China's Party Congress

Nominally the highest decision-making body in the Chinese Communist Party, the Party Congress is responsible for determining party policy and the selection of China's leaders. Guoguang Wu provides the first analysis of how the Party Congress operates to elect Party leadership and decide Party policy, and explores why such a formal performance of Congress meetings, delegate discussions, and nondemocratic elections is significant for authoritarian politics more broadly. Taking institutional inconsistency as the central research question, this study presents a new theory of "mutual contextualization" to reveal how informal politics and formal institutions interact with each other. Wu argues that despite the prevalence of informal politics behind the scenes, authoritarian politics seeks legitimization through a combination of political manipulation and the ritual mobilization of formal institutions. This ambitious book is essential reading for all those interested in understanding contemporary China, and an innovative theoretical contribution to the study of comparative politics.

GUOGUANG WU is Professor of Political Science, Professor of History, and Chair in China and Asia-Pacific Relations at the University of Victoria, Canada. He was involved in China's Party Congress as a policy adviser to then Party chief Zhao Ziyang, and a member of the draft group of the Central Committee's report to the Congress. The author, coauthor, and editor of twenty-two books in both English and Chinese, he is also a contributor to journals including *Asian Survey, China Quarterly, Comparative Political Studies, Journal of Contemporary China, Pacific Review, Social Research*, and *Third World Quarterly*.

China's Party Congress

Power, Legitimacy, and Institutional Manipulation

Guoguang Wu University of Victoria



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107082021

© Guoguang Wu 2015

This publication 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 2015

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data Wu, Guoguang.

China's Party Congress : power, legitimacy, and institutional manipulation / Guoguang Wu, University of Victoria. pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-08202-1 (hardback)

Zhongguo gong chan dang. Quan guo dai biao da hui.
Zhongguo gong chan dang. – Platforms.
Zhongguo gong chan dang. – Platforms.
Political leadership – China.
China – Politics and government – 1949–
Title.
JQ1519.A5W479
2015
324.251'075 – dc23
2015012670

324.231075 = dc23 2013012070

ISBN 978-1-107-08202-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To Xiaoying

Contents

	List of tables	<i>page</i> viii
	Acknowledgments	ix
1	Introduction: China's Party Congress as the theater of powe	r 1
2	Institutions manipulated, legitimacy ritualized: a theory of authoritarian legitimization	24
3	"Meeting for unity and victory": the political art of running the Party Congress	54
4	Between political principle and the practice of power: the making and remaking of the Party platform	121
5	Norms versus operations: the Party Constitution in political configuration	179
6	Elections as instruments of autocracy: the essence and nuisance of formalistic voting	222
7	Conclusion	294
	Bibliography Index	314 349

Cambridge University Press
78-1-107-08202-1 - China's Party Congress: Power, Legitimacy, and Institutional Manipulation
Guoguang Wu
Frontmatter
Aore information

Tables

2.1	The concept of legitimacy: three levels of analysis and different	
	lines of reasoning	page 29
2.2	Correlations between three levels of legitimacy and regime types	48
3.1	Irregular meetings of the Party Congress, 1921-82	57
3.2	Timetable of post-Mao Party Congress meetings	65
3.3	Meetings of the CCP's National Assembly of Delegates	67
3.4	Numbers of Party Congress delegates	70
3.5	Distribution of the 7th Party Congress delegates	72
3.6	The percentage of leading cadres among delegates to post-Mao	
	Party Congresses	73
3.7	Sizes of delegations to the 17th and 18th Party Congresses	104
3.8	Assembly meetings of the Party Congress since the 7th	112
4.1	Platform changes against the Party Congress	126
4.2	Deliverers of reports to the 9th-11th Party Congresses	132
4.3	Deliverers of reports to the Party Congress since 1982	132
4.4	Liu Shaoqi's investigations in preparation for the 8th Party	
	Congress	142
4.5	Mao Zedong's investigations in preparation for the 8th Party	
	Congress	144
4.6	Symposia on political reform prior to the 13th Party Congress	157
4.7	Subgroups under the CSGPR	159
4.8	Meetings of the CSGPR and discussion topics	160
5.1	Party Charter on the agenda of early Party Congresses, 1921–8	182
5.2	Party Congress agenda about the Party Charter, 1945–77	185
5.3	Party Congress agenda about the Party Charter in the post-Mao	
	era, 1982–2012	187
6.1	Membership numbers of major CCP leadership bodies since 1943	5 233
6.2	Differences between candidates and seats of the CC and CDIC in	l
	preview elections from the 13th to 18th Party Congresses	276
6.3	Changes and continuities in the Party Congress electoral system:	
	from Maoist institutions to the post-Mao eras	289

viii

Acknowledgments

With an atypical career of a scholar, I write this book not only as a research monograph but also as a kind of record of my life journey, for which I owe so much to so many. I am glad to have this opportunity at last to express my deepest gratitude to each and every one of them.

The writing process of the book has been ongoing over the course of many years, during which time I obtained support and assistance from the following colleagues, friends, and organizations, to whom my thanks are beyond expression:

- The University of Victoria, specifically its Centre for Asia-Pacific Initiatives, Department of Political Science, and Department of History, which have during the past ten years provided a collegial and supportive environment, and for which my thanks go to all colleagues, especially Colin Bennett, Gregory Blue, Stella Chan, Avigail Eisenberg, Richard King, Helen Lansdowne, Lynne Marks, Bill Neilson, Eric Sager, Tom Saunders, and Amy Verdun.
- The East Asian Institute of the National University of Singapore, where I spent six months in 2011 during which two chapters of this book were drafted, and for which I owe my thanks to its director, Zheng Yongnian, and to discussions with research staff of EAI.
- The Fung Library of the John King Fairbank Center at Harvard University, where Nancy Hearst is always most helpful; the Service Centre for China Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong; and the East Asian Institute Library at the National University of Singapore, three of the best libraries in the world for a researcher on contemporary China and where I spent numerous hours of enjoyment in research and findings.
- Feng Yuan, a longtime friend in Beijing who has helped to collect many Chinese publications.
- The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada, from which I was awarded an individual research grant (file number 410–2007–0942) that has financed the research project on China's Party Congress, and Rosemary Ommer, a research officer

ix

х

Acknowledgments

at the University of Victoria, who provided useful assistance during the crafting of the grant application.

- The interviewees in China, who include some CCP Central Committee members of various terms, former and current staffers to the Party Center, and Party journalists, whose names are remembered in my mind.
- Emma Lansdowne, who has patiently and carefully read through the entire manuscript many times over using her skillful and meticulous editing to adjust my words, sentences, and/or grammar as needed.

Beyond its technical composition, the book is actually rooted in my experience in China during the late 1980s, during which time I worked as an editorialist of the *People's Daily* (*Renmin ribao*), the CCP central leadership's mouthpiece, and, from October 1986, as a member of two groups that the Party leadership organized for preparation of the 13th Party Congress. The two groups are Zhenggaiban, or the office of the Central Seminar Group for Political Reform, and the drafting group of the Central Committee's political report to the Party Congress. I owe my gratitude to Bao Tong, the head of both groups; to the late Fan Rongkang, the late Zhou Xiuqiang, and Bao Yujun, all among the leadership of the *People's Daily* at the time; and to the colleagues at Zhenggaiban.

My interest in the CCP's National Congress can be traced back even further, to 1969, when the official news broadcast of the 9th Party Congress was poured into the ears of an eleven-year-old boy living in a remote village during the turbulent Cultural Revolution. The broadcast repeatedly announced those names of the newly elected Central Committee members in alphabetical order, with the exception of Mao Zedong and Lin Biao, who held the leading positions. Who were those persons? Why were they so important? How could they obtain such important positions? When I came to conceive the current book, I recognized that these questions were not new to my curiosity but had re-emerged from the distant past.

Parts of the research findings and arguments included in this book were presented in talks and lectures at the following universities: the University of Victoria, Canada; Waseda University, Japan; and, as an EAI distinguished public lecture, at the National University of Singapore. Feedback on these occasions has been helpful, for which I am grateful. I am also thankful to those friends and colleagues who arranged the talks, who include Satoshi Amako and Cheung Mong at Waseda, and Zheng Yongnian and James Tan at NUS.

My special thanks go to two anonymous reviewers of the book proposal and the book manuscript, whose thoughtful comments were invaluable for the improvement of the quality of the book.

I feel lucky to have Lucy Rhymer as my editor at Cambridge University Press, who from the beginning has shown confidence in the book and through the entire process of publication has demonstrated a professionalism of the

Acknowledgments

xi

highest standard. I sincerely and deeply thank her for all her efforts to carry the manuscript into this book.

My thanks extend to Amanda George, Assistant Editor in History and Asian Studies; Fleur Jones, Assistant Editor in Humanities and Social Sciences; and Gaia Poggiogalli, Production Editor, all at Cambridge University Press, for their great assistance in the editing, publishing and marketing of the book; to copy-editor John Gaunt for his diligence, which has saved the book from many errors, and to Can Zhao, for his skillful tackling of troublesome indexing.

Last but not least is my gratitude, with unconditional love, to my wife, Xiaoying, to whom this book is dedicated, and to our sons, Alexander and Felix, for their invaluable understanding, constant support, and never-failing tolerance. Life is marvelous and enjoyable because of them, even with such tedious reading and writing on a not-so-pleasant topic.

All errors and mistakes, of course, belong to me, which I hope to have an opportunity in the future to correct and revise.