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## THE POLITICS OF CHINA

*Third Edition*

Thirty years ago, China was emerging from one of the most traumatic periods in its history. The Chinese people had been ravaged by long years of domestic struggle, terrible famine, and economic and political isolation. Today, China has the world's second-largest economy and is a major player in global diplomacy. This volume, written by some of the leading experts in the field, tracks China's extraordinary transformation from the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949; through the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, and the death of Chairman Mao; to its dynamic rise as a superpower in the twenty-first century. This latest edition of the book includes a new introduction and a seventh chapter that focuses on the legacy of Deng Xiaoping, the godfather of China's transformation, and his successors Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao. Under Mao, China challenged the outside world ideologically and militarily. Today China's challenge as an economic and diplomatic superpower may prove even more formidable. As a comprehensive and authoritative appraisal of China's last sixty years, this book will be invaluable for professionals working in the region and for students assessing what China will mean for their futures.

**Roderick MacFarquhar** is the Leroy B. Williams Professor of History and Political Science and Professor of Government at Harvard University. He has had an illustrious career. He was Director of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research at Harvard University, the founding editor of *The China Quarterly*, and a member of Parliament. His publications include *Mao's Last Revolution* (2006), co-authored with Michael Schoenhals, and *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution* (3 vols., 1974, 1983, 1997). He is also co-editor, with the late John K. Fairbank, of volumes 14 and 15 of *The Cambridge History of China* (1987, 1991).

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# THE POLITICS OF CHINA

Sixty Years of the People's Republic of China

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Edited by

RODERICK MACFARQUHAR

*Harvard University*



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## PREFACE

The aim of this book is to provide a comprehensive account of sixty years of the politics of the People's Republic of China, 1949 to 2009. The first four chapters, covering the years of the Mao era and its immediate aftermath, 1949–1982, are drawn from Volumes 14 and 15 of the *Cambridge History of China* (*CHOC*). The fifth and sixth were commissioned for the first and second editions of this book to cover the Deng Xiaoping era. The seventh chapter was commissioned for this third edition to cover the final years of this cycle of Cathay.

The chapters drawn from *CHOC* were part of an integrated schema that included chapters on economics, education, culture, society, and foreign policy, but since “politics took command” of everything in Mao's China, these chapters on politics touch on those other topics as well.

In the passage of time since the publication of the first edition of this book, some of our contributors have moved on: Frederick Teiwes is now Emeritus Professor at the University of Sydney; Kenneth Lieberthal has joined the Brookings Institution as a Senior Fellow and is Director of the John L. Thornton China Center; in 2009, Harry Harding became the founding Dean of the Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy at the University of Virginia; and Joseph Fewsmith is now Professor of International Relations and Director of the Center for the Study of Asia at Boston University. But we have thought it appropriate to retain in the contents the titles they held when they wrote their chapters.

The John King Fairbank Center for East Asian Research has been renamed the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies, but Nancy Hearst is still its librarian, and she painstakingly undertook the time-consuming tasks of proofreading the seventh chapter, preparing its bibliography for integration into the main one, and updating the appendixes at the end of the volume.

This third edition is again dedicated to the memory of John King Fairbank, the organizing genius behind the six *CHOC* volumes on modern China.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AF	Air Force
alt	alternate
APC	Agricultural Producers' Cooperative
APC	armored personnel carrier [chap. 5]
BSAF	Beijing Students' Autonomous Federation
CAC	Central Advisory Commission
CASS	Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
CC	Central Committee
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDIC	Central Discipline Investigation Commission
CITIC	China International Trust and Investment Corporation
CMC	Central Military Commission
CO	commanding officer
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CRG	Cultural Revolution Group
CUST	Chinese University of Science and Technology
f	female
FYP	Five-Year Plan
GLF	Great Leap Forward
GPCR	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
HQ	headquarters
KMT	(Kuomintang) Guomintang
MAC	Military Affairs Commission
MAT	Mutual Aid Teams
MR	Military Region
NCNA	New China News Agency
NEP	New Economic Policy
NKVD	<i>Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del</i>



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NPC	National People's Congress
PAP	People's Armed Police Force
PKI	Communist Party of Indonesia
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
PSC	Politburo Standing Committee
Rev Comm.	Revolutionary Committee
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SASAC	State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission
SC	Standing Committee
SEC	State Economic Commission
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SPC	State Planning Commission
TVE	township and village enterprise
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VC	vice-chairman
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization