

RURAL LAND TAKINGS LAW IN MODERN CHINA

One of the most pressing issues in contemporary China is the massive rural land takings that have taken place at a scale unprecedented in human history. Expropriation of land has dispossessed and displaced millions for several decades, despite the protection of property rights in the Chinese Constitution. Combining meticulous doctrinal analysis with in-depth historical investigation, Chun Peng tracks the origin and evolution of China's rural land takings law over the twentieth century and demonstrates an enduring tradition of land takings for state-led social transformation, under which the takings law is designed to be power-confirming. With changed sociopolitical circumstances and a new rights-respecting constitutional agenda, a rebalance of the law is now underway, but only within existing parameters. Peng provides a piercing analysis of how land has been used by the largest developing country in the world to develop itself, at what costs and where the future might be.

Chun Peng is Assistant Professor at Peking University Law School. He received his doctorate and master's degree in law from the University of Oxford and holds a double degree in law and economics from Peking University. He has published widely on Chinese constitutional law, administrative law and comparative law in English and Chinese. Besides scholarly work, he writes op-eds on China and the world at *The Diplomat, China Daily* and *Caixin*. He also provides consultancy to the Ministry of Land and Natural Resources and local governments on legal reforms in China.



RURAL LAND TAKINGS LAW IN MODERN CHINA

Origin and Evolution

CHUN PENG

Peking University





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

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/9781107190931 DOI: 10.1017/9781108120395

© Chun Peng 2018

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 2018

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

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data
Names: Peng, Chun, (Law teacher), author.
Title: Rural land takings law in modern China: origin and evolution / Chun
Peng, Peking University, Beijing.
Description: New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018. | Includes

index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017050591 | ISBN 9781107190931

Subjects: LCSH: Eminent domain – China. | Land tenure – Law and legislation – China. | Land tenure – Government policy – China. |

Authoritarianism – China. | Land reform – China.

Classification: LCC KNQ2820 .P46 2017 | DDC 343.51/0252–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017050591

ISBN 978-1-107-19093-1 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.



For my parents, Peng Zhonghao and Wang Shuming



CONTENTS

	List of Figures page x List of Tables xi Acknowledgments xii List of Abbreviations xv					
1	Introduction 1					
	1.1 Defining Land Taking in China 3					
	1.2 Massive Rural Land Expropriation in Contemporary China 6					
	1.3 Making Sense of China's Rural Land Expropriation Law 11					
	1.4 Transition Paradigm 14					
	1.5 Theme, Thesis and Structure of the Book 24					
2	A Broken Constitutional Promise: Diagnoses and Prescriptions 29					
	2.1 Public Interest Prerequisite: TripleChallenge 29					
	2.2 Expropriation Compensation: Unjust and Unfair 36					
	2.3 Prescriptions: Toward the Chinese Fifth Amendment 46					
3	Limited Reform: Symptoms and Causes 57					
	3.1 Reform and Its Limitations 58					
	3.2 Land Finance as the Explanation 74					
	vii					



viii

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-19093-1 — Rural Land Takings Law in Modern China Chun Peng Frontmatter More Information

	CONTENTS								
4	Original Constitutional Takings Clause: Origin, Meaning and Purpose 86								
	4.1 Origin of Original Constitutional Takings Clause 87								
	4.2 Parsing the Original Constitutional TakingsClause 92								
4.3 Purpose of Original Constitutional Takings Clause 106									
	4.4 The Transition Paradigm Reconsidered 108								
5 Theoretical Foundations of Land Takings Power: Competing Traditions and Common Legacy 112									
	5.1 Land Nationalization: A Tale of Two Traditions 113								
	5.2 Land Expropriation: From Classical Liberalism to Socialized Property 140								
	5.3 Common Legacy of Competing Theories 154								
6	The 1982 Constitutional Takings Clause Re-examined: New Wine in an Old Bottle 159								
	6.1 "Urban Land Is Owned by the State": A Reinterpretation 160								
6.2 Forbidding Voluntary Land Transaction 19									
	6.3 Rational Use of Land 203								
	6.4 Parsing the 1982 Takings Clause: Nature and Purpose 207								
7	Rural Land Expropriation Law in the Reform Era: A Stor of Continuity 212								
	7.1 Structural Continuity 214								
	7.2 Functional Continuity 223								
	7.3 Normative Continuity 236								
	7.4 Foundational Continuity 239								



CONTENTS ix

7.5 Persistent Non-justiciability of Expropriation Decisions 253

8 Conclusion 266

- 8.1 Taking Stock 266
- 8.2 Doing Away with the Transition Paradigm 269
- 8.3 Making Sense of the Rise of the Transition Paradigm 274
- 8.4 An Immanent Critique 285
- 8.5 Looking Ahead 315

Appendix 1 319 Appendix 2 328 Index 331



FIGURES

- 1.1 Massive and accelerating rural land expropriation in contemporary China page 7
- 7.1 Visualization of three boundaries and four zones 247



TABLES

7.1	Competence to	sanction rural	land	expropriation	of central	and j	provinci	al
	governments	page 240						

- 7.2 Quota control under land use master plans 242
- 7.3 Three boundaries and four zones 246
- 7.4 Urban rural planning areas 249
- 7.5 One form and three programs 250



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book grew out of my trips as a student to three countries over the last decade. It all started when I came across the Chongqing Nail House incident during my exchange at the National University of Singapore in my junior year in college. Startled by the picture of a single house standing alone in a deep pit, I started to explore why land expropriation has generated so many conflicts and tragedies in my country, first with a course paper in Singapore and later in a graduation thesis at Peking University and a doctoral dissertation at Oxford.

Along the way, I have accumulated debts to many individuals and institutions. First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my tutors at Oxford. Professor Paul Craig kindly took me in eight years ago and has always been a tremendous source of guidance, encouragement and support, even after I finished my doctoral studies. I am extremely grateful for his patience, wisdom and kindness, which inspire me to become the best possible scholar and teacher that I can be. My cosupervisor, Dr. Patricia Thornton, has also devoted much time and energy to reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this book. I have benefited from her insights on politics and society in China, and our discussions are always stimulating. Moreover, it has been both relaxing and exhilarating to talk with Professor Reza Hasmath about research and other things of mutual interest, such as basketball.

I am very fortunate to have a group of mentors at Peking University Law School, which is my alma mater and the institution I am now working for. Professor Wang Xixin has been a tremendous inspiration not only with his academic expertise in Chinese public law and political development, but also with his commitment to promoting the rule of law in China in a pragmatic and constructive manner. Professor Zhang Qianfan has offered me many opportunities to work for and learn from him, and Professor Shen Kui encouraged me to pursue a career in academia after supervising my college graduation paper. Dean Zhang Shouwen, Professors Jiang Ming'an, Chen Duanhong, Zhan Zhongle,



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

xiii

Wang Lei, Jiang Shigong and Dr. Li Yuanyuan have also graced me with their kindness and trust. They are the finest teachers and colleagues one can hope for.

Outside Oxford and Peking University, Professor John S. Baker has been a mentor and friend to me for almost a decade, and his support and advice are invaluable. Dr. Suzanne Yang and Dr. Stephen Reid organized extremely interesting training programs and hosted most enjoyable tea parties and luncheons at their house, which will always be fond memories.

Furthermore, I want to say thanks to many friends who have supported and motivated me over the years, including Liao Kezhong, Wang Xiangping, Wang Jianbin, Li Kunrui, Guo Yicong, Liu Shuichang, Li Zi, Tao Yu, Ge Cheng, Zhang Zichen, Liang Kun, Liu Yifan, Wu Yimin, Yan Tian, Liu Han, Rogier Creemers, Ewan Smith, Nicole Stremlau and Iginio Gagliardone. In particular, I want to thank Sunny Chiang, who helped me so much in times of need. I would also like to thank the colleagues and friends at Oxford Continuing Education Department, including Professor Alan Hudson, Professor Jonathan Michie, Annette Lord, Patrick Tilbury, Isabel Finch, Caroline Airey, Jim Campbell, Alison Boulton and James Boulton, who have made Oxford my second home.

In 2011, I had a brief stint conducting empirical research back in my hometown – the city of Changde in Hunan Province – and received warm hospitality from Mr. Liu Jianyao and Mrs. Yin Fangming, the directors of the city land administration bureau. In particular, I accompanied Mr. Zhong Guowen and his "demolition team" when they went to talk to the peasants who were to be expropriated. They broke the stereotype portrayed in the mass media by showing incredible patience and sympathy. Their work is most difficult and undervalued.

I also want to express my gratitude to the China Oxford Scholarship Fund (especially Mr. Timothy Beardson and Ms. Susan Yu), St. Catherine's College, Oxford Law Faculty, the China Scholarship Council, the Great Britain China Center (particularly Mr. Richard Pascoe) and the Peking University–Lincoln Institute Center for Urban Development and Land Policy (Professor Liu Zhi and Professor He Canfei specifically) for generously providing me with financial support at different points over the past ten years.

This book has its origin in my doctoral dissertation at Oxford. I am indebted to the examiners of my transfer, confirmation and viva tests for their constructive suggestions: Professors Denis Galligan and Nick Barber at Oxford, as well as Dr. Zhu Sanzhu from School of Oriental and



xiv

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

African Studies, University of London, and Dr. Eva Pils from King's College London. At the publication stage, I am extremely grateful to Mr. Joe Ng for his support of the project and his considerable patience with the tight schedule of a junior academic. My thanks also go to the three anonymous readers for their helpful comments and criticisms. Miss Cai Peiru kindly offered her assistance in finalizing the footnotes, which is greatly appreciated.

Parts of this book were previously published as journal articles and have been revised and updated before being reproduced here. Chapter 2 is based on "Chinese Rural Land Expropriation Law: Problems, Prescriptions and Obstacles," *China-EU Law Journal* (Vol. 4, Iss. 2, 2015). Chapter 5 is a revised version of "Theoretical Foundations of Land Takings Powers in China: Competing Traditions and Common Legacy," *Peking University Law Journal* (Vol. 3, Iss. 1, 2015). A small part of Chapter 7 first appeared in "Decision-Making and Scrutiny of Rural Land Expropriation in China: Conventional Wisdom and Beyond," *Hong Kong Law Journal* (Vol. 45, Part 2, 2015). My thanks are due to these journals for their kind permission for me to reuse these printed materials.

Last, and above all, this book is for the loving memory of my uncle Wang Yafei and for the good health of my maternal grandmother Deng Yunhua. Most importantly, my parents, who never went to college, sacrificed so much to bestow upon me the greatest thing any parents can give to their children – an education. I hope to make up a bit for those Spring Festivals spent oceans apart with this humble book, which is dedicated to them.



ABBREVIATIONS

ALL Administrative Litigation Law

ALUP Annual Land Use Plan

ARL Administrative Reconsideration Law CAC Constitutional Amending Committee

CCP Chinese Communist Party

CPPCC Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee

GDP Gross Domestic Product

KMT Kuo Min Tang

IWLO ideal Western legal order LAL Land Administration Law

LALIR Land Administration Law Implementation Regulation

LUMP Land Use Master Plan

MLR Ministry of Land and Natural Resources

MLRSC Measures on Land Requisition for State-led Construction

NPC National People's Congress

NPCSC National People's Congress Standing Committee

PAL Prime Agricultural Land PRC People's Republic of China

RECHSL Regulation on Expropriation and Compensation of Houses above State-

owned Land

RLRSC Regulation on Land Requisition for State-led Construction

SCP Short-term Construction Plan SOE State-owned Enterprise SPC Supreme People's Court SPR Small Property Rights TP Transition Paradigm

TVE Township and Village Enterprise
UREAL Urban Real Estate Administration Law

URP Urban Rural Plan

URPL Urban and Rural Planning Law
USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

VAT Value Added Tax

ΧV