
Political Reforms in the P.R. China

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Political Science terminology:

Government and Governance

- government: political party elite and the bureaucracy exercise control and take decisions
- governance: decision-making and political management with involvement of stakeholders and the public
- Why the term governance has become so popular across the world...and in China?

Political Science terminology:

White, Green, Blue, Yellow, Black Books and Papers

- *White* books/papers are issued by the government and lay out policy, or proposed action, on a topic of current concern.
- *Green* books/papers are *consultation documents*
- *Blue* books: almanach, compilation of statistics by external advisors
- *Yellow* book: ideology/concepts/ideas on global socialism by CASS
- *Black* book: bad practices/negative examples compiled by authors (e.g. listing firms)

Introduction:

Political Change in the P.R. China

- changing state-society relations* (Huntington: political order in changing societies); moving away from authoritarian rule?
- power relations, role of party, role of institutions, decision-making processes, political ethics, political behaviour
- separation of state and society; recognition of expertise outside the inner power circle
- from „mobilising“ to “activating“ citizens

Introduction:

Political Change in the P.R. China

- diversification of political interests and articulation: party, business, associations and networks, NGOs, Internet
- transformation of the role of the party': challenge of the CCP: more diverse, more representative and more inclusive membership
- gradually emerging checks and balances within the state and over the state by the people on a legal basis

Introduction:

Political culture

- Hierarchy: rank (position: high, low; age: young/old; status: official/non official)
- Rituals, Symbolic actions
- Authority, fear of chaos („luan“) and anarchy
- Confucianism: respect and duties
- Maoism: ideology
- CCP: from ideology (Mao) to pragmatism (Deng, Jiang)
- Routine and emergency modi (Heilmann)

Introduction:

Pragmatism or Ideology?

- The „**routine mode**“ (pragmatisms) and the „**crisis mode**“ (ideological campaigning), see Prof. Sebastian Heilmann
- **Deng Xiaoping / Mao Zedong**
- **The five generations:** Mao Zedong (1949-1976), Deng Xiaoping 1976-1992), Jiang Zemin (1992-2003), Hu Jintao (2003-2012), Xi Jinping, Li Keqiang (18th Party Congress 2012-)

Mao Zedong 毛泽东

- 1893 to 1976, „Maoism“, first leader of CCP
- revolutionary, political theorist and Communist leader
He led the PRC from its establishment in 1949 until his death in 1976.
- „Politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed.“/„Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history; such is the history of civilization for thousands of years.
- Frequent opinion in China: „70 percent good, 30 percent bad“

Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平

- 1904-1997, never held office as the Head of State or the Head of Government, but served as the de facto leader of the from 1978 to the early 1990s.
- He developed „Socialism with Chinese characteristics" and Chinese economic reform, also known as the „socialist market economy ", and opened China to the global market
- Deng Xiaoping*: "It doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white, as long as it catches *mice*."

Historical Campaigns

- **Hundred Flowers Campaign/Movement (1956/57)**, encouraged a variety of views and solutions to national policy issues and cracked down on dissidents later
- **Cultural Revolution (1966 and 1976)**, period of widespread social and political upheaval that led to nationwide chaos and economic disarray
- **Great Leap Forward (1958 to 1961)**: economic and social plan to transform [China](#)'s vast population from a primarily [agrarian](#) economy into a modern, agriculturalized and industrialized [communist](#) society, millions of deaths.

Political Ideology and Change

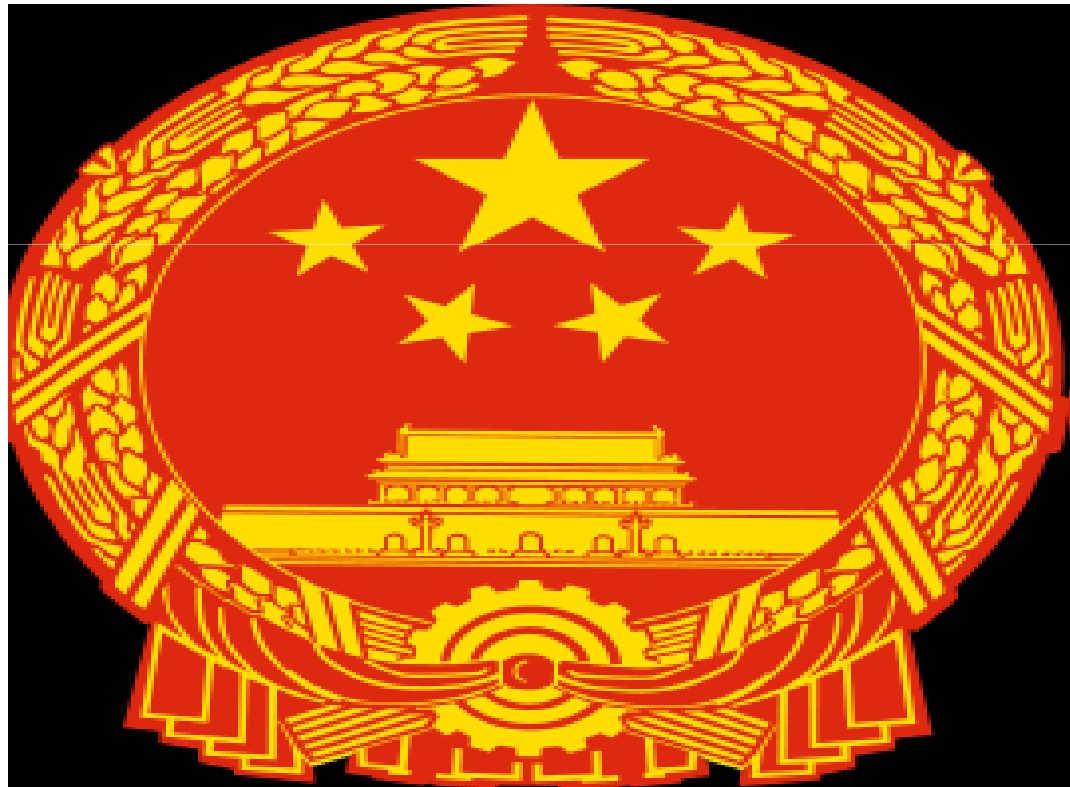
- shift from Mao Zedong thought to Socialism with Chinese characteristics
- Until mid-1970s: proletarian dictatorship, role of the party to promote class struggle, permanent revolution
- Economic development and social stability

Administrative Divisions of the People's Republic of China (PRC)



www.en.wikipedia.org

National Emblem of the P.R. China



Constitution

- 2004 Constitution: „the state respects and protects human rights“
- Constitution is binding for state, courts do not or very seldom refer to constitution when in conflict with other laws
- Role of the party?
- No constitutional court

Overview:

Politics in the P.R. China

- The primary organs of state power are the National People's Congress (NPC), the President and the State Council
- Dual leadership system: there was an attempt in the 1980s to separate party and state functions, with the party deciding general policy and the state carrying it out. The attempt was abandoned in the 1990s

Dual leadership system

- each local bureau or office is under the theoretically coequal authority of the local leader

Key political institutions

- National People's Congress and People's Congresses at the provincial and county level
- Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC)

Personalities

- President: Hu Jintao
- Prime Minister: Wen Jiabao
- NPC SC Chairman: Wu Bangguo
- Vice President: Xi Jinping
- Vice-Premiers: Li Keqiang, Hui Liangyu, Zhang Dejiang, Wang Qishan
- Next leaders belong to „5th Generation“ with better education

Hu Jintao 胡錦濤

- holding the titles of General Secretary of the CPC since 2002, President of the PRC since 2003, and Chairman of the Central Military Commission since 2004, succeeding Jiang Zemin
- lower-middle level background, CCP career, Ex-Party Chief for the Tibet Autonomous Region
- Social harmony, scientific development
- pursuing peaceful and soft power approach in international relations guided by economic interests, in particular access to natural resources

Wu Bangguo 吳邦國

- Chairman of the National People's Congress (born 1941 in Anhui province)
- Shanghai based politician, technocrat
- Tsinghua University degree in electronics
- in charge of reform of state-owned enterprise (1999)

Factional networks in the CCP: Two main political camps

- Elite-oriented politicians, “princelings,” leaders who come from families of former high-ranking officials, part of the elite, they show a preference for market-oriented policy reforms
- „Populists“. President Hu Jintao presents himself as a populist leader whose administration places a top priority on increasing social fairness and equality

Populist and Elitist Factions

- Populist: „Tuanpai“ named after Communist Youth Organisation: Hu Jintao, Wen Jiabao, Li Keqiang, Li Yuanchao, Wang Yang
- Elitists: Wu Bangguo (NPC Chairman), Jia Qinglin (CPPCC Chairman), Xi Jinping, Wang Qishan (Vizepremier), Bo Xilai (Party Secretary Chongjing).

Technocrats and Managers

- decline of the technocrats' dominance within the Chinese leadership and
- increasing prominence of leaders trained in economics, social sciences, and law.
- A technocrat is defined as a political leader who has an educational and professional background as an engineer or a natural scientist (Li 2001: 26-28).

„Princelings“

- "princeling"—a derogatory term for the offspring of party leaders, who are resented by many Chinese because they're thought to benefit from *guanxi* (personal connections).
- their “helicopter-style” career advancements have often received growing criticism and opposition
- Some princelings (Zeng Qinghong, Wang Qishan) have changed their previously poor public images by demonstrating their leadership skills.

Top „Princelings“

- Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, Li Tieying, Zeng Qinghong—whose fathers were former leaders at the vice ministerial level or above. Jiang Zemin and Li Peng both came from families of Communist martyrs;
- Bo Xilai – Party Secretary Chongqing
- Wu Bangguo: Chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee

Chinas future President?

Xi Jinping (2012)?



Xi, 54, joined the party's lineup one rank above Li, 52. Now, if all goes according to script, Xi will become party boss in five years, while Li will succeed Wen Jiabao as prime minister . Xi is known for his free-market prowess, not necessarily his ideological purity. agricultural background down to earth lifestyle

rival Li Keqiang like Hu Jintao
from the Communist Youth League system

Xi Jinping

- Xi, who's been thinking outside the box since his youth, shows how that's changing. When his father—Xi Zhongxun, a senior communist official—was publicly denounced during the Cultural Revolution, Xi, then 15, was sent to a rural commune in Shaanxi for manual labor. Once there, however, he so impressed the farmers that he became village party chief and won a recommendation to attend college—"which was unheard of at the time," says a retired official who knew him in the 1980s. After studying engineering at Tsinghua University (Newsweek Nov 5, 2007)

Xi Jinping's positions

- Vice Chairman of the Communist Party of China, Principal of the Central Party School, Top-ranked member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party of China Central Committee
- Vice-President of the People's Republic of China

Communist Party of China (CPC)

- The country is mainly run by the CPC, but there are other political parties in the PRC, called "democratic parties. They participate in the CPPCC
- more than 63 million-member Communist Party of China (CPC), elite oriented
- the party's highest body is the Party Congress which is supposed to meet at least once every 5 years.

Organs of the CPC

- Politburo Standing Committee: consists currently of nine members. The Politburo consists of 22 full members (including the members of the Politburo Standing Committee);
- The Secretariat,
- The Central Military Commission
- The Central Discipline Inspection Commission

Politburo Standing Committee

- 中国共产党中央政治局常务委员会
- Zhōngguó Gòngchǎndǎng Zhōngyāng Zhèngzhìjú Chángwù Wěiyuánhùi
- 政治局常委; Zhèngzhìjú Chángwěi
- Membership varies between five and ten, top leaders of the CCP
- Process of negotiations, formally the membership of the Committee is approved by the Central Committee.
- *de facto* highest and most powerful decision-making body in China, closely watched by media

Politburo Standing Committee

- Hu Jintao
- Wu Bangguo
- Wen Jibao
- Jia Qinglin
- Li Changchun
- Xi Jinping
- Li Keqiang
- He Gioqiang, Zhou Yongkang

Military

- 480.7 billion Yuan (56 billion € ,56 Mrd. €)
- 6.3% of total budget
- 1.4% of GDP, small compared to US, GB, France
- 17.6% increase in 2008, 14.9% increase in 2009
- modernisation of equipment, wages, disaster preparedness and responsiveness, fight against terrorism
- White Book on Defence

National People's Congress

- Highest state organ (Constitution), legislative body: enacts important laws
- Around 3000 representatives, elected from provincial congresses for 5 years, Speaker: Li Zhaoxing
- Great Hall of the People at Tiananmen square in Beijing, meets annually for one to two weeks in March and reviews and approves major new policy directions, laws, the budget, and major personnel changes.

National People's Congress

- During this annual event, the National People's Congress has the power to enact and amend state laws, elect and appoint political members, and determine and discuss major state issues.
- There is the approval of the official budget, expense reports, and the announcement of work reports.
- It also has the power, though it exercises it very rarely, to amend the Chinese Constitution.

National People's Congress

- Historically monolithic until 1980s
- Increasing abstentions and negative votes in the NPC
- NPC 3 April 1992: NPC voted on the construction of the Three Gorges Dam Project; approx. One third of votes were abstentions or negative

NPC and NPC Standing Committee (SC)

- Becomes more representative and more assertive, revises laws (fuel tax)
- Most national legislation in China is adopted by the Standing Committee of the NPC; Chairman of SC: Wu Bangguo (since March 2003)
- Most initiatives are presented to the NPCSC for consideration by the State Council after previous endorsement by the Communist Party's Politburo Standing Committee.

Business leaders in NPC

- increased number of entrepreneurs, representing either stateowned or private firms, attended the Seventeenth Party Congress as delegates.
- business leaders and CEOs of large firms and banks currently serve on the CC as full or alternate members; majority of these entrepreneurs and bankers emanate from SOEs, but some are from collective, share-holding companies or joint ventures.

NPC composition

- It is composed of NPC deputies who are elected according to law from 35 electoral units from the people's congresses of provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the Central Government, the People's Liberation Army, the deputy election council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and the Taiwan compatriots' consultation election council. Each congress is elected for a term of five years. A total of 2,987 deputies were elected to the current 11th NPC before the first session was convened.”

NPC 2009

- Wu Bangguo said China would not introduce a system of "multiple parties holding office in rotation," nor would it allow a separation of powers among the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government, or a legislature made up of lower and upper houses. China aimed to establish a "legal system of socialism with Chinese characteristics"

Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC)

- Advisory body of the NPC, 2000 members
- The organization consists of delegates from a range of political parties (United Front Parties) and organizations, as well as independent members, in China.
- the CPPCC has not been formally included in the PRC Constitution. However, its role and powers are somewhat analogous to an advisory legislative upper house and there have been occasional proposals to formalize this role in the PRC Constitution.

Elections

- Candidates proposed by the party have been vetoed by the local people's congresses
- mid 1990s: four mayor party candidates in townships of Nanbu county were rejected
- Mayor of Fushun (in Lianong) prefecture was vetoed by the Prefectural People's Congress in 2002
- Mayor of Yueyang (in Hunan) was vetoed by local people's congress

Electoral and Political Reforms

- Semi-free elections at the village level began in the early 1990s in Jilin Province
- Semi-competitive elections at the township level are cautiously watched
- Urban planning with citizens' involvement
- Political significance depends on resources (reduction/abolition of agricultural tax) limits the scope for local level government

Emergence and Spread of Semi-competitive elections at the local level in China

Level	Year of First case	Latest Number 2003-2006	Proportion (%)	Location of Most Cases
County	2004	4	0.1	Jiangsu, Hubei

Emergence and Spread of Semi-competitive elections at the local level in China

Township	1995	More than 2,000	6.0	Sichuan, Yunnan, Hubei, Jiangsu
Village	Late 1980s	More than 200,000	30.0 estimated	nationwide

Judiciary

- Judgements on political criteria rather than legal standards
- Until late 1980 most judges were recruited from among the demobilised military officers who had no systematic legal education
- mid-1990s: judges and prosecutors with higher education replaced military officers

Judiciary

- Before the early 1990s all lawyers were state employees
- Since 1990s most law firms have been privatised
- Local courts still part of local government

Scope of legal rights of citizens

- Administrative Procedure Law was passed in 1989 and put in effect in 1990.
- right to sue government organisations
- First year: around 10,000 cases nationwide
- 30 percent of these cases won by citizens
- National Industry and Commerce Administration Agency lost in 2004
- Ministries lost cases: Ministry of Land Resources in 2005; Ministry of Finance in 2006

Legal reforms

- State Compensation or Indemnity Law was passed in 1994: example: Hubei province in 2005: She Xianglin received 460,000 CNY for 14 years in prison (for murdering his wife who reappeared).
- Revision of Criminal Procedure Law in 1997: presumption of guilt was practically denounced (before: many confessions were extorted by torture)
- Presumption of innocence not yet written into the Criminal Procedure Law

Political Opposition:

example: Charter 08

- Charter 08 was a document signed by over 300 political dissidents end of 2008, which called for greater rights for Chinese, direct election, and political and fiscal reforms.

Areas and Issues of Criticism

- Civil liberties: freedom of speech, freedom of movement, religious freedom
- Legislation: one child policy, capital punishment
- Conflict, riots, discrimination: ethnic minorities, Tibet, Xinjiang
- Workers Rights and Privacy
- International issues: Darfur

Source: Wikipedia

- <http://en.wikipedia.org> (March 2009)

Areas and Issues of Criticism

- Rights of Criminal Suspects and Defendants
- Worker Rights
- Freedom of Expression
- Ethnic Minority Rights
- Population Planning
- Freedom of Residence and Travel

Source: US Government Congressional-Executive
Commission on China

Areas and Issues of Criticism

- Status of Women
- Human Trafficking
- North Korean Refugees in China
- Health
- Environment

Source: US Government Congressional-Executive
Commission on China

Areas and Issues of Criticism

- Death Penalty
- Justice System
- Torture and other ill-Treatment
- Human Rights Defenders
- Freedom of expression

Source: Amnesty International (2008)

Death Penalty

- China executed at least 1,718 people in 2008, more than the rest of the world combined, according to a recent Amnesty report – through introducing a compulsory review of each case by the supreme people's court

Areas and Issues of Criticism

- Violence and discrimination against women
- Repression of spiritual and religious groups
- Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region
- Tibet Autonomous Region and other ethnic Tibetan areas
- North Korean refugees

Source: Amnesty International (2008)

Areas and Issues of Criticism

- Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
- Violence against women
- Discrimination against lesbians and gay men
- Asylum-seekers

Source: Amnesty International (2008)

Areas and Issues of Criticism

- **Role of the media:** mouthpiece role of media, limitations to critical and investigative journalism, large scale Internet censorship, closing down of critical newspapers, magazines, blogs, webpages, only embedded criticism,

Progress in Human Rights

- Individual freedom: jobs, housing, mobility and travel, communication
- Civil society organisations
- Political and Supreme Court Supervision of capital punishment:
- White book on rule of law with reference to human rights; rule of law discourse
- New legislation is more progressive

United Nations Decentralisation Ratio

- Local government expenditure as percentage of total government expenditure
- Local government expenditure as percentage of total government expenditure less defence expenditure less debt serving
- Local government revenue as percentage of total government revenue
- Local government revenue as percentage of local government expenditure (financial autonomy)

Decentralisation

- Deconcentration: limited to passing down administrative discretion to local offices of central structures
- Delegation means passing some authority and decision-making down to local officials but Centre retains the rights to overturn decisions and taking powers back
- Devolution means granting powers to local authorities
- Privatisations means transfer of tasks from the public to the private sector

Local Government decision-making powers

- Social security
- Health care
- Education
- Environmental protection
- City planning
- Cultural affairs

Economic decentralisation

- China's economic system is highly decentralized
- policy implementation is largely under the control of provincial authorities.
- Chinese reform process decentralized responsibilities while it reduced traditional revenue sources.
- Before the reform profits were reduced (salaries, local fees) to avoid transfer to central government
- Botched sequencing of reforms where the tax system was not reformed *before* decentralization.

Media resources:

www.chinadaily.com.cn

- the largest English portal in *China*, providing news, business information, BBS, learning materials.

www.bjreview.com

- *Beijing Review* is China's only national weekly news magazine encompassing websites in five languages--English, Japanese, French, German and Chinese.

www.xinhuanet.com/english/

- official Chinese news agency
- politics, world, business, culture, sports, science and technology, health, opinion, voice of China, odd news, photos, videos, special reports

www.chinanews.com.hk

- The **China News Service** (中国新闻社) is the second largest news agency in the PRC, trailing Xinhua News Agency. It serves mainly overseas Chinese and residents of Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan.
- The CNS was established in 1952.

www.ccs.org.za

- Centre for Chinese Studies at Stellenbosch University
- China in Africa: politics, diplomacy, trade and business, science and technology, development cooperation
- Dr Martyn J. Davies is the Executive Director of the Centre for Chinese Studies

www.china-wire.org

- CHINA-WIRE seeks to build greater understanding of China and its ongoing role in today's world. CHINA-WIRE focuses on making information and news published by sources within China more available to readers around the world

www.chinascope.org

- „a window to reality“
- US based online service: compilation of news, focus on China-US relations, defence, politics, governance.

www.chinadigitaltimes.net

- CDT is a bilingual news website covering China's social and political transition and its emerging role in the world.
- critical news and analysis about China from around the Web,
- translations from Chinese cyberspace
- daily recommendations of readings from the Chinese blogosphere.

www.chinaseite.de

- General information on history, politics, economy, culture, travel, and travel in China

www.theepochtimes.com

- Multi-lingual news service
- China related, critical on China
- Politics, Business, Science/Technology, arts/entertainment, health, life, sports
- Culture, Society, Democracy and Human Rights news