



China's Political Transition in 2012: Three Possible Scenarios

Dr. Bo Zhiyue

Senior Research Fellow

East Asian Institute, National University of
Singapore



Content

- Institutionalization
- Democratization
- Factionalization



Institutionalization

- The “Hu Jintao Model”
 - Deng Xiaoping’s criteria
 - Hu Jintao’s succession
- Xi Jinping’s Succession
 - Grooming Period
 - Succession



Democratization

- Intra-Party democracy
 - Direct election of General Secretary by all Party members
 - Direct election of General Secretary by all Party deputies
 - Direct election of General Secretary by all Central Committee members



Factionalization

- Princelings
 - Xi Jinping
 - Princelings in the Politburo
 - Princeling Generals
- CCYL Group
 - Li Keqiang
 - Group cohesion
 - Large numbers

Table 1 Members of the Shanghai Gang in the Seventeenth Central Committee (October 2007)

Name	Birth	Home	CC Membership	Rank	Work Place	Index
Cao Jianming	1955	Jiangsu	Full	n/a	Supreme Court	2
Chen Zhili (f.)	1942	Fujian	Full	n/a	State Council	2
Han Zheng	1954	Zhejiang	Full	n/a	Shanghai	2
Hua Jianmin	1940	Jiangsu	Full	n/a	State Council	2
Meng Jianzhu	1947	Jiangsu	Full	n/a	Jiangxi	2
Wang Huning	1955	Shandong	Full	n/a	Policy	3
Wu Bangguo	1941	Anhui	Full	n/a	Politburo	5
Xu Guangchun	1944	Zhejiang	Full	n/a	Henan	2
Yin Yicui (f.)	1955	Zhejiang	Alternate	164	Shanghai	1
Total						21

Table 3 Princelings in the Seventeenth Central Committee (October 2007)

Name	Birth	Home	CC Membership	Rank	Relative	Index
Politburo Members						
Xi Jinping	Shaanxi	1953	Full	n/a	Xi Zhongxun	6
Li Yuanchao	Jiangsu	1950	Full	n/a	Li Gancheng	5
Wang Qishan	Shanxi	1948	Full	n/a	Yao Yilin	4
Bo Xilai	Shanxi	1949	Full	n/a	Bo Yibo	4
Liu Yandong (f.)	Jiangsu	1945	Full	n/a	Liu Ruilong	4
Yu Zhengsheng	Zhejiang	1945	Full	n/a	Huang Jing	4
Zhang Dejiang	Liaoning	1946	Full	n/a	Zhang Zhiyi	4
Central and Provincial Leaders						
Deng Nan (f.)	Sichuan	1945	Full	n/a	Deng Xiaoping	2
Li Jianguo	Shandong	1946	Full	n/a	Li Yunchuan	2
Liao Hui	Guangdong	1942	Full	n/a	Liao Chengzhi	2
Liu Jing	Shanxi	1944	Full	n/a	Han Jun	2
Zhou Xiaochuan	Jiangsu	1948	Full	n/a	Zhou Jiannan	2
Chen Yuan	Shanghai	1945	Alternate	141	Chen Yun	1
Diplomats						
Dai Bingguo (Tujia)	Guizhou	1941	Full	n/a	Huang Zhen	2
Wang Yi	Beijing	1953	Full	n/a	Qian Jiadong	2
Wang Guangya	Jiangsu	1950	Alternate	9	Chen Yi	1
Military Leaders						
Wu Shengli	Hebei	1945	Full	n/a	Wu Xian	3
Peng Xiaofeng	Henan	1945	Full	n/a	Peng Xuefeng	2
Ma Xiaotian	Henan	1949	Full	n/a	Ma Zaiyao	2
Liu Xiaojiang	Jiangxi	1949	Full	n/a	Hu Yaobang	2
Liu Yuan	Hunan	1951	Full	n/a	Liu Shaoqi	2
Zhang Haiyang	Hunan	1949	Full	n/a	Zhang Zhen	2
Zhang Youxia	Shaanxi	1950	Full	n/a	Zhang Zongxun	2
Ding Yiping	Hunan	1951	Alternate	137	Ding Qiusheng	1
Ai Husheng	Henan	1951	Alternate	45	Ai Fulin	1
Total						64

Table 4 CCYL Cadres in the 17th Central Committee (October 2007)

Name	Home	Birth	CC Membership	Work Unit	Title	Index
Politburo						
Hu Jintao	Anhui	1942	Full	Politburo	General Secretary	9
Li Keqiang	Anhui	1955	Full	State Council	Vice Premier	5
Liu Yunshan	Inner Mongolia	1947	Full	Propaganda	Director	5
Li Yuanchao	Jiangsu	1950	Full	Central Organization	Director	5
Wang Zhaoguo	Hebei	1941	Full	National People's Congress	Vice Chair	4
Wang Lequan	Shandong	1944	Full	Xinjiang	Party Secretary	4
Liu Yandong (f.)	Jiangsu	1945	Full	State Council	State Councilor	4
Wang Yang	Anhui	1955	Full	Guangdong	Party Secretary	4
Central Party Institutions						
Du Qinglin	Jilin	1946	Full	United Front	Director	2
Ling Jihua	Shanxi	1957	Full	General Office	Director	3
Shen Yueyue (f.)	Zhejiang	1957	Full	Central Organization	Deputy Director	2
Central Government Institutions						
Cai Wu	Gansu	1949	Full	Ministry of Culture	Minister	2
Liu Peng	Chongqing	1951	Full	Sports	Director	2
Wu Aiyong (f.)	Shandong	1951	Full	Justice	Minister	2
Yang Chuantang	Shandong	1954	Full	Ethnic Affairs	Party Secretary	2
Li Haifeng (f.)	Hebei	1949	Full	Overseas Office	Director	2
Li Xueju	Beijing	1945	Full	Civil Affairs	Minister	2
Liu Binjie	Shaanxi	1948	Full	Media	Director	2
Li Changjiang	Heilongjiang	1944	Full	Quality	Director	2
Quan Zhezhu (Korean)	Jilin	1952	Alternate	Industry and Commerce	Party Secretary	1
Ye Xiaowen	Guizhou	1950	Alternate	Religious Affairs	Director	1
Qian Yunlu	Hubei	1944	Full	CPPCC	Vice Chairman	2
Bai Chunli (Manchu)	Liaoning	1953	Alternate	CAS	Vice President	1
Yang Chonghui	Sichuan	1945	Full	CPPCC	Dep. Sec. General	2
Yang Jing (Mongolian)	Inner Mongolia	1953	Full	Ethnic Affairs	Minister	2

Military

Li Jinai
Liu Zhenlai (Hui)

Shandong
Beijing

1942
1949

Full
Alternate

General Political Department
Beijing Military Region

Director
Air Pol Com.

3
1

Provincial Units

Ji Bingxuan
Liu Qibao
Qiang Wei

Henan
Anhui
Jiangsu

1952
1953
1953

Full
Full
Full

Heilongjiang
Sichuan
Qinghai

Party Secretary
Party Secretary
Party Secretary

2
2
2

Zhang Baoshun
Zhang Qingli
Zhou Qiang

Hebei
Shandong
Hubei

1950
1951
1960

Full
Full
Full

Shanxi
Tibet
Hunan

Party Secretary
Party Secretary
Governor

2
2
2

Hu Chunhua
Han Zheng

Hubei
Zhejiang

1963
1954

Full
Full

Hebei
Shanghai

Governor
Mayor

2
2

Meng Xuenong
Huang Huahua

Shandong
Guangdong

1949
1946

Full
Full

Shanxi
Guangdong

Governor
Governor

2
2

Li Chengyu (Hui)
Jiang Daming

Shaanxi
Shandong

1946
1953

Full
Full

Henan
Shandong

Governor
Governor

2
2

Luo Baoming
Song Xiuyan (f.)

Tianjin
Tianjin

1952
1955

Full
Full

Hainan
Qinghai

Governor
Governor

2
2

Huang Xiaojing
Yuan Chunqing

Fujian
Hunan

1946
1952

Full
Full

Fujian
Shaanxi

Governor
Governor

2
2

Qin Guangrong
Han Changfu

Hunan

1950
1954

Full
Full

Yunnan
Jilin

Governor
Governor

2
2

Li Zhanshu
Nur Bekri (Uyгур)

Hebei
Xinjiang

1950
1961

Alternate
Alternate

Heilongjiang
Xinjiang

Governor
Chairman

1
1

Chen Zhenggao
Wang Sanyun

Liaoning
Shandong

1952
1952

Alternate
Alternate

Liaoning
Fujian

Governor
Deputy Secretary

1
1

Xia Baolong
Liu Yupu

Tianjin
Shandong

1952
1949

Alternate
Alternate

Zhejiang
Guangdong

Deputy Secretary
Deputy Secretary

1
1

Zhang Xuan (f.)
Wang Rulin

Hebei
Henan

1958
1953

Alternate
Alternate

Chongqing
Jilin

Deputy Secretary
Deputy Secretary

1
1

Xing Yuanmin
Yang Gang

Shandong
Hebei

1949
1953

Alternate
Alternate

Tianjin
Xinjiang

Deputy Secretary
Deputy Secretary

1
1

Zhang Yijiong
Liu Wei

Shanghai
Shandong

1955
1958

Alternate
Alternate

Tibet
Shandong

Deputy Secretary
Deputy Secretary

1
1

Luo Lin
Mei Kebao

Liaoning
Hunan

1955
1957

Alternate
Alternate

Liaoning
Hunan

Deputy Secretary
Deputy Secretary

1
1

Bayanqolu (Mongolian)	Inner Mongolia	1955	Alternate	Zhejiang	Standing Member	1
Shi Lianxi (f.)	Hebei	1952	Alternate	Tianjin	Standing Member	1
Li Yumei (f.)	Shandong	1956	Alternate	Shandong	Standing Member	1
Shen Weichen	Shanxi	1956	Alternate	Shanxi	Standing Member	1
Sun Jinlong	Hubei	1962	Alternate	Anhui	Standing Member	1
Tang Tao	Hubei	1963	Alternate	Hubei	Standing Member	1
Ulagan (f. Mongolian)	Inner Mongolia	1962	Alternate	Inner Mongolia	Standing Member	1
Wu Xianguo	Hebei	1956	Alternate	Hebei	Standing Member	1
Zhao Yong	Hunan	1963	Alternate	Hebei	Standing Member	1
Luo Zhijun	Liaoning	1951	Alternate	Jiangsu	Standing Member	1
Ma Biao (Zhuang)	Guangxi	1954	Alternate	Guangxi	Standing Member	1
Zhu Xiaodan	Zhejiang	1953	Alternate	Guangdong	Standing Member	1
Song Airong (f.)	Henan	1959	Alternate	Xinjiang	Standing Member	1
Li Ke (Zhuang)	Guangxi	1956	Alternate	Henan	Vice Governor	1
Fu Zhifang	Henan	1956	Alternate	Hebei	Vice Governor	1
Ji Lin	Shanghai	1962	Alternate	Beijing	Vice Governor	1
Liu Hui (f. Hui)	Tianjin	1959	Alternate	Ningxia	Vice Governor	1
Ren Yaping	Inner Mongolia	1952	Alternate	Inner Mongolia	Vice Governor	1
Jin Zhenji (Korean)	Jilin	1959	Alternate	Jilin	Vice Governor	1
Shen Suli (f.)	Jiangsu	1958	Alternate	Anhui	City Secretary	1
Yu Yuanhui (Yao)	Guangxi	1964	Alternate	Guangxi	City Secretary	1
Wu Jihai (Miao)	Hunan	1953	Alternate	Hunan	City Secretary	1
Lei Chunmei (f.She)	Fujian	1959	Alternate	Fujian	City Mayor	1
Total						149

Figure 2 Factional Balance of the CCP Central Committee (2002, 2007)

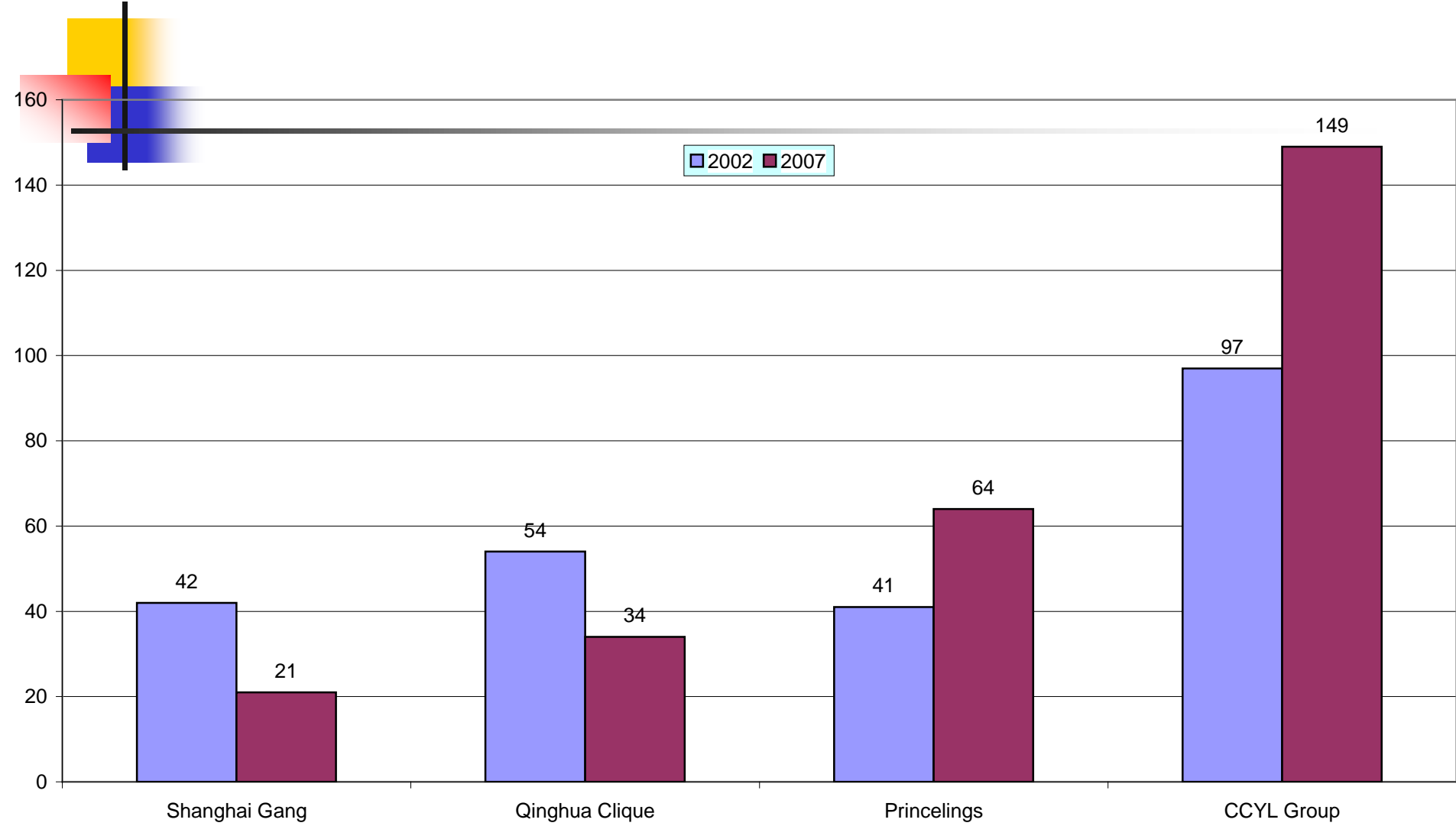
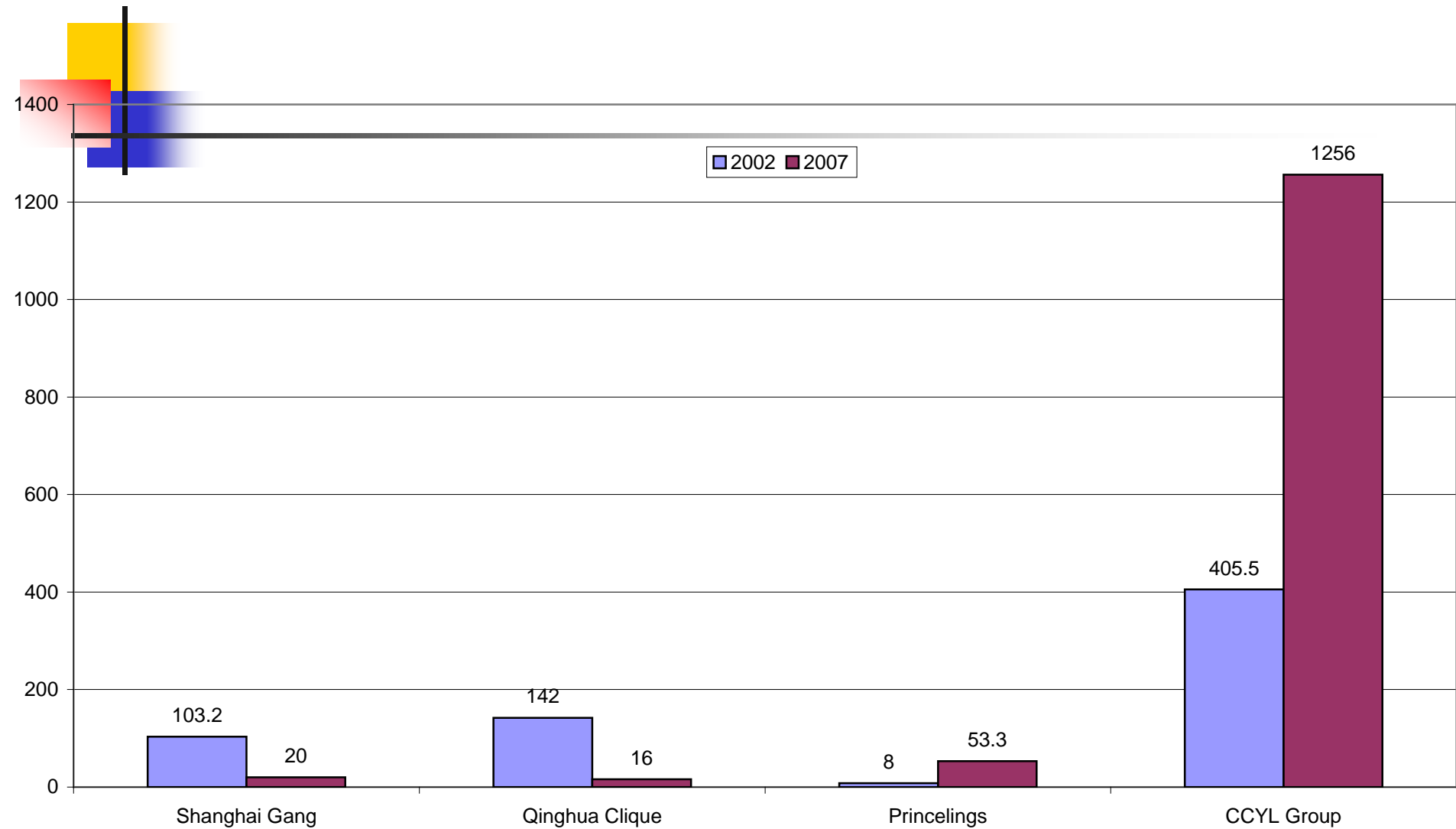


Figure 3 Group Cohesion Index of Factional Groups in China (2002, 2007)





Conclusion

- There are three possible scenarios at the 18th Party Congress in 2012
- Chinese politics has become more institutionalized
- It is also possible that China would introduce some measure of intra-Party democracy
- Factional groups may coalesce into political factions, if intra-Party democracy is adopted for selecting the top party leader