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	- DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE	
	DOI: (U) 900630.	
	REQS: (U) (b)(3):50 USC 403-1	
	SOURCE: (U)	
-	SUMMARY: (U) THIS REPORT FORWARDS A COPY OF 1990 EDITION OF THE DIRECTORY OF PRC MILITARY PERSONALITIES. THIS EDITION COVERS THE PERIOD FROM JANUARY 1989 TO JUNE 1990. ENCLOSURE.	(b)(3):10 USC 424
	TEXT: 1. (U) FINALLY, AFTER MONTHS OF INTENSE EFFORT IN MONITORING AND UPDATING PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE PLA LEADERSHIP, THE 1990 EDITION OF THE "DIRECTORY OF PLA PERSONALITIES" IS COMPLETED. THIS EDITION OF THE DIRECTORY OF PRC MILITARY PERSONALITIES COVERS AN EVENTFUL AND CRUCIAL PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE	

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. MASSIVE PLA FORCES WERE USED TO QUELL A "COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY REBELLION" IN THE CAPITAL, FOLLOWING WHICH THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY, ((ZHAO)) ZIYANG, WAS PURGED AND REPLACED. PARAMOUNT LEADER ((DENG)) XIAOPING BOWED OUT OF THE FRONT STAGE OF CHINESE POLITICS ALTOGETHER. TO READY THE COUNTRY FOR THE POST-DENG ERA, DENG'S DIRECTORSHIP OVER THE ARMED FORCES WAS PASSED ON TO THE NEW PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY, ((JIANG)) ZEMIN. SWEEPING RESHUFFLES WERE ALSO EFFECTED IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT FROM THE MILITARY COMMISSION (MC) DOWN TO THE MILITARY REGION (MR'S) AND BELOW, AMID INJUNCTIONS FOR THE GUN TO OBEY THE PARTY.

- 2. (U) IT ALL BEGAN IN MAY 1989, WHEN PLA TROOPS WERE DEPLOYED TO THE CAPITAL TO END A MONTH-LONG STUDENT-LED PROTEST SPARKED OFF BY THE DEATH OF THE FORMER PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY, ((HU)) YAOBANG. THE SIZE OF THE FORCE AGGREGATED FOR THE MARTIAL LAW OPERATION IS NOT KNOWN -- THE HIGHEST ESTIMATE PUTS IT AT 350,000 MEN. IT IS KNOWN, HOWEVER, THAT ELEMENTS FROM AT LEAST 14 OF THE PLA'S TOTAL OF 24 GROUP ARMIES (GA'S) AND TWO AIRBORNE BRIGADES WERE BROUGHT IN FROM VARIOUS MR'S. THOUGH MOST UNITS WERE NO LARGER THAN DIVISIONS, THEY WERE LED AND DIRECTED BY NOT ONLY THE GA COMMANDERS AND POLITICAL COMMISSARS (PC'S) BUT ALSO DEPUTY COMMANDERS AND DEPUTY PC'S OF THEIR PARENT MR'S.
- (U) THE CRACKDOWN OF JUNE 3-4 CLEARED THE WAY FOR THE OUSTER ON JUNE 24 OF PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY ZHAO ZIYANG, WHOSE DISSENTING VOICE AT THE PARTY CENTER HAD ALLEGEDLY FUELED THE PRO-DEMOCRACY PROTEST, TURNING A "TURMOIL" INTO A "COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY REBELLION". ALSO REMOVED WAS ((HU)) QILI, POLITBURO (PB) STANDING COMMITTEE (SC) MEMBER AND RANKING SECRETARY OF THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT. JIANG ZEMIN, WHO AS PARTY CHIEF OF SHANGHAI HAD FIRMLY DEALT WITH A LIBERAL NEWSPAPER BUT MAINTAINED BETTER ORDER IN HIS CITY WITHOUT THE USE OF FORCE, TOOK ZHAO'S PLACE, TO BECOME THE THIRD PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE DENG ERA. HIS PROMOTION AND THAT OF TWO OTHER PB ORDINARY MEMBERS TO THE SC TURNED THE FORMAL CENTER OF PARTY POWER INTO A BODY OF SIX INSTEAD OF THE PREVIOUS FIVE PERSONS. NO NEW MEMBERS WERE ELECTED TO FILL THE THREE PB VACANCIES LEFT BY HU YAOBANG, ZHAO ZIYANG AND HU QILI. BUT THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT WAS REORGANIZED, AND THE ONCE EXCLUSIVELY CIVILIAN ORGAN WAS JOINED BY GENERAL ((YANG)) BAIBING, WHO TODAY RANKS FOURTH IN THE FORMAL MILITARY HIERARCHY. THE WORD "FORMAL" IS USED IN RECOGNITION OF THE REAL POWER WIELDED BY PARTY ELDERS WHO DO NOT SIT ON THE PB. FOREMOST AMONG THEM IS, OF COURSE, DENG XIAOPING, WHO HAD HUNG ON TO THE CHAIR OF THE MC FOR NINE YEARS DESPITE YIELDING HIS PARTY POSITIONS. THIS TIME, DENG TOOK THE DECISIVE MEASURE TO STEP DOWN. JIANG ZEMIN WAS PROMPTLY MADE CHAIRMAN OF THE PARTY MC

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IN NOVEMBER, AND OF THE STATE CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION THE FOLLOWING APRIL. (THE CHINESE HAVE SAID THE TWO COMMISSIONS ARE ONE AND THE SAME.) THUS, IN A MATTER OF TEN MONTHS, THE NEW PARTY CHIEF WAS VESTED WITH SUPREME LEADERSHIP, ALBEIT NOMINAL, OVER THE COUNTRY'S ARMED FORCES. IN THIS RESPECT JIANG COMES CLOSER TO ((HUA)) GUOFENG, ((MAO)) ZEDONG'S HANDPICKED SUCCESSOR, THAN TO HU YAOBANG AND ZHAO ZIYANG. HUA BECAME HEAD OF THE PARTY, GOVERNMENT AND ARMED FORCES ALL AT ONCE FOLLOWING MAO'S DEATH IN 1976. HU WAS NEVER GIVEN A PLACE ON THE MC THROUGHOUT HIS TENURE AS PARTY CHIEF FROM JUNE 1981 TO JANUARY 1987. ZHAO, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS MADE MC FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN (VC) AS SOON AS HE WAS CONFIRMED AS PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY IN NOVEMBER 1987. THE DIFFERENCE IN THE TREATMENT OF HU, ZHAO AND JIANG POINTS TO A SENSE OF URGENCY THAT HAS BEEN GROWING IN RECENT YEARS TO STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THE PARTY CHIEF WITH MILITARY POWER.

- 4. (U) THE MC RECEIVED MORE THAN A NEW CHAIRMAN. ((YANG)) SHANGKUN, THE 82-YEAR-OLD STATE PRESIDENT, MOVED UP FROM EXECUTIVE VC TO FIRST VC, PASSING HIS CONCURRENT POSITION OF MC SECRETARY-GENERAL TO HIS YOUNGER BROTHER YANG BAIBING. ((LIU)) HUAQING, A DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL, ROSE TO BECOME THE SECOND VC, WHILE ((HONG)) XUEZHI, THE RANKING DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL, WAS RETIRED. WITH NO NEW DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL APPOINTED, YANG BAIBING THE NEW SECRETARY-GENERAL IS LEFT WITH NO SENIOR ASSISTANTS AND THUS A FREE HAND AS THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE MC. HE AT THE SAME TIME HAS RETAINED HIS OLD POSITION OF GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT (GPD) DIRECTOR, AND ADDITIONALLY JOINED THE PARTY'S CENTRAL SECRETARIAT.
- 5. (U) IN THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT, BOTH AT THE CENTER AND IN THE PROVINCES, A NUMBER OF PERSONNEL CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE THE NEW PARTY LEADERSHIP HEADED BY JIANG ZEMIN WAS INSTALLED. HOWEVER, THEY ARE NO COMPARISON TO THE SWEEPING RESHUFFLES IN THE MILITARY, ESPECIALLY IN THE MR'S.
- 6. (U) WITH THE EXCEPTION OF SHENYANG MR, EACH REGIONAL COMMAND HAS BEEN TAKEN OVER BY A NEW LEADING GROUP -- COMMANDER, PC, DEPUTY COMMANDERS, DEPUTY PC'S AND LEADING ORGAN CHIEFS, WHO TOGETHER FORM THE SC OF THE COMMAND'S PARTY COMMITTEE. FULL NAMELISTS ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE, BUT PARTIAL LISTS SHOW MORE NEW APPOINTEES THAN OFFICIALS HELD OVER FROM PREVIOUS TEAMS. THE 14 MR PRINCIPAL LEADERS -- COMMANDERS AND PC'S -- HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED. ALL BUT FOUR ARE NEW TO THEIR POSTS. EIGHT OF THEM WERE PROMOTED FROM LOWER RUNGS IN THE MR'S, MAINLY FROM DEPUTY COMMANDERS AND DEPUTY PC'S. AS A RESULT, THE AVERAGE AGE OF MR PRINCIPAL LEADERS WAS BROUGHT DOWN FROM 65 TO 60 YEARS. EACH AND EVERY ONE OF THE NEW SET OF MR COMMANDERS AND

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PC'S IS BELOW 65 YEARS OF AGE, THE AGE CEILING SET FOR MR OFFICIALS BY THE SERVICE REGULATIONS FOR ACTIVE-DUTY PLA OFFICERS WHICH TOOK EFFECT JANUARY 1, 1989. BY COMPARISON, THEIR 14 PREDECESSORS INCLUDED SEVEN WHO WERE OVER- AGED, ONE AS OLD AS 73.

- 7. (U) HEAVY INTER-REGIONAL TRANFER WAS A DISTINGUISHING MARK OF THE RESHUFFLE. SEVEN OF THE TEN NEW MR COMMANDERS AND PC'S WERE BROUGHT IN FROM OTHER REGIONS. SUCH INTER-REGIONAL EXCHANGE OF PERSONNEL, IT IS OFFICIALLY EXPLAINED, SERVES TO BROADEN THE OFFICERS' UNDERSTANDING OF THE PLA. IT NO DOUBT ALSO SERVES TO PREVENT THE FORMATION OF FACTIONS AND LOCAL POWER BASES, TWO PROBLEMS BESETTING THE PLA WHICH DENG XIAOPING SET OUT TO CORRECT AFTER HIS COMEBACK IN 1973.
- 8. (U) AS BEFORE, REVOLUTIONIZATION, REJUVENATION, PROFESSIONALIZATION AND INTELLECTUALIZATION -- KNOWN AS THE "FOUR TRANSFORMATIONS" OF THE CADRE -- SEEMED TO BE THE CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF NEW OFFICIALS. THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT ADDED WEIGHT WAS GIVEN TO "REVOLUTIONIZATION" AFTER JUNE 4, WITH PERFORMANCE IN THE BEIJING CRACKDOWN SERVING AS A YARDSTICK FOR POLITICAL QUALITY. DEFINITE PREFERENCE WAS SHOWN TO OFFICERS WHO ENFORCED MARTIAL LAW IN THE CAPITAL; THEY CAPTURED FIVE OF THE TEN MR PRINCIPAL POSITIONS WHICH CHANGED HANDS.
- 9. (U) SUCH OFFICERS ARE MORE PREDOMINANT IN THE NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMED POLICE (PAP) HEADQUARTERS, TAKING AT LEAST FIVE OF EIGHT NEW APPOINTMENTS. THIS BRANCH OF THE CHINESE ARMED FORCES WHICH OPERATES UNDER THE PUBLIC SECURITY ORGANS WAS APPARENTLY UNABLE TO HANDLE LAST YEAR'S "TURMOIL", HENCE THE CALLING IN OF REGULAR TROOPS. IT IS THEREFORE NO SURPRISE THAT PAP'S HIGH COMMAND UNDERWENT A THOROUGH RESHUFFLE AS EARLY AS FEBRUARY 1990, AHEAD OF ALL PLA COMMANDS. TO COPE WITH SIMILAR FLARE-UPS IN THE FUTURE, PAP ANTI-RIOT UNITS ARE BEING SET UP THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. PAP'S BEIJING UNITS IN PARTICULAR HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLY EXPANDED, TO INCLUDED A SECOND GENERAL UNIT IN ADDITION TO THE EXISTING ONE.
- 10. (U) APPOINTMENTS TO OTHER MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS WERE ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS. GPD AND THE GENERAL LOGISTICS DEPARTMENT (GLD) WERE EACH ASSIGNED TWO NEW DEPUTY DIRECTORS, WHILE A FORMER GPD DEPUTY DIRECTOR WAS REASSIGNED PC OF GLD. SIMILAR APPOINTMENTS MAY BE FORTHCOMING FOR THE GENERAL STAFF DEPARTMENT. THOROUGH LEADERSHIP CHANGES LIKE THAT AT THE PAP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OR THE PLA REGIONAL COMMANDS ARE NOT EXPECTED IN THE THREE GENERAL DEPARTMENTS, SINCE THEIR CHIEFS WERE ALL INSTALLED IN 1987. INITIAL PERSONNEL MOVEMENTS HAVE ALSO BEEN NOTED ELSEWHERE. IN THE NAVY, THE HIGH COMMAND WAS ASSIGNED A DEPUTY PC AND THE NORTH

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SEA FLEET A DEPUTY COMMANDER. THE PC OF SECOND ARTILLERY WAS REPLACED BY A YOUNGER MAN.

- 11. (U) THIS ROUND OF PLA PERSONNEL CHANGES IS NOT YET COMPLETED; IT IS STILL CONTINUING. THE NEW ASSIGNMENTS HAVE LEFT MANY VACANCIS TO BE FILLED, ESPECIALLY AT THE ARMY LEVEL, INCLUDING THE PROVINCIAL MILITARY DISTRICTS. MORE RETIREMENTS ALSO SEEM TO BE FORTHCOMING.
- 12. (U) ((HONG)) XUEZHI, 77, WAS THE FIRST THERE-STAR GENERAL TO RETIRE. HE WAS FOLLOWED BY ((LI)) DESHENG, 74, PC OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY. ((YOU)) TAIZHONG, SECOND SECRETARY OF THE MC DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMISSION, MAY ALSO HAVE RETIRED. SIMILAR FATE MAY BE IN STORE FOR THE THREE FULL GENERALS WHO WERE REPLACED IN THE MR RESHUFFLE.
- (U) THE LARGE-SCALE PLA PERSONNEL RESHUFFILE CANNOT BE INTERPRETED AS PURELY AN AFTERMATH OF THE JUNE 1989 TIANANMEN INCIDENT. CHANGES HAD BEEN EXPECTED FOR SOME TIME, ESPECIALLY IN THE MR'S, WHERE MANY OF THE: NOW REPLACED OFFICIALS WERE OVER-AGED AND HAD BEEN AT THEIR POSTS FOR FIVE YEARS OR MORE. IN 1988, ACCELERATED MOVEMENTS WERE NOTED AMONG MR DEPUTIES AND ARMY-LEVEL CADRES. SUCH MOVEMENTS CONTINUED INTO THE FIRST HALF OF 1989, VERY LIKELY IN PREPARATION FOR HIGHER-LEVEL CHANGES TO COME. THE EFFECT OF THE ARMED CRACKEDOWN SEEMED TO BE MAINLY ON THE SELECTION OF NEW OFFICIALS. OFFICERS WHO EVIDENTLY DID NOT WAVER WHEN ORDERÆD TO ENFORCE MARTIAL LAW WERE PLACED IN KEY POSITIONES IN A BID TO ENSURE PLA LOYALTY TO THE PARTY. AT THE SAME TIME, QUITE A FEW SENIOR POLITICAL OFFICERS APEARENTLY OWE THEIR APPOINTMENTS TO YANG BAIBING AND HENCE YANG SHANGKUN.
- 14. (U) ASIDE FROM THE ABOVE-MENTIONED MAJOR CHANGES, THIS EDITION OF THE DIRECTORY INCLUDES TWO NOTEWORTHY ADDITIONS. ONE IS THE 89-YEAR-OLD MARSHAL ((XU)) XIANGQIAN, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE MC'S ARMED FORCES. COMMITTEE. XU HAS RECENTLY TAKEN TO USING THIS OLD TITLE, WHICH WAS THOUGHT TO HAVE BEEN RELINQUISHED IN 1987 ALONG WITH HIS MC VC POSITION. ANOTHER IS THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S GENERAL OFFICE, WHOSE FIVE DEPUTY DIRECTORS HAVE BEEN FOUND TO INCLUDE TWO LIEUTENANT GENERALS, ONE BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SECURITY OF THE PARTY'S CENTRAL LEADERSHIP AS HEAD OF THE CENTRAL GUARD BUREAU.
- COMMENTS: 1. (U) (b)(3):10 USC 424, THIS YEAR S DIRECTORY INCLUDES A FEW MAJOR CHANGES, THE MOST IMPORTANT BEING THE INCORPORATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS AND STC CODES INTO THE INDEX, ALONG WITH THE PHONETIC NAMES. HOPEFULLY, THIS WILL PROVIDE ANALYSTS WITH A BETTER CROSS-REFERENCING CAPABILITY IN LOCATING INDIVIDUALS.

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3. (U) HOPES-THAT ANALYSTS WILL FIND THIS	
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