

The Modern Chinese State

The Modern Chinese State is the first book to examine systematically the evolution of the Chinese state from the late Ming dynasty, through the Nationalist and Communist party-states of the twentieth century, and into the twenty-first century. The contributing authors, all leading scholars in the field of Chinese studies, carefully assess the internal organization of the Chinese state over time, the ruling parties that have governed it, the foreign and indigenous systems that have served as models for state-building and political development, and the array of concepts that have guided Chinese thinking about the state.

The Chinese state is the oldest in the world, far predating European and other Oriental state systems, but the party-states in mainland China and Taiwan today both face serious challenges. What are these challenges and can they be surmounted? How are the Chinese adapting? What will the Chinese state of the twenty-first century look like? These contemporary and many more historical questions are explored in this book.

David Shambaugh is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs and Director of the China Policy Program at The George Washington University, and nonresident Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at The Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C.

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*In memory of
Professor Franz Michael:
Scholar, Advocate, and Gentleman*

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politics, notably, *The Politics of Agricultural Cooperativization in China* (1993), *The Formation of the Maoist Leadership* (1994), *The Tragedy of Lin Biao* (1996), and, most recently, *China's Road to Disaster* (1999).

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List of Abbreviations

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CMC	Central Military Commission
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
FFYP	First Five-Year Plan
GED	General Equipment Department
GMD	Guomindang
MAC	Military Affairs Committee
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NPC	National People's Congress
NSC	National Security Council
PAP	People's Armed Police
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
SPC	State Planning Commission
TFYP	Third Five-Year Plan
TVE	township and village enterprise

Preface

This volume owes a debt of gratitude to many. Most of all it owes a special intellectual debt to the memory of Franz Michael (1907–1992), to whom the volume is admiringly dedicated.

Most of the contributors to this volume were either colleagues or students of Professor Michael. Personally, as an undergraduate, he was one of my first teachers of Asian history. He did much to shape my initial understanding of China and Asian civilizations, and he particularly challenged me, as a young liberal, to see how easy it was for unbridled state power to be used in despotic ways. Professor Michael was one of the first Asian scholars to apply the totalitarian paradigm (developed to understand modern fascism and Stalinist communism) to the study of Chinese communism, as he recognized that dictatorships knew no cultural boundaries. This recognition also grew out of his understanding (and debates with Karl Wittfogel) of “Oriental Despotism.” His own European heritage and study of Asia blended intellectually in Professor Michael’s critical mind.¹

Franz Michael’s impact on the field of Sinological studies was significant. His influence endures in the number of students that he trained in thirty-five years as a professor of history at the University of Washington, George Washington University, and University of Pittsburgh – many of whom pursued careers as China scholars. He also taught large numbers of students who would enter government service and other pursuits in international affairs. However, through his daunting number of articles and books, Franz’s scholarly impact reached beyond those in his classroom. His three-volume *The Taiping Rebellion* is still considered the classic work on the subject. Franz also believed in public education and

¹ See Marie-Luise Nāth, “In Memoriam: Franz Michael (1907–1992),” *The China Quarterly*, No. 138 (June 1994), pp. 513–16.

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policy – teaching continuing education courses at the Smithsonian Institution and leading tours to China, testifying before Congress and writing policy papers, and lobbying many in the media. Franz's passion for China was, perhaps, exceeded only by his enjoyment of bird watching and sports car driving.

Franz Michael's own academic training was completed in Germany between the wars. He completed his doctorate with the highest honors at the University of Freiburg in 1933. That year, as the Nazis began their rise to power and anti-Semitism began to spread, Franz abandoned a promising Foreign Office career and went into self-imposed exile in China. After five years teaching German in Hangzhou and traveling throughout the countryside not occupied by the advancing Japanese forces, he accepted a fellowship at Johns Hopkins University and moved to the United States – which would become his adopted home for the remainder of his life.

Throughout his distinguished academic career, Professor Michael was a passionate proponent of the view that one could not understand China unless one understood its bureaucracy and ways in which the state apparatus evolved over time and in response to economic and social stimuli. For him, there were two key aspects to China: the gentry and the bureaucracy; together they comprised the Chinese state. Thus the contributors to this volume, and Franz's former colleagues at The George Washington University involved in this project, thought it appropriate that his contributions to the China field be commemorated by commissioning a volume on the modern Chinese state.

The conference that gave rise to this volume was a joint venture between the Institute of Russian, European, and Eurasian Studies (IREES) and the Sigur Center for Asian Studies at The George Washington University. Franz's close colleague Carl Linden must be credited with initiating the idea of a posthumous commemorative volume, and Carl, IREES director James Millar, and I worked closely together in planning the conference. Suzanne Stephenson and Deborah Toy did yeoman's service with all of the complicated logistics. The meeting in October 1998 brought together many of Franz's former students and colleagues, as well as his widow Dolores and daughters, all of whom enjoyed reminiscing about Franz and the former Institute of Sino-Soviet Studies at The George Washington University.

A deep debt of thanks is also due to the contributors, who demonstrated great patience as this volume morphed from a set of conference papers into a scholarly volume. Unfortunately, not all of the papers orig-

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inally presented at the conference could be included in the volume, but I am still most grateful to all of the original authors for the time and effort expended. Like all edited volumes, the chapters were rewritten several times to take account of suggestions and criticisms from those at the conference and outside peer reviewers for Cambridge University Press. Working with Cambridge University Press has been a real pleasure, particularly with social science commissioning editor Mary J. Child, series editor Professor William Kirby, and copy editor Stephanie Sakson.

The book tries to tackle a big subject and a long expanse of time. Hopefully, it includes some big ideas too, and tries to offer both new students and informed readers an adequate and accurate introduction to the complexities of the Chinese state over the last couple of centuries. As the Chinese state enters its twenty-sixth millennium of organized rule, faced with substantial challenges and abiding questions about its efficacy, pundits may do well to consider its evolution along a longer continuum. This volume should help to fill that need.

David Shambaugh
Washington, D.C.
May 1999