

The Seventeenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Institutional Representation

Bo ZHIYUE

The Seventeenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), held on October 15-21, 2007, produced a new Central Committee. Interestingly, the institutional balance of the new Committee is remarkably similar to that of the Sixteenth Central Committee elected in November 2002. The provincial units remain the most powerful institution with the largest total representation index (42 percent). The central institutions are in second place with the same index (34 percent) as the previous committee. The military institutions are third with 19 percent, also the same as previously. And the corporations have a higher representation with 5 percent, compared to 4 percent in 2002.

KEYWORDS: CCP's Seventeenth Central Committee; institutional representation; representation index; provinces; the military.

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The National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), which is held once every five years, is an occasion upon which power is distributed (or redistributed) among different political

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Table 1
The Seventeenth Central Committee by Institutions

	Alternate		Full		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Provincial leaders	88	52.69	67	32.84	155	41.78
Central leaders	30	17.96	95	46.57	125	33.69
Military leaders	23	13.77	41	20.10	64	17.25
Corporate leaders	26	15.57	1	0.49	27	7.23
Total	167	100.00	204	100.00	371	100.00

institutions. Institutional representation refers to the extent to which each institution is represented in the Central Committee of the CCP,¹ and institutional balance refers to the proportions of the Central Committee membership allocated to major political institutions in China.² Four major institutions—provincial units, central institutions, military institutions, and corporations—are represented on the Seventeenth Central Committee. In common with its predecessor elected in 2002, the Seventeenth Central Committee gives prominence to provincial units. Central institutions and the military have the same degree of representation as before, while corporations have been given a bigger presence.

At the time of the Congress, provincial leaders constituted the largest group with 155 members, 41.78 percent of the total (see table 1). Central leaders were the second largest group with 125 members (33.69 percent). Military leaders came a distant third with 64 members (17.25 percent), and corporate leaders constituted the smallest group with 27 members (7.23

¹In Chinese politics, election to the Central Committee depends more on the post that a person holds in an institution than on personal characteristics. Chen Deming (陳德銘), currently minister of commerce, for instance, entered the Seventeenth Central Committee only as an alternate member because he was a low-profile vice minister of the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC, 國家發展和改革委員會). Had he been minister of commerce at the time of the election, he would have become a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee.

²It is important to identify Central Committee members with their posts at the time of the Seventeenth Party Congress in October 2007. Once an initial distribution of institutional representation is depicted, it is then feasible to track changes that have taken place since.

percent). Where full membership was concerned, central leaders ranked first with 95 members, followed by provincial leaders with 67. While there were 41 full members from the military, there was only one corporate full member. There were 88 provincial leaders with alternate membership, 52.69 percent of the total number of alternate members. The remaining 79 alternate members were evenly distributed among central (30), military (23), and corporate (26) institutions.

Provincial Representation

As well as featuring prominently in the Seventeenth Central Committee as a whole, provincial leaders were the major source for new recruits to the Politburo and its Standing Committee. Of the nine new members of the Seventeenth Politburo, six came from the provinces, and two of the four new members of the Politburo Standing Committee were provincial leaders. Altogether, ten of the twenty-five Politburo members were provincial leaders.

Elite Provincial Units

The number of provincial units that enjoy the status of elite provinces³ remains the same as on the Sixteenth Central Committee (see table 2). All four centrally administered municipalities (Beijing 北京市, Tianjin 天津市, Shanghai 上海市, and Chongqing 重慶市) are represented on the Seventeenth Politburo. For the first time in ten years, Chongqing's Party secretary (Wang Yang 汪洋) was given a seat on the Politburo alongside his colleagues from Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai. In Beijing, both the Party boss (Liu Qi 劉淇) and the mayor (Wang Qishan 王岐山) entered the Seventeenth Politburo. Guangdong (廣東省), Hubei (湖北省), and Xinjiang (新疆維吾爾自治區) retained their presence in the Politburo, and Jiangsu

³For a definition and detailed discussion of elite provinces, see Zhiyue Bo, *Chinese Provincial Leaders: Economic Performance and Political Mobility since 1949* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 19-35.

Table 2
Elite Provincial Units in China, 1969-2007

	1969			1973			1977			1987			1992			1997			2002			2007			Total
	ccpa	ccpf	ccpa	ccpa	ccpf	ccvc	ccpa	ccpf	ccpf	ccpf	ccpf	ccpf	ccpf	ccps	ccps	ccpf	ccps	ccps	ccpf	ccps	ccpf	ccps	ccps	ccps	
Beijing	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	12
Tianjin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	4
Hebei	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Shanxi	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Liaoning	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3
Shanghai	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	12
Jiangsu	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	3
Zhejiang	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Anhui	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Shandong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Henan	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Hubei	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Hunan	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Guangdong	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	6
Guangxi	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sichuan	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Tibet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Shaanxi	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Xinjiang	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	4
Chongqing	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	3	8	3	7	1	2	6	4	5	1	5	8	2	8	2	8	2	8	2	8	2	8	2	65	

Key: **ccpf:** full members of the Politburo; **ccpa:** alternate members of the Politburo; **ccps:** Politburo Standing Committee members; **ccvc:** vice chairmen of the Central Committee.

Source: Updated from Bo Zhiyue, *China's Elite Politics: Political Transition and Power Balancing* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007), 113 (table 3.2).

(江蘇省) and Liaoning (遼寧省) joined the ranks of elite provinces.

Geographically, elite provincial units represented on the Seventeenth Central Committee were more evenly distributed than they were in the Sixteenth Central Committee. The elite provincial units included two in the North (Beijing and Tianjin), two in the East (Shanghai and Jiangsu), two in the Central-South (Guangdong and Hubei), one in the Southwest (Chongqing), one in the Northwest (Xinjiang), and one in the Northeast (Liaoning). Of the three major economic areas, the Eastern Region was overrepresented by a large margin. Six of the twelve provincial units⁴ in that region were given Politburo seats. In addition to the three centrally administered municipalities, three provinces were represented in the Politburo and two of them (Shanghai and Liaoning) were represented on the Standing Committee of the Politburo. The Central Region⁵ was least represented, with only one elite province (Hubei), the same as in 2002. The Western Region⁶ was better represented in the Politburo than the Central Region, with two elite provincial units (Chongqing and Xinjiang).

However, many of these provincial leaders were destined for rapid promotion. Li Yuanchao (李源潮) was transferred to Beijing as director of the Central Organization Department on October 26, 2007,⁷ and on the following day, Xi Jinping (習近平) of Shanghai was transferred to Beijing and Yu Zhengsheng (俞正聲) of Hubei was transferred to Shanghai.⁸ Li Keqiang (李克強) of Liaoning was also transferred to Beijing two days later.⁹

⁴These were Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Hebei (河北省), Shandong (山東省), Jiangsu, Zhejiang (浙江省), Fujian (福建省), Guangdong, Guangxi (廣西壯族自治區), Hainan (海南省), and Liaoning.

⁵It includes nine provincial units: Heilongjiang (黑龍江省), Jilin (吉林省), Inner Mongolia (內蒙古自治區), Shanxi (山西省), Henan (河南省), Hubei, Hunan (湖南省), Jiangxi (江西省), and Anhui (安徽省).

⁶It includes ten provincial units: Chongqing, Gansu (甘肅省), Ningxia (寧夏回族自治區), Qinghai (青海省), Xinjiang, Tibet (西藏自治區), Shaanxi (陝西省), Yunnan (雲南省), Guizhou (貴州省), and Sichuan (四川省). For the division of the three regions, see <http://www.anderson.ucla.edu:7777/research/globalwindow/china/t8/sup1art.htm>.

⁷http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2007-10/26/content_6949147.htm.

⁸http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2007-10/28/content_6957756.htm.

⁹http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2007-10/29/content_6971127.htm.

Provincial Central Committee Representation

The thirty-three provincial units that had representation on the Sixteenth Central Committee were all initially represented on the Seventeenth Central Committee (see table 3). Tibet had three full members, Xinjiang had four, and Hong Kong and Macao each had one; all the rest had two full members on the Committee. Without exception, all provincial Party secretaries and governors were full members. In Tibet, in addition to the Party secretary (Zhang Qingli 張慶黎) and the chairman of the regional government (Qiangba Puncog 向巴平措), Legqog (列确), the chairman of the Standing Committee of the Tibetan Autonomous Regional People's Congress, was also a full member. In Xinjiang, in addition to the Party secretary (Wang Lequan, 王樂泉) and the chairman of the regional government (Ismail Tiliwaldi 司馬義·鐵力瓦爾地), there were two more full members. One was Nie Weiguo (聶衛國), deputy Party secretary and political commissar of the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (新疆生產建設兵團), and the other was Ashat Kerimbay (艾斯海提·克里木拜), chairman of the Xinjiang People's Political Consultative Conference. Both of these had been elected as alternate members of the Sixteenth Central Committee in November 2002, but Ashat Kerimbay was promoted to full membership of that Committee in September 2004.¹⁰ Nie was elevated to full membership on the Seventeenth Central Committee.

Hong Kong and Macao were both represented on the Seventeenth Central Committee, as they had been on the sixteenth. Gao Siren (高祀仁), director of the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) and a full member of the Sixteenth Central Committee, was a deputy to the Seventeenth Party Congress but was not elected to the Seventeenth Central Committee. His deputy, Peng Qinghua (彭清華), was made a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. Born in March 1944, Gao Siren was aged 63 in October 2007, whereas Peng Qinghua, a native of Hubei, was only 50.¹¹

¹⁰<http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shizheng/252/9667/9670/20021127/875816.html>.

¹¹<http://hm.people.com.cn/GB/85423/6411664.html>.

Table 3
Provincial Central Committee Representation, 1969-2007

	1969		1973		1977		1982		1987		1992		1997		2002		2007	
	cca	ccf	cca	ccf	cca	ccf	cca	ccf	cca	ccf	cca	ccf	cca	ccf	cca	ccf	cca	ccf
Beijing	4	5	6	5	4	4	3	1	3	2	1	3	2	2	3	2	9	2
Tianjin	1	3	0	4	1	4	0	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	9	3
Hebei	1	4	1	5	1	5	4	2	3	1	1	2	3	2	2	2	6	4
Shanxi	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	2	1	3	2	2	1	2	3	2	7	2
Inner Mongolia	1	3	2	4	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	3	2	7	3	2
Liaoning	1	6	2	6	2	5	3	3	2	3	2	2	0	2	3	2	7	3
Jilin	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	3	1	2	0	2	2	2	6	2
Heilongjiang	2	2	5	2	3	3	2	3	0	3	4	2	0	2	3	2	7	3
Shanghai	4	6	4	9	4	6	2	3	5	1	2	2	2	3	2	2	8	1
Jiangsu	3	3	3	4	4	3	1	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	8	4
Zhejiang	3	3	3	3	4	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	9	3
Anhui	2	1	2	3	1	3	2	0	2	2	1	2	0	2	3	2	7	3
Fujian	3	3	2	1	1	4	1	3	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	6	4
Jiangxi	1	2	5	1	2	4	1	2	3	1	2	3	2	1	2	3	7	3
Shandong	1	5	3	4	2	4	4	1	2	3	4	2	3	2	4	2	11	3
Henan	4	4	2	5	5	3	3	1	3	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	7	3
Hubei	2	6	5	5	2	5	2	5	0	3	3	1	2	2	2	2	8	4
Hunan	2	4	2	4	2	4	4	2	3	3	3	2	1	2	2	2	6	4
Guangdong	3	6	3	9	4	5	4	3	2	3	4	2	4	2	6	2	13	4
Guangxi	2	1	2	3	4	2	2	3	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	2	7	4
Sichuan	6	6	8	5	4	4	4	3	2	3	4	2	1	2	4	2	10	2
Guizhou	3	0	1	3	1	2	2	3	2	3	1	2	1	2	3	3	7	3

Table 3 (Continued)

	1969			1973			1977			1982			1987			1992			1997			2002			2007																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																				
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Key: cca: alternate members of the Central Committee; ccf: full members of the Central Committee; ccp: full members of the Politburo; pbcc: members of the Politburo Standing Committee.

Note: Shanghai and Jiangsu have one additional point because Xi Jinping and Li Yuanchao are both members of the Secretariat.

Source: Updated from Bo Zhiyue, *China's Elite Politics: Political Transition and Power Balancing* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007), 117 (table 3.3).

Peng, along with Li Guikang (黎桂康), was appointed deputy director of Hong Kong's Liaison Office in January 2004.¹² In Macao, Bai Zhijian (白志健), director of the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the Macao SAR, continued to be a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee.

Provincial representation among alternate members of the Seventeenth Central Committee was more concentrated geographically than it had been in the Sixteenth Central Committee. Seven provinces—Hebei, Jiangsu, Fujian, Hubei, Hunan, Guangdong, and Guangxi—had four alternate members, fourteen had three, eight had two, two had one apiece, and Hong Kong and Macao had none at all.

It is understandable that Tibet had only one alternate member because it had three full members. However, Shanghai is a bit puzzling. Shanghai, an elite provincial unit with its Party secretary on the Seventeenth Politburo Standing Committee, had only one alternate member, Yin Yicui (殷一璀), deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and an alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee. No one else from Shanghai was elected. This was a major loss for Shanghai in comparison to the previous Central Committee. In 2002, Huang Ju (黄菊), the Party secretary of Shanghai, was transferred to Beijing before the Sixteenth Party Congress and was then elected to the Sixteenth Politburo Standing Committee, while Chen Liangyu (陈良宇) was promoted to Party secretary and entered the Sixteenth Politburo. In addition, Shanghai had one other full member (Han Zheng 韩正) and two alternate members (Yin Yicui and Liu Yungeng 刘云耕). Liu Yungeng, a former deputy secretary and secretary of Shanghai's Political and Legal Affairs Commission, was retired to the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee in February 2007.¹³ Born in July 1947, he was coming up to his sixtieth birthday. Neither Wu Zhiming (吴志明, chief of the Public Security Bureau of Shanghai and secretary of Shanghai's Political and Legal Affairs Commission) nor Shen

¹²http://news.xinhuanet.com/zhengfu/2004-12/21/content_2363144.htm.

¹³http://news.xinhuanet.com/local/2007-02/04/content_5691255.htm.

Hongguang (沈紅光, director of Shanghai's Organization Department) was elected an alternate member, although both were deputies to the Seventeenth Party Congress. With Yu Zhengsheng as the new Party boss of Shanghai, Shanghai is returning to the pattern of personnel arrangement before the Jiang Zemin (江澤民) era when outsiders were transferred to Shanghai to lead the Party and government.

In terms of absolute numbers, the provinces contributed sixty-seven full members and eighty-eight alternate members of the Seventeenth Central Committee. That was one fewer full member and two more alternate members than in 2002.

Provincial Central Committee Index

In order to make possible a comparison across provinces as well as among different institutional groups, we will produce a Central Committee index (or representation index) according to the following scheme.¹⁴ A province/institution will receive one point for an alternate member of the Central Committee, two points for a full member, another one point for an alternate Politburo member, another two for a full Politburo member, another three for a member of the Politburo Standing Committee, and an additional five for the general secretary.¹⁵ In addition, members of the Central Committee Secretariat (中央書記處) receive one more point each, members of the Central Military Commission (CMC, 中央軍事委員會) receive two more points each, and vice chairmen of the CMC three more points each.

The average provincial Central Committee index was 7.5, with a range between 2 and 13 (the last column of table 3). Hong Kong and Macao were the lowest with an index of only 2 each, and Xinjiang was the

¹⁴This is adapted from Bo, *Chinese Provincial Leaders*, 27.

¹⁵This scheme standardizes Central Committee representation from all institutions and thus makes comparison across institutions possible. However, assigning six points to the general secretary does not necessarily mean that the general secretary has six times as much power as an alternate member of the Central Committee. One may adjust the weights of the scheme according to one's needs. For instance, one may increase the gap between full members and alternate members from one to five because the former are voting members while the latter are non-voting members.

highest with 13. Jiangsu and Liaoning stood out with 11 each. Jiangsu's index was boosted because of its Party secretary, Li Yuanchao. He was a full member of the Politburo as well as a member of the Secretariat. Liaoning emerged as a political star because of Li Keqiang, a member of the Politburo Standing Committee. Beijing is also notable for having contributed two Politburo members (Liu Qi and Wang Qishan). With an index of 9, Shanghai did not do too badly. This is because Xi Jinping was a member of the Politburo Standing Committee and a member of the Secretariat. However, these three provincial units were affected by the departures of their Party bosses. Li Yuanchao was appointed director of the Central Organization Department on October 26, 2007, while Governor Liang Baohua (梁保華) was appointed to serve concurrently as Party secretary of Jiangsu.¹⁶ Xi Jinping was transferred to Beijing on October 27, 2007, and Yu Zhengsheng became the new Party secretary.¹⁷

The total score for all the provincial units was 247, representing 42 percent of the grand total score (without core leaders) and thus making provinces the most powerful institution in Chinese politics.

Central Representation

The representation of central organs is much more fragmented. On the surface, many Central Committee members appear to come from the center. The total number of central officials, including the top leaders, stood at 125, with 95 full members and 30 alternate members. These members, however, came from a number of different sources.

Central Party Institutions

First, the central Party institutions contributed many full and alternate members (see table 4). Among central Party leaders, six were Politburo

¹⁶http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2007-10/26/content_6949444.htm.

¹⁷Governor Luo Qingquan (羅清泉) became Party secretary of Hubei. http://news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2007-10/27/content_6956596.htm.

Table 4
Representation of Central Party Institutions on the Central Committee,
October 2007

Central Party Institutions	cca	ccf	ccpf	ccps	sec	Index
Politburo				2		11
Central Discipline Inspection Commission		1				2
Organization Department		1		1		7
Propaganda Department		1	1		1	7
United Front Work Department		1	1			6
International Liaison Department		1				2
General Office		1			1	3
Central Guards Bureau	1					1
Central Party School	1					3
People's Daily		1				2
Party History Research Center		1				2
Party Literature Research Center						
Compilation & Translation Bureau						
Work Committee for Departments under the Central Government		1				2
Work Committee for Departments under the Central Committee		1	1			6
Political and Legal Affairs Commission		1				2
Committee for Comprehensive Management of Public Security						
Policy Research Center		1			1	3
Taiwan Affairs Office	1					1
International Communications Office		1				2
Central Foreign Affairs Office						
Committee of State Secrets						
Office of Central Party Institutions		1				2
Total	3	15	3	3	3	64

Key: cca: Central Committee (CC) alternate members; ccf: CC full members; ccpf: full members of the Politburo; ccps: Politburo Standing Committee members; sec: members of the Secretariat.

Source: Updated from Bo Zhiyue, *China's Elite Politics: Political Transition and Power Balancing* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007), 122 (table 3.4).

members (including three Standing Committee members), three were members of the Secretariat, fifteen were full members, and two were alternate members. Hu Jintao (胡錦濤, general secretary), Li Changchun (李長春), and He Guoqiang (賀國強, director of the Central Organization Department) were all members of the Politburo Standing Committee; Liu

Yunshan (劉雲山, director of the Central Propaganda Department), Liu Yandong (劉延東, director of the Central United Front Work Department), and Wang Gang (王剛, secretary of the Work Committee of the Departments under the Central Committee and former director of the General Office) were Politburo members. Liu Yunshan was also a member of the Secretariat. Liu Yandong was the only female member of the Politburo. Having just been relieved of his post as director of the General Office, Wang Gang was promoted from an alternate member to a full member of the Politburo without any particular portfolio.

Ling Jihua (令計劃, born 1956), director of the General Office, was made a member of the Secretariat but not a member of the Politburo. This was unusual as two of his immediate predecessors managed to get into the Politburo as an alternate member. Zeng Qinghong (曾慶紅), director of the General Office from 1993 to 1999, entered the Fifteenth Politburo as an alternate member without any prior Central Committee experience.¹⁸ His successor, Wang Gang, entered the Sixteenth Politburo as an alternate member. Wang had been an alternate member of the Fifteenth Central Committee.¹⁹ Ling Jihua was an alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee. Ling's Central Committee experience before the Seventeenth Party Congress was more extensive than Zeng Qinghong's and equal to that of Wang Gang, but he failed to enter the Seventeenth Politburo as an alternate member.

Wang Huning (王滄寧, born 1955), director of the Policy Research Office of the Central Committee, was also promoted to the Secretariat. A native of Shandong, Wang has spent most of his adult life in Shanghai.²⁰ After studying English at the Cadre School of Shanghai Normal University between 1972 and 1977, he worked for the Publication Administration for a couple of years. From 1978 to 1994, he pursued graduate studies at Fudan

¹⁸For Zeng Qinghong's biographical information, see http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2002-01/16/content_240615.htm.

¹⁹For Wang Gang's biographical information, see http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2002-01/21/content_246343.htm.

²⁰For Wang Huning's biographical information, see http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2007-10/22/content_6924961.htm.

University (復旦大學), then served as an instructor, associate professor, professor, chair of the Department of International Politics, and dean of the Law School at the university. He was called to Beijing by Jiang Zemin and Zeng Qinghong in 1995 to work in the Policy Research Office of the Central Committee. He entered the Sixteenth Central Committee as a full member and was promoted to the Secretariat in October 2007.

He Yong (何勇, born 1940) was retained as a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee as well as the first deputy secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission (CDIC). He was also retained as a member of the Secretariat.

He Guoqiang (born 1943), a member of the Politburo Standing Committee and director of the Central Organization Department, was elected secretary of the CDIC. He Guoqiang left the Secretariat and was replaced by Li Yuanchao as director of the Central Organization Department four days after the Seventeenth Party Congress.

Finally, Cao Qing (曹清) replaced You Xigui (由喜貴) as the chief of the Central Guards Bureau before the Congress²¹ and was elected an alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. You Xigui was the least popular alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee, but Cao is ranked 133 out of 167 alternate members on the Seventeenth Central Committee.

The central Party institutions had fewer alternate members (two) on the Seventeenth Central Committee than they had on its predecessor (six). The two alternates were Wang Weiguang (王偉光), vice president of the Central Party School (中共中央黨校),²² and Zheng Lizhong (鄭立中), the executive deputy director of the Taiwan Affairs Office.

No one from the Compilation and Translation Bureau made it onto the Seventeenth Central Committee. The bureau's deputy director, Yu Keping

²¹ Somehow Cao Qing was elected a deputy to the Party Congress but was not on the list of PLA deputies. For the news about his appointment, see <http://secretchina.com/news/gb/kanguanchang/dongxiang/2007/0907/210302.html>.

²² Wang Weiguang was promoted to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences as vice president with a ministerial rank in January 2008. See <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2008-01-10/144914713199.shtml>.

(俞可平, born 1959), made his name as a member of Hu Jintao's think tank. As the author of an essay entitled "Democracy Is a Good Thing," he is well known as a proponent of democracy in China. However, he was not even elected as a deputy to the Seventeenth Party Congress. Xia Yong (夏勇), another advisor of Hu Jintao and director of the Committee of State Secrets, made it to the Seventeenth Party Congress as a deputy but was absent from the Seventeenth Central Committee.

The total representation index of the central Party institutions was 64.

Central Government Institutions

Central government institutions were another major source of members of the Seventeenth Central Committee. There are altogether seventy-six institutions under the State Council (see table 5), including twenty-eight ministries and commissions, one special organization directly under the State Council, nineteen organizations directly under the State Council, four offices, fourteen institutions, and ten bureaus and administrations under the ministries and commissions. In addition, there are twenty-eight other coordination offices. These institutions contributed fifty-six full members and fifteen alternate members. Among the full members, one (Vice Premier Hui Liangyu 回良玉) was elected to the Politburo and two (Premier Wen Jiabao 温家宝 and State Councilor Zhou Yongkang 周永康) were members of the Politburo Standing Committee.

Among the twenty-eight ministries and commissions, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stands out. It had three full members and one alternate member, far more than any other ministry. Minister Yang Jiechi (楊潔篪), Vice Minister Dai Bingguo (戴秉國), and Vice Minister Wang Yi (王毅) were all elected full members. Wang Guangya (王光亞), China's ambassador to the United Nations, was elected an alternate member. Power in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is more fragmented than in most other ministries and commissions, as the minister of foreign affairs does not also serve as secretary of the ministry's Party group. When Li Zhaoxing (李肇星) was foreign minister, Dai Bingguo was the secretary of the Party group, and Dai remained in this post when Yang Jiechi was appointed minister of foreign affairs. In September 2007, Wang Yi, China's ambassador

Table 5
Representation of Central Government on the Central Committee, October 2007

Central Government Institutions	cca	ccf	ccpf	ccps	Index
State Council					
State Council leaders		2	1	2	18
General Office		1			2
Ministries and Commissions (28)					
Foreign Affairs	1	3			7
National Defense					
National Development and Reform Commission	1	2			5
Education		1			2
Science and Technology		1			2
<i>Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense</i>	1	1			3
State Ethnic Affairs Commission		1			2
Public Security		2			4
State Security		1			2
Supervision		1			2
Civil Affairs		1			2
Justice		1			2
Finance		1			2
Personnel		1			2
Labor and Social Security		1			2
Land and Resources		1			2
Construction		1			2
Railways		1			2
Transport		1			2
Information Industry		1			2
Water Resources		1			2
Agriculture		1			2
Commerce		1			2
Culture		1			2
Health		1			2
National Population and Family Planning Commission		1			2
People's Bank of China		1			2
National Audit Office		1			2
Special Organization directly under the State Council (1)		1			2
State-Owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission					

Table 5 (Continued)

Central Government Institutions	ccp	ccf	ccpf	ccps	Index
Organizations directly under the State Council (19)					
General Administration of Customs	1				2
State Administration of Taxation	1				2
State Administration for Industry and Commerce	1				2
General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine	1				2
State Environmental Protection Administration	1				2
Civil Aviation Administration	1				2
State Administration of Radio, Film and Television	1				2
General Administration of Press and Publication	1				2
State General Administration of Sports	1	1			3
State Administration of Work Safety	1				2
National Bureau of Statistics					2
State Forestry Administration	1				2
State Food and Drug Administration					2
State Intellectual Property Office					2
National Tourism Administration					2
State Administration of Religious Affairs	1				1
Counselors' Office of the State Council					2
Government Offices Administration of the State Council	1				1
National Bureau of Corruption Prevention					2
Administrative offices under the State Council (4)					
Overseas Chinese Affairs	1				2
Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office					2
Legislative Affairs Office					2
Research Office	1				2
Institutions directly under the State Council (14)					
Xinhua News Agency	1				2
Chinese Academy of Sciences	1				1
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences	1				1
Chinese Academy of Engineering	1				1
Development Research Center	1				2
National School of Administration	1				2
China Earthquake Administration					2
China Meteorological Administration					2
China Banking Regulatory Commission	1				2
China Securities Regulatory Commission	1				2

Table 5 (Continued)

Central Government Institutions	cca	ccf	ccpf	ccps	Index
Institutions directly under the State Council (14)					
China Insurance Regulatory Commission	1				1
National Electricity Regulatory Commission	1				1
National Council for Social Security Fund					
National Natural Science Foundation					
Administrations/Bureaus under Ministries and Commissions (10)					
State Bureau of Letters & Calls	1				1
State Administration of Grain					
State Tobacco Monopoly Administration					
State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs					
State Oceanic Administration					
State Bureau of Surveying & Mapping	1				1
State Post Bureau					
State Administration of Cultural Heritage					
State Administration of Traditional Chinese Medicine					
State Administration of Foreign Exchange	1				1
Other Office					
South-North Water Diversion (國務院南水北調辦公室)	1				1
Total	15	53	1	2	135

Key: cca: Central Committee (CC) alternate members; ccf: CC full members; ccpf: full members of the Politburo; ccps: Politburo Standing Committee members.

Source: Updated from Bo Zhiyue, *China's Elite Politics: Political Transition and Power Balancing* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007), 125-26 (table 3.5).

Note: Since the restructuring of central governmental organizations in March 2008, the Ministry of Information Industry (信息產業部) has been renamed the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (工業和信息化部); the Commission of Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense (國防科學技術工業委員會) has been renamed the State Administration of Science, Technology and Industry for National Defense (國家國防科技工業局) and placed under the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology; the Ministry of Personnel (人事部) and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security (勞動和社會保障部) were merged and renamed the Ministry of Human Resources and Social Security (人力資源和社會保障部); the Ministry of Construction (建設部) has been renamed the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (住房和城鄉建設部); the State Environmental Protection Administration (國家環境保護總局) has been upgraded to become the Ministry of Environmental Protection (環境保護部); the Civil Aviation Administration (民用航空局) is now under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Transport (交通運輸部); and the State Food and Drug Administration (國家食品藥品監督管理局) is now under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health (衛生部).

to Japan, was transferred back to Beijing as vice minister and secretary of the Party group.²³

Originally, there was no one from the Ministry of National Defense on the Seventeenth Central Committee. Defense Minister Cao Gangchuan (曹剛川) retired from the Central Committee and when in March 2008 he also retired from the ministry, he was replaced as minister by General Liang Guanglie (梁光烈), a former chief of the general staff, who had been elected to the Seventeenth Central Committee and the new Central Military Commission.

With three more exceptions, all the other ministries and commissions had one full member. Some of these people were not ministers, but were either Party group secretaries or executive vice ministers. Because neither the minister of science and technology (Wan Gang 萬鋼) nor the minister of health (Chen Zhu 陳竺) are CCP members, they are not eligible for election to the Central Committee. For this reason, these two ministries were represented by their Party group secretaries, Li Xueyong (李學勇) for the Ministry of Science and Technology and Gao Qiang (高強) for the Ministry of Health. The three exceptions were the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), the Ministry of Public Security, and the Commission of Science, Technology, and Industry for National Defense (CSTIND).²⁴ Both the minister (Ma Kai 馬凱) and the executive vice minister (Zhu Zhixin 朱之鑫) of the NDRC were elected full members. Another vice minister, Chen Deming²⁵ (陳德銘, former governor of Shaanxi), was elected an alternate member. The Ministry of Public Security actually provided three full members. Its minister, Zhou Yongkang, is now on the Politburo Standing Committee, and two of his deputies, Bai Jingfu (白景富) and Liu Jing (劉京), were elected full members. The minister of CSTIND, Zhang Qingwei (張慶偉, born 1961) was reelected as a full

²³<http://www.northnews.cn/news/2007/200709/2007-09-26/105653.html>. Wang Yi was appointed as director of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council (國務院台灣事務辦公室主任) on June 6, 2008. <http://tw.people.com.cn/GB/14810/7334732.html>.

²⁴This institution was disbanded in the administrative restructuring of March 2008.

²⁵Chen Deming is currently minister of commerce. See note 1 above.

member, and one of his deputies, Jin Zhuanglong (金壯龍, born 1964), was elected a new alternate member.²⁶

Two major organizations directly under the State Council were absent from the Seventeenth Central Committee. The head of the National Bureau of Statistics, Xie Fuzhan (謝伏瞻), was elected a deputy to the Seventeenth Party Congress but did not make it to the Seventeenth Central Committee. His predecessor, Qiu Xiaohua (邱曉華), was dismissed from office and expelled from the Party because of his involvement in corruption.²⁷ The head of the State Food and Drug Administration, Shao Mingli (邵明立), was also a deputy but not a member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. His predecessor, Zheng Xiaoyu (鄭筱萸), was executed for corruption in February 2007.²⁸ There were as many alternate members as full members from the institutions under the State Council. The Xinhua News Agency (Li Congjun 李從軍), the Development Research Center of the State Council (Zhang Yutai 張玉台), the National School of Administration (Jiang Yikang 姜昇康), the China Banking Regulatory Commission (Liu Mingkang 劉明康), and the China Securities Regulatory Commission (Shang Fulin 尚福林) all had full members, while the Chinese Academy of Sciences (Bai Chunli 白春禮), the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Leng Rong 冷溶), the Chinese Academy of Engineering (Pan Yunhe 潘雲鶴), the China Insurance Regulatory Commission (Wu Dingfu 吳定富), and the National Electricity Regulatory Commission (You Quan 尤權) provided alternate members.

Of the ten administrations/bureaus under the ministries and commissions, only three provided alternate members. These were the State Letters and Complaints Bureau (Wang Xuejun 王學軍), the State Bureau of Surveying and Mapping (Lu Xinshe 鹿心社), and the State Administration of Foreign Exchange (Ms. Hu Xiaolian 胡曉煉). Hu Xiaolian was also vice governor of the People's Bank of China (China's central bank).

²⁶For Jin Zhuanglong's biographical information, see <http://baike.baidu.com/view/488502.htm>.

²⁷For details, see http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2006-03/17/content_4312521.htm.

²⁸For details, see http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2002-03/05/content_300408.htm.

Finally, the head of the South-to-North Water Diversion Office, Zhang Jiyao (張基堯), was elected as a new alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. His deputy, Meng Xuenong (孟學農), was appointed acting governor of Shanxi Province and reelected as a full member.

The total representation index of the central government institutions under the State Council was 135.

Other Central Institutions

There are other central institutions that are neither Party institutions nor government institutions under the State Council. These include the National People's Congress (NPC, 全國人民代表大會), the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC, 全國人民政治協商會議), the Supreme People's Court, the Supreme People's Procuratorate, various associations, and a number of national banking institutions (see table 6). These institutions contributed twenty-eight members to the Seventeenth Central Committee: seventeen full members and eleven alternate members. Among the full members, there were three Politburo members (including two Standing Committee members).

The NPC provided one member of the Politburo Standing Committee, one Politburo member, and three full members of the Central Committee. Chairman Wu Bangguo (吳邦國) was reelected as a member of the Seventeenth Politburo Standing Committee, and Vice Chairman Wang Zhaoguo (王兆國, also chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions) was reelected as a member of the Politburo. Vice Chairman Lu Yongxiang (路甬祥, also president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences) and Vice Chairwoman Uyunqing (烏云其木格, an ethnic Mongolian) were reelected as full members, and Deputy Secretary-General Wang Wanbin (王萬賓) was elected for the first time as a full member.

The CPPCC contributed one Standing Committee member and six full members. Chairman Jia Qinglin (賈慶林) was reelected to the Seventeenth Politburo Standing Committee. Five vice chairmen, Abdul'ahat Abdulrixit (阿不來提·阿不都熱西提, Uygur), Bai Lichen (白立忱, Hui), Chen Kuiyuan (陳奎元, also president of the Chinese Academy of Social

Table 6
Representation of Other Central Institutions on the Central Committee,
October 2007

Central Institutions	cca	ccf	ccpf	ccps	Index
National People's Congress		3	1	1	15
Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference		6		1	17
Courts	1	1			3
Associations					13
China Association for Science and Technology		1			
All-China Federation of Trade Unions		1			
Chinese Communist Youth League		1			
All-China Women's Association		1			
China Disabled Persons' Federation	1				
National Association of Industry and Commerce	1				
All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots	1				
Writers' Association	1				
Federation of Literary and Arts Circles	1				
All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives		1			2
Federation of Overseas Chinese	1				1
Bankers					5
Bank of China	1				
Bank of Agriculture	1				
Bank of Construction	1				
Bank of Development	1				
Bank of Industry & Commerce	1				
Total	12	15	1	2	56

Key: cca: Central Committee (CC) alternate members; ccf: CC full members; ccpf: full members of the Politburo; ccps: Politburo Standing Committee members.

Sources: Author's database.

Sciences), Li Zhaozhuo (李兆焯, Zhuang), and Liao Hui (廖晖), were all reelected as full members of the Seventeenth Central Committee. Deputy Secretary-General Yang Chonghui (楊崇匯) was elected as a new full member. In addition, Liu Yandong, director of the Central United Front Work Department and a vice chairwoman of the CPPCC, was elected to the Politburo.

The presidents of the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Procuratorate were both absent from the Seventeenth Central Committee. Xiao Yang (蕭揚, born August 1938), president of the Supreme People's Court since 1998 and a member of the fifteenth and sixteenth central committees, was already 69 years old in October 2007.²⁹ Cao Jianming (曹建明, born September 1955), the executive vice president of the Supreme People's Court, was promoted from an alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee to a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. Similarly, Jia Chunwang (賈春旺, born May 1938), president of the Supreme People's Procuratorate since March 2003 and a member of the twelfth through sixteenth central committees, was also 69 years old in October 2007.³⁰ Zhang Geng (張耕, born September 1944), the executive vice president of the Supreme People's Procuratorate,³¹ was elected a new alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee.³²

Eleven associations were also represented on the Central Committee. They were the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (Ms. Sun Chunlan 孫春蘭, full member), the All-China Women's Federation (Ms. Huang Qingyi 黃晴宜, full member), the China Association for Science and Technology (Ms. Deng Nan 鄧楠, full member), the Chinese Communist Youth League (Hu Chunhua 胡春華, full member), the Chinese National Association of Industry and Commerce (Quan Zhezhu 全哲洙, ethnic Korean, alternate member), the Chinese Writers Association (Ms. Tie Ning 鐵凝, alternate member), the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles (Hu Zhenmin 胡振民, alternate member), the China Disabled Persons' Federation (Wang Xinxian 王新憲, alternate member), the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots (Ms. Lin Mingyue 林明月, alternate member), the All-China

²⁹For Xiao Yang's biographical information, see http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2002-03/01/content_295423.htm.

³⁰For Jia Chunwang's biographical information, see http://news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2002-03/01/content_295707.htm.

³¹For Zhang Geng's biographical information, see http://news.xinhuanet.com/video/2006-01/13/content_4047525.htm.

³²In March 2008, Cao Jianming was elected president of the Supreme People's Procuratorate and Wang Shengjun (王勝俊) president of the Supreme People's Court.

Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives (全國供銷合作總社, Wang Jun 王君,³³ full member), and the China Federation of Overseas Chinese (Lin Jun 林軍, alternate member). Clearly, there are almost as many women in this category as men.

Finally, five major banks were also represented on the Seventeenth Central Committee, each with an alternate member. They were Xiao Gang (蕭鋼, board chairman of the Bank of China), Xiang Junbo (項俊波, governor of the Bank of Agriculture), Guo Shuqing (郭樹清, board chairman of the Bank of Construction), Chen Yuan (陳元, governor of the Bank of Development), and Jiang Jianqing (姜建清, board chairman of the Bank of Industry). Other bankers on the Seventeenth Central Committee are Zhou Xiaochuan (周小川, governor of the People's Bank of China) and Ms. Hu Xiaolian (vice governor of the People's Bank of China and head of the Foreign Exchange Bureau). The total representation index of these central institutions amounted to 56.

The total representation index of all three categories of central institutions is 256, slightly higher than that of the provincial units (247). This is quite different from the position five years earlier, when the provincial representation index exceeded the central representation index by a large margin. This is because we have included all the core leaders such as Hu Jintao, Wu Bangguo, Jia Qinglin, and Li Changchun in the central institutions for the Seventeenth Central Committee but excluded them for the Sixteenth Central Committee. If we excluded the core leaders for the Seventeenth Central Committee, the total representation index of the central institutions would be substantially reduced to 200, 47 less than that of the provincial units and about the same as in 2002.

³³ Wang Jun replaced Li Yizhong (李毅中) as head of the State Administration of Work Safety (國家安全生產監督管理總局局長) in March 2008. Li Yizhong is now minister of industry and information technology (工業和信息化部部長). See http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2008-03/21/content_7830038.htm.

Military Representation

The military's representation on the Seventeenth Central Committee remained more or less the same as it had been on the Sixteenth Central Committee. There were no military leaders on the Standing Committee of the Politburo and there were only two Politburo members from the military. In addition, the military contributed thirty-nine full members and twenty-three alternate members (see table 7) to the Seventeenth Central Committee, two fewer full members and one fewer alternate member than it did to the Sixteenth Central Committee. Moreover, the military is no longer represented on the Central Committee Secretariat.

Central Military Institutions

Military institutions in China can be roughly divided into central and local. The central institutions are the Central Military Commission (CMC), the four general departments, the three services and the armed police force, and the three major military academies. These military institutions contributed twenty-five full members and eleven alternate members to the Seventeenth Central Committee. Among the full members, two were Politburo members and ten were members of the CMC. General Guo Boxiong (郭伯雄, born 1942) was retained as a Politburo member and as the first vice chairman of the CMC. General Xu Caihou (徐才厚, born 1943) left the Secretariat and entered the Seventeenth Politburo. He remained a vice chairman of the CMC but his ranking moved up one notch because of General Cao Gangchuan's retirement. General Liang Guanglie (born 1940), the former chief of the general staff, was retained as a member of the CMC without any specific portfolio. He later replaced General Cao Gangchuan as China's defense minister. Lieutenant General Jia Ting'an (賈廷安, born 1952), Jiang Zemin's confidant and director of the General Office of the CMC, was made an alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. However, he ranked last among the 167 alternate members.

Among the four general departments, the General Staff Department (GSD) had three full members and one alternate member. General Chen Bingde (陳炳德, born 1941), the new chief of the general staff, was re-

Table 7

Representation of the Military on the Central Committee, October 2007

Military Institutions	cca	ccf	ccpf	cmc	Index
Central Military Institutions					
Central Military Commission	1	1	2	3	17
General Staff Department	1	3		1	9
General Political Department	1	3		1	9
General Logistics Department	1	2		1	7
General Armament Department	2	2		1	8
Navy	1	2		1	7
Air Force		2		1	6
Second Artillery Corps	1	2		1	7
Armed Police Force	2	2			6
National Defense University		2			4
Academy of Military Sciences		2			4
National University of Defense Technology	1				1
Subtotal	11	23	2	10	85
Local Military Regions					
Beijing Military Region	2	2			6
Shenyang Military Region		2			4
Lanzhou Military Region	1	3			7
Chengdu Military Region	1	3			7
Jinan Military Region	2	2			6
Nanjing Military Region	2	2			6
Guangzhou Military Region	1	2			5
Subtotal	9	16			41
Others	3				2
Total	23	39	2	10	128

Key: cca: Central Committee (CC) alternate members; ccf: CC full members; ccpf: full members of the Politburo; cmc: Central Military Commission.

Source: Updated from Bo Zhiyue, *China's Elite Politics: Political Transition and Power Balancing* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007), 129 (table 3.6).

elected a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee and a member of the CMC. Two of his deputies, General Ge Zhenfeng (葛振峰, born 1944) and Lieutenant General Ma Xiaotian (馬曉天, born 1949), were also reelected as full members of the Seventeenth Central Committee.

Lieutenant General Sun Jianguo (孫建國), assistant chief of the general staff, was elected as a new alternate member. Two other deputy chiefs of the general staff, General Liu Zhenwu (劉鎮武, born 1944) and General Zhang Li (張黎, born 1943), were absent from the Seventeenth Central Committee, although the former had been an alternate member of the Fifteenth Central Committee and a full member of the Sixteenth Central Committee and the latter had been an alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee. General Liu Zhenwu was the first commander of the PLA troops in Hong Kong. He was commander of the Guangzhou Military Region (廣州軍區) between January 2002 and June 2007 and was transferred to Beijing in June 2007 as deputy chief of the general staff. He was awarded the rank of major general in July 1990, the rank of lieutenant general in July 1997, and the rank of general in June 2004.³⁴ General Zhang Li's resume looks less impressive. He was initially a staff member responsible for showing movies and later served as a secretary in various offices. He was awarded the rank of major general in 1997, the rank of lieutenant general in 1999, and the rank of general in June 2004.³⁵ Both Liu and Zhang are likely to retire soon.

Similarly, the General Political Department (GPD) also had three full members and one alternate member. General Li Jinai (李繼耐, born 1942), director of the GPD, was reelected a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee and continued to serve on the CMC. All of his three deputies made it into the Seventeenth Central Committee: General Liu Yongzhi (劉永治, born 1944) and General Sun Zhongtong (孫忠同, born 1944) were full members and Lieutenant General Liu Zhenqi (劉振起)³⁶ was an alternate member.

The General Logistics Department (GLD) provided two full members and one alternate member. General Liao Xilong (廖錫龍, born 1940),

³⁴For Liu Zhenwu's biographical information, see <http://www.diuba.com/shequ/yule/832.htm>.

³⁵For Zhang Li's biographical information, see <http://baike.baidu.com/view/304229.html>.

³⁶Liu Zhenqi was promoted to the rank of general in July 2008. See <http://mil.news.sina.com.cn/2008-07-15/1137510901.html>.

director of the GLD, was reelected as a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee and continued to serve on the CMC. General Sun Dafa (孫大發, born 1945), political commissar of the GLD, was elected as a new full member. Lieutenant General Li Maifu (李買富, born 1946), a deputy director, was elected a new alternate member. Two other deputy directors, however, were not elected to the Seventeenth Central Committee. Lieutenant General Sun Zhiqiang (孫志強, born 1944) was a full member of the Sixteenth Central Committee but was not elected a deputy to the Seventeenth Party Congress. Lieutenant General Wang Qian (王謙, born 1946) was an alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee but was also absent from the list of military deputies to the Seventeenth Party Congress and from the Seventeenth Central Committee.

The General Armament Department (GAD) had two full members and two alternate members. Lieutenant General Chang Wanquan (常萬全, born 1949), former commander of the Shenyang Military Region (瀋陽軍區), was appointed director of the GAD in September 2007.³⁷ He was reelected as a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee and entered the CMC as a new member. General Chi Wanchun (遲萬春, born 1946), political commissar of the GAD, was also reelected a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. Lieutenant General Li Andong (李安東, born 1946), deputy director of the GAD and a full member of the Sixteenth Central Committee, was elected only as an alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee probably due to the "democratic" procedure of allowing more candidates than seats. Lieutenant General Zhu Fazhong (朱發忠, born 1948), another deputy director and an alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee, remained an alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee.

The PLA Navy, the PLA Air Force, and the PLA Second Artillery Corps (missile troops) each contributed two full members. Admiral Wu Shengli (吳勝利, commander of the Navy), General Xu Qiliang (許其亮, commander of the Air Force), and General Jing Zhiyuan (靖志遠, com-

³⁷<http://secretchina.com/news/gb/kanguanchang/dongxiang/2007/1001/213436.html>.

mander of the Second Artillery Corps) were all elected full members of the Seventeenth Central Committee and members of the CMC. Born in March 1950, General Xu Qiliang is the youngest member of the CMC. Admiral Hu Yanlin (胡彦林, born December 1943), political commissar of the PLA Navy, was a deputy to the Seventeenth Party Congress but was not elected to the Seventeenth Central Committee. Vice Admiral Liu Xiaojiang (劉曉江, born 1949), deputy political commissar of the Navy and son-in-law of Hu Yaobang (胡耀邦, former general secretary of the Party), was elected a new full member. Vice Admiral Liu is likely to replace Admiral Hu as political commissar of the Navy soon. Vice Admiral Ding Yiping (丁一平, born 1951), deputy commander and chief of staff of the Navy, was reelected as an alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. General Peng Xiaofeng (彭小楓), political commissar of the Second Artillery Corps, was elected a new full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee, and Lieutenant General Wei Fenghe (魏鳳和, born 1954), chief of staff of the Second Artillery Corps, was elected as a new alternate member.³⁸

The Chinese People's Armed Police Force contributed two full members and two alternate members. Its commander, General Wu Shuangzhan (吳雙戰, born 1945) was reelected a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. Its former political commissar, General Sui Mingtai (隋明太, born September 1942), retired and was replaced in September 2007 by General Yu Linxiang (喻林祥, born 1945), former political commissar of the Lanzhou Military Region (蘭州軍區),³⁹ who was elected a new full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. Lieutenant General Xi Zhongchao (息中朝, born 1947), deputy commander, was reelected as an alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee, and Lieutenant General Wang Jianping (王建平, born 1953), chief of staff, was elected a new alternate member.

³⁸Notably, there are a number of princeling generals on the Seventeenth Central Committee.

For a detailed analysis of the rise of the princeling generals, see Bo Zhiyue, "Princeling Generals in China: Breaking the Two Career Barriers?" *Issues & Studies* 42, no. 1 (March 2006): 195-232; and Bo Zhiyue, "Balance of Factional Power in China: The Seventeenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party," *East Asia* (forthcoming).

³⁹<http://jiangxi.jxnews.com.cn/system/2007/09/21/002571797.shtml>.

Of the three major military academies, two contributed two full members and one an alternate member. Lieutenant General Wang Xibin (王喜斌, born 1948), president of the National Defense University (NDU), and Vice Admiral Tong Shiping (童世平), political commissar of the NDU, were both elected new full members of the Seventeenth Central Committee. Both of them were appointed to their current positions shortly before the Party Congress.⁴⁰ Lieutenant General Ma Xiaotian, former president of the NDU, was transferred to the General Staff Department as deputy chief of the general staff in September 2007. Lieutenant General Wang Xibin, former chief of staff of the Beijing Military Region, was promoted to president of the NDU. General Zhao Keming (趙可銘, born October 1942), former political commissar of the NDU and a member of the Sixteenth Central Committee, retired because of his age. Vice Admiral Tong Shiping, former assistant director of the General Political Department, replaced General Zhao in September 2007. However, Lieutenant General Xu Zhigong (許志功, born 1945), an alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee and a vice president of the NDU, did not make it to the Seventeenth Central Committee. He was not even elected a deputy to the Congress.

The president and political commissar of the Academy of Military Sciences were also elected to the Seventeenth Central Committee as full members. Lieutenant General Liu Chengjun (劉成軍, born 1949), former deputy commander of the PLA Air Force, replaced General Zheng Shenxia (鄭申俠, born July 1942) as president of the Academy in September 2007. Lieutenant General Liu Yuan (劉源, born 1951), political commissar of the Academy and son of Liu Shaoqi (劉少奇, former president of China), was also elected a new full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee.

However, the National University of Defense Technology provided only one alternate member, its political commissar, Vice Admiral Xu Yitian (徐一天). Its president, Lieutenant General Wen Xisen (溫熙森, born 1945), an alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee, failed to

⁴⁰<http://gb.chinareviewnews.com/doc/1004/4/7/2/100447213.html?coluid=4&kindid=21&docid=100447213&mdate=0911163216>.

enter the Seventeenth Central Committee, although he was a deputy to the Party Congress.

In sum, the central military institutions contributed twenty-five full members (including two Politburo members and ten CMC members⁴¹) and eleven alternate members, with a representation index of 85.

Local Military Regions

There are seven military regions in China: Beijing, Shenyang, Lanzhou, Jinan (濟南), Nanjing (南京), Guangzhou, and Chengdu (成都). These regions are all well represented on the Seventeenth Central Committee with two or three full members each and most of them also have one or two alternate members.

The Beijing Military Region contributed two full members and two alternate members. Its new commander, Lieutenant General Fang Fenghui (房峰輝, born 1951), and its political commissar, General Fu Tinggui (符廷貴, born 1944), both entered the Seventeenth Central Committee as full members. Fang Fenghui was not a deputy to the Seventeenth Party Congress and was not on the Sixteenth Central Committee, while Fu Tinggui was not only a full member of the Sixteenth Central Committee and a deputy to the Seventeenth Party Congress but also a member of the presidium of the Congress. Lieutenant General Dong Wancai (董萬才), political director of the Beijing Military Region, and Lieutenant General Liu Zhenlai (劉振來, born 1949), political commissar of the Beijing Military Region Air Force, were both elected new alternate members.

The Shenyang Military Region had two full members. Its new commander, Lieutenant General Zhang Youxia (張又俠, born 1950), and its political commissar, Lieutenant General Huang Xianzhong (黃獻中, born 1945), were both elected full members of the Seventeenth Central Committee, although Zhang Youxia was not a deputy to the Party Congress. Zhang Youxia, the son of General Zhang Zongxun (張宗遜, former director of the General Logistics Department), had been deputy commander of the

⁴¹Each CMC member receives two additional points.

Beijing Military Region. He was promoted to commander of the Shenyang Military Region in September 2007 when Lieutenant General Chang Wanquan was appointed director of the General Armament Department.

The Lanzhou Military Region contributed three full members and one alternate member. In addition to its commander (Lieutenant General Wang Guosheng 王國生, born 1947) and its political commissar (Lieutenant General Li Changcai 李長才), the political commissar of the Xinjiang Military District (Lieutenant General Tian Xiushi 田修思, born 1950) was also elected a full member. Moreover, its chief of staff (Lieutenant General Liu Yuejun 劉粵軍, born 1954) was reelected as an alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee, although he was not a deputy to the Party Congress.

The Chengdu Military Region also had three full members and one alternate member. In addition to its commander and its political commissar, the commander of the Tibetan Military District was also elected a full member. Lieutenant General Li Shiming (李世明, born 1948) was transferred from the Shenyang Military Region to the Chengdu Military Region as a deputy commander in December 2005 and replaced General Wang Jianmin (王建民, born November 1942) as its commander in September 2007. Lieutenant General Zhang Haiyang (張海陽, born 1949), son of General Zhang Zhen (張震, former vice chairman of the CMC), became political commissar of the Chengdu Military Region in December 2005. Li Shiming was not a deputy to the Seventeenth Party Congress, while Zhang Haiyang was not only a deputy but also a member of the presidium. Lieutenant General Dong Guishan (董貴山, born 1946), commander of the Tibetan Military District, made it to the Seventeenth Central Committee as a full member. His predecessor, Lieutenant General Meng Jinxi (蒙進喜, born September 1944), was not even elected a deputy to the Congress and was subsequently absent from the Central Committee, although he had been a full member of the Sixteenth Central Committee. Major General Ai Husheng (艾虎生, born 1951; son of Ai Fulin 艾福林⁴²),

⁴²Ai Fulin was deputy commander of the artillery corps under the Shenyang Military Region during the Cultural Revolution period.

former commander of the 39th Army under the Shenyang Military Region and now chief of staff of the Chengdu Military Region, was elected a new alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee.

The Jinan Military Region provided two full members and two alternate members. Its commander (Lieutenant General Fan Changlong 范長龍, born 1947) was promoted from an alternate member of the Sixteenth Central Committee to a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee, and its political commissar (General Liu Dongdong 劉冬冬, born 1945) was reelected as a full member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. Vice Admiral Su Shiliang (蘇士亮, born 1950), a deputy commander of the Jinan Military Region and commander of the North China Sea Fleet, was elected a new alternate member. So was Major General Zhang Shibo (張仕波), commander of the 20th Army.

The Nanjing Military Region also contributed two full members and two alternate members. Its new commander (Lieutenant General Zhao Keshi 趙克石, born 1947) and its new political commissar (Lieutenant General Chen Guoling 陳國令) were both elected full members. Zhao Keshi had been chief of staff of the Nanjing Military Region before he replaced General Zhu Wenquan (朱文泉, born October 1942) as the commander in September 2007. Chen Guoling, however, was promoted from deputy political commissar of the Guangzhou Military Region. He replaced General Lei Mingqiu (雷鳴球, born June 1942) as the political commissar of the Nanjing Military Region in September 2007. Major General Cai Yingting (蔡英挺, born 1952), former commander of the 31st Army and now chief of staff of the Nanjing Military Region, was elected a new alternate member. So was Major General Zhu Yimin (褚益民, born 1953), former political commissar of the 47th Army under the Lanzhou Military Region and now political director of the Nanjing Military Region.

Finally, the Guangzhou Military Region provided two full members and one alternate member. Its commander and its political commissar were both elected as new full members. Lieutenant General Zhang Qinsheng (章沁生, born 1948) had been a deputy chief of the general staff before he replaced General Liu Zhenwu as commander of the Guangzhou Military Region in June 2007. He was not only a deputy to the Party Congress but also

a member of the presidium, a position usually occupied by political commissars of the military regions. Lieutenant General Zhang Yang (張陽, born 1951) had been political director of the Guangzhou Military Region and replaced General Yang Deqing (楊德清, born 1942) as its political commissar in September 2007. Zhang is the youngest military leader with this rank. Major General Xu Fenlin (徐粉林, born 1953), former commander of the 21st Army under the Lanzhou Military Region and now chief of staff of the Guangzhou Military Region, was elected a new alternate member.

Altogether, these seven military regions contributed sixteen full members and nine alternate members giving them a total representation index of 41.

Other Military Central Committee Members

There are three other military Central Committee members who belong neither to the central military institutions nor the local military regions. Senior Colonel Yang Liwei (楊利偉, born 1965),⁴³ a native of Liaoning Province, was the first Chinese astronaut to orbit the earth in Shenzhou V (神州五號). This national hero was not only elected as a deputy to the Party Congress but also made a member of the presidium. He entered the Seventeenth Central Committee as an alternate member. Major General Qin Yinhe (秦銀河, born 1950) is a medical doctor and president of the PLA's General Hospital in Beijing. He was also elected an alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee. Ms. Chen Zuoning (陳左寧, born 1957) is a general engineer working in a research institute under the General Staff Department. She was elected a new alternate member of the Seventeenth Central Committee, although she was not a deputy to the Party Congress.

The total representation index for the military as a whole was 128, less than either the provinces or the central institutions.

⁴³ Yang Liwei was awarded the rank of major general in July 2008. See <http://www.xjdaily.com/news/china/256709.shtml>.

Corporate Representation

The representation of corporate and academic leaders was further increased in the Seventeenth Central Committee, there being twenty-seven members in this category compared to eighteen in the Sixteenth Central Committee. However, with only one exception, all of them were alternate members.

Corporations

There are eighteen corporations represented on the Seventeenth Central Committee (see table 8). The representatives are Kang Rixin (康日新, born 1953), general manager of China National Nuclear Corporation; Zhu Yanfeng (竺延風, born 1961), president of China FAW Group Corporation; Zhang Xiaogang (張曉剛, born 1955), general manager of Angang Steel Company; Zhang Ruimin (張瑞敏, born 1949), CEO of Haier Group, China; Zhang Guoqing (張國清, born 1964), deputy general manager and Party group secretary of China Ordnance Industry Corporation (COIC); Xu Lejiang (徐樂江, born 1959), board chairman of Baosteel Group; Xiao Yaqing (蕭亞慶, born 1959), board chairman and general manager of Aluminum Corporation of China (ACH); Wang Yupu (王玉普), chairman and general manager of Daqing (大慶) Oilfield Corporation; Wang Xiaochu (王曉初, born 1958), president of China Telecom Corporation; Su Shulin (蘇樹林, born 1962), general manager of Sinopec Corporation; Shi Dahua (石大華, born 1951), board chairman of China Railway Construction Corporation; Lou Jiwei (樓繼偉, born 1950), board chairman of the newly established China Investment Corporation (CIC); Liu Zhenya (劉振亞, born 1952), president of State Grid Corporation of China; Liu Shiquan (劉石泉, born 1963), Party secretary of Sanjiang Space Group; Lin Zuoming (林左鳴, born 1957), general manager of China Aviation Industry Corporation I (CAICI); Li Changyin (李長印, born 1951), general manager of China Shipbuilding Industry Corporation (CSIC); Jiang Jiemin (蔣潔敏, born 1954), president of PetroChina Company; and Chen Chuanping (陳川平), of the Taiyuan Steel Group. Kang Rixin is the only full member among them. Four of them (Lin Zuoming, Liu Shiquan, Su Shulin, and Zhang

Table 8
Representation of Corporate Institutions on the Central Committee, October 2007

Institutions	cca	ccf	Index
Corporations			
China National Nuclear Corp. (CNNC)		1	2
China FAW Group Corp.	1		
Angang Steel Company	1		1
Haier Group	1		1
China Ordnance Industry Corp. (COIC)	1		1
Baosteel Group	1		1
Aluminum Corporation of China (ACH)	1		1
Daqing Oilfield Corp.	1		1
China Telecom Corp.	1		1
Sinopec Corp.	1		1
China Railway Construction Corp.	1		1
China Investment Corp. (CIC)	1		1
State Grid Corporation	1		1
Sanjiang Space Group	1		1
China Aviation Industry Corp. (CAICI)	1		1
China Shipbuilding Industry Corp. (CSIC)	1		1
PetroChina Company	1		1
Taiyuan Steel Group	1		1
Subtotal	17	1	19
Academic Institutions			
Beijing University	1		1
Sichuan University	1		1
Shanghai Jiaotong University	1		1
Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences	1		1
China Academy of Engineering Physics	1		1
Lanzhou Institute of Modern Physics	1		1
China Academy of Space Technology	1		1
No. 1 Railway Survey & Design Institute	1		1
Bureau of Geology & Mineral Resources Exploration & Development of Tibet	1		1
Subtotal	9		9
Total	26	1	28

Key: cca: Central Committee (CC) alternate members; ccf: CC full members.

Sources: Author's database.

Ruimin) had been alternate members of the Sixteenth Central Committee, and the rest were newly elected. Several corporations had been represented on the Sixteenth Central Committee, such as the Angang Steel Company (Liu Jie 劉玟, alternate member), the Baosteel Group (Ms. Xie Qihua 謝企華, alternate member), and Sinopec Corporation (Li Yizhong 李毅中, full member). On the Seventeenth Central Committee, Zhang Xiaogang replaced Liu Jie, Xu Lejiang replaced Xie Qihua, Su Shulin replaced Li Yizhong, and Wang Yupu replaced Sun Shulin as representatives of their respective corporations.

Since most of these corporations are state-owned, their leaders are in fact government officials. Lou Jiwei, for instance, had been vice governor of Guizhou and vice minister of finance. Su Shulin had served as director of the Organization Department of the Liaoning Provincial Party Committee before his appointment as general manager of Sinopec Corporation. Lin Jun had been general manager of the China Grain Reserves Corporation before he was appointed Party group secretary of the Federation of Overseas Chinese.

The total representation index of corporate leaders on the Seventeenth Central Committee was 19.

Academic Institutions

In addition to these corporate leaders, there were nine academic leaders on the Seventeenth Central Committee. Dr. Min Weifang (閔維方, born 1950, Party secretary of Beijing University) and Dr. Zhai Huqu (翟虎渠, born 1950, president of the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences) were both reelected as alternate members. Both of them earned their doctoral degrees abroad. Min has a doctorate in the economics of education from Stanford University in the United States, and Zhai received his doctorate in plant genetics from Birmingham University in the United Kingdom.⁴⁴ Dr. Xie Heping (謝和平, born 1956), president of Sichuan

⁴⁴For a detailed introduction to Min Weifang and Zhai Huqu, see Bo Zhiyue, *China's Elite Politics: Political Transition and Power Balancing* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2007), 135.

University, was made a new alternate member. Other new alternate members in this category are Dr. Zhao Xiangeng (趙憲庚, born 1953), president of the Chinese Academy of Engineering Physics; Dr. Zhang Jie (張杰, born 1958), president of Shanghai Jiaotong University; Zhan Wenlong (詹文龍, born 1955), director of the Lanzhou Institute of Modern Physics; Yuan Jiajun (袁家軍, born 1962), director of the China Academy of Space Technology;⁴⁵ Li Jincheng (李金城, born 1963), deputy chief engineer of the No. 1 Railway Survey and Design Institute; and Dorji (多吉, Tibetan, born 1953), head of the Bureau of Geology and Mineral Resources Exploration and Development of Tibet.

The total representation index of academic leaders on the Seventeenth Central Committee was 9, and the total representation index of both corporate and academic leaders was 28, the lowest among all institutions.

Concluding Remarks

At the conclusion of the CCP's Seventeenth National Congress, provincial units remained the most powerful institution in Chinese politics. Their representation index was 247 (42 percent excluding the score of the political core). This means at least three things. First, as a result of the decentralization that took place in the 1980s and 1990s, provincial units (horizontal blocks, 塊塊) have taken over from central institutions (vertical blocks, 條條) as the most important institutions in China. Second, China's provinces have become a training ground for the top leadership. Two new Politburo Standing Committee members (Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang) and four out of the seven new members of the Seventeenth Politburo (Wang Qishan, Li Yuanchao, Wang Yang, and Zhang Gaoli 張高麗) were directly recruited from the provinces. Finally, the provinces' larger representation index might give them the upper hand in the event of a contest among institutions.

⁴⁵For Yuan Jiajun's biographical information, see <http://baike.baidu.com/view/51855.htm>.

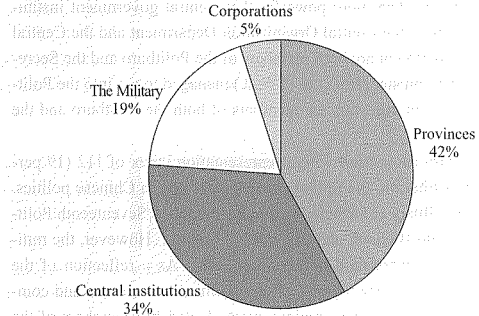
The central institutions (Party, government, and other) ranked second with a total score of 200 (34 percent). At individual-unit level, central Party institutions are much more powerful than central government institutions. The heads of the Central Organization Department and the Central Propaganda Department are both members of the Politburo and the Secretariat. Only one minister (Bo Xilai 薄熙來) managed to get into the Politburo, and no current ministers are members of both the Politburo and the Secretariat.

The military came third with a representation index of 112 (19 percent). As an institution, the military is indispensable in Chinese politics. As before, the military contributed two members to the Seventeenth Politburo: General Guo Boxiong and General Xu Caihou. However, the military is no longer represented in the Secretariat. As a reflection of the importance of the military regions, all the political commissars and commanders of the seven military regions were elected full members of the Seventeenth Central Committee, regardless of their previous Central Committee experience. In fact, out of these fourteen military leaders, all but three were new to the Central Committee.

The corporate and academic world had the lowest representation index of 28 (5 percent). Over the past three decades, China's economy has evolved from a centrally planned system to a market-oriented one and business entrepreneurs are playing an increasingly important role in Chinese politics. The Chinese Communist Party has adapted to the new situation and attempted to incorporate this new political force into its ranks. However, business elites have mostly been absorbed into other institutions such as the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference rather than the CCP's Central Committee.

The institutional balance of the Seventeenth Central Committee was almost the same as that of its predecessor when it was elected on November 14, 2002. The only difference is that provinces declined from 43 percent in 2002 to 42 percent in 2007, and corporations increased from 4 percent in 2002 to 5 percent in 2007. The central institutions and the military institutions remained the same in percentage terms, although their scores were a bit higher in 2007 than in 2002 because of the expansion of the

Figure 1
Balance of Institutional Power in China (October 2007)



overall scores in 2007.

It should be noted that the balance of institutional power has been anything but static due to constant inter-institutional transfers, especially those between central institutions and the provinces. First, twelve people have been transferred from the provinces to the center. They are Xi Jinping, Li Keqiang, Li Yuanchao, Zhang Dejiang (張德江), Wang Qishan, Li Jianguo (李建國), Qian Yunlu (錢運錄), Ismail Tiliwaldi, Du Qinglin (杜青林), Li Chengyu (李成玉), Dai Xianglong (戴相龍), and Chen Bao-sheng (陳寶生). Xi Jinping, the former Party secretary of Shanghai, was elected vice president of the People's Republic of China in March 2008. Li Keqiang (former Party secretary of Liaoning), Zhang Dejiang (former Party secretary of Guangdong), and Wang Qishan (former mayor of Beijing) were appointed vice premiers of the State Council under the leadership of Premier Wen Jiabao. Li Yuanchao (former Party secretary of Jiangsu) was made director of the Central Organization Department. Li Jianguo (former Party secretary of Shandong) was elected vice chairman and secretary-general of the Eleventh National People's Congress Standing Committee. Qian Yunlu (former Party secretary of Heilongjiang) was elected vice

chairman and secretary-general of the Eleventh National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Ismail Tiliwaldi (former chairman of Xinjiang) was elected vice chairman of the Eleventh National People's Congress Standing Committee. Du Qinglin (former Party secretary of Sichuan) was appointed director of the Central United Front Work Department and was subsequently elected vice chairman of the Eleventh National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Li Chengyu (former governor of Henan) was transferred to Beijing as Party group secretary of the All-China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives. Dai Xianglong (former mayor of Tianjin) was appointed chairman of the National Social Security Fund Council (全國社會保障基金理事會). And Chen Baosheng (former Party secretary of Lanzhou, Gansu) was appointed vice president of the Central Party School.

Second, four central leaders have been transferred to the provinces. After becoming a member of the Politburo, Bo Xilai (former minister of commerce) was transferred to Chongqing as Party secretary; Jiang Yikang (former Party secretary of the National School of Administration) was transferred to Shandong as Party secretary; Ji Bingxuan (吉炳軒, former executive deputy director of the Central Propaganda Department) was appointed Party secretary of Heilongjiang; and Hu Chunhua (former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League) was appointed governor of Hebei.

As a result of these changes, the provinces lost 37 points and the center lost 10 points. In other words, the center has a net gain of 27 points. However, among those who have been transferred to Beijing, at least nine—Xi Jinping, Li Keqiang, Li Yuanchao, Zhang Dejiang, Wang Qishan, Li Jianguo, Qian Yunlu, Ismail Tiliwaldi, and Du Qinglin—have become members of the political core. They do not necessarily belong to ministerial-level institutions at the center. For this reason, the institutional balance between the provinces and the central institutions has not been significantly altered.

