



United States Catholic China Bureau

China Church Quarterly

Issue No.86 Spring 2011

Pope Prays for the Church in China

This is the invitation that Benedict XVI made today to Catholics throughout the world, ahead of the day of prayer for the Church in China, on 24 May.

At the end of the general audience, the Pope asked for **the prayers first and foremost of Chinese Catholics**, but also those around the world. "We know - he said - that among our brother bishops, there are some who suffer and are under pressure in exercising their episcopal ministry. To them, the priests and all Catholics who have difficulties in the profession of their faith, we express our closeness. **With our prayers we can help them** find a way to keep their faith alive, their hope strong, their charity towards all ardent, and the ecclesiology that we inherited from the Lord and the Apostles and has been transmitted faithfully to this day, whole. With prayer we can obtain that their desire to stay in the Church Universal overcome the temptation of a path independent of Peter. **Prayer can obtain for them and for us**, the joy and the strength to proclaim and bear witness, with all the boldness and without hindrance, to Jesus Christ crucified and risen, the new man, the conqueror of sin and death. **With all of you I ask Mary to intercede** so that each one of them conform themselves more closely to Christ and give themselves more generously to their brothers. I ask Mary - concluded the pope - to enlighten those who are in doubt, reach out to the lost, comfort the afflicted, strengthen those who are ensnared by the false promises of opportunism. "

[AsiaNews]

Taiwan Prelate Cancels China Visit

An ailing Jesuit cardinal has called off a trip to mainland China because Beijing has not issued him with an entry permit. "I will no longer wait for it," Cardinal Paul Shan Kuo-hsi, 88, said.

Speculating as to why he has not been granted the necessary document, Cardinal Shan, who is suffering from lung cancer, said "maybe the timing of the trip is too close to the commemoration of the June 4th Incident" often referred to as the Tiananmen Square demonstrations.

The Chou Ta-kuan Foundation had arranged for the cardinal, the Fu Jen Catholic University president and an accompanying medical team to visit China on June 5-13. **Everyone got entry permits except the cardinal**, said the foundation's spokesperson.

The original plan was for the cardinal to first visit Bishop Aloysius Jin Luxian of Shanghai, who was Cardinal Shan's classmate when they got their doctorates from the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome 60 years ago.

He was then to go to Zhengzhou in Henan province, to give a lecture before **visiting Puyang, the town of his birth**. "It's very regrettable as I was looking forward to welcoming my old friend and Jesuit confrere whom I have known for decades," said Bishop Jin, 95, after learning the trip was off.

The diocese had invited the cardinal to give a testimony on life and death and concelebrate a Mass and prayer gathering, said Auxiliary Bishop Joseph Xing Wenzhi of Shanghai. He also expressed his regret at the cancellation of the trip as local Catholics have lost a good opportunity to hear the cardinal's witness.

Father Stephen of Puyang said he was very disappointed the prelate would not be coming. **"A dying old man is not allowed to return home. What else can he still hope for?"** Our cardinal will probably leave us with sadness, because the authorities did not give us this last chance to meet each other."

Wang Zuo'an, director of (mainland) China's State Administration for Religious Affairs, and **Liu Yuanlong**, a vice-chair of the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association, **had both invited Cardinal Shan** to visit the mainland during recent visits to Taiwan.

Cardinal Shan last visited mainland China in 1979, directly before his ordination as Bishop of Hualien diocese in eastern Taiwan. [UCA News]



Church News

Catholics Struggle for Unity

While Pope Benedict XVI has encouraged Catholics in mainland China to reconcile with one another and form one community united with Rome, some Chinese Catholics believe the only way to be faithful to the universal church is for the clandestine church to continue, said a Chinese Vatican official.

Archbishop Savio Hon Tai-Fai, the Hong Kong-born secretary of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, told the Italian Catholic newspaper *Avvenire*, "**The clandestine communities still have a reason to exist.**"

In the interview published April 1, Archbishop Hon said that while some Catholic bishops have been forced by the Chinese government to participate in public events against their will, other bishops and priests have gone willingly.

The archbishop referred specifically to the ordination in November of a bishop not approved by the pope and to the December session of the National Congress of Catholic Representatives, which elected leaders for the government-approved Bishops' Conference of the Church in China and the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association. The bishops' conference and the patriotic association are responsible for the public life of the church in the communist country.

"Not all of the participants were forced to go. **Some went spontaneously**, just as some spontaneously adhere to the policy of the 'autonomy' of the Chinese church from the pope and the Holy See," the archbishop said. He said 45 bishops, most of whom have been accepted as bishops by the pope, participated in the national congress; "**some of them were taken there by force**, others were not."

"The number of opportunists has grown," he said, and the only way to counter the trend is to improve the formation of the clergy and for the Vatican to be very, very careful about accepting "compromise candidates" for the office of bishop.

"Selecting good candidates is difficult. The government maintains that in presenting lists of the candidates who are acceptable from its point of view, **it already is making a big concession**. And if the Holy See refuses to give its 'placet', then it threatens to have them consecrated anyway", the archbishop said.

Archbishop Hon told *Avvenire* that sometimes the government's candidates to be bishop go ahead with an ordination ceremony without Vatican approval thinking that **they will go to the pope later, ask for forgiveness** and be forgiven.

"Care must be taken to **avoid this kind of manipulation**. Having said that, though, one must always remember that the church is the body of Christ and if one part of this body is breaking off, we can't just let it go, **but must try to recover it** with justice and also with mercy," the archbishop said.

[Catholic News Service]

The Good and the Problems in Church

The recognition by Pope Benedict XVI, at the conclusion of the fourth **Plenary Meeting of the Vatican Commission on the Church in China**, of the desire of the Catholic people of China to be in communion with the See of Peter and the universal Church is acknowledged in a message to the Catholics of China released by the commission on April 13, the final day of its three-day meeting held in Rome.

The pope encourages the members of the Church in China to be prepared to make sacrifices, despite the difficulties, in order to remain faithful to the faith of the Church, as it is the only foundation on which unity and communion can grow.

While the commission acknowledges that the mosaic emerging from the collective activity of the members of the Church in China **does reflect, by and large**, an image consistent with that of Christ and his many disciples, what is termed the sad events of late last year are high in the consciousness of the commission.

It noted that the ordination, without the approval of the pope, of Father Joseph Guo Jincai as a bishop in Chengde in November, is to be considered as **gravely illegitimate**, adding that this also implies his exercise of any ministry as a bishop is **also illegitimate**.

Although the commission acknowledges the validity of the ordination, it says that coming on top of a series of ordinations that had the mandate of the pope, although these also were subject to many restrictions, it is an **extremely saddening event**.



The commission notes that **on account of the pressure and restrictions** placed by government authorities on the bishops who took part in the ordination, an automatic excommunication may not apply, it says, "There remains a grave wound, perpetrated on the ecclesial body. Every bishop involved is therefore obliged to refer to the Holy See and find the means of explaining his position to the priests and faithful, renewing his profession of fidelity to the supreme pontiff, to help them to overcome their **interior suffering** and repair the **external scandal** caused."

The commission also encouraged the people to support their bishops and stay close to them in prayer and solidarity and to understand the difficulties that they face.

It quotes what are referred to as comforting words from the 2007 letter of Pope Benedict to the Catholic People of China, saying, "I am aware of the grave difficulties which you have to address... in order to remain faithful to Christ, to his Church and to the successor of St. Peter. Reminding you that, as St. Paul said, **no difficulty can separate us from the love of Christ**, I am confident that you will do everything possible, trusting in the Lord's grace, to safeguard unity and ecclesial communion, even at the cost of great sacrifices."

The commission also referred to the Eighth National Assembly of Catholic Representatives reiterating that the body represents a civic structure that **places the authority of the state above that of the bishops in the affairs of the Church**, a situation that is incompatible with Church doctrine.

The commission expresses the hope that the presence of bishops at the congress and the appointment of some to executive positions in the structure will not open new wounds in the fragile communion of the Church in China, once again quoting comforting words from the 2007 papal letter.

"The Holy See would desire to be completely free to appoint bishops... I trust that **an accord can be reached with the government**, so as to resolve certain questions regarding the choice of candidates for the episcopate..."

Although the commission acknowledges that the matter is not entirely in Church hands, it hopes that problems will not get worse and that the peace and harmony of the Church may be protected.

However, it does indicate that the Holy See may come to the party in regard to problems presented by the many diocesan boundaries that have been redrawn in China, as the demography of areas has changed and developed over the past six decades.

Again referring to the 2007 letter from the pope in the communiqué, the commission quotes him as saying, "In this regard, I wish to confirm that the Holy See is prepared to address the entire question of the circumscriptions and ecclesiastical provinces in **an open and constructive dialogue** with the Chinese episcopate and—where opportune—with the government authorities."

The commission adds that the good news of the day is that the diocese of Shanghai is able to begin to postulate the cause for the **beatification of the first Catholic person in the area, Paul Xu Guangqi**, who was a close collaborator of the great Jesuit missionary, Father Matteo Ricci, whose cause has recently been reopened in his home diocese of Macerata in Italy.

During his address at the close of the meeting, Pope Benedict concurred with the stress placed by the commission on the need for good education in the faith at all levels of the Church in China, as he recalled the importance of formation, in particular spiritual formation, so that the people, reinforced by **liturgical and personal prayer**, may be able to confront the considerable challenges of the moment.

He also entrusted the Church to the intercession of Mary Queen of China, renewing the invitation to the whole Church to dedicate May 24, the feast of Our Lady Help of Christians, as a day of prayer for the Church on the mainland.

[Hong Kong Sunday Examiner]



ISBN: 1084-8401

Editor: Michel Marcil, SJ
Proofreader: Lawrence E. Frizzell, D.Phil.
Layout/Production: Mengpin Hsiao

Subscriptions: US/Canada: US\$10.00
 Overseas: US\$15.00 - airmail

U.S. Catholic China Bureau,
 Seton Hall University, South Orange, NJ 07079
 Tel: 973-763-1131 E-mail: chinabur@shu.edu
 www.usccb.net

Chinese Bishops Should Have No Fear

An interview with Archbishop Savio Hon:

Q -Rumours have it that on 9 June there could be a new unlawful Episcopal ordination in Hankow (Wuhan, Hubei), one without papal mandate . . .

I am concerned about the report. The pope is concerned as well, as is the Church of China as a whole. From what I know, **the faithful in Hankow** have reacted by pleading with the government and the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association, citing the Code of Canon Law, not to carry out this ordination.

It would appear that the candidate, Fr Shen Guoan, is against it, too. Sadly, at present we do not know what the candidate actually thinks. However, from brother to brother, I want to tell Fr Shen, "I trust you to act the right way. **The only right thing to do is to refuse.**"

Q -How serious is an unlawful ordination?

The Church is one Body with Christ as the head and the rest of us as the parts, perfectly united in the Holy Spirit. It is mystical and sacramental fact. Every act of division, like this unlawful Episcopal ordination, is an act of division of the Church and causes great pain to the entire body, like tearing a piece from a living body. Eventually, **the whole body is scarred and bleeding.**

There are also consequences. As more unlawful ordinations are made, the Church in China, or parts thereof, appear to be **working for the constitution of a different Church**, a community that wants nothing to do with the Holy Father.

Q -How is it that they are still prepared to carry out unlawful ordinations fully knowing this? According to some reports, the CPCA appears to be planning at least ten Episcopal ordinations . . .

I cannot really say, but from what one can see, it is clear that priests and bishops are under pressure. It is my impression that this pressure is not as strong as it was for our brothers in past decades. Today for instance, **there is no risk of forced labour, prison or death.** Nowadays, the government does not do that anymore.

Of course, if bishops and priests do not submit, **they will be punished** in some way. For example, they can lose public funds for their diocese, obstacles will be put up against their daily pastoral activities; or their careers might suffer (for example, they may not be appointed to the government's consultative assembly). Alternatively, they may not be allowed to travel abroad or inside China, or may be forced to undergo re-education courses.

There are several examples of this. After Bishop Li Lianghai refused to take part in last December's assembly of Catholic representatives, he was sent to re-education. Yet, this also is evidence that it is possible to **say no** to submission. Forced isolation from other bishops, priests or faithful can be a heavy burden though. When faced with such punishment, some bishops resist better than others do. The government knows which candidates to pick, choosing the weaker, those more amenable to compromise.

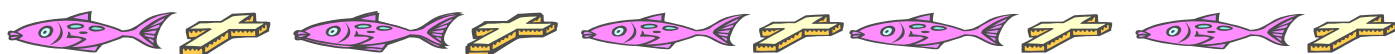
As one might expect, there are also opportunists who will accept a compromise, alleging a number of reasons, such as the greater good of the Church, the need for public monies, the imperative of evangelisation, etc. However, such claims are false. When the Church is cut off from its rock, from Peter, it automatically becomes weak.

In any case, the punishment that might be meted out is no reason not to resist. **Submission is a public act** that causes scandal, sending the wrong message to the faithful. It undermines the heroic memory of so many bishops who have resisted.

At present, various Episcopal candidates resist and do not want to be ordained without the appropriate canonical assurance and the right papal mandate.

When he mentioned the Day of Prayer for the Church in China, the pope called for prayers on behalf of those who are tempted by opportunism . . .

All candidates to the priesthood are our brothers, and we should help them and show understanding. However, this does not mean that we should encourage them to follow the wrong path. **Compassion must make one strong in difficult times.** Besides, if one shows some backbone, the government will not touch you. If you show some weakness or a propensity towards compromise, the government will take advantage of you.



There are candidates who stood their ground and refused to be ordained by excommunicated bishops, at least until a papal mandate was issued. Faced with such firmness, the government could do nothing.

Q -What does the Holy See do for these candidates?

For our part, we must work harder in training the clergy, so that strong leaders can come out of the seminaries. Unfortunately, **we can do little from outside**. At the same time, we can see that the government is keeping a close watch over its candidates, training them before forcing them into the mould they desire. However, no government likes opportunists because they can change their mind. They will always be used for as long as they are useful.

In China's situation, we must counsel bishops and priests that **if they do not feel up to the task** or if they cannot resist pressure, they should simply ask to be released from their pastoral duties and have the courage to suspend their ministry.

Q -Is setting up an independent Church useful for the government?

All the government wants is for the Church to perform the sacraments for Chinese Catholics and foreigners visiting the country. This creates an **impression of religious freedom** even it raises many questions from a canonical and theological point of view.

China follows one principle, the government comes first; religion comes second. However, it is unclear how subordinate religion has to be.

A system of self-selection and self-ordination (without papal mandate) will eventually destroy the Church, as the faithful will move to the bishops who are not in communion with the Holy See.

Q -On the other hand, sacraments performed by an unlawful bishop are valid . . .

What the papal letter to Chinese Catholics said was that, for the good of the faithful, it was possible, under exceptional circumstances, to receive a valid but unlawful sacrament from an unlawful bishop. **If this became the norm**, I think the guideline should be revised and Chinese and foreign Catholics should be told not to receive any sacrament from unlawful bishops. If no clear-cut distinction is

the faithful will not understand the difference between bishops who are loyal to the pope and those who are not. The faith of the simple people could be jeopardized.

Q -After the unlawful ordination of Chengde, the Holy See issued a very clear statement, condemning the act . . .

Yes, but it did not say which one. It did not differentiate between Episcopal power and the pastoral ministry. One becomes bishop through sacramental ordination, but pastor of a segment of the people of God **through papal mandate**. This means that an unlawful bishop who unlawfully secured his ordination has no right to lead the faithful because he does not have a papal mandate. In the case of Chengde, the ordination is valid, but the bishop has no power to lead his flock. This means that in Chengde, the faithful have no obligation to obey the bishop, who has no power to ordain priests.

Q -Given all the difficulties and the threat of unlawful ordinations are there signs of hope for the Church in China?

Many priests and faithful adhere to Catholic doctrine and do not obey unlawful bishops. However, I do not know how long that will last. For this reason, seminary training is important.

One thing deserves closer attention, and that is how Chinese Catholics are inspired by new **Blessed, John Paul II**, who said, 'Have no fear'. The pope said these words at the start of his pontificate after he left Poland, a country where the Church was persecuted and had few hopes of success. Yet, "Have no fear" was effective. Card Casaroli himself could not foresee the collapse of the Communist regime within a short period of time.

I think the way to eliminate this ambiguity is to ask the bishops who engaged in actions contrary to the papal mandate (for example, carrying out ordinations or taking part in assemblies) **to make public amend**.

Q -What can the universal Church do?

We must help the Chinese Church to live the faith and not bend to demands that undermine the deep heart of the Catholic faith and the relationship with the pope. Sadly, **a certain theology from the United States** and Europe is penetrating the Chinese Church. This theology calls for autonomy in the realm of Episcopal appointments and independence from the Holy See.

Archbishop
Savio Hon



There are people in America and Europe who are pushing Chinese bishops towards this kind of action. "If you succeed," they argue, "we will follow." [1]

As you can see, until recently the issues of "independence" and "autonomy" referred to the relationship with the government; now, it also touches the theological level.

Sometimes it appears that the Holy See is dominated by diplomatic fears rather than pastoral concerns, that it is too eager to establish diplomatic relations at any costs. For example, how many times did the Holy See ask for the release of bishops in prison?

Every time we meet representatives of the Chinese government, we demand the release of our brothers. However, the government will not listen. These bishops are old and sick. Their release would be a humanitarian gesture. Sadly, we never get an answer. Perhaps, we should make public appeals rather than speak to the authorities in person.

Q -Some underground Catholics want the cause of beatification of Card Ignatius Gong Pinmei to start. What do you think?

There are technical difficulties. It is up to Chinese dioceses, the local Church, to gather the documentation and present it to the Congregation of Saints. If this happens, the Vatican will certainly consider it. In the case of Card Gong, since he was the bishop of Shanghai, there is the matter of reconciling underground and official communities in Shanghai. But it is not impossible. The same is true for the martyrs of the Communist period, who died from hardships and privations in the camps or in prison, over the past few decades. Each diocese collects documentation on these martyrs, and determines whether to send it to Rome or not for the start of a formal process of beatification. If the diocese can start the process, we are happy.

[Asia News]

[1] *The USCCB does not know who are "these people in the U.S."* - Editor

Vatican's Explanation

Church observers believe that the latest declaration from the Pontifical Council for Legislative Texts on **illicit ordinations** points to issues not only in China but clarifies what persons should not do to eliminate the chance for some clergy to fish in troubled waters.

The declaration on the correct application of canon 1382 of the Code of Canon Law reaffirms the canonical penalty of **excommunication for unapproved episcopal ordinations**.

The six-point document was published by the L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican's official Italian daily on June 11.

However, neither the Italian nor English text has been released on the Holy See's official website and its press office's Vatican Information Service. The Vatican Radio published a Chinese summary by its director Father Federico Lombardi on June 11.

The official full text in Chinese is published on CathNews China, the Chinese language service of ucanews.com.

The document explains the meaning of **latae sententiae excommunication**, how and when it is applied, according to a canon lawyer.

Its aim is not to focus just on punishment but "to explain how serious violation of Church disciplines can be a disaster for the Church, the priests and the faithful in the case of episcopal ordination without papal approval," he said.

It is "medicinal," which means the perpetrator can be "recovered from sickness, that is, to get reconciled with the Church." So it is meant to help those bishops who are illegitimately ordained around the world, **including China**, and to clarify doubts of the faithful, he added.

Anthony Lam Sui-ki, senior researcher of Hong Kong diocese's Holy Spirit Study Centre, believes the new document is not aimed at the China Church but is a goodwill reminder to Catholic clergy worldwide not to violate the canon.

It will be an encouragement to the majority of Chinese faithful who are fervent to maintain communion with the Successor of Peter. "Even one illicit ordination is too many and we don't want it to happen again," Lam stressed.

The declaration pointed out the grave consequence of an episcopal ordination without papal mandate to the Church community even if the bishops involved are exempted from punishment eventually. "This is an important clarification that solves the problem of some candidates attempting to take a snap course by **getting ordained first and asking for papal recognition later.**"

It also clarified the scope of *latae sententiae* excommunication to **include the co-consecrators**, as people traditionally think only the main consecrator and the one being ordained are subjected to the punishment.

The document cited what kind of bad example the excommunicated person should avoid. Now **the faithful can distinguish between right and wrong** so that the clergy can no longer "fish in troubled waters," Lam noted.

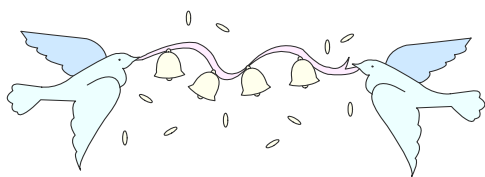
Hong Kong-based Church-in-China observer Kwun Ping-hung said the document can be obviously interpreted as a decision targeting continuous rumors that illicit bishop ordinations would take place in mainland China.

Given that the text does not deliberately mention the China Church and the way and process of its publication, it can also be seen as the needs of the Vatican to strengthen its implementation of the canon and maintain its hope to continue dialogue to resolve differences with China as when both parties cannot reach a consensus on the issue of bishop appointments.

"In this sense, the main purpose of this declaration is to give a **strong warning to Chinese clergy and faithful** to urge them to voluntarily boycott bishop ordinations without papal approval," Kwun said.

But since the authority of appointing bishops touches the uncompromising bottom line of both China and the Vatican, he believes **it is difficult to anticipate** if publishing the declaration or even implementing canon 1382 could help the Vatican to achieve its purpose.

[UCA News]



A Polished Ambassador

A Maryknoll Father's outstanding career serving country, Church and Maryknoll included helping to open up China to the Church and the world.

Walking away from the pope's office, **Maryknoll Father Laurence "Larry" Murphy** asked himself in modest disbelief, "How did a kid from Yonkers get here?" It was enough for the native New Yorker to have had breakfast with **Pope John Paul II** that morning in 1985 to give the pontiff a personal report on his latest visit to China, but afterwards the pope asked Murphy if he would do him a personal favor: Visit **Bishop Kung Pin-Mei**, who had just been released after 30 years in a Chinese prison.

"Please give him this stole as a gift from the pope," the pontiff said, "and tell him, 'I pray for you every day and send my apostolic blessing. **I have absolute confidence in your fidelity.**'"

Recalling the incident 25 years later, the missionary says, "On my next visit to China, I found Bishop Kung, released but still under house arrest in his old rectory. The bishop was very pleased to receive the pope's gift and warm words of encouragement."

Meeting the bishop and fulfilling the pope's request **was a memorable moment** in the life of this "boy from Yonkers" who grew up in Union, N.J., but his whole life has been filled with memorable achievements for his country, the Church and Maryknoll.

In 1979, he was named president of **Seton Hall University** in South Orange, N.J. "That appointment changed my life," Murphy says, "because it opened the doors to China." Chairman Deng Xiao-ping's 1979 announcement of a reform period in the People's Republic of China, Murphy told his colleagues, "**Why not try to go to China?**"

As president of Seton Hall, Murphy succeeded in gaining visas for 21 top-level education, business and church leaders, including Maryknoll Father John Kaserow, who was dean of the Maryknoll School of Theology. "Father Larry paved the way," Kaserow says, noting that the Murphy delegation was one of the first U.S. groups to be welcomed into China after the devastating, decade-long Cultural Revolution ended in 1976. He described his Maryknoll colleague as "a well prepared, polished and articulate ambassador."

[Maryknoll Magazine Jan/Feb 2011]

Social Issues

China and the End of the Deng Dynasty



Beijing has become noticeably more anxious than usual in recent months, launching one of the more high-profile security campaigns to suppress political dissent. Journalists, bloggers, artists, **Christians** and others have been arrested or have disappeared in a crackdown of “Jasmine” gatherings inspired by recent events in the Middle East.

These security and economic challenges are taking place at a time when the **transition from the so-called fourth generation of leaders to the fifth generation in 2012** is under way. The transition has heightened disagreements over economic policy and insecurities over social stability, further complicating attempts to coordinate effective policy. Yet something deeper is driving the Communist Party of China's anxiety and heavy-handed security measures: the need to transform the country's entire economic model, which carries hazards that the Party fears will jeopardize its very legitimacy.

First, more clearly than ever, **China's economic model is in need of restructuring**. Economic crisis and its aftermath in the developed world have caused a shortfall in foreign demand, and rising costs of labor and raw materials are **eroding China's comparative advantage** even as its export sector and industries have built up extraordinary overcapacity.

Not coincidentally, movements have arisen that seek to restore the Party's legitimacy to a basis not of economics but of political power. Hu's faction, rooted in the **Chinese Communist Youth League (CCYL)**, has a doctrine of wealth redistribution and Party orientation. It is set to expand its control when the **sixth generation of leaders** arrives. This trend also exists on the other side of the factional divide. Bo Xilai, the popular Party chief in Chongqing, is a “princeling.” Princelings are the children of Communist revolutionaries, who often receive prized positions in state leadership, large state-owned enterprises and the military. This group is expected to gain the advantage in the **core leadership** after the 2012 transition. Both sides appeal to the inherent value of the Party, rather than its role as economic steward, for justification.

The second challenge to Deng's legacy has arisen from the **military's growing self-confidence** and confrontational attitude toward foreign rivals, a stance popular with an increasingly nationalist domestic audience. The foreign policy of inoffensiveness for the

sake of commerce thus has been challenged from within. Vastly more dependent on foreign natural resources, and yet insecure over prices and vulnerability of supply lines, China has turned to the PLA to take a greater role in protecting its global interests, especially in the maritime realm. As a result, the **PLA has become more forceful in driving its policies**.

And third, Deng's avoidance of political reform may be becoming harder to maintain. The stark disparities in wealth and public services between social classes and regions have fueled dissatisfaction. Arbitrary power, selective enforcement of the law, official and corporate corruption, and other ills have gnawed at public content, giving rise to more and more frequent incidents and outbursts. The social fabric has been torn, and leaders fear that it could ignite with widespread unrest. Simultaneously, rising education, incomes and **new forms of social organization**, like non-governmental organizations and the Internet, have given rise to greater demands and new means of coordination among dissidents or opposition movements.

As Hu seeks to step down, his challenges are to prevent economic overheating, forestall unrest from economic left-behinds, migrants or other aggrieved groups. More challenging still, he has to do so without a solid succession plan. **Hu is the last Chinese leader Deng directly appointed**. It is not clear whether China's next generation of leaders will augment Deng's theory, or discard it. But it is clear that China is taking on a challenge much greater than a change in president or administration. It is an existential crisis, and the regime has few choices: continue delaying change even if it means a bigger catastrophe in the future; undertake wrenching economic and political reforms that might risk regime survival; or retrench and sacrifice the economy to maintain CPC rule and domestic security. China has already waded deep into a total economic transformation unlike anything since 1978, and at the greatest risk to the Party's legitimacy since 1989. **The emerging trends** suggest a likely break from Deng's position toward heavier state intervention in the economy, more contentious relationships with neighbors, and a Party that rules primarily through ideology and social control.

[Stratfor <http://www.stratfor.com>]