

Cambridge University Press

0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma

Shiping Zheng

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

This book provides the most comprehensive analysis of one of the most important issues in China today: the tensions between the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese state legislative, judicial, administrative, and military institutions. Taking the “neo-institutionalist” approach, the author suggests that the Communist Party in post-1949 China faces an institutional dilemma: The Party cannot live with the state and it cannot live without the state.

This study makes three contributions to the field of scholarship. First, it demonstrates that it is not only conceptually constructive, but analytically imperative to distinguish the state from the Communist Party. Second, it integrates a detailed study with broader generalizations about Chinese politics, thus making efforts to overcome the tendency toward specialized scholarship at the expense of a comparative and systemic understanding of China. Third, it opens a new dimension of Chinese politics – the uncertain and conflictual relationship between the Communist Party and the Chinese state.

This work is quite timely because China is currently undergoing a dramatic transformation and faces an uncertain future.

Cambridge University Press

0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma

Shiping Zheng

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Party vs. State in Post-1949 China

Cambridge University Press

0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma

Shiping Zheng

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge Modern China Series

Edited by William Kirby, *Harvard University*

Cambridge University Press

0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma

Shiping Zheng

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Party vs. State in Post-1949 China

The Institutional Dilemma

SHIPING ZHENG

University of Vermont



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
 0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma
 Shiping Zheng
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
 The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, United Kingdom
 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Shiping Zheng 1997

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
 no reproduction of any part may take place without
 the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1997

Typeset in Times Roman

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Zheng, Shiping, 1955–

Party vs. state in post-1949 China : the institutional dilemma /
 Shiping Zheng.

p. cm. – (Cambridge modern China series)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-58205-9 (hb). – ISBN 0-521-58819-7 (pb)

1. Chung-kuo kung ch' an tang. 2. China – Politics and
 government – 1949– I. Title. II. Series.

JQ1519.A5Z49 1997

324.251'075 – DC21 96-50078

CIP

*A catalog record for this book is available from
 the British Library.*

ISBN 0-521-58205-9 hardback

ISBN 0-521-58819-7 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2004

Cambridge University Press

0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma

Shiping Zheng

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

To my wife,
Yi Shen,
and our children,
June and Jim Zheng

Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>page xi</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiv

Part I

Introduction

1 Understanding the State and Party in China	3
The Question of State-building	6
An Institutional Perspective	12
Basic Theme and Arguments	15
Structure of the Book	21
2 Where did the Chinese State Come From?	23
The Imperial Tradition of China	24
Fall of the Imperial State and Rise of the Revolutionary Party	30
Nanjing, Jiangxi, or Yan'an	35
Premature Birth of the PRC State	39
Why the State? Why the Party?	47

Part II

State-building under a Revolutionary Party: The Mao Zedong Era

3 Revolution, Laws, and Party	53
“Destroying the Old and Establishing the New”	53
The Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957	62
The Turning Point in Party–Legal Relations	69

Contents

4	Party Leadership and State Administration	79
	Growing State and Expansionist Party	79
	Party Leadership in Action: 1958–60	91
	Centralization and Decentralization	98
5	Army-building and Revolutionary Politics	106
	Military Reorganization and Modernization	106
	The PLA Command and Control System	111
	Danger of Revolutionary Politics	118
6	Politics of Campaigns: The Cultural Revolution	132
	Mao and More Class Struggle	133
	Question of Reorganization	141
	Army and Power Struggle	148
	Mass Campaigns and Revolutionary Party	153

Part III

**State-building under a Reformist Party:
 The Deng Xiaoping Era**

7	Reform, Legal System, and Party Rule	161
	From Lawlessness to Rule by Law	162
	Which Is Superior, the Party or the Law?	171
	The Constitutional Crisis in 1989	177
	End of the Campaign and Beginning of Legal Battle	181
8	Changing Party–Government Relations	191
	Reform and Retreat	191
	Getting the Central Government Right	200
	Party, Bureaucracy, and Civil Service	207
	Changing Central–Provincial Relations	215
9	Military Modernization and Party Politics	225
	Military Reform of the 1980s	226
	The Tragedy of 1989	231
	Money Grows out of the Barrel of a Gun	237
	Army of the Party or Army of the State?	242
	Conclusions	255
	Chinese State-building in Retrospect	256

Cambridge University Press

0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma

Shiping Zheng

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

The Institutional Perspective on State-building	258
The Future of the Chinese State	263
<i>Appendix A: CCP Membership Changes, 1921–96</i>	267
<i>Appendix B: Campaigns in China, 1950–89</i>	270
<i>Bibliography</i>	273
<i>Index</i>	287

Cambridge University Press

0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma

Shiping Zheng

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Tables*

3.1	Provincial governors dismissed, 1957–58	<i>page</i> 71
3.2	Bills proposed in the National People's Congress, 1954–63	72
4.1	Work departments of Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, 1952–56	87
4.2	Directives issued by the Party and central government, 1950–59	90
5.1	Military leaders purged in 1959–60	125
6.1	Provincial interlocking directorates, 1949–78	147
7.1	Career patterns of standing committee chairs of provincial people's congresses, 1992–95	176
7.2	Votes for electing vice premiers of the State Council, March 1993	187
7.3	Candidates for central ministerial posts receiving the most negative votes, March 1993	187
7.4	Votes for electing vice premiers of the State Council, March 1995	188
8.1	Changing size of the State Council, 1949–94	201
8.2	Changes in central government ministries	202
8.3	Types of cadres in State Council ministries and commissions, 1987	210
8.4	Distribution of cadres in China, 1987	212
8.5	Transfer of central and provincial officials, 1990–94	222
9.1	PLA officers having received college education (%)	230
9.2	Military representation in the CCP Central Committee and the Politburo	244
9.3	Reshuffling of military leaders, 1990–94	250
9.4	Age limits for military, political, and logistics officers of combat units	253

Cambridge University Press

0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma

Shiping Zheng

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

Without the support of many organizations and individuals, the completion of this book would have been impossible. My initial research was made possible by a scholarship from Harvard-Yenching Institute in 1988–89. In 1990 a scholarship from Tsai Shao-Hua Scholarship Foundation enabled me to spend a year at Harvard University. A research grant from Yale Center for International and Area Studies in 1991 enabled me to gather data on China's administrative reform. In 1993 a research grant from the University of Vermont Committee on Research and Scholarship enabled me to collect data on new central and provincial leaders in China.

I wish to express my special gratitude to Professor Joseph LaPalombara, who has been my mentor and great source of inspiration since I entered Yale in 1986. His insights have broadened my perspectives and his wisdom will benefit my research for many years to come. Professor David Mayhew at Yale introduced me to comparative political parties and American politics, which has kept me fascinated with the comparisons of Chinese and American political institutions. I also drew my initial inspiration from the courses I took with Professor Stephen Skowronek and from his book on American administrative state-building.

Professor Roderick MacFarquhar of Harvard University has been my friend and adviser for many years. His remarkably detailed knowledge of the Chinese elite politics has impressed me more than anything else. My book has benefited from his work on the origins of the Cultural Revolution and from his lectures at Harvard College, where I once served as his teaching fellow. Working with him has been the greatest academic experience for me.

I am also grateful to Professors Miles Kahler, Susan Shirk, and Tun-jen Cheng for reading and commenting on my original research proposal. My thanks also extend to Professors Suzanne Ogden and Merle Goldman for offering constructive comments on the draft chapters. I am particularly grateful to Professors Brantly Womack, Barry McCormick, and William Kirby for

Acknowledgments

offering invaluable comments and suggestions for revisions of the original manuscript.

I also thank Eugene Wu of the Harvard-Yenching Library and Nancy Hearst of the Fairbank Center library of Harvard for helping me locate needed books and materials. Special thanks go to Dr. John Watt and Dr. Anne Watt for suggesting improvements of the draft chapters. Thanks are due to my colleagues at the University of Vermont, Professors Peter Seybolt, John Burke, George Moyser, Carolyn Elliott, and Joshua Forrest, who have read parts of the manuscript or otherwise offered valuable advice.

Finally, I want to thank my wife, Yi Shen. This book would not have been possible without her constant support and encouragement. To her, my gratitude is profound.

Cambridge University Press

0521588197 - Party vs. State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma

Shiping Zheng

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Abbreviations

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CMC	Central Military Commission
CPGC	Central People's Government Council
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
<i>FBIS-CHI</i>	<i>Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report: China</i>
GAC	Government Administrative Council
GPD	General Political Department
KMT	Kuomintang (Nationalist Party)
NPC	National People's Congress
NDC	National Defense Council
PCG	Party core group
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PLAC	Political and Legal Affairs Committee
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China