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POLITICS

AN INTRODUCTION

JAMES C. F. WANG

Sixth Edition

Contemporary Chinese Politics

An Introduction

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Preface

This sixth edition of *Contemporary Chinese Politics: An Introduction*, originally published in 1980 and revised in 1985, 1989, 1992, and 1995, is designed for both undergraduate and graduate students. The publisher and author have striven to make the text as current and as comprehensive as possible by revising and updating its content periodically. The events rapidly unfolding in China necessitate such revision and updating.

The sixth edition contains revisions and additions in a number of areas. In Chapter 3, which concerns itself with ideology, there is a new section on Jiang Zemin's search for a unifying ideology, now that he is the undisputed leader after Deng Xiaoping's death—specifically, Jiang's push for “spiritual civilization” against individualism and corruption, which is being accomplished by way of reviving education in patriotism, social morality, and ethics. A new section for this chapter also traces the origin of Jiang Zemin's “primary stage of socialism” as ideological justification for continued economic reform.

In Chapter 4, a new section has been added regarding the lawmaking role of the National People's Congress, as well as an age limit for continued service by top party leaders. In Chapter 5, a new section on elite strife, factionalism, and Chinese informal politics has been added. Chapter 5 also provides a brief profile of the new top-leadership core under Jiang Zemin. This chapter also contains a discussion of the new civil service system.

Chapter 6, which is about the Chinese legal system, has been strengthened by the addition of a new section covering the criminal code and human rights violations. There is also a reorganized section on the civil code and economic reform that deals with an increase in court cases about contract disputes, property ownership, and the purchase and sale of products. A discussion on the new business laws and foreign investment regulations has also been added to the chapter. The section on lawyers, cooperative law firms, and the first lawyer's law has been updated to show major changes in the role of lawyers in recent years.

Chapter 7, which covers provincial and local politics, has been reorganized by focusing on changes in the perennial problem of conflict and tension between the center and the provinces. Discussions about the direct popular village elections and the situation regarding Tibet have also been updated.

This sixth edition offers a new Chapter 8, which discusses the reversion of Hong

Kong in 1997 and Macao in 1999. This new chapter provides a detailed dialogue about Hong Kong on topics such as the Sino-British negotiation in the early 1980s, the basic law for Hong Kong after 1997, the elections of 1991 and 1995, the selection of Tung Chee Hwa as the new executive for the special administrative region (SAR), and the controversial provisional legislature, which was replaced by an election scheduled in May 1998. In Chapter 8 there is also a discussion about Macao, which will be returned to China in December 1999. Topics discussed on Macao include a brief history of the Portuguese colony, Macao politics prior to 1997, the manner by which Macao has been governed prior to the 1999 reversion, the joint Sino-Portugal declaration, and the basic law for Macao after 1999. The chapter analyzes the concept of greater China in general and South China in particular by focusing on the Pearl River Delta regional development. The chapter ends with a discussion about the emerging phenomenon of economic regionalism.

Chapter 9, which discusses the military's role in Chinese politics, has been reorganized. The chapter discusses concepts such as party-army symbiosis, party-army interlocking directorate, and participation by the military in a role of restoring order and stability during intervention in the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen crackdown. Chapter 9 also discusses topics such as Chinese military modernization, defense appropriations, arms sales abroad, the People's Armed Police, and the ongoing inquiry on the party's control of the gun.

Chapter 10, on democracy and dissent, provides a new section on the divergent views concerning democracy for China from the perspective of the exiled Chinese dissidents, including Wei Jingshen.

Additional information and analyses have been added to Chapter 11, which discusses the politics of modernization and on economic reform; for example, the "privatization" of state-owned enterprises and Deng's legacy for China's modernization.

Finally, in Chapter 12, which pertains to the politics of modernization as it relates to education, science, and technology, additional information and analyses have been provided about China's new targets for educational reform for the twenty-first century, as well as China's accelerated advancement in science and technology.

The sixth edition contains the same informative features found in previous editions. The source material cited in the chapter notes provides rich and up-to-date references so that students may explore topics of interest in depth. Although the text is comprehensive, with facts and information interspersed with pertinent analysis, ample room is left for instructors to use the material flexibly in order to meet their own specific needs for a course in Chinese politics or a general comparative politics course. As supplements to the text, charts and tables have been updated to make them more current. For easy reference, the appendices contain two basic documents: the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1982) and the Constitution of the Communist Party of China (1982) and its revisions in 1987 and 1997. As a unique teaching aid, a guide to romanization of the Chinese Pinyin system used in the text, with notations on the Wade-Gile system, has been preserved in this edition.

The preparation of this new revision would not have been possible without the help of a number of persons. Many colleagues from a large number of universities and colleges have made useful comments and suggestions. To all of them I owe a debt of gratitude. Once again, I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to the China scholars whose work is cited in this edition. I especially want to thank my colleague and close friend, Professor Louis P. Warsh, formerly at the University of Hawaii at Hilo, for his careful reading of the manuscript for style and his editorial suggestions; and Edith Worsencroft, for typing and some editing of the revised manuscript.

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Romanization of Chinese Names of Persons and Places*

CHINESE PHONETIC ALPHABET, OR THE PINYIN SYSTEM

How to Pronounce

Following is a Chinese phonetic alphabet table showing alphabet pronunciation, with approximate English equivalents. Spelling in the Wade system is in parentheses for reference.

“a”	(a), a vowel, as in <i>far</i>
“b”	(p), a consonant, as in <i>be</i>
“c”	(ts), a consonant, as “ts” in <i>its</i> ; and
“ch”	(ch), a consonant, as “ch” in <i>church</i> , strongly aspirated
“d”	(t), a consonant, as in <i>do</i>
“e”	(e), a vowel, as “er” in <i>her</i> , the “r” being silent; but “ie,” a diphthong, as in <i>yes</i> and “ei,” a diphthong, as in <i>way</i>
“f”	(f), a consonant, as in <i>foot</i>
“g”	(k), a consonant, as in <i>go</i>
“h”	(h), a consonant, as in <i>her</i> , strongly aspirated
“i”	(i), a vowel, two pronunciations: 1) as in <i>eat</i> 2) as in <i>sir</i> in syllables beginning with the consonants, <i>c</i> , <i>ch</i> , <i>r</i> , <i>s</i> , <i>sh</i> , <i>z</i> , and, <i>zh</i>
“j”	(ch), a consonant, as in <i>jeep</i>

*Based on official version published in Beijing Review, 1 (January 5, 1979), 18–20. A specific rule requires that the traditional spelling of historical places and persons such as Confucius and Sun Yatsen need not be changed.

"k"	(k), a consonant, as in <i>kind</i> , strongly aspirated
"l"	(l), a consonant, as in <i>land</i>
"m"	(m), a consonant, as in <i>me</i>
"n"	(n), a consonant, as in <i>no</i>
"o"	(o), a vowel, as "aw" in <i>law</i>
"p"	(p), a consonant, as in <i>par</i> , strongly aspirated
"q"	(ch), a consonant, as "ch" in <i>cheek</i>
"r"	(j), a consonant, pronounced as "r" but not rolled, or like "z" in <i>azure</i>
"s"	(s, ss, sz), a consonant, as in <i>sister</i> ; and
"sh"	(sh), a consonant, as "sh" in <i>shore</i>
"t"	(t), a consonant, as in <i>top</i> , strongly aspirated
"u"	(u), a vowel, as in <i>too</i> , also as in the French "u" in <i>tu</i> or the German umlauted "ü" in <i>München</i>
"v"	(v), is used only to produce foreign and national minority words, and local dialects
"w"	(w), used as a semivowel in syllables beginning with "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in <i>want</i>
"x"	(hs), a consonant, as "sh" in <i>she</i>
"y"	used as a semivowel in syllables beginning with "i" or "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in <i>yet</i>
"z"	(ts, tz), a consonant, as in <i>zero</i> ; and
"zh"	(ch), a consonant, as "j" in <i>jump</i>

Spelling of Chinese Names of Persons

In accordance with the Chinese phonetic alphabet, the late Chairman Mao Tsetung's name will be spelled "Mao Zedong"; the late Premier Chou Enlai's name will be "Zhou Enlai"; and the late Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Chu Teh, will be "Zhu De."

Following are names of party leaders of China, romanized according to the Chinese phonetic alphabet. The old spelling is in parentheses for reference.

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:

Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng)

Vice-Chairmen of the Party Central Committee:

Ye Jianying (Yeh Chien-ying)

Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping)

Li Xiannian (Li Hsien-nien)

Chen Yun (Chen Yun)

Wang Dongxing (Wang Tung-hsing)

Members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee:

Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng)

(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.)

Wang Zhen (Wang Chen)

Wei Guoqing (Wei Kuo-ching)

Ulanhu (Ulanfu)

Fang Yi (Fang Yi)
 Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping)
 Deng Yingchao (Teng Ying-chao)
 Ye Jianying (Yeh Chien-ying)
 Liu Bocheng (Liu Po-cheng)
 Xu Shiyong (Hsu Shih-yu)
 Ji Dengkui (Chi Teng-kuei)
 Su Zhenhua (Su Chen-hua)
 Li Xiannian (Li Hsien-nien)
 Li Desheng (Li Teh-sheng)
 Wu De (Wu Teh)
 Yu Qiuli (Yu Chiu-li)
 Wang Dongxing (Wang Tung-hsing)
 Zhang Tingfa (Chang Ting-fa)
 Chen Yun (Chen Yun)
 Chen Yonggui (Chen Yung-Kuei)
 Chen Xilian (Chen Hsi-lien)
 Hu Yaobang (Hu Yao-pang)
 Geng Biao (Keng Piao)
 Nie Rongzhen (Nieh Jung-chen)
 Ni Zhifu (Ni Chih-fu)
 Xu Xianqian (Hsu Hsiang-chien)
 Peng Chong (Pen Chung)

(The following are listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames.)

Alternate Members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee:

Chen Muhua (Chen Mu-hua)
 Zhao Ziyang (Chao Tsu-yang)
 Seypidin (Saifudin)

Spelling of Chinese Place Names

Names of well-known places in China are listed as follows. The old spelling is in parentheses for reference.

Municipalities directly under the central authorities:

Beijing (Peking)
 Shanghai (Shanghai)
 Tianjin (Tientsin)

Ningxia Hui (Ningsia Hui) Autonomous Region

Yinchuan (Yinchuan)

Qinghai (Chinghai) Province

Xining (Sining)

Shaanxi (Shensi) Province

Xian (Sian)

Yanan (Yenan)

Shandong (Shantung) Province

Jinan (Tsinan)

Qingdao (Tsingtao)

Yantai (Yentai)

Shanxi (Shansi) Province

Taiyuan (Taiyuan)

Dazhai (Tachai)

Sichuan (Szechuan) Province

Chengdu (Chengtu)

Chongqing (Chungking)

Taiwan (Taiwan) Province

Taipei (Taipei)

Xinjiang Uygur (Singkiang Uighur) Autonomous Region

Urumqi (Urumchi)

Xizang (Tibet) Autonomous Region

Lhasa (Lhasa)

Yunnan (Yunnan) Province

Kunming (Kunming)

Dali (Tali)

Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province

Hangzhou (Hangchow)

ABBREVIATIONS

CP	Chinese Communist Party
Comintern	Communist Third International
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CYL	Communist Youth League
MAC	Military Affairs Committee
NCNA	New China News Agency
NPC	National People's Congress
PLA	People's Liberation Army

Contemporary Chinese Politics

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Contents

	Preface	ix
	Romanization of Chinese Names of Persons and Places	xi
Chapter One	Introduction: Historical and Cultural Perspectives	1
	The Land and the People, 1	
	A Glimpse of China's Early History, 2	
	The Manchus: The Last Imperial Rulers of China, 5	
	The Traditional Chinese Political System, 6	
	Attempts at Reform and Modernization, 9	
	The Chinese Nationalist Revolution, 1911–1937, 10	
Chapter Two	The Origin and Rise of the Chinese Communist Movement: From Military Communism to Deng's Reforms	15
	The Early Years, 15	
	China's Search for a Development Model, 19	
	The Cultural Revolution, 26	
	The "Gang of Four" and the Trial, 29	
Chapter Three	The Erosion of Chinese Communist Ideology: Marxism-Leninism, Mao's Thought, Dengism, and the Thinking of Jiang Zemin	37
	Marxism-Leninism, 38	
	The Thought of Mao Zedong, 40	
	Mao's Legacy and De-Maoization, 48	
	Ideology in Flux: Resurgence and Redefinition, 53	
	Dengism: China as an Economic Giant	
	in the Twenty-First Century, 60	
	Jiang Zemin: In Search of a Unifying Ideology, 61	

Chapter Four	Political Institutions of the Party-State: Structural Issues and the Policy Process	71
	Hierarchical Structure of the Party, 72	
	Central-Level Party Organs and Functions, 72	
	Provincial Party Organs and Functions, 87	
	Primary Party Organs and Functions, 88	
	The Government and the Party: Interlocking Structure and Decision Making, 89	
	National People's Congress and Its Lawmaking Role, 91	
	The State Council, 97	
	Problems in China's Political Institutions, 99	
Chapter Five	Elites and the Cadre System: Leadership Style, Factionalism, Succession, and Recruitment	109
	Characteristics of the Ruling Elite, 109	
	Elite Strife, Factionalism, and Chinese Informal Politics, 110	
	Jiang Zemin: Head of the New Leadership Core as Deng-Designated Successor, 116	
	The New Leadership Core, 118	
	Recruitment of Party Members, 121	
	The Development of the Chinese Bureaucracy: The Cadre System, 127	
	The New Civil Service System, 133	
Chapter Six	Reform for a Creditable Socialist Legal System	139
	The Chinese Legal System, 139	
	The Criminal Code and Human Rights Violations, 143	
	Civil Code and Economic Reform, 145	
	Informal Practices and Community Mediation, 151	
	The Public Security Bureau: Law Enforcement, 153	
	The National Security Agency and State Security, 155	
	Is China Moving toward Rule of Law? 156	
Chapter Seven	Provincial and Local Politics: Centralism versus Regionalism, National Minorities, and the Case of Tibet	160
	Overview of Provincial and Local Government, 160	
	Issues in Provincial Politics, 161	
	Changing Center—Provincial Relations in the Post-Deng Transition, 169	
	Local Governments in China, 171	
	Ethnic Politics: Autonomous Regions and National Minorities, 175	
	Tibet: A Case Study, 178	

Chapter Eight	Greater South China: Reversion of Hong Kong and Macao and the Pearl River Delta Regional Development	189
	Hong Kong: China's Special Administrative Region, 190	
	Hong Kong: Historic Background, 191	
	The Basic Law of Hong Kong after 1997, 195	
	Pre-1997 Popular Electoral Contests: 1991 and 1995, 198	
	Hong Kong after the Reversion, 201	
	Hong Kong's "Miracle" Economy, 205	
	Macao: The Second Special Administrative Region, 208	
	Macao under the 1987 Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration and the 1993 Basic Law, 212	
	Greater South China: Pearl River Delta Regional Development, 215	
	Economic Regionalism, or "Federalism, Chinese Style," 220	
Chapter Nine	The Military's Role in Chinese Politics	228
	How to Explain the Military's Role in Chinese Politics, 228	
	Party-Army Symbiosis Approach, 230	
	The Military Participation Approach, 234	
	Military Reform and Modernization, 240	
	China's Defense Spending, 247	
	China's Nuclear Weapon Development: "Limited Deterrence" Concept, 251	
	China's Defense Industries: The Military-Industrial Complex, Chinese Style, 253	
	The People's Armed Police: A Countervailing Force to the PLA? 255	
Chapter Ten	Democracy, Dissent, and the Tiananmen Mass Movement	263
	Democracy and Dissent in China: Problems in Exercising Political Rights, 264	
	Student Demonstrations for Democracy and Political Reform, 1986-1987, 267	
	The Tiananmen Mass Movement: April-June 1989, 271	
	The State of Dissent in the 1990s, 282	
	Democracy for China: Divergent Views from Exiled Dissidents, 284	
Chapter Eleven	The Politics of Modernization: Rural and Urban Economic Reforms	293
	Modernization as a Concept, 293	
	Brief Overview of China's Economic Development, 295	
	Deng Xiaoping's Economic Reform, 1978-1992, 297	
	Agricultural (Rural) Reform: The Responsibility System, 306	
	Urban Reform: Meaning and Problems, 314	
	State-Owned Enterprises: Reform or Privatization? 320	
	China's Economic Reform and Modernization: Deng's Legacy, 322	

Chapter Twelve	The Politics of Modernization: Education, Science and Technology, the Open Door Policy, and the Intellectuals	333
	Educational Policies before the Cultural Revolution, 333	
	Devastating Effects of the Cultural Revolution on China's Educational System, 336	
	Educational Policy under Deng, 1978–1985, 338	
	Educational Reform, 1985–1989, 340	
	Education in China after Tiananmen, 343	
	Discontent among Youth, 344	
	1993–2000: Targets for Renewed Educational Reform, 346	
	The Three-Pronged Approach to Scientific and Technological Modernization, 1978–1997, 350	
	Accelerating Advancement in Science and Technology, 1995–2010, 355	
	The Open Door Policy: Acquisition and Transfer of Science and Technology, 358	
	The Treatment of Chinese Intellectuals, 362	
	Chinese Intellectuals after Tiananmen, 364	
Appendix A	The Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1982)	373
Appendix B	The Constitution of the Communist Party of China (1982)	399
Appendix B-1	Revision of Some Articles of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China (1987)	419
Appendix B-2	Amendment to the CCP Constitution (September 1997)	423
	Index	425

Chapter One

Introduction

Historical and Cultural Perspectives

China has one of the most ancient and continuous civilizations in the world. Its recorded history is about 3,000 years old. For instance, the beginning date of the Shang dynasty was probably around 1700 B.C. Obviously, it is not possible for us even to summarize China's long history as part of the introduction to an understanding of the Chinese political system. Particularly for those who have not been exposed to a study of Chinese civilization and history, what is proposed here instead is to provide a broad historical background by focusing on some important stages in China's historical development.

Before sketching a broad outline of Chinese history, it is necessary to point out the crucial importance of the relationship between the land and the people.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE*

A fundamental prerequisite for understanding China is understanding the relationship between the land and its people. China's total land area is about 3.7 million square miles, slightly greater than that of the United States. However, about 85 to 90 percent of China's more than one billion people live and work on only one-sixth of this area. The remaining land is mostly hilly and mountainous. Unlike the United States, only 15 to 20 percent of China's land area is cultivable, and much of this land has been used intensively for centuries.

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2 INTRODUCTION

In addition to the limited land area available for cultivation, the climatic conditions compound the problem of food production for a vast population. The uneven rate of precipitation is one example. Rainfall comes to most parts of China in the spring and summer, usually in torrential downpours. It decreases from south to north. Average annual rainfall is about 60 to 80 inches for south China and less than 10 inches for the northwest. The fertile Yangtze River valley receives about 40 to 60 inches, while most of northern China receives about 25 inches annually.

If the torrential downpours during the rainy season are not channeled into reservoirs, a serious water shortage may result that can ultimately affect the livelihood of millions of people. The successive downpours during the rainy season can cause flooding in China's two major river systems, the Changjiang (Yangtze) (3,900 miles) and the Huanghe (Yellow) (3,600 miles) and their tributaries. The Yellow River, known as "China's Sorrow" for centuries, has caused devastating floods. It has flooded fifteen hundred times in a period of two thousand years. Its silt-laden waters have changed course at least 26 times. The Yellow River normally carries 57 pounds of mud per cubic yard; but when it rises after a torrential downpour, its mud-carrying capacity can reach as much as 900 pounds per cubic yard.¹ In one flood, the Yellow River overflowed its banks in a northern province, inundating towns and cities, with a loss of life estimated at close to one million. In 1981, heavy rains in late July and August caused the Yangtze River to flood over 65 percent of the counties in the southwestern province of Sichuan, leaving 1,500,000 people homeless. Chinese scientists estimate that each year 250 million tons of earth are washed into the Yangtze's three main tributaries.² One study showed that during the period between 206 B.C. and 1911 A.D. there were a total of 1,621 floods and 1,392 droughts, bringing endless sorrow to the Chinese people.³

With the factor of limited land for cultivation and the frequency of flood and drought added to the enormous population—over one billion by the official census—one can readily understand that China's primary problem is to mobilize its productive forces to feed its burgeoning population. This basic problem of population pressure on the limited land available for cultivation has plagued China throughout its history. The functions of government, and in many respects the very performance of government, have involved what John Fairbank described as the control of "the land, the manpower, and the water supply" for this agrarian society.⁴

A GLIMPSE OF CHINA'S EARLY HISTORY⁵

Inscriptions on oracle bones and tortoise shells discovered in northern China in the past century provide a well-established list of rulers for the Shang dynasty; the dates for the rulers of the feudal principality are established at about 1766–1122 B.C. The feudal agrarian society, basically growing millet or rice in the Yellow River valley, was rather advanced: in addition to writing inscriptions on oracle bones, people used cowry shells in exchange for goods, and there is evidence of the presence of domestic animals. The society was organized on a patriarchal basis, but was controlled by a ruling aristocracy, which had a standing army of cavalry and chariots. Religion took the form of ancestor worship. Rulers performed both civil and religious duties.

The Kingdom of Shang was overthrown by the ruler of Zhou (Chou), a principality located in the Wei River valley, then China's western frontier. Subsequent rulers of Zhou extended the domain into the northwest. The Zhou kingdom then endured a state of decline, so that from the eighth century B.C. to the middle of the third century B.C. China