



Edited by Xie Chuntao

# GOVERNING CHINA

## HOW THE CPC

## WORLD LEADS



 NEW WORLD PRESS



国家出版基金项目

Edited by Xie Chuntao

# GOVERNING CHINA

## HOW THE



## WORKS



NLIC2970863976



NEW WORLD PRESS

## 图书在版编目 ( CIP ) 数据

中国共产党如何治理国家? : 英文 / 谢春涛主编.  
北京 : 新世界出版社, 2013.1  
ISBN 978-7-5104-3793-9

I. ①中… II. ①谢… III. ①中国共产党—行政管理—研究—英文 IV. ① D63

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2012) 第 306592 号

## Governing China: How the CPC Works 中国共产党如何治理国家?

主 编: 谢春涛  
翻 译: 谢春涛 任玲娟 闫凤兰 李 毅 周 钢  
策 划: 谢春涛 张海鸥  
责任编辑: 李淑娟 闫传海  
英文审定: 徐明强 Penelope Colville  
封面设计: 贺玉婷  
版式设计: 北京维诺传媒文化有限公司  
责任印制: 李一鸣 黄厚清  
出版发行: 新世界出版社有限责任公司  
社 址: 北京市西城区百万庄大街 24 号 (100037)  
总编室电话: +86 10 6899 5424 68326679 (传真)  
发行部电话: +86 10 6899 5968 68998705 (传真)  
本社中文网址: <http://www.nwp.cn>  
本社英文网址: <http://www.newworld-press.com>  
版权部电子信箱: [frank@nwp.com.cn](mailto:frank@nwp.com.cn)  
版权部电话: + 86 10 6899 6306  
印 刷: 北京画中画印刷有限公司  
经 销: 新华书店  
开 本: 787 × 1092 1/16  
字 数: 200 千字 印张: 24.5  
版 次: 2013 年 1 月第 1 版 2013 年 1 月北京第 1 次印刷  
书 号: ISBN 978-7-5104-3793-9  
定 价: 68.00 元

新世界版图书 版权所有 侵权必究  
新世界版图书 印装错误可随时退换

First Edition 2013

Edited by Xie Chuntao

Translated by Kuang Peihua, Ren Lingjuan, Yan Fenglan, Li Yi and Zhou Gang

Revised by Penelope Colville

Copyright by New World Press, Beijing, China

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means without permission in writing from the publisher.

ISBN 978-7-5104-3793-9

*Published by*

NEW WORLD PRESS

24 Baiwanzhuang Street, Beijing 100037, China

*Distributed by*

NEW WORLD PRESS

24 Baiwanzhuang Street, Beijing 100037, China

Tel: 86-10-68995968

Fax: 86-10-68998705

Website: <http://www.newworld-press.com>

E-mail: [frank@nwp.com.cn](mailto:frank@nwp.com.cn)

*Printed in the People's Republic of China*

# CONTENTS

## **Chapter One**

### **Achieving the leadership of the country**

The Choices of History and the People .....	4
Innovations in Ideology .....	9
Proposing Guiding Principles .....	15
Reforming the Means of Governance .....	22

## **Chapter Two**

### **Embodying all power in the hands of the people**

From the Soviet to the People's Congresses .....	32
“People's Parliament” .....	37
State Power Organs at All Levels.....	42
Representing and Reflecting People's Will .....	49

## **Chapter Three**

### **Dealing with the relation between the central and local governments**

China Doesn't Pursue a Federal System .....	60
“The Central Authority” .....	63
Giving Some Autonomy to Localities.....	70
The Problem of Compartmentalized Governance .....	78

## **Chapter Four**

### **Carrying out multi-party cooperation and political consultation**

From the Old CPPCC to the New CPPCC .....	86
Political Consultation .....	93
Democratic Supervision .....	100
Participate in and Deliberate on State Affairs .....	106

## **Chapter Five**

### **Practicing ethnic regional autonomy**

From Ethnic Self-determination to Ethnic Autonomy .....	120
Extensive and Comprehensive Autonomous Rights .....	125
Common Prosperity and Development of All Ethnic Groups .....	129
Freedom of Religious Belief .....	136

## **Chapter Six**

### **Accomplishing reunification of the country**

The Return of Hong Kong and Macao .....	148
The Basic Law and a High Degree of Autonomy .....	155
<i>Fortune</i> Admits a Mistake: Hong Kong Is Hardly Dead.....	162
The Policy on Taiwan Will Be Even More Flexible.....	168

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Implementing self-governance of the masses at the grassroots level**

Another Creation After the Household-Contracted Responsibility System	180
Organic Law of the Village Committees .....	186
“Ocean Election” of the Chinese Farmers .....	191
Self-governance in Urban Communities .....	197

## **Chapter Eight**

### **Building a socialist state under the rule of law**

From Rule by Man to Rule of Law .....	210
Enacting Laws .....	214
Rule of Law in State and Social Administration .....	219
Hard Work and a Long Road Ahead .....	228

## **Chapter Nine**

### **Selecting and managing cadres**

Strict Criteria for Cadre Selection and Appointment .....	236
Level-by-Level Classification Management .....	244
Making the Party a Big University .....	251
The Party Studies to Live Long .....	256

## **Chapter Ten**

### **Making the economy grow steadily and quickly**

Single Public Ownership and Coupon-based Supply .....	270
Big-bowl Tea: The Start of Non-public Ownership .....	274
Market Economy with Chinese Characteristics .....	282
Reform of State-owned Enterprises: From Burden to Pillar .....	287

## **Chapter Eleven**

### **Developing and promoting the prosperity of culture**

“Man Must Have Some Spirit” .....	298
Strategy of Rejuvenating the Country Through Science and Education .....	306
The Reform of the Cultural System .....	312
Enhancing the Influence of Chinese Culture .....	319

## **Chapter Twelve**

### **Improving social undertakings and social management**

“Short Leg” Exposed by SARS .....	330
Developing Social Undertakings.....	334
Building Up the Benefits of Socialism .....	339
Innovating Social Management.....	344
<b>Postscript</b> .....	350
<b>Index</b> .....	353



# *Chapter One*

**ACHIEVING THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COUNTRY**

GOVERNING  
**CHINA**  
HOW THE  
CPC  
WORKS

For the tourists who visit Beijing for the first time, Tian'anmen Square is a must-see. In China, as in other nations, it is a tradition to erect monuments in memory of the country's heroes or significant events, and here the practice extends back to ancient times. To the south of the square stands the Monument to the People's Heroes. The shaft of the obelisk rests directly on a double plinth. The lower, larger plinth is decorated with 10 scenes carved in white marble, bas-reliefs depicting major revolutionary events over more than 100 years. Starting with Lin Zexu destroying seized opium in Humen in June 1839, it moves on to the Jintian Uprising in Guangxi of the Kingdom of Heavenly Peace in 1851, and the Wuchang Uprising in Hubei that marked the beginning of the 1911 Revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen which toppled the last feudal dynasty. Other scenes include the May 30th Movement, the August 1st Nanchang Uprising, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal May 4th Movement of 1919, the Anti-Japanese War from 1937 to 1945, local people welcoming the Red Army during the Long March from 1934 to 1936, the People's Liberation Army's dramatic crossing of the Yangtze River in 1949, and local people helping soldiers on the frontlines. These bas-reliefs display the difficult but triumphant birth of the People's Republic of China and also the process of strengthening the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC).

## The Choices of History and the People

It is common knowledge that the Communist Party of China won national power through a long revolutionary period.

Outstanding China expert in the US, Kenneth Lieberthal, pointed out: “The CCP’s path to power was characterized by uncertainty, experimentation, disappointment and tenacity...it became solidly rooted in some of the poorest regions of this third-world country.... Six basic strategies were adopted seriatim in this complex, wide-ranging struggle to achieve national power — Labor Mobilization (1921-23), United Front with the GMD (1924-27), Adapting to the Countryside (1929-34), Strategic Retreat: The Long March (1934-35), The Yan’an Era (1935-47), Fighting a Civil War (1947-49).... The Yan’an era had a profound effect on the Chinese Communist party and its fortunes.”<sup>1</sup> The summary by Mr. Lieberthal is concise and appropriate.

In the early years after the founding of the Communist Party of China, it adopted a clear direction — leading the Chinese people to “overthrow the imperialist oppression, and achieve complete independence for the Chinese nation,” “eliminate civil strife, overthrow warlords and establish domestic peace.” During the Yan’an period, when it faced Japanese aggression and the fate of the nation was at stake, it boldly pressed its program for the liberation of the Chinese nation. In July 1937 when the Lugou Bridge Incident<sup>2</sup> occurred, the Communist Party of China immediately published an open telegram to the nation appealing, “Peiping and Tianjin in imminent danger! North China in imminent danger! The Chinese nation in imminent danger! Only the war of resistance against Japanese aggression by the whole nation offers a way out.”

<sup>1</sup> Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1995, pp.40, 41, 43, 47, 48, 52.

<sup>2</sup> A military conflict between Chinese forces and the Japanese invaders occurred on July 7, 1937 at Lugou Bridge (Marco Polo Bridge) near Peiping (Beijing). It marked the beginning of Japan's all-round invasion of China as well as the beginning of WWII in Asia.

Putting national interests first and galvanizing mass resistance against Japanese aggression were strategies that formed a sharp contrast with the actions of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek, who compromised China externally and oppressed the people internally in this early period. Samuel Huntington pointed out that the Communist Party “mobilized the peasants into politics under their auspices on behalf of both nationalism and revolution.”<sup>3</sup>

How did the victorious strategy work against Japanese aggression? The Communist Party of China believed taking the initiative and earning the political leadership of various revolutionary classes of China was the key. Mao Zedong once explained the four qualifications the Communist Party of China must have for fulfilling its leadership role. “First, by putting forward basic political slogans that accord with the course of historical development and by putting forward slogans of action for each stage of development and each major turn of events in order to translate these political slogans into reality.... Second, the proletariat, and especially its vanguard the Communist Party, should set an example through its boundless enthusiasm and loyalty in achieving the specific objectives when the whole country goes into action for them. In the fight to fulfill all the tasks of the anti-Japanese national united front and the democratic republic, Communists should be the most far-sighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most resolute, and the least prejudiced in sizing up situations, and should rely on the majority of the masses and win their support. Third, the Communist Party should establish proper relations with its allies and develop and consolidate its alliance with them, while adhering to the principle of never relinquishing its defined political objectives. Fourth, it should expand the ranks of the Communist Party and maintain its ideological unity and strict discipline.” Mao Zedong pointed out, “It is by doing all these

---

<sup>3</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Yale University Press, 1968, p.438.

things that the Communist Party gives effect to its political leadership of the people throughout China.”<sup>4</sup> In comparison with the Kuomintang, the work of the Communist Party in this period was “sophisticated, flexible and efficient.”<sup>5</sup>

Mao Zedong further refined these principles into three measures: United front, armed struggle and Party construction. The united front and the armed struggle are two basic weapons in the struggle against the enemy. The united front is for implementing the armed struggle, and the Party organization functions like heroic soldiers who master these two weapons of the united front and the armed struggle in order to breach enemy lines. So Party construction, he argued, was a strategic tool in the hands of CPC leaders. During the Anti-Japanese War period (1937-1945), Tang Enbo, a high-ranking Kuomintang general trusted and put in an important position by Chiang Kai-shek, was surprised by the high combat effectiveness of the Eighth Route Army led by the Communist Party of China. Tang asked Song Renqiong, vice-chairman of the political department of the 129 Division of the Eighth Route Army, “Why is your Eighth Route Army not smashed and scattered by now? But even if your army was scattered, you could still pull them together. Our forces could not do that.” Song said, “It is very simple: we have a Communist Party branch in each company.”<sup>6</sup> In 1940, Liu Shaoqi pointed out in his article written to mark the 19th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China, “Building a good Party” and making it “go forward constantly” are decisive factors in the building of “a new democratic republic.” “Without such an effective and extensive Communist Party in China, and without the expert leadership of the Central Party Committee and the correct hard work of all Party members, it would be

<sup>4</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. 1, Foreign Languages Press, 1965, p.274.

<sup>5</sup> John King Fairbank, *The United States and China* (fourth edition), Harvard University Press, 1979, p.296.

<sup>6</sup> *The Memoirs of Song Renqiong*, PLA Publishing House, 1994, pp.130-131.

impossible for China to throw off the Japanese imperialists and build a new democratic republic.”<sup>7</sup>

Great achievements secured their position. The Communist Party of China won the confidence of the Chinese people step by step with its actions and solidarity in the Anti-Japanese War. Mao Zedong pointed out in his *Report to the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China* in 1945 that “our Communist Party has never been so powerful,” and “the prestige of the Communist Party is higher than ever among the people both in the Japanese-occupied and in the Kuomintang areas.... Now our Party has become the center of gravity of the Chinese people’s struggle to resist Japan and save the nation, the center of gravity of their struggle for liberation and of their struggle to defeat the aggressors and build a new China. China’s center of gravity lies right here where we are and nowhere else.”<sup>8</sup>

Entering into the liberation war period (1945-1949), the CPC Central Committee changed policies of “rent and interest reduction” established in the Anti-Japanese War period into the policy of “land to the tiller” and mobilized the broad masses to participate in the land reform movement, thus loosening the hold of despotic landlords and their village regimes which served Kuomintang interests. People joined the army, supported the frontier work and took part in other concrete actions to secure valuable land. In October 1947, the CPC Central Committee launched a call to the entire nation, “Down with Chiang Kai-shek! Liberate the whole of China!” Inspired, the People’s Liberation Army launched the powerful attacks that brought about the collapse of Kuomintang rule.

In essence, the CPC led the forces that destroyed this reactionary regime and founded New China with the legitimacy and authority needed to implement its political power. The ruling status of the CPC was the

<sup>7</sup> The Party Literature Research Center of the CPC Central Committee, *Liu Shaoqi on Party Building*, Central Party Literature Publishing House, Beijing, 1991, p.220.

<sup>8</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. 3, Foreign Languages Press, 1965, pp.202-203.

revolutionary and historical choice of the people. As Soong Ching Ling, Madame Sun Yat-sen, said at the First Plenary Session of the CPPCC held in September 1949 that the Communist Party of China “is the only political Party with people power.”

Certainly, the results of historical choice do not imply a perpetual condition. As the political benefits that result from revolution gradually disappear, establishing a new legal foundation becomes urgent. The Communist Party of China realized that people supported and participated in the revolution led by the Communist Party because they were promised a new society in which people would be the master of their own affairs and enjoy better lives. After success in revolution, the energy of a ruling political Party will inevitably transfer to new social ambitions. Once the Communist Party of China came to power, and especially after the implementation of reform and opening up, the Communist Party of China focused on policies for the overall economic, political, cultural and social development of the country. The target of modernization and then the “three-step”<sup>9</sup> development strategy were put in place to foster prosperity. The Communist Party proposed and stipulated the targets to be reached by the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Party and the 100th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China, respectively. The CPC gradually consolidated its growth and leadership capacity to preserve its ruling status.

---

<sup>9</sup> The “three-step” development strategy refers to the overall strategic plan for China’s economic construction put forward at the 13th National Congress of the CPC in October 1987. The first-step objective was that from 1981 to 1990, the GNP would double that of 1980 to address basic necessities like better food and clothing. The second-step objective was that from 1991 to the end of the 20th century, the GNP would be doubled again to ensure relative prosperity. The third-step objective was that by the mid-21st century, the average Chinese would be fairly affluent, modernization achieved, and the GNP per capita on par with the majority of developed countries.

## Innovations in Ideology

The establishment and consolidation of the Party's leading position bears a close relationship to its ideology-updating mechanism. Generally, social ideals, concepts of value, political principles, action programs and practical strategies proposed and affirmed by the ruling classes, social groups, or the state are based on a certain world outlook and provide the motivations for transforming the world, establishing political power or consolidating political rule.<sup>10</sup> US proponent of Behaviorism, Harold D. Lasswell, pointed out, "Any elite defends and asserts itself in the name of symbols of the common destiny. Such symbols are the 'ideology' of the established order...."<sup>11</sup>

Ideological work is an endeavor central to the Communist Party of China. Such work is to publicize basic Marxist principles and reasoning, as well as its latest achievements, adapt Marxism to the conditions in China, explain the Party line, principles, policies and the basis of its theory and practice, and, significantly, arm cadres and the broad masses with the means to master scientific thinking and methods, raise their consciousness to carry out and implement these principles and policies, all in order to lead the country in its efforts to realize the goal.

In the revolutionary era, especially in the Yan'an period (1935-1947), the Communist Party of China used Mao Zedong Thought and specifically its achievement in adapting Marxism to the conditions in China, to unify its members and avoid the error of copying the Soviet experience and applying leftist dogmatism as was instructed by the Communist International. Instead, it launched the rectification movement in the Party. Mao Zedong introduced the principle of "countryside surrounding city and seizing political power by armed force" which brought about

<sup>10</sup> Wang Yonggui, et al., *Research of Economic Globalization and the Socialist Ideological Construction*, the People's Publishing House, 2005, p.18.

<sup>11</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, Peter Smith, 1950, p.29.