the lawsuit was delivered to the Chinese leader's guards at his Chicago hotel. The lawsuit adds to efforts by Falun Gong to use US courts to punish Chinese officials for the 3-year-old crackdown, in which activists say more than 500 supporters have been killed.

The Chinese foreign ministry said it had not heard of the lawsuit and couldn't confirm whether Mr Jiang had received court papers.

Mr Marsh said the lawsuit was filed under a law allowing US courts to hear cases against foreigners accused of human rights abuses or violations of international law abroad. It asks for unspecified financial damages and for the federal court in Chicago to prohibit Jiang from committing future abuses.



## 503 Practitioners Killed in Persecution

Falun Gong followers meditate as Mr Jiang Zemin arrives at a hotel in Chicago on Wednesday. Hundreds of supporters and Falun Gong practitioners stood in chilly temperatures to show their feelings. — AFP

# Zhu Rongji's stress on a just economic order

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**SINGAPORE, OCT. 1.** China has pledged to strive for the establishment of "a new, just, and reasonable international political and economic order". Announcing a broad policy initiative on the occasion of the 53rd anniversary of the creation of the People's Republic of China, the Prime Minister, Zhu Rongji, reaffirmed Beijing's commitment to "combat hegemonism and power politics" and also "oppose all forms of terrorism".

Mr. Zhu made these observations at a reception that was organised by China's State Council in Beijing last night on the eve of the National Day. On foreign policy issues, he underscored China's penchant for strategic autonomy. The "five principles of peaceful coexistence" as also "friendly exchanges" among different states, besides the imperative of "common (economic) development" of all countries, were outlined as China's enduring themes of a long-term foreign policy.

While Mr. Zhu did not break any new ground in enunciating the charter, the reception itself attracted unusual international attention for two reasons. Beijing's basic foreign policy idiom is of considerable importance to the evolving grammar of global politics in the ongoing campaign against terrorism, while the next month's 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) has also lent the anniversary celebrations a new touch of political importance.

The CPC Congress is widely expected to consider whether or not a leadership change within the party should take place at this sensitive stage. The National Day-



A gathering in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, on National Day on Tuesday. — AP

eve reception was attended by China's President, Jiang Zemin, besides Mr. Zhu and other leaders such as Li Peng, who ranks above the Prime Minister in the party hierarchy, Li Ruihuan, Hu Jintao, Wei Jianxing and Li Lanqing, who together constitute the country's brains trust and the party's innermost caucus.

Mr. Zhu, who made a reference to the prospective CPC Congress, commended Mr. Jiang Zemin's "Three Represents" theory that exhorts the party members to represent the broadest possible interests of all people of China.

Mr. Zhu underlined how China had put itself on an upward trajectory of economic development since the adoption of reforms and an "opening-up strategy" over two decades ago. China's recent entry into the World Trade Organisation has given the reforms-agenda a new sense of urgency.

On Taiwan, an issue of profound psychological importance to China, Mr. Zhu said Beijing would continue to adhere to a policy of "peaceful reunification" and advocate the theory of "one country, two systems" which had already been applied in the case of Hong Kong and Macao.

China ①  
HD-15  
2/10

# Falun Gong hacked satellite system : China

AP Wire  
1500 15.2

BEIJING, Sept. 24. — Supporters of the banned Falun Gong movement have cut into television transmissions using a satellite system that broadcasts to every corner of China, the government said today.

Using its official Xinhua News Agency, the government released an extraordinary 1,100-word dispatch about the latest hacking incident, saying it had traced the illegal transmissions over the Sino Satellite, or Sinosat, system to a pirate broadcast operation in Taipei, Taiwan.

"Why do some Falun Gong diehards dare to blemish modern civilization in such a barefaced manner?" Xinhua said in an accompanying editorial.

Falun Gong has made a practice in recent months of hacking local TV feeds and broadcasts, often broadcasting pirate transmissions to tout the benefits of the group and persuade the citizenry that Chinese authorities have treated it unfairly. China says such transmissions have "trampled upon in-

ternational code" and "disrupted the public order". Xinhua said the latest hacking, which it called a "TV hijacking", began on 9 September and affected signals of a service designed to enable remote villages across the country to see broadcasts from China Central Television, or CCTV, the leading government-run network.

The television break-ins have embarrassed the government, which calls the protest videos "reactionary propaganda" and says they threaten social stability.

Officials said they were sure the hacking originated in Taiwan, and called upon its government to help track down the culprits.

"The source of the illegal TV signals has been pinpointed to Taipei city in Taiwan province," the official Xinhua news agency quoted a senior Chinese official as saying.

Liu Lihua, director of the radio bureau of the ministry of information industry said the hijacking trampled upon international code, disrupted the public order and committed a serious crime by sabotaging the transmissions of radio and television programmes, he said.

# Falun Gong members sentenced

By P. S. Suryanarayana  
 20-09-2001

**SINGAPORE, SEPT. 20.** China's drive against the Falun Gong cult's suspected anti-state activities took another decisive turn today as 15 followers of that "spiritual movement" were convicted and sentenced to varying prison terms.

The Chinese state news agency reported that the Intermediate People's Court at Changchun, capital of the Jilin province in the northeastern sector, sentenced the 15 convicted members of the cult to jail terms ranging from four years to 20.

Those convicted had been

charged with conspiracy to undermine China's law enforcement mechanism.

The charges relate to the circumstances in which the accused had managed to disrupt regular cable-television programmes in two separate cities in the province on a day in March.

The intrusive disruption was made use of by them to beam a video footage about the banned cult.

The episode was treated as not only a technical sabotage of the authorised cable-television programmes but also as a serious act of ideological subversion of



**Wu Lili, sister of a Chinese Falun Gong practitioner, who is allegedly confined at a metal hospital in China, urges support to help release her sister, at a press conference in Yokohama, Japan, recently.**

tion, which also covered the offence of damaging radio and television property, is yet another endorsement of China's view of the cult as an enemy of the state.

While this development should therefore be seen in a larger perspective, regional political observers tend to find in the judgment some signs of a stiffening stance by the authorities towards the Falun Gong adherents ahead of the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in Beijing in early November.

The party's agenda consists of issues such as the organisation's 'representational' credentials among the people as also the leadership stakes.

To this extent, there has so far been no sign of a possible Falun Gong shadow over the congress.

The upcoming congress is considered to be critically important for China's political di-

# China party divided over Jiang

DAMIEN MCELROY

Beijing, Sept. 7: Splits in China's normally secretive Communist Party hierarchy are emerging in public as the power struggle over the future of Jiang Zemin, the country's President, grows more bitter.

One of the party's most senior official historians said yesterday that Jiang, 76, would remain in power for the foreseeable future, his putative successors being too inexperienced to assume power at November's party congress.

"The conditions for a full-scale handover of power are not mature," said Wen Lequn, the director of the party's history department. "To maintain continuity and the stability of the party and the state, Jiang Zemin's po-

litical influence and authority will be maintained. This is essential if China is to consolidate its international standing."

President Jiang's repudiation of a decade-old deal to retire at the five-yearly Congress has infuriated opponents who had hoped that the meeting would mark the first orderly transition to a younger leadership in modern Chinese history.

In a clear demonstration of the divisions, a dossier of top secret internal documents was spirited out of the country and passed to two American academics this week.

The academics said that President Jiang was politically dead, having lost the support of his closest aide, Zeng Qinghong.

One of them, Bruce Gilley, Jiang's biographer, said: "The

documents are quite categorical about what the planned succession was and, as we understand it, it has not changed. They say that Jiang Zemin will step down from all his posts. Based on the dossiers, which we believe are authentic, Jiang's retirement was not much of an issue."

According to Gilley's account, Jiang's heir apparent, Hu Jintao, will emerge as party leader and military commander-in-chief after the Congress. Jiang's sworn enemy, Li Ruihuan, will rank second and Wen Jiabao, the moderate Premier-in-waiting, will become number three.

The papers were obtained by the anonymous figure behind the *Tiananmen Papers*, the explosive transcripts published last year detailing internal lead-

ership debates prior to the 1989 massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators.

But the American-based publisher of a Chinese language version of the succession documents has disputed Gilley's conclusion.

He Pin, a veteran political specialist, of Mirror Books, said: "It is still highly possible that Jiang will stay on, at least as head of the central military commission or even in the party chief position."

Other analysts are convinced that Jiang will not be shunted aside.

"Whatever positions Jiang Zemin may or may not give up, he will stay on as the key leader," said Steve Tsang, of St Anthony's College, Oxford.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

# Three-point agenda for CPC members

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**SINGAPORE, SEPT. 3.** "Reform, development and stability" would be the focus of the Communist Party of China (CPC) ahead of the 16th congress to be convened on November 8.

Party members have been asked to work towards achieving the three points of reform, development and stability as part of the preparation for the planned congress. Given the political monopoly of the Communist Party in China, the country's Vice-President, Hu Jintao, issued the latest guidelines during the ceremonies marking the commencement of the autumn semester of the CPC Party School in Beijing. Mr. Hu is also a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of CPC's Central Committee.

Mr. Hu reportedly said all members of the CPC should prepare for the convocation of the party congress by "fulfilling, to the best of their abilities, the tasks of reform, development and stability". Mr. Hu said

party members should "continue to uphold the Deng Xiaoping Theory (and) fully implement the 'Three Represents' Theory" that was propounded by the CPC general secretary and the country's President, Jiang Zemin. Mr. Hu, who is also the president of the CPC Party School and a member of the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, called for a detailed study of Mr. Jiang's "new instructions" for a deeper understanding of the "Three Represents" theory.

Stressing that the theory was a guideline for the party, Mr. Jiang called upon the CPC to "represent" three aspects of China forever. The party, in his view, should always represent "the development trend of China's advanced productive forces". The actual "orientation of China's advanced culture" should also be represented. Also to be represented at all times were "the fundamental interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people".

Mr. Hu's speech acquires importance in the context of the CPC's preparations for the party congress. It appears that the

country's reform agenda, as put forth first by Deng when he was in power and as subsequently updated by Mr. Jiang, will be the *leitmotif* of the prospective congress of the CPC.

Viewed in this specific context, Mao's ideological prescriptions may merely constitute a historical background that will indicate how the party has progressed to its present status as an upholder of Deng's theory and Mr. Jiang's ideas, according to political observers in the Asia-Pacific region.

Mr. Hu's speech has also attracted attention for the reason that his name has been mentioned as a possible successor to Mr. Jiang himself.

However, the CPC, known for its capacity to play out the succession stakes with a great deal of privileged privacy, has so far not suggested that the planned party congress may indeed decide on a leadership change. Regional observers though pointed out that the party notified the November congress only a few days ago.

# Leadership changes in Beijing

By C. Raja Mohan

**BEIJING, AUG. 23.** Besides an endorsement of the Chinese President, Jiang Zemin's ideas on how to retain the political vitality of the Communist Party of China, the upcoming 16th Congress is also likely to overhaul the leadership in the Party and Government. Until recently it was widely assumed that Mr. Jiang will step down from his three posts as President, Party Chief and head of the Central Military Commission.

The current Vice-President, Hu Jintao, was seen as the designated successor to Mr. Jiang. The rules say no one can serve more than two terms in the leading organs of the State, which Mr. Jiang has. But there has been some betting in the Western press that Mr. Jiang might hold on to some of his powers after the Party Congress.

Few here can assert with authority on how the finessing of rules and political jiggery will unfold in the coming weeks. This Party Congress was to have seen the retirement of the third generation of Chinese leaders — of which Mr. Jiang

was considered to be at the core. Any attempt to accommodate one of them in the future power structures without finding place for the others could indeed be complicated. Acknowledgement of Mr. Jiang's theoretical contribution, in the form of "Three Represents", could

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indeed be one way of elevating him above the others of his generation.

In an important speech last year, Mr. Jiang had proclaimed that the CPC must represent the new forces of production, advanced culture, and the broad masses of society. Officials here, of course, dismiss all speculation on leadership change. The 16th Party congress, originally said to have been slated for September, is now likely to be held only towards the end of the year. Three months is a long time in politics, even in China.

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The "two-term" rule has been one of the important features of China's political

modernisation under Deng Xiaoping. This Constitutional norm for positions in the top levels of the State organs has helped bring in a whole new generation of younger leaders to the top.

Today, China is consciously trying to promote those born in the 1950s to top leadership positions and those born in the 1960s to the level of second rung in the leading organs of the Government. Most of the new generation Chinese leaders are well-educated and have at least university degrees.

Deng's efforts to groom the younger generation has led to the rise of leaders like Mr. Hu. Mr. Hu will represent the fourth generation of Chinese leaders to run the nation after the communist revolution in 1949.

The fourth generation is likely to see increasing number of managers in leadership positions. The first and second generation leaders were born out of revolutionary struggle.

The third were mostly technocrats trained in the Soviet Union in the 1950s. Mr. Jiang for example is an engineer. While Mr. Hu is an engineer by educa-

tion many of his colleagues are managers and administrators.

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Whether China tinkers with the two-term rule for political leaders or not, India might learn something useful from this principle. Old and tired men rule an India that is teeming with young people. Term limits could be one way of retiring senior politicians in India and make way for the young.

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Additional rooms are being added to the mausoleum of Mao Zedong that stands in the Tiananmen Square at the heart of Beijing. These rooms are expected to display the busts of other Chinese leaders whose contributions are acknowledged by the Party.

These figures include the former Premier Zhou Enlai, the man who built the People's Liberation Army, Zhu De, the former President of China, Li Shaoqi who was disgraced during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, and of course, Deng Xiaoping, who has brought modernity and prosperity to China within one generation.

24 AUG 2002

# CHANGES IN CHINA-II

## Roots Of Communist Party Weakening Very Fast

By R BRAHMACHARI

At present, the country does not have a uniform national unemployment benefit scheme and the provincial authorities are tackling the problem in a haphazard manner, according to their financial capabilities. People are being provided with laughable unemployment benefits that vary from \$12 to \$40 (Rs 600 to Rs 2,000) a month and that too only for two years. It is important to note here that in a period of crisis like this, the small-scale sector could play a vital role in employment generation. But no such effort has so far been undertaken by the government.

### Trade barrier

China's recent entry into World Trade Organisation has added fuel to the problem. It has compelled the government to lower the trade barrier and to invite more and more foreign competitors both in the industrial and the agricultural sector. In fact, cheap imports are now threatening the major domestic industries. For example, the Anshan Iron and Steel Works in Liaoning with its 250,000 workers is now on the verge of closure. According to experts, the plant can now cut 39 out of 40 workers by installing modern equipment. Similarly, the biggest car making company the First Auto Group in Jilin, with its 245,000 workers, is awaiting a closure. According to the American consultancy firm AT Kearney, an average worker of the company produces 2.5 cars per year, while in the US, an average worker of General Motors produces ten times as many cars. An estimate of AT Kearney says that the company can cut seven out of eight workers.

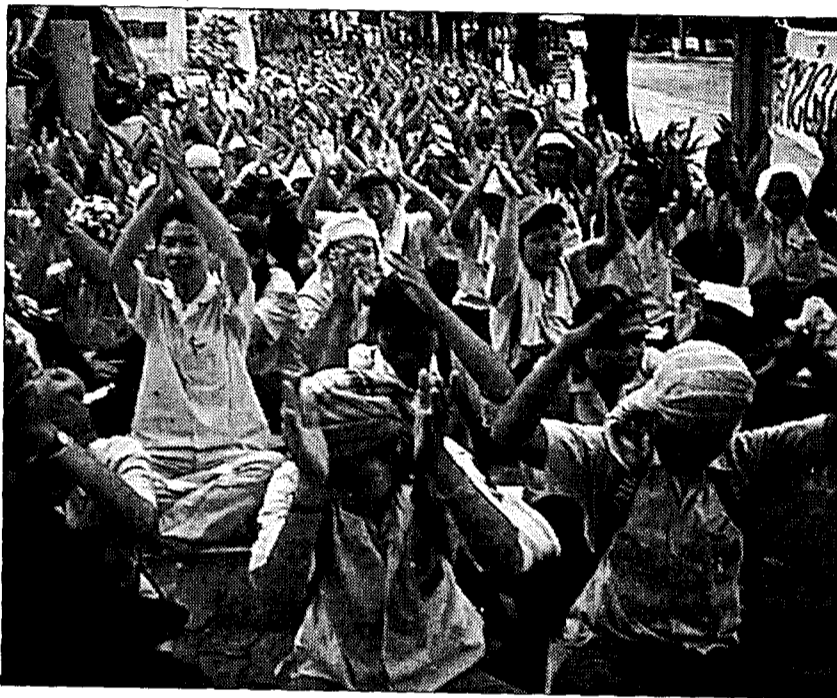
The lowering of trade barriers has begun to hit China's agricultural sector as well. Farmers who were so far producing for the state are now facing stiff competition with highly mechanised American agro-business. Being forced off the land, farmers are now rushing towards the coastal cities to collide with already laid off millions of factory workers. In the past two years, the country has experienced one of the largest migrations in human history — more than 100 million farmers have marched towards the eastern cities in search of petty low level jobs, violating the extremely rigid Chinese law that tries to keep people confined to their own places.

According to Mr Chen Huai of DRC, the situation would turn worse in the near future. "Within the next ten years,

nearly 150 million farmers will move to the cities looking for jobs", adds Mr Chen.

More important, due to rapid privatisation, the roots of the Communist Party are weakening very fast. Once upon a

time, a worker having party membership was favoured with special treatment, but now it is discouraged and disfavoured. To overcome the setback, top party leaders are thinking of bringing private bosses within the party fold. Previously there



time, the state enterprises functioned as strong party branches that controlled the lives of the urban population. But now, as the state sector crumbles, so do the party branches and thus the party is losing control over the most dynamic and dominating area of the Chinese economy. In the past, state enterprises provided breeding grounds for young party activists as well as fertile lands for recruiting party members. In those days, party committees used to run the state-owned factories and often the factory managers functioned as party's local branch leaders.

### Contracts

But at present, everything has tumbled. The state sector has gone giving place to private enterprises where most of the workers are hired on short-term contracts, not ready to displease the bosses or violate company regulations by taking active part in party politics. Once upon a

time, the state enterprises functioned as strong party branches that controlled the lives of the urban population. But now, as the state sector crumbles, so do the party branches and thus the party is losing control over the most dynamic and dominating area of the Chinese economy. In the past, state enterprises provided breeding grounds for young party activists as well as fertile lands for recruiting party members. In those days, party committees used to run the state-owned factories and often the factory managers functioned as party's local branch leaders.

was a ban on admitting a private sector boss as a party member, but recently the government has decided to lift the ban. At the same time, party leaders are thinking of setting up party branches in private undertakings, though little progress could so far have been made in this direction. The party had 50 million members in 1990 and now it has increased to 64 million. Experts believe that this does not reflect party's popularity among the growing population of private sector employees. For example, in Wuhan, a city with 4.4 million population on the banks of Yangtze, only 0.9 per cent of the private sector workers were party members in 1993. In 1993, the proportion remained the same despite the fact that the number of people working in private or foreign-invested companies increased by nearly 200 per cent.

Shenyang is the biggest city in north-eastern China, where 640,000 workers

57-4 1378 ✓  
were employed in private enterprises in 1999. But out of them, the party could manage to recruit only 29 party members. A recent study has revealed that out of all the newly set up private sector enterprises, only 35 per cent have a party member as an employee and only 17 per cent have a party cell.

So, Dr Pan Wei, a professor of the Beijing University, says, "Party organisation at the grassroot level is decaying. Regular party activities have virtually stopped". According to Professor Pan, the party is losing grip even on state enterprises and within a few years, in urban China at least, the party's activities will be confined mainly to government departments and institutions where a party membership is still a prerequisite for advancement. "It will pretty much be a bureaucratic party", says Professor Pan.

### Opportunity

The good news is that political instability would provide a golden opportunity for the Chinese Democratic Party to launch a democratic revolution, and hence set up a democratic government putting an end to the present draconian Communist rule. Till today, CDP is working underground and experts believe that it could have spread its activities to the remotest corners of the country. The Communist government is also not sitting idle and utilising every opportunity to arrest its leaders and put them behind bars. According to a recent party release, about 20 top ranking CDP leaders and several thousand activists are serving jail terms. Many believe that the party has gained more strength than what is commonly anticipated.

Mr Rein Wang is one of the top ranking leaders of CDP. He believes that a political change in China is inevitable, but rules out any rash or hasty step. "Our main task is to inch forward in small steps and reach our goal. To make people understand the evils of the present Communist rule and bring them on our side... We shall not repeat the mistake we committed at the Tiananmen Square in 1989", adds Mr Rein.

So, many believe that China is heading for a democratic revolution, which may either be violent or bloodless like the Russian perestroika. And the present crisis arising out of large-scale unemployment would certainly hasten the doom of Communist rule.

(Concluded)



# CHANGES IN CHINA-I

## A Serious Problem Of Unemployment

5/1 26 12/8

By R BRAHMACHARI

In September 1997, when Jiang's Plan was adopted at the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of China, it was said that it would take nearly five to ten years to implement the same and, as a result, 20 to 25 million workers in the state sector would lose their jobs. It was also hoped that the private sector, creating new jobs, would be able to accommodate most of the fired workers. It may be recalled that the Jiang's Plan called for privatising all the existing 300,000 public sector undertakings barring only 1,000 units which were of strategic importance.

In reality, it is now seen that the jobs created in the private sector fall far short of the unemployment created in the state sector. According to a recent estimate, nearly 43 million state sector jobs were eliminated between 1997 and 2000, and over the same period the private sector could create only 16.5 million new jobs. This dismal picture is getting worse as more and more PSUs are either being privatised or liquidated.

### Breathtaking pace of shutdowns

In 1997, total industrial workforce in China was about 130 million and hence the above figures indicate that more than 33 per cent of the workforce were thrown out of jobs in past four years, only 12 per cent of them could find jobs in the private sector, while 21 per cent of the workforce have become entirely jobless. But the Beijing-based Development and Research Centre and the government-controlled media are trying to hide the facts and say that the present rate of unemployment is between eight and nine

*The author is a Reader in the Department of Applied Physics, Calcutta University.*

per cent. The Chinese labour ministry is projecting a still rosy picture and says that the current rate of joblessness is merely 5.6 per cent. But the statistical data of the same labour ministry show that only in the past one year, more than

ment opted to follow a capitalist path in 1978, the Chinese economy has quadrupled in size. Dazzling coastal cities like Shanghai and Canton have emerged as nerve centres of world business and are sparkling with skyscrapers, five-star



19 million state workers were laid off when outmoded and bankrupt PSUs were shut down at a breathtaking pace.

### Other side of Chinese success

There is no doubt that there are twice as many jobs in the private sector today as there were five years ago, but it is much below the rate of joblessness created in the state sector.

Since the totalitarian Chinese govern-

ment opted to follow a capitalist path in 1978, the Chinese economy has quadrupled in size. Dazzling coastal cities like Shanghai and Canton have emerged as nerve centres of world business and are sparkling with skyscrapers, five-star hotels and bustling nightclubs. But in reality, the country has entered the new century with the heavy burden of tens of millions of jobless workers — a new generation of have-nots. The government is afraid that in the near future this regiment of jobless urban workers would rise in open revolt, and signs of such an outburst are surfacing here and there. Tens of thousands of jobless workers are holding demonstrations against state

sector lay-offs in various cities of the country.

In April this year, more than 30,000 workers, laid off by China's biggest oil company Petro China, held a demonstration in front of the company headquarters in Heilongjian to get back their jobs. A month earlier, thousands of jobless workers held a demonstration in the northeastern city of Liaoyang. Thousands of jobless workers also held demonstrations in various other cities like Fushun and Lanzhou.

### Fighting for nonexistent jobs

The Communist government, on the other hand, is not ready to tolerate organised labour movements and at present it is cracking down on these protests by arresting those who take leading roles in organising such rallies. According to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, several hundreds of such leaders have been arrested in the past two months. Experts apprehend that more and more demonstrations would continue to flare up and the situation would go completely out of control in coming years.

Commenting on these developments, Mr Mo Rong, a spokesman of the ministry of labour and social security, says, "If the employment situation does not improve, there will be a serious impact on social stability".

"China is careering towards nothing less than an unemployment war, with people fighting for jobs that simply do not exist", says Mr Hu Angang, a professor of Beijing based Tsinghua University. Mr Chen Huai, a senior researcher in DRC, says, "When these people have nowhere to turn, they will defend their rights even with violence".

*(To be concluded)*

# Falun Gong irked over bar on movement

Associated Press

SF 3 117  
Scribes' fear

HONG KONG, June 30. — As Hong Kong prepared to mark its fifth anniversary under Chinese rule, Falun Gong complained today that more than 90 practitioners have been barred from entering the territory where they hoped to protest in front of Chinese President. Mr Jiang Zemin.

Mr Zemin and his wife Mrs Wang Yeping, as well as Vice Premier Qian Qichen, arrived late today to attend ceremonies commemorating Hong Kong's July, 1997 return to Chinese rule.

Hong Kong will mark the occasion with a flag-raising ceremony on Monday, before chief executive Tung Chee-hwa is sworn in for a second five-year term. Pro-democracy activists, labor groups and others also plan to mark the occasion with demonstrations.

The protesters have said police are keeping them far away from official events and Falun Gong said some of its followers aren't being allowed into Hong Kong - even though it is supposed to enjoy Western-style freedom of speech and assembly under a government arrangement dubbed "one country, two systems."

One Falun Gong follower, Australian citizen Leon Wang, was detained at airport today. He said he saw two women being wrapped in plastic and carried onto an airplane after they refused to cooperate with officials.

"I'm here to meet some clients, but they didn't even ask me what I'm in town for," said Wang, a 31-year-old Sydney businessman who had travelled to Hong Kong several times before without problems.

Hui Yee-han, a Hong Kong Falun Gong spokeswoman, accused authorities of tying hands and feet of some overseas members of the group as they tried to enter Hong Kong to protest against Mr Zemin's efforts to eradicate Falun Gong in mainland China.

Hui said since 22 June, immigration authorities had turned away 96 followers, including two Americans, 67 Taiwanese, 13 Australians, four Japanese, two Swedes, one Swiss, two Singaporeans and one Indonesian.

HONG KONG, June 30. — Freedom of expression has deteriorated in the five years since Hong Kong reverted back to Chinese rule, the Hong Kong Journalists Association said today.

In its 2002 annual report, the association said several disturbing trends, including moves within the government toward the implementation of a 'subversion law punishing offences against the state, led it to believe things had worsened.

It pointed to the government clampdown on unauthorised assembly by demonstrators and the handcuffing of two journalists during a police operation to clear out a park in April and said: "These are signs of a government that is showing increasing intolerance towards minority views."

An official spokesman, however, said the administration was committed to protecting freedom of expression and maintaining a free press. — AFP

About 75 local Falun Gong followers, however, were still able to stage meditation exercises outside Hong Kong's immigration headquarters today.

They were also planning a candlelight vigil in the evening.

Hong Kong Security Bureau, responding to questions about Falun Gong, said in a written statement: "In the run-up to celebration of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region's fifth anniversary, it is necessary for authorities to ensure that people entering Hong Kong do not cause trouble." Immigration department officials had acted lawfully, it added.

"No one is barred from Hong Kong because of their religious belief," the security bureau statement said.

Beijing has outlawed Falun Gong as an "evil sect" and has carried out a crackdown that Falun Gong says has left hundreds dead in police custody. The group remains legal in Hong Kong.

When Mr Zemin last visited for an economic conference in May 2001, Falun Gong said 100 of its followers were turned away by immigration officials.

THE STATESMAN

# Cyber cafes opium for the youth, says Beijing

Marx marked religion as the opium of the masses, and for Chinese Marxists, cyber cafes have become the "opium for the youth", reports **The Straits Times/Asia News Network**

BEIJING, June 19. — Beijing's vice-mayor today condemned Internet cafes as an "opium" for China's youth, even as the crackdown on cyber cafes spread to Shanghai and Tianjin, as well as in two provinces.

In Beijing itself officials cracked down on popular hang-out spots following the weekend fire which killed 24 people.

The vice-mayor, Mr Liu Zhihua, said cyber cafes, which have sprouted all over China in recent years, were a bad influence on children and many parents were backing the city's shutdown of its 2,400 establishments. He added: "We have a strong response from city residents complaining that young people are staying up all night playing computer games. Even parents do not know where they are. They don't listen in class and they can't concentrate in school... Many parents complain about Internet cafes opening next to schools. It's an opium. It's like giving opium to children ... How can this go on?" Mr Liu, however, vehemently denied the crackdown was con-

nected to China's fears about people becoming influenced by the content on the Net.

Politically sensitive sites, such as those offering news by foreign media and overseas dissidents, are routinely barred by the government, although the computer-literate can often circumvent the blocks. The state media also condemned cyber cafes as an unwholesome influence on the nation's youth.

Beijing's mayor Mr Liu Qi has warned that owners of thousands of illicit Net dens would be "severely punished".

In Shanghai, city officials were discussing emergency measures, the *Shanghai Daily* said, adding that about half of the city's 2,000 Internet cafes were believed to be illegal. Tianjin has begun citywide safety checks, said Xinhua, while the province of Guangzhou has stopped approving new cyber cafes while it investigates the industry.

The eastern province of Shandong, which has more than 6,000 Internet cafes, has sent out six teams to make urgent safety checks.

Meanwhile, an AFP report added that officials in Beijing said today that two teenagers had deliberately started the fire at the cyber cafe which killed 24 people, because of a disagreement with the owner. The youths, aged 13 and 14, ignited gasoline sprinkled at the Lanjisu internet cafe in Beijing's university district early on Sunday, a Beijing city official said in a statement.

The dead were trapped inside the cramped second-storey cafe, which had bars across its windows and a single, locked exit.

THE STRAITS TIMES

20 JUN 2002

# China's 'rust belt' sees more unrest

SHANGHAI, MARCH 21. Thousands of shouting protesters gathered on Thursday in front of government offices in north-east China to demand the release of four detained labour leaders, witnesses said.

Witnesses said three of the leaders were detained on Wednesday while trying to negotiate with officials in Liaoyang, an industrial city in Liaoning province. The other was detained on Sunday near his home, a labour rights group said. "How could the Communist Party seize these people?" shouted the protesters, most unemployed workers from State-owned factories. Participants said others carried red banners saying, "Release them!" and "The Government has humiliated the people!"

One participant, a woman reached by cell phone while demonstrating, said the crowd was pushing at a large iron gate in front of Liaoyang city hall. The woman, who asked not to be named, said no uniformed police were visible and the gate appeared unguarded. She and other witnesses said no one has been injured in the increasingly vocal protests, which have grown as large as 10,000 since beginning last week over blocked severance pay and owed wages.

On Wednesday, civilian police formed a cordon in front of the gate while three truckloads of helmeted military police broke up protesters, who had gathered on a street named Democracy Road, witnesses said. The China Labour Bulletin, a Hong Kong-based labour rights group, said about 100 military police pushed their way into the crowd of demonstrators to seize three protest leaders. The leaders had been standing near the city offices' gate calling



Hundreds of people gather in front of the Liaoyang city government office in northeastern China on Thursday following a march along city streets for the fifth straight day. — AFP

for talks with officials, it said. It identified the three as Pang Qingxiang, 58; Xiao Yunliang, 57, and Wang Zhaoming, 39. The woman protester said some demonstrators were so outraged that they fainted as they shouted. She said one fell in front of her as she spoke on the phone. "Everyone is very worked up and excited about this," she said. "You can feel their anger and their misery." The fourth detained labour leader was Yao Fuxin, 54. Yao was picked up on Sunday by plainclothes security agents on a street near his home and hasn't been seen since, the China Labour Bulletin said.

The demonstrations in Liaoyang are one of two large-scale protests that have gone

on for days or weeks in China's "rust belt" north-east, which is plagued by unemployment from ailing State firms. The rising tensions are a warning sign of the problems China faces as it shuts down unprofitable government-owned factories, where employment was once guaranteed for life.

China is trying to cut government obligations and improve its competitiveness as it opens markets with entry into the World Trade Organisation. Despite government bans on unauthorised demonstrations, officials have apparently refrained from an all-out crackdown in Liaoyang and the celebrated oil town of Daqing for fear that protests may spread. — AP

THE HINDU

7 7 2002

# Falun Gong pulls off media coup

BEIJING, MARCH 7. The banned Falun Gong spiritual group has scored a major propaganda coup by illicitly broadcasting two films touting its cause on cable television in northeast China, a TV network and the group said on Thursday.

The films were shown this week on eight of 32 channels broadcast to 300,000 homes in Changchun city, Jilin province, the group's New York-based headquarters said.

One of the films — potentially watched by up to a million people, contradicted the official version of events surrounding the self-immolation of alleged Falun Gong followers on Tiananmen Square in January 2001, a statement by the group said.

The films ran uninterrupted for around 40 to 50 minute on Tuesday, it added, without saying how the broadcast was arranged.

An employee of the cable TV network confirmed that "an inquiry has been opened to find out who was responsible for this business", adding that the films had been seen by a large number of people.

According to a Falun Gong spokesman, the films "Falun Gong spreads through the world" and "Immolation or Deceit" were both produced by the group.

Meanwhile, at least four Western followers of Falun



O Man Tsan and O Ting Ting (7), husband and daughter of the jailed Hong Kong Falun Gong member, Lui Pak Fung, hold pictures of Ms. Lui and urge the Hong Kong government to help them in securing her release in Hong Kong on Thursday. Ms. Lui, a practising Falun Gong member, was arrested on February 7, 2000 while visiting relatives in Guangxi province, Mainland China. — Reuters

Gong were arrested on Thursday after a brief protest on Tiananmen Square timed to coincide with the annual session of China's Parliament— AFP

THE HINDU

6/11/2002

# Falun members hijack TV station to show film

FROM JEREMY PAGE

Beijing, March 7 (Reuters): Defiant members of the banned Falun Gong spiritual group hijacked state television in a north-eastern Chinese city to show a film protesting a government crackdown on their faith, locals said today.

Reports of the television protest, one of Falun Gong's most audacious, emerged as China detained seven foreign adherents on Tiananmen Square for protesting Beijing's campaign against the group it calls an evil cult.

State television broadcasts in Changchun were interrupted on Tuesday evening by footage of Falun Gong's US-based leader Li Hongzhi and a film accusing the government of staging a self-immolation of alleged adherents in Tiananmen Square last year, locals said.

"There was a brief blackout and then there was Li Hongzhi speaking, banners saying 'Falun Dafa is good,' and there was a news analysis about the Tiananmen Square self-immolation incident which indicated that it was planted by the government," a television viewer in Changchun told Reuters.

The footage lasted about 50 minutes before normal state television programming resumed, he said.

It was one of the most daring protests by Falun Gong, whose once regular demonstrations in



Australian Falun Gong members Candice Molnar (left) and her husband Michael Molnar in Melbourne before travelling to Beijing to stage a peaceful protest. (AFP)

Tiananmen Square have petered out in the last year since the government arrested group leaders and sent thousands of followers to "re-education" camps.

However, foreign adherents have kept up their campaign with a string of protests on the square—the latest coming today right in front of the building where the National People's Congress, China's parliament, was holding its annual meeting.

Police whisked away the foreigners, at least three of whom were Australian, after the latest of several protests in recent

months by foreigners who were swiftly expelled from the country.

Police in Changchun had arrested a local man in connection with the television incident, the *Changchun Evening* newspaper said, without offering more details.

Changchun residents said they believed the incident was the work of underground Falun Gong practitioners still active in the city, but it was unclear how they managed to penetrate the local cable TV network.

Changchun, a city of 1.3 million people, is Li Hongzhi's home town and thousands of people there remain faithful to the self-styled spiritual leader, they said.

Officials at the city's police department and state-owned Changchun Cable Television Corporation, the city's biggest cable broadcaster, declined to comment on the incident.

But a city government official told Reuters a police circular sent to city hall said high-ranking officials and investigators from the ministry of public security in Beijing had been sent to Changchun to investigate the incident. The television protest was the group's latest effort to fight back against a fierce state media campaign to discredit the group.

Falun Gong denies they were true adherents and accuses the government of setting up the incident.

## China hikes military budget by 17 p.c.

*China*

**BEIJING, MARCH 6.** In a move that could fuel suspicions about Beijing's military goals, China today announced a whopping 17.6 per cent rise in its defence spending to \$20.07 billion citing changes in the international situation and the need to modernise the 2.5-million-strong People's Liberation Army (PLA).

Expenditures for national defence in the central budget for 2002 will be increased by \$3.05 billion, the Finance Minister, Xiang Huaicheng, told nearly 3,000 deputies to the National People's Congress (NPC), China's Parliament.

"We will appropriately increase expenditures for national defence to utilise modern technology, especially high technology to raise our Army's defence

and combat capabilities, safeguard our national sovereignty and territorial integrity and adapt to changes in the international situation," Mr. Xiang said in his national budget proposal on the second day of the NPC session. Analysts noted that the latest double-digit increase in military spending by China was the 13th straight year of double-digit hikes for the PLA, the world's largest standing army.

However, the increase this year is marginally lower than last year's record 17.7 per cent rise in defence expenditure which totalled 141 billion yuan. Analysts say China's actual defence spending is thought to be up to five times the official budget. — PTI

# Beijing to pursue reforms

China  
112-14  
13

By Amit Baruah

SINGAPORE, MARCH 5. The Chinese Premier, Zhu Rongji, on Tuesday laid out his priorities at the annual session of the National People's Congress (NPC) which began in Beijing earlier in the day, ahead of laying down office as Prime Minister next year.

Using strong words to lambast corruption, Mr. Zhu spoke of the challenges before China after entering the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the need to improve the income of farmers and maintain stability in the country. Mr. Zhu, along with Mr. Jiang Zemin and Mr. Li Peng, are expected to step down from their Communist party posts at the party congress later this year while they are expected to leave their Government posts at the next session of the NPC in March 2003.

"The year 2002 is a very important year in the development of our party and country," Mr. Zhu was quoted as saying today. "China's accession to WTO benefits its reform and opening up and its economic development as a whole, but in the short term, less competitive industries and enterprises face significant challenges," he maintained. As the country maintained a growth of over seven per cent in the face of dropping growth rates worldwide, Mr. Zhu stressed that the key to growth in 2002 was boosting domestic demand by increasing the incomes of both the rural and urban poor. "The



**ALL SET TO WIPE OUT CORRUPTION?: The Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, pats the Premier, Zhu Rongji, who is wiping his face after delivering a speech at the opening of the annual session of Parliament, or National People's Congress, at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on Tuesday. — Reuters**

most pressing task is to ensure that subsistence allowances for laid-off workers from State-

Referring to foreign policy issues, Mr. Zhu said the international situation had changed dramatically in 2001. However, he said peace and development remained the main theme of the times while the trend towards a multi-polar world remained unchanged. Mr. Zhu claimed that China's external environment was still one more of opportunity than challenge. The general international picture would be that of overall peace but local warfare, overall calm but local tension and overall stability but local turbulence.

China's diplomatic work had entered a new stage amid the changes in international relations — the country's international status and influence continued to rise. "China is participating actively and pragmatically in multilateral diplomatic activities in the international political, economic, cultural, social and disarmament areas, firmly safeguarding its sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, national security and national dignity," Mr. Zhu said. "China has joined the international community in condemning and fighting terrorism and is playing a constructive role in the international counter-terrorism struggle," he maintained.

The Premier promised a crackdown on criminal activities generated by terrorism, religious extremism and ethnic separatism. The fight against Falun Gong and other cults would also be continued, he said

THE HINDU

6 MAR 2002



# Beijing build-up for meet

FROM EDWIN CHAN

**Beijing, March 4** (Reuters): Every year an army of thousands labours behind the scenes to ensure China's annual two-week parliamentary session in the capital goes off without a hitch.

And each year, Beijingers heave a collective sigh and grit their teeth in resignation over the inevitable traffic jams, tightened security and stricter policing of streets that follow.

At this year's National People's Congress, which starts tomorrow, 2,987 delegates from across China will debate issues like corruption, reforms after joining the World Trade Organisation and how to alleviate farmers' tax burdens.

Hordes of cleaners, waiters, security guards, drivers, and policemen will make sure such pressing issues are the only things delegates have to worry about. City workers have been working overtime, whether it's in painting several kilometres of railing along Changan Avenue in a brilliant, pristine white, or sprucing up 13 designated hotels in which delegates will be staying.

"Beijing has been improving itself, adding greenery and all that, for a while. It's the city's work, whether it's in preparation for the Olympics or the NPC," said Shen Zhangrong, the

head of the NPC's news department. "Of course Beijing did do a lot for the NPC specifically, improving traffic safety and upgrading hotel facilities."

Capital Automobile Co, the auto services firm given the task of ferrying delegates around the city, spent more than 800,000 yuan (\$96,660) overhauling a fleet of 420 cars comprising Audis and Red Flags — a Chinese-made limousine favoured by officials.

The firm replaced the headlights on all cars, subjected them to rigorous safety inspections and full-body disinfections, and — as a final touch — replaced dull grey floor mats with brand new plush red ones, said spokeswoman Liu Yue. "Our drivers were trained right from the start. We placed a cup of water on their dashboards during tests

and they were not supposed to spill a single drop," Liu told Reuters.

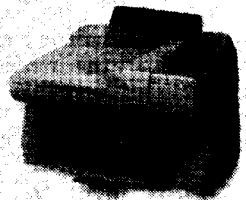
Despite reaching speeds of 160 kmph in motorcades, Liu said there were occasions when passengers had fallen asleep.

Some hotels went out of their way to make guests feel at home. The Friendship Hotel, which will host 500 delegates, put up the Chinese character for "West" on the walls of some rooms to tell Muslim delegates which direction to face during prayers.

But while delegates have their every need looked after, some locals grouse that the two-week meet is affecting business. "Fewer tourists come to browse. They're all gathered on the square waiting to see somebody important," said Zhao Xiang, 21, an out-of-towner selling souvenirs near Tiananmen Square.

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## ADMISSION GUIDANCE 2002-03

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ADMISSION  
GUIDANCE

THE NEWSPAPER  
- 5 MAR 2002

# Chinese business seeks State guarantees

BEIJING, MARCH 2. As China's legislative season begins, an association representing the country's increasingly powerful entrepreneurs wants the Government to strengthen State protection of private property — no small affair in a people's republic founded on a doctrine antithetical to private ownership.

The All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, a trade group, is proposing a Constitutional amendment to enshrine such protections in Chinese law and will introduce it at next week's session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the official *China Daily* newspaper reported on Saturday. The Chinese Constitution stipulates that State-owned property is "divine and imprescriptible." It bans destruction of State-owned properties by any organisations or individuals "by any means." But, according to the entrepreneurs' association, it does not offer the same level of protection to private property. The federation wants to change the Constitution to explicitly protect private property "in language as clear and as strong as that applied to State-owned properties," *China Daily* reported. "Without such a stipulation, the future of some private enterprises remains unknown, and that's a disadvantage for social stability," the proposal states. The federation is one of 34 sectors represented in the consultative conference, an advisory body to the legislative National People's Congress, which also convenes next week. According to official statistics, China now has more than 1.7 million privately run domestic enterprises with an investment of \$132.85 billion and a labour force of 27 million people. In the post Mao Tse-tung era of the past quarter-century, ever since the late leader Deng Xiaoping launched economic reforms that pushed China toward the out-



A Chinese police officer (in black facing away) is roughed up by Chinese protesters for allegedly pushing an elderly man during a protest at a condominium in Beijing on Saturday. The protest by the tenants of the condominium was against the property developer for what they claim the illegal sale of land around it to another developer. The protest turned against the police after one of them confiscated a tape from a journalist covering the event. — AP

side world, foreign investment and ambitious business ventures — international and domestic — have fuelled great growth.

Yet the Government continually walks a tightrope as it attempts to balance economically beneficial activities and privatisation with the mandate of its founding principles — particularly "gongchan zhuyi" the Chinese word for communism, which translates literally as "public property doctrine." China's recent acceptance into the World Trade Organisation only makes this more complicated, even as it opens more eco-

nomie doors. Just as delicate is the balance between private property and public interest in China, where government-backed development often takes precedence over individual property rights. Even McDonald's, a symbol of the growth of foreign interests in China, was forced to close its first restaurant in Beijing in 1996 after the Government evicted it so a Hong Kong tycoon could build a \$1.5 billion shopping and office complex. The Government later agreed to pay McDonald's \$12.3 million. — AP

# China takes lid off

## layoff murders

China  
①  
Beijing, Feb. 24 (AFP): The killing of managers at three state-owned factories highlights the difficult reform process China's state enterprises are undergoing, state media reported today.

The murders, all three of which occurred last year in Hubei province in central China, were reported for the first time today in the national media.

In all three cases, the workers or their families were dissatisfied with the compensation they received for lost jobs, according to the China News Service (CNS).

The earliest case occurred on July 14 at the the Huanggang City Aluminum Group Co.

Manager Qi Song was killed by the son of a worker in the equipment department, CNS said.

In the most recent case, on December 20, a relative of a worker killed the deputy manager of the Xiangfan City Xiangyang Material Company when the manager was trying to divide up the fuel company's as-

sets during bankruptcy proceedings, the report said.

CNS provided little detail about the two cases and the factories could not be reached for comment.

But details available in the third case, on October 31 at the Xianning City Chemical Fibre Factory, reveal the frustrations state workers go through.

The factory — a major employer in Hubei — had been in the red since it was set up in 1993 with money borrowed from banks and other enterprises.

It was losing about 10 million yuan a year, and had debts of 370 million yuan, with assets of only 280 million yuan, CNS quoted the factory's communist party head saying.

Forced to make cuts, the factory put workers on early retirement or temporary work suspensions and made them compete with each other to keep their jobs.

The accused killer, Xu Yudong, 28, in 1998 signed a contract with the factory to stop working for three years in ex-

change for his job back at the end of the term.

### Bush boost to Hu

Though US President George W. Bush failed to achieve a breakthrough with China on contentious issues like non-proliferation, his whirlwind visit has allowed the world to size up Hu Jintao, the likely successor to Chinese President Jiang Zemin, diplomatic sources said here today.

"The announcement that Hu will visit Washington "in the near future" is aimed at boosting his standing at home and abroad as head of the crucial leadership changes in China's Communist Party in October," a diplomat said.

Jiang announced during a joint press conference with Bush on Thursday that he and Hu would travel separately to the US this year at the invitation of Bush and Vice-President Dick Cheney. "The announcement reveals that China's fourth-generation leadership has been decided," the diplomat said.

THE TELEGRAPH

25 11 2002

# China sore over foreign 'hand' in rights

Agence France-Presse

BEIJING, Feb. 11.— China's number two leader Mr Li Peng, has condemned foreign countries "interfering" over human rights, in a sign that the issue could still plague Sino-US ties ahead of President Mr George W. Bush's visit next week.

Beijing was "firmly opposed to interfering in other countries' internal affairs by using the human rights issue," said Mr Li Peng, head of China's parliament, the National People's Congress, in comments reported by the official Xinhua news agency.

The criticism, part of a message of congratulation sent to the China Society for Human Rights Studies on the launch of a magazine, admitted work still needed to be done to safeguard personal freedoms.

However, China was "firmly opposed to the neointer-

ventionist fallacy about 'human rights transcending over sovereignty ... and firmly opposed to pursuing hegemony and power politics under the guise of human rights," Mr Li Peng said, in language smacking of the traditionalist hardline of the party.

There have been signs over previous weeks that China is seeking to prevent human rights issues lurking too high on the agenda during Mr Bush's two-day visit, which begins on 21 February

Over the weekend, Hong Kong businessman Mr Li Guangqiang, jailed for importing Bibles into the mainland in a case condemned as "deplorable" by the USA, was allowed to leave prison and return home.

Last month Tibetan music scholar Ngawang Choephel, whose case had also been championed in the USA, was freed seven years into an 18-year sentence for spying.



A policeman jumps to grab a Canadian Falungong protester in Tiananmen Square on Monday. — AP/PTI

## Crackdown on Falungong

Agence France-Presse

BEIJING, Feb. 11.— Chinese police today detained a US and a Canadian follower of the banned Falungong spiritual movement after they protested in Beijing's Tiananmen Square against China's repression of the group, a Falungong spokesman said.

US citizen Mr Levi Browde (29), and Canadian Mr Jason Loftus (22), were taken away by police around 3:00 pm after Mr Loftus unfurled a yellow banner and shouted slogans, Mr Adam Montanaro from the group's New York headquarters said.

The protest came the day before the Lunar New Year. On last year's Lunar New Year's Eve five people China said were Falungong followers who set themselves on fire on Tiananmen Square, with two dying.

THE STATESMAN

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Falun Gong  
repression  
'unabated'

NEW YORK, FEB. 8. The Chinese Government is using new laws and new interpretations of old laws to crack down on the Falun Gong, Human Rights Watch has said in a new report.

Members of the Falun Gong have been classified with Tibetan and Uighur "splittists" and unauthorised religious groups as a major threat to the Communist Party, Human Rights Watch said. The 117-page report, "Dangerous Meditation: China's Campaign Against Falun Gong", analyses why and how the Chinese Government embarked on a plan to eradicate the group it terms an "evil cult." In recent documents, the Government has suggested that Falun Gong is a terrorist organisation. "China's efforts to equate the Falun Gong with terrorists are ludicrous," said Sidney Jones, executive director of the Asia division of Human Rights Watch. "Most Falun Gong members are peaceful, law-abiding citizens, and there is no excuse for the human rights violations they have endured."

The new report traces the evolution of the Chinese Government's crackdown, starting with the July 1999 ban on the hierarchically-organised meditation group, which now boasts millions of members worldwide. From the initial ban, the Government moved on to prohibit practising the group's exercises in public, and to confiscate and destroy hundreds of thousands of copies of its publications.

SECRET

# Spy devices found in Jiang's jet: report

REUTERS

*China*  
LONDON, Jan. 19. — China has said its Intelligence officers found more than 20 spying devices in a Boeing 767 meant to become President Mr Jiang Zemin's official plane after it was delivered from the USA, the *Financial Times* said today.

Citing Chinese officials, the newspaper said it was unclear when the aircraft was fitted with the bugs, said to be tiny and operated by satellite.

The devices were detected after the plane emitted a strange static whine during test flights in China in September, shortly after it was delivered.

One device was found in a lavatory and another in the headboard of the presidential bed.

The discovery came ahead of a planned summit between US President Mr George W Bush and Mr Zemin in Beijing next month. Mr Zemin was said to be furious about the find, the FT said.

The aircraft was made at the Boeing factory in Seattle and then fitted with VIP equipment and upholstery by another company. The plane was under surveillance by Chinese

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officials throughout, the newspaper said.

An official from the Chinese foreign ministry told Reuters on Saturday he could not confirm if the report was true and no one was available for comment from the civil aviation authority administration.

Spokeswoman Ms Debbie Heathers told Reuters a 767-300ER plane, which was delivered to Delta Air Lines in June 2000, was re-sold to China United Airlines — the airforce-run airline that ordered the aircraft — and customised for executive use by Jiang Zemin by a modification company in Texas.

A Delta spokesman said he had no immediate comment.

A source close to the transaction told Reuters the maintenance on the aircraft between the time it left Delta Air Lines and the time it was sold to China United Airlines was carried out by Dee Howard Aircraft Maintenance in San Antonio, Texas.

The *Financial Times* quoted Chinese officials as saying the security forces had launched an investigation into possible negligence within China United Airlines and state-



**Mr Jiang Zemin: Bugged**

owned China Aviation Supplies Export and Import Corp, which was responsible for importing the plane.

Some 20 air force officers had been held for questioning and two CASC officials had been taken into custody for questioning, the FT said.

The USA and China clashed over espionage issues in April last year when a Chinese fighter jet and US spy plane collided over the South China Sea, resulting in the death of the Chinese pilot and the grounding of the US plane in China.

THE STATESMAN

20 JAN 2002

## Crackdown in Muslim region in China

China 1911  
49-12  
BEIJING, JAN. 18. The top ethnic Uighur communist leader in Xinjiang has ordered an ideological crackdown in the Chinese Muslim-majority region, intensifying a campaign to root out separatists, state press said.

"We must steadfastly inspect, ban and suppress propaganda that incites ethnic separatism," said Abulahat Abdurixit, chairman of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

"Western hostile forces and ethnic splittist forces" must be stopped from using the media to "infiltrate" Xinjiang, he was quoted as saying by a recent edition of the *Xinjiang Daily*, seen in Beijing today.

China has ratcheted up the pressure on ethnic Uighur separatists since the September 11 attacks on the United States, insisting they should be considered terrorists, a point disputed by Washington. Human rights

groups have said Beijing is trying to use the global campaign against terror to brutally crush even peaceful dissent in the region, which borders Afghanistan.

Mr. Abdurixit, speaking at a January 12 meeting on religious affairs in the region, said the clampdown should target materials that "distort Xinjiang history, propagate ideology on ethnic separatism or incite religious fervour".

On Wednesday, Xinjiang's top military policeman, Yang Si, also urged police forces in the region to place the ongoing crackdown on ethnic separatists at the top of their agenda. "Although the Taliban political power has been crushed and the Xinjiang 'East Turkestan' terrorist organisation in Afghanistan lost its support, Xinjiang separatist forces outside China still exist," Mr. Yang was quoted by the China News Service as saying. — AFP

ERINDU

# CHINESE MILITARY-II

## New Strategies For Asymmetrical Warfare To Counter The US

By GURMEET KANWAL

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The Chinese call their pursuit of information warfare and other hi-tech means to counter Washington's overwhelmingly superior conventional military capabilities "acupuncture warfare". Acupuncture warfare is described as "paralysing the enemy by attacking the weak link of his command, control, communications and information as if hitting his acupuncture point in kung fu combat." Acupuncture warfare is another form of asymmetrical warfare dating back to the teachings of Sun Tzu, China's pre-eminent military strategies from the 5th century BC. For quite some time now the PLA has been simulating computer virus attacks in its military exercises.

### Information warfare

The PLA is acquiring the technological capability to employ electronic counter measure techniques and high-powered microwave transmitters to disable the military and communications satellites of its adversaries. It is possible that in the future, the PLA may deploy a ground-based laser to disable satellites. The Communications Command Academy in Wuhan has emerged as a primary information warfare centre. Under Project-95, an information warfare simulation experiment centre has been set up at the Academy. A task force of 20 theorists and instructors from the Academy is working on PLA publications on information warfare. The Academy conducts 31 command and control courses with emphasis on information warfare. A fair amount of effort and time is being invested in researching method to insert computer viruses into the computer and communications networks of China's adversaries.

Attention is also being paid to developing defensive measures to counter attacks against the PLA's networks. According to a US Congressional Research Service report entitled "Cyberwarfare", authored by Steve Hildreth, China is developing a strategic information warfare unit called "Net Force" to neutralise the military capabilities of technologically superior adversaries. This new information warfare unit will "wage combat through computer networks to manipulate enemy information systems spanning spare parts deliveries to fire control and guidance systems." Though the PLA's research into the theoretical aspects of information warfare is fairly advanced, it does not appear to have developed a coordinated and integrated information warfare doctrine as yet.

According to Chong-Pin Lee, vice chairman of Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council, Beijing is re-directing its emphasis away from nuclear deterrence to this new asymmetrical strategy and its "overarching purpose is to deter the United States from intervening around China's peripheries and to seize Taiwan with minimum bloodshed and destruction." In another five to 10 years China will develop depth and sophistication in its understanding and handling of information warfare techniques and information operations. With Indian society becoming increasingly dependent on automated data processing and vast computer networks, India is already extreme-

ly vulnerable to such information warfare techniques. The fact that it can be practiced from virtually any place on the earth even during peacetime makes acupuncture warfare even more diabolical. India can ill-afford to ignore this new challenge to its security.

A US government publication entitled "Chinese Views of Future Warfare", sponsored by Andy Marshall, Pentagon's Director of Net Assessment, reported that China is preparing its future military to wage "high-technology, five-dimensional warfare using long-range stealth, robotic infantry, radiation, cyber attacks, satellite weapons and other means of controlling not the air, land and sea, but outer space and the

and implement new tactics, techniques and procedures for the optimum employment of technological advances in hardware.

At the same time, fields such as information warfare and command and control warfare are new and though the West has a head start, it is certainly not light years ahead. Also, these fields are dominated by software superiority rather than a hardware edge and software excellence is something that countries like China can hope to attain fairly quickly since it is not dependent so much on imports. Hence, it can be stated with a reasonable degree of assurance that China will soon begin to catch up with the West in these new military technologies



electromagnetic realm that connects them all". The work is based on extensive quotes from many of China's most respected military thinkers and deserves to be viewed with seriousness. The Chinese scholars have recommended that China must acquire high-performance microwave weapons to destroy the opponent's electronic equipment; robot sentries, engineers and infantrymen and unmanned smart tanks; arsenal ships and undersea mine laying robots; tactical laser weapons for anti-ship defence; submarine-launched air defence weapons; lasers, particle beams and microwave beams for precision strikes; and, plasma weaponry and electromagnetic pulse systems.

### Catching up

The PLA Army is still very largely a force that is rooted firmly in the "people's war" mindset of the past. Its weapons and equipment are still primitive by modern standards and it is decades away from becoming a truly capable force that can stand its ground against a modern military machine organised and equipped with genuine state-of-the-art RMA capabilities like the US army. Integrated joint operations and amphibious warfare are still alien concepts that will take years of painstaking effort to successfully absorb and implement. The mere acquisition of modern technology is never enough. It is much harder to develop and adapt the necessary doctrinal changes

and will close the overall gap. By about 2015-20, China may be expected to gain a formidable conventional military capability. This will assume even greater significance when the nuclear warheads of the US and Russia are reduced under START III and future disarmament treaties to levels close to the Chinese warheads.

The PLA Army has been actively engaged in downsizing, increasing the number of rapid deployment units and in improving mobility and logistics support capability, while simultaneously upgrading its ability to undertake all-weather operations, improve air defence capability and institute modern command and control systems. China's simultaneous efforts to gradually upgrade the PLA Navy to a "Blue Water" status and to acquire mid-air refuelling capability, deep penetration strike and strategic lift transport aircraft for the PLA Air Force are also significant. All these endeavours aim to create a modern fighting force capable of undertaking swift offensive operations in areas away from China's borders. China's ultimate goal is clearly to gain "parity in economic, political and military strength with the world's leading powers by the middle of the next (21st) century."

Beijing has often used force in the past, although primarily to counter perceived threats to territorial borders. China's Communist rulers are well versed in the art of realpolitik and

understand quite well that the use of force to achieve political objectives is always a conceivable option. This vital aspect cannot be ignored while carrying out a threat assessment for the first few decades of the 21st century. China's new strategy focuses on handling limited, short duration conflicts along China's periphery and in economically important maritime areas. Such concerns call for a smaller, more versatile and mobile military, with a markedly improved yet limited capability to operate beyond China's territorial boundaries.

### India and China

A pragmatic threat assessment must take note of "capabilities" and not of "intentions" as the latter are subject to change. China has embarked upon the consolidation and development of her military capabilities and this fact needs to be vectored into India's national security calculations. As against an inflation and Rupee-Dollar parity adjusted average annual decline of more than 10 per cent in the Indian defence budget over the last 10 years of the 20th century, the Chinese defence expenditure showed a net increase of 12 to 20 per cent per year over the same period. It is also significant that unlike India's defence budget, which is maintenance intensive, the sub-allotment in China's defence budget is fairly balanced between modernisation and maintenance. This is indicative of the growing military gap between India and China. While at present the gap is more quantitative rather than qualitative, unless immediate steps are taken to enhance the Indian armed forces' technology base significantly, the present gap will soon spread to the qualitative field as well and will become unbridgeable.

Though mountain warfare is generally perceived to be less technology-dependent than war in the plains, India's recent experience during the Kargil conflict bears witness to the force multiplier impact of hi-tech weapons and equipment even in the mountains. Though China's military modernisation is mainly for a hi-tech limited war against a perceived threat from the west, it will have a trickle down effect on its forces deployed in Tibet. As long as the territorial and boundary dispute between India and China is not resolved amicably, a border war, though improbable, cannot be ruled out.

Henry Kissinger has written: "China has always dealt with foreign dangers with extraordinary tenacity. It has survived 5,000 years of turbulent history by making patience its weapon and time its ally." There is no reason to believe that China's behaviour in the 21st century will be any different. China is well aware that to achieve its grand strategy it must avoid conflict — particularly with the US — while it is still engaged in its military modernisation. China knows that the abiding lesson of history is that those who have challenged the current hegemon have always failed; those who have cooperated have succeeded. There is an old Chinese saying that a single mountain cannot accommodate two tigers. China will tread a cautious path in trying to dominate the Asian mountain.

(Concluded)



# CHINESE MILITARY-I

## The People's Liberation Army Is Preparing For A High-Tech War

By GURMEET KANWAL

The People's Liberation Army is gradually becoming a more modern and professional force that is capable of dealing with diverse threats. This transformation is being fuelled by significant changes: in doctrine and tactics, the introduction of sophisticated command and control systems, the gradual acquisition of state-of-the-art hardware, an enhanced training regime and steady downsizing to improve the teeth-to-tail ratio. Underpinning the new professionalism of the PLA is the doctrine of "active defence" (jiji fangyu) and "limited war under hi-tech conditions" (jubu zhanzheng zai gaoji jishu tiaojian xia). As the territorial and boundary dispute between India and China remains unresolved China's military modernisation is of more than passing interest to India.

### Active defence

Since China's ignominious incursion into Vietnam in 1979, PLA doctrine has evolved from Mao's "people's war" to "people's war under modern conditions", through a "limited/ local war" phase to the current doctrine introduced in 1993. The new doctrine is more assertive than previously and is not bound by any restrictions that confine and limit planning for future conflict to within China's national boundaries. Compared with China's historically reactive stance of luring the enemy in deep and destroying him through strategic defence, the present doctrine is essentially pro-active and seeks to take the battle into enemy territory. David Shambaugh, a US security analyst, has written: "Rather than conducting a 'people's war' (a strategy to 'lure the enemy in deep' into one's own territory), the modern PLA doctrine of 'active defence' calls for forward positioning, frontier defence, engagement of the enemy at or over the border and potential engagement in conflict beyond China's immediate periphery. Consequently, China has had to redefine its 'strategic frontiers', a commonplace term in the West, but one that has been adopted in China only over the last seven or eight years and that for the first time encompasses defence of China's air, space and sea frontiers". China defines "strategic frontier" as the living space of a state and a nation that contracts with the ebb and flow of comprehensive national strength.

China's "active defence" doctrine also calls for integrated, in-depth strikes — a concentration of superior firepower that is to be utilised to destroy the opponent's retaliatory capabilities by employing long-range artillery, short-range ballistic missiles and precision guided munitions. The doctrine emphasises the effective use of advanced equipment wielded by elite units, with a focus on joint services operations. The overall aim in this "limited war under hi-tech conditions" doctrine is to disrupt the enemy's combat forces and logistics but not annihilate him, so as to bring about a negotiated end to the conflict or dictate terms if possible. Beijing's limited war doctrine encompasses five key scenarios: military conflict with neighbouring countries in a limited

region, military conflict on territorial waters, undeclared air attack by enemy countries, territorial defence in a limited military operation, and, punitive offensive with a minor incursion into a neighbouring country. The new doctrine and the strategy and tactics associated with it have been influenced by the lessons of the 1991 Gulf War that has been extensively studied by Chinese military scholars. The doctrine demands the creation of a capability to project force across China's borders through rapid deployment,

technological capabilities and those of the West. In August 1991, President Jiang Zemin said, "The Gulf War let us further realise the importance of technology in a modern war. Although we believe that the decisive factor in winning a war is human power not firepower, advanced weaponry is very important and we cannot neglect (the impact of) science and technology". Despite the rhetoric about "human power", the Chinese military planners were forced to accept that the PLA was still in the so-called "people's



conventional SRBMs and cruise missiles, information warfare, electronic warfare, precision-guided munitions, night fighting capabilities and other advanced military technologies. The building of these capabilities, in turn, drives procurement and defence production policies, command and control structures and training.

The present doctrine represents a Chinese adaptation of the US revolution in military affairs concepts to achieve victory by reorganising the military to exploit rapid advances in technology. The PLA has accepted that modern hi-tech wars, whether defensive or offensive, generally have limited political goals and it is necessary to achieve political objectives as quickly as possible and with the minimum possible casualties.

### New technologies

As per a White Paper on China's National Defence in 2000, issued by the State Council in Beijing, China is engaged in developing a "revolutionised, modernised and regularised people's army with Chinese characteristics. It is endeavouring to transform its armed forces from numerically superior to a qualitatively superior type and from a manpower-intensive to a technology-intensive type, as well as to train high-quality personnel and improve the modernisation of weaponry in order to comprehensively enhance the armed forces combat effectiveness."

The Gulf War of 1991 had brought about a rude awakening as China realised that there was a wide gap between its

war" groove and that it would be quickly out-gunned, out-maneuvred and hopelessly upstaged electronically if it were to face a modern army — or air force and navy, for that matter. Since then, the Chinese defence budget has witnessed a double-digit rate of growth. After an extensive review of regional wars since the 1980s, the PLA leadership concluded that new means of firepower are important factors in determining the outcome of modern military operations, the degree of jointmanship and overall coordination between the different branches of the armed forces has to be substantially increased, hence, highly advanced all-round skills need to be developed in military units, and, hi-tech wars generally tend to have specific political goals, hence, there is a need for high quality military commanders and subordinate personnel.

The PLA leadership also concluded that a hi-tech war requires a more coordinated effort by way of reconnaissance, intelligence, command and control, communications, weapon systems and logistics. Though the basic principles of war do not change in a hi-tech war, its effective execution requires speed and mobility, the ability to carry out a decisive first strike and a highly efficient command system. To make up its perceived deficiencies, the PLA decided to focus on developing new technologies in micro-electronics, computers, explosives, nuclear weapons and space technologies. Other defence expenditure priorities include organisational restructuring; command,

control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (C4ISR) system; training and readiness; logistics infrastructure; doctrine and tactics and weapon systems upgrades. At least since 1979, when China launched its four modernisations, C4I modernisation and automation have been top priorities. The present command and control infrastructure is capable of supporting only static command posts within China's borders and that too only for peacetime operations. It lacks the resilience that is necessary for active military operations against a modern military machine. A capability to handle complex joint operations is still beyond China's means as it lacks the infrastructure necessary to do so as well as the organisational and joint staffing structure and high standards of training.

### Communications

In October 1998, the Beijing Military Region reportedly used a "military information superhighway" for the first time during a joint training exercise. It was described as an information network subsystem of the "campaign training (command) automation system". The PLA's Liberation Army daily reported that the Lanzhou MR military leaders made use of video tele-conferencing during a command post exercise in 1997. In the same year, China conducted its first ever logistics support exercise using a computer network. The exercise involved 150 computers and linked 22 separate divisions thousands of kilometres apart. The Second Artillery, China's elite nuclear force, has recently acquired a digital microwave communications system that provides all-weather encrypted communications capability up to the missile launchers.

Though a cellular telephone facility has not yet become common in the PLA Army, a project to establish dedicated military cellular systems for the PLA is underway and this mode of communications could soon become a significant element in the PLA's command and control structure. Most of China's military communications networks are in the process of being upgraded using off-the-shelf, commercially available technologies. Countries of the European Union, Japan and Israel compete to sell telecommunications technology, hardware and related software to China.

The Gulf War and the air campaign in Kosovo brought home to the Chinese the immense importance of ground-based air defence capabilities. China has recently acquired several regiments of long-range air defence missiles from Russia to fill existing operational gaps. Another area being earnestly addressed is the lack of any real capability for defence against cruise missiles and theatre ballistic missiles. The newly developed CSA-5 and the Hong Qi-7 (HQ-7) air defence systems have a limited capability against cruise missiles. Follow-on systems with an improved capability to counter cruise missiles are under development. One of these is the HQ-9 SAM that is modelled on the US Patriot. The HQ-16 is a Sino-Russian joint project that possibly involves SA-11 technology.

(To be concluded)

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