

A NETWORK ANALYSIS OF CHINA'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE:  
A DYNAMICAL THEORY OF POLICY NETWORKS

by

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B.S., Oregon State University, 1988  
M.Engr., University of Idaho, 2002  
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AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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## **Abstract**

How does the social network structure of China's Central Committee influence the direction and timing of intra-Party events, domestic policies, and foreign policies? How do changes in network structures explain specific patterns and propensities for policy change? The purpose of this study is to describe the social network structure of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee from 1922 to 2011 and to explore the relationship between changes in the network and policy trends. This study draws on policy network theory, network dynamics, Veto Player Theory and Prospect Theory which together posit that dynamic network structural characteristics influence policy outcomes. I introduce a dynamical theory of policy networks and describe some observable implications. This mixed method analysis is based on a new network dataset and follows two major lines of investigation. A structured, focused comparison of case studies associates changes in the Central Committee's network structure in 1969, 1978, 1982, and 1997 with consequent policy outcomes and demonstrates the explanatory power of the dynamical theory. Statistical analyses of China's foreign policies (1949-1978 and 1984-1995) and China's domestic policies (1984-1995) suggest the dynamical theory is generalizable. Changes in paramount leader and potential competitor centralities and Central Committee centralization are important causal factors explaining the timing and type of intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policies.

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This study was, by necessity, a multi-disciplinary project, so there are various parts that reflect the influence and expertise of a great many people. I could not have done this without any of them and regret that I cannot name them all here.

## **Dedication**

This work is dedicated to my parents—Constancia and Emilio—who survived Japan’s occupation of the Philippines free of malice, immigrated to the United States in pursuit of happiness, worked very hard as a matter of course, and managed to raise three reasonably normal children.

Their story is the story of America: faith, strength, and humility.



## Chapter One - Introduction

*“Chinese political culture traditionally operated on the premise that omnipotence lies in the mystery which invisibility evokes.” (Pye, 1995, p. 7)*

In November 2012, the Eighteenth Party Congress elected a new 205-member Central Committee and Xi Jinping<sup>1</sup> became the paramount leader of the fifth generation of elites and President of the People’s Republic of China (PRC). Formal changes in the top leadership have regularly occurred every ten years since 1982—marking the rise of a new generation of leaders (Li C. , 2012). Hu Yaobang,<sup>2</sup> Jiang Zemin,<sup>3</sup> and Hu Jintao<sup>4</sup> rose to power in 1982, 1992, and 2002, respectively. Of greater import, every five years since 1977 China’s National Party Congress has regularly elected a new Central Committee, the political body that elects the top leadership and approves major changes in policies. How are changes in Central Committee membership related to changes in policies?

A political scientist at People’s University in Beijing recently observed that the elections are “black box politics” in that “people don’t know what happens inside it, and the Party doesn’t want them to know” (MacLeod, 2012). Nathan and Scobell (2012) wrote, “Americans

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<sup>1</sup> Xi is the son of a former Party leader, Xi Zhongxun, and is therefore considered a “princeling.” Born in 1953 in Shaanxi Province, Xi Jinping joined the Party in 1974. As the paramount leader, he is the Party General Secretary, chairman of the Central Military Commission, and President of the People’s Republic of China.

<sup>2</sup> Hu Yaobang was a liberal reformer who favored freedom of expression, economic innovation, and strong Party discipline of corrupt leaders.

<sup>3</sup> Jiang Zemin was appointed Party General Secretary in June 1989 during the pro-democracy movement, chairman of the Central Military Commission in November 1989, and State President in 1992. He was the first since Mao to hold all three positions.

<sup>4</sup> Hu Jintao is from Anhui Province and earned a degree in water conservancy and engineering. Born in 1942, he did not become active in the Party until 1980. He was the youngest Politburo member in 1992 and served as the head of the Central Party School in 1993.

sometimes view the Chinese [political system] as inscrutable.” Although the Central Committee does not make policies and almost always gives “rubber stamp” approval of policies, the Central Committee is a fundamental institution and an influential policy network in China’s political system and is, therefore, the appropriate focus of research (Shih, Shan, & Liu, 2010a).<sup>5</sup>

Extant studies of the Central Committee, however, fail to account for important relationships among the Central Committee members. Those studies, which are not based in theory, do not help us make predictions about the policy network’s collective behavior. Lewis (1986) argued “the study of national elite networks still requires the systematic gathering of data and much more theory building.” This study addresses this gap in the literature by offering an original theory—evaluated using a unique longitudinal network data set—and finds that changes in the pattern of social connections influence policy choices. This study is a social network analysis of the Central Committee, which is an influential policy network. I argue that changes in the Central Committee’s social network structure help explain the policy choices of its Politburo and the Politburo’s Standing Committee.

Each Central Committee is closely associated with specific policy trends. The Twelfth Central Committee, elected in 1982, is associated with rectification and reform (Goodman, 1984). The Fourteenth Central Committee, elected in 1992, is known for the rise of the

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<sup>5</sup> Despite the “rubber stamp” nature of the Central Committee, Saich (2004) argued that the Central Committee is worth studying for several reasons: 1) the CC is vested with formal power to elect the Politburo and the Standing Committee, 2) the CC serves as a “transmission belt” for passing down policies, and 3) CC composition indicates what the leadership considers important at any one time. The study of any such change over time will reveal the changing requirements of the leadership and indicate trends in the political system (Saich, 2004). The Party Constitution makes the Central Committee (roughly 200 full members) the leading body when the National Party Congress (over 2,000 members) is not in session. In reality, power lies within the Politburo (about 25 members) and the Standing Committee (varying between 7 and 9 members). The Party Congress convenes for 7 to 10 days once every five years. The Central Committee meets in roughly week-long, highly scripted plenary sessions as needed by the Politburo, usually once a year, to formally approve Politburo reports and communiqués. From 1949 to 2012, there were 73 plenums. Throughout this study, I will include some of the known details of meetings (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989).

technocrats and the emphasis on expertise over political “redness” (Zang, 1993). The Sixteenth Central Committee, elected in 2002, is associated with the decentralization of power from Beijing to the provinces and the fragmentation of central institutions (Bo, 2004). This dynamical process—policy changes associated with changes in Central Committee membership—is the subject of this study.

### *Problem Statement*

Social network structures are defined by the members of a group and the relationships between them. In the case of China’s Central Committee, the social connections (*guanxi*) among them constitute a social network structure that approves important policy decisions made by the Party’s decision-making bodies. In other words, the Central Committee is a policy network that can be defined by its social network structure.<sup>6</sup>

The puzzle is: What is the link between policy network structures and policy outcomes? (Howlett, 2002; Lewis, 1986). How are power and influence—based on social connections—related to political behavior?<sup>7</sup> Other researchers consider the problem of explicating “more fully the attributes of policy network[s] that shape behavior of actors and that are, in turn,

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<sup>6</sup> Adam and Kriesi (2007) argued that the first step in analyzing policy network structures is specifying the boundaries of the system. The one constant “system” throughout the history of the Chinese Communist Party has been the Central Committee. Bi (1988) argued that between 1956 and the mid-1960s the Politburo and its Standing Committee were the major decision-making organs, but from the mid-1960s until the mid-1970s the locus of decision-making shifted to Mao and the Central Cultural Revolution Group. From the late-1970s until the late-1980s the locus shifted again, first to the Secretariat, then to the Central Advisory Commission. I argue that all of these shifts occurred within the context and bounds of the policy network identified as the Central Committee.

<sup>7</sup> Moore (1979) found, “The investigation of the structure of the elite interaction networks thus is a central concern in the assessment of elite integration.” Lewis (1986) asked: “What kinds of personal links are normal in China’s political system? Under what conditions do they impact on the policy process? ... How do existing [*guanxi*] networks foster cooperation or conflict?” Like Lewis (1986), this present study does not suggest that networks can explain all political behavior or policymaking. Nevertheless, informal networks are pervasive in the Chinese policy process.

consequential for policymaking and policy outcomes” as the holy grail of policy network theory (Skogstad, 2005).

In order to determine network attributes, it is first necessary to know the attributes of the members.<sup>8</sup> Fortunately, detailed biographical information about individual members of China’s Central Committee is readily available to construct the social network structure of the Central Committee (Bartke, 1990; Party History Research, 2004; Leung, 2002; Sullivan, 2012). How are members’ attributes linked to the group’s collective behavior, and consequentially, to policy choices?

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is an influential political body in the world’s most populous country (Barnouin & Yu, 1998; Chen W. , 2003). The Central Committee is the selectorate (Bueno de Mesquita & Smith, 2011), literally choosing the country’s most elite Party and state leaders from among their own. The Central Committee approves fiscal policies and economic reforms (Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Economic Reform, 1984), commits to military actions and modernization programs (Fourth Plenum of the Thirteenth Central Committee, 1989), and adopts security and foreign policies (Anti-Secession Law, 2002) (Wang J. , 2002). Howlett and Cashore (2007) argued that studies of how membership changes in Western legislatures (i.e. policy networks) can change policy agendas were “fruitful.” This study suggests that the same is true for China’s one-party political system.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Moore (The Structure of a National Elite Network, 1979) observed that many social scientists have examined sociometric ties among elites in individual communities or groups, but such data rarely have been gathered for major groups at the national level.

<sup>9</sup> Bueno de Mesquita and Smith (2011) recently argued that “Governments do not differ in kind.” “Variations in their policies are the product of the incentives leaders face as they contend with their particular mix of interchangeable, influential, and essential groups” (Bueno de Mesquita & Smith, 2011, pp. 8-9)

It is important to understand how changes in the social network structure of the Central Committee underpin the political behavior of this elite political body. How do changes in the Central Committee's social network structure influence the type and timing of intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policy outcomes? Earlier empirical research studies infer from historical evidence that there is some kind of relationship, but do not offer plausible explanations for the relationship. I argue that increasingly cohesive, well-connected policy networks collectively choose cooperative, cautious, and risk-averse policies. Conversely, a fragmenting or decentralizing policy network behaves coercively—both internally and externally. In this study, I suggest three key actors—the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Central Committee—are significant in determining intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policies.

### *Statement of Purpose*

The purpose of this mixed method study is to first describe the social network structure of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee from 1922 to 2011 and then to explore the relationship between specific changes in the network's structural characteristics and intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policy outcomes. This research demonstrates, via case studies and statistical analyses, that by viewing the Central Committee as a network with specific connections among all of its various members it is possible to explain and predict, in part, the political behavior of one of the most secretive policy networks in the world.

Wasserman and Faust (2009 (1994)) noted in their seminal work on social network analysis that “a great deal of work remains [in] integrating concepts and measures into more general social and behavioral science research.” Snijders (2011) attributed the “limited amount of attention paid to explicit longitudinal treatment of social network analysis” to the scarcity of

network data. This study is based on a unique ninety-year data set I created, which may be one of the longest data sets of its kind. The data set permits the “longitudinal” kind of social network research not possible until now. This research allows us to peek into the Central Committee’s “black box” and gain a rudimentary understanding of the relationships between its members and their collective behavior.

As the introductory epigraph from China scholar Lucian Pye suggests, political power in China resides in policy spaces that are unseen (Pye, 1995). It is important to consider how politicians perceive themselves and others in the context of policy spaces. Those politicians are keenly aware of how they relate to one another as well. China scholar Lowell Dittmer noted that “political influence (*shili*)” is “made up of the personal relationships (*guanxi*) which a political actor accumulates in the course of a career” (Dittmer, 2001). Personal relationships represent real connections for political leaders awash in the context of otherwise invisible policy spaces.

I use social network analysis tools to push the limits of observation. Most studies of China’s political history focus on the beliefs and actions of two paramount leaders: Mao Zedong<sup>10</sup> and Deng Xiaoping.<sup>11</sup> In this study, I argue that not only are the paramount leaders vital to the decision making process, but so are those who might contest their leadership. It is important to recognize that, as John Donne famously wrote, “no man is an island” and the paramount leaders did not operate in a vacuum. I also argue that they—and every other

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<sup>10</sup> Mao Zedong, born in Hunan Province in 1893, is one of the most important leaders in Chinese history. Mao was elected to the Third Central Committee in 1923 and significantly influenced the Party and China until his death in 1976.

<sup>11</sup> Born in 1904 in Sichuan Province, Deng joined the Party in 1924. He was a Long March veteran and was first elected to the Seventh Central Committee in 1945. His influence on modern Chinese history is second only to Mao Zedong’s.

member of China’s political elite—were deeply embedded within, and subject to, the political currents of a complex policy network made up of their fellow Party elites. That complex policy network is the Central Committee.

As noted earlier, new Central Committees heralded new policy choices. Chang (1970) detected a correlation between Central Committee plenums and major policy changes. Although he did not offer a theory of how or why changes in Central Committee membership related to policy changes, he observed that the policymaking process was “not monopolized by a few top leaders,” but was open to many other Party officials (Chang P. , 1970).

Dittmer (2001) said that Party elite politics flowed not only down from the pinnacle of political power, the Standing Committee,<sup>12</sup> but also horizontally to their constituents located throughout the provinces and bureaucratic departments. The “multi-hatted” nature of Party leadership enabled them to extend their personal influence far and wide. Central Committee members also often held important positions as the heads of provinces, commissions, and ministries (Lieberthal, 2004 (1995)). Network analysis offers a way of revealing and illuminating the character and nature of the policy network—that is, how the Central Committee’s members are connected to each other. Changes in those connections, I argue, shaped their collective political behavior.

A model—the dynamical theory of policy networks—which draws on policy network theory, network dynamics, Veto Player Theory, and Prospect Theory, is fully constructed in Chapter Four to facilitate development of intuitive hypotheses about the dynamics of causal

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<sup>12</sup> The Standing Committee was established in 1956 and includes the five to ten highest-ranking members of the Politburo. The Standing Committee meets at least weekly. The Politburo (Political Bureau) was established in 1927 and includes the twenty to twenty-five of the highest-ranking members of the Central Committee. The Politburo meets roughly every week to ten days. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989)

mechanisms related to policy outcomes.<sup>13</sup> A fully specified typological theory is developed that first specifies the rates of change of the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the entire policy network's centrality (all defined later) as the key independent variables and then categorizes the full range of possible policy outcomes—risk averse to risk acceptant at the intra-Party, domestic and foreign policy levels—as the phenomena of interest (George & Bennett, 2005). The unit of analysis is the Central Committee-year.

The dynamical theory of policy networks posits that different configurations of the independent variables, that is, the direction of change of each key actor's network centrality, have a stochastic influence on specific types of policy outcomes. Four case studies, chosen because each represents one of the four categories of policy outcomes for Central Committee-years 1969, 1978, 1982, and 1997, examine watershed episodes in which policy changes occurred and to demonstrate the logical and temporal plausibility of the dynamical theory of policy networks. A number of statistical analyses of China's foreign policy from 1949 to 1978 and from 1984 to 1995, and China's domestic policy from 1984 to 1995 suggest that the dynamical theory is generalizable and has predictive value.

### *Policy Outcomes*

The policy outcomes, described in detail below, are the phenomena of interest in this study. Policy outcomes are the formal expressions of the preferred or desired courses of action as determined by members of the Central Committee and its policy making organs. They are

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<sup>13</sup> Jibu and Yasue (1995) explain why *dynamical* is more applicable than *dynamic* in some cases. "Although each [natural] phenomenon has its own spatial and temporal scale and a distinct law governing it, it can also be understood in terms of *dynamics*, a common physical concept defined as "controlled changes." Thus, every natural phenomenon in our world is subject to controlled changes and is, therefore, *dynamical*" (Jibu & Yasue, 1995, p. 113)



intended to influence the allocation of resources, the subordinate decision making processes to follow, and the implementation of plans and operations at all levels. For purposes of facilitating the analyses to follow, I have divided the policy outcomes into three distinct categorical levels: intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policy levels (Figure 1.1). At each policy level, the policies themselves range along a fairly well-defined spectrum of characteristics: from purges to consensus for intra-Party policies, from mass campaigns to civil society for domestic policies, and from coercive to cooperative foreign policies. The ranges of policies are further divided into four distinct categories (Figure 1.1).

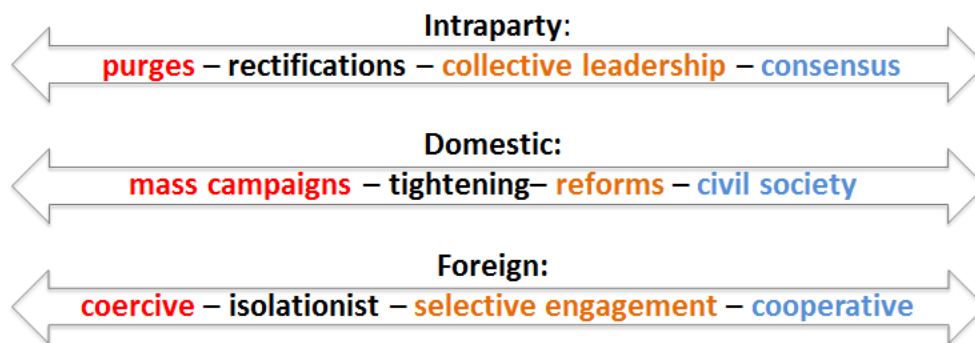


Figure 1.1 Summary of full range of policy outcomes at each policy level.

### *Intra-party Level*

Although China's Communist Party is best known for its rivalries, cliques, and factionalism that led to intra-Party strife during the Mao era, there have been periods of unity, cohesion, and consensus. At the intra-Party level, interactions between members fall within a

continuous spectrum ranging from purges and rectifications on one end to collective leadership and consensus at the other end (Figure 1.2).



Figure 1.2 Range of policy outcomes at the intra-Party level.

Purges and rectifications reflect an intra-Party environment best described as strife (MacFarquhar, 1997).<sup>14</sup> Mao Zedong, the paramount leader from 1935 to 1976, used purges to remove rivals and competitors from the Central Committee and to reestablish his personal control over the Party’s policymaking process (Nathan, 1973).<sup>15</sup> A few of the more famous potential competitors purged were Gao Gang in 1954,<sup>16</sup> Peng Dehuai in 1959,<sup>17</sup> and Liu Shaoqi in 1967<sup>18</sup> (Bartke, 1990; Dittmer, 2001). Although Dittmer (2001) avoided parsing purges into different categories of intensity, he did acknowledge that the Mao era purges were qualitatively different, that is, more violent, than the Deng era purges. Also, Party leaders purged by Mao

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<sup>14</sup> Moody (1973) considered rectifications and purges as the same thing. For this study, I distinguish the two. Rectifications were corrective actions to adjust a CC member’s policy position. Purges were corrective actions to remove a member from the Central Committee or the Party. The person targeted for rectification generally kept their official position. A person who was purged lost their position and sometimes their life.

<sup>15</sup> Mao era purges cannot be compared to Stalin’s purges. Known as “The Great Terror,” Stalin had one of his own lieutenants murdered and blamed the opposition. Stalin ordered the execution of opposition leaders even after promising to spare their lives in return for confessions. Military officers who tried to stop the purge “were suddenly liquidated without being tried.” Even Stalin’s chief of the secret police “disappeared.” Roughly 8 million Russians were arrested, 1 million were executed, 2 million died in camps, and a total of more than 20 million died as a result of Stalin’s long purge from 1930 to 1953. See Conquest (1968).

<sup>16</sup> Sometimes referred to as the “Czar of Manchuria,” Gao joined the Party in 1926, participated in the Long March, and was elected to the Politburo by the Seventh Central Committee in 1945.

<sup>17</sup> Peng was born in Hunan Province in 1898, joined the Party in 1928, and served with distinction in the Red Army—rising to become one of the ten Marshals of China in 1955.

<sup>18</sup> Liu was born in Hunan Province in 1898 and joined the Party in 1921 while studying in the Soviet Union. In 1939 he wrote the classic work on Party discipline, *How to Be a Good Communist*. He became Mao’s heir apparent in the 1950s.

were far less likely to be politically rehabilitated while Mao was alive. Intra-Party purges followed measurable changes to the Central Committee network structure.

Another less coercive form of intra-Party strife was the rectification campaign (Teiwes, 1979). Rectifications were restricted to Party members and usually targeted specific members in particular ways. In general, the Party leadership used rectification campaigns to achieve ideological orthodoxy and to unify the Party around a policy (Sullivan, 2012). Although the unwitting targets of ideological rectification were criticized and usually forced to perform self-criticism, they were typically allowed to retain their official positions. The fact that rectifications permitted not only the probability of physical survival and the possibility of political survival highlights the single most important qualitative difference between purges and rectifications. It is necessary to distinguish the two forms of intra-Party strife as two distinct policy outcomes.

Some of the clearest examples of rectification policies were the Rectification Campaign of 1942-1944,<sup>19</sup> the Anti-Rightist Movement of 1957, and the Lushan Conference of 1959 (Guillermaz, 1976). The attacks on Zhu De in 1966,<sup>20</sup> the gradual eclipse of Hua Guofeng beginning in 1978,<sup>21</sup> the forced retirement of Hu Yaobang in 1987, and the political demise of Zhao Ziyang in 1989<sup>22</sup> also represent excellent examples of intra-Party rectification (Guillermaz, 1976; Baum, 1994; Zhao, 2009). Pye (1981, p. 205) observed that “The formal code of Chinese politics upholds the ideals of reforming rather than destroying wayward elements.”

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<sup>19</sup> See also “On New Democracy.” (January 1940). In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume II*.

<sup>20</sup> Zhu was born in Sichuan Province in 1886 and is considered one of the founders of the Red Army. In 1928, Zhu forged a cooperative relationship with Mao such that the “Zhu-Mao” team was considered the combined leadership of the communist movement in China.

<sup>21</sup> Hua was born in Hunan Province in 1921 and joined the Red Army in 1936. After serving a number of years as a county Party secretary and overseeing agricultural collectivization, Mao promoted him to provincial secretary and eventually brought Hua to Beijing in 1971 to investigate the Lin Biao affair.

<sup>22</sup> Zhao was born in 1919 in Henan Province and joined the Party in 1938. He was a victim of the Cultural Revolution in 1966, but Zhou Enlai enabled his rehabilitation in 1971. Zhao’s experiments with agricultural policy

Rectification may be considered to have been the Party norm for intra-Party discipline, correction, and reconsolidation during the Mao era (Teiwes, 1979). Dittmer (2001) observed that “in the course of generational transition [from the first and second generation leaders Mao and Deng to the third and fourth generation leaders Jiang and Hu] there has been a shift from monolithic to a more collegial distribution of power.” It is the collegial, or more consultative, aspect of leadership to which I turn to next.

Moving to the right along the continuum of intra-Party policy outcomes (Figure 1.2), collective leadership occurred when power and influence were distributed relatively equitably throughout the policy network and the functions of various leaders and groups were more clearly and formally delineated. Relative to purges and rectifications, collective leadership represents a high degree of teamwork among the elite leadership group and the absence of a single dominant leader. There are few obvious periods or examples of collective leadership in the Party’s history. One example from the Mao era, the Central Committee-year of 1956 is an example when various leaders held somewhat autonomous authority in their areas of expertise.<sup>23</sup> Mao’s views on matters relating to revolution were unquestioned. The same could be said of Zhu De on military matters and Chen Yun<sup>24</sup> on economic issues (Teiwes, 2011). Expert knowledge in various areas was respected.

Intra-Party consensus has been even rarer. Under consensus, the members of the Central Committee are expected to consent to policy decisions. Unanimous agreement is the norm for this policy outcome. Members’ concerns, oppositions or objections are addressed to

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<sup>23</sup> Wilson (Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It, 1991) suggests that bureaucracies, and especially the leaders of bureaucracies, enjoy more internally harmonious conditions when subordinate leaders and organizations are given a great deal of autonomy.

<sup>24</sup> Chen was born in 1905 near Shanghai and joined the Party in 1925. He was first elected to the Central Committee in 1934. In the 1940s, he was active in economic issues and worked in Manchuria.

some degree. Party leadership under Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao can, in general, be considered to have operated under intra-Party consensus during most of their tenures. Neither Jiang nor Hu can be said to have been either particularly politically strong or personally charismatic. The absence of any one powerful leader and the adoption of relatively moderate policy choices in the post-Deng era suggest that China's decision-making process is more "risk-averse, incremental, and pragmatic" (Overholt, 2012). Although factionalism continues to be observable, there is a strong sense of intra-Party accommodation for the sake of appearing unified in recent years.

It should be noted that while there was an observable transition from a formal, hierarchical leadership during the Mao and Deng eras toward collective leadership based on informal power during the Jiang and Hu eras, there were also transitions *within* each era. Dittmer (2001) argued that "the distribution of power varies cyclically in the course of the succession cycle, typically beginning with a relatively equal distribution of power at the outset but tending over time toward a more hierarchically skewed distribution as the paramount leader eliminates rivals and accumulates hegemony." In other words, in the general sense the trend was from monolithic to collegial, but in the specific sense the pattern moved from collegial to monolithic. The variations of the intra-Party policy outcomes were readily apparent to observers of Chinese political behavior.

### *Domestic Level*

Central Committee domestic policies in the People's Republic of China have fluctuated since its founding in October 1949. The Communist Party's programs to transform the way Chinese lived their lives had staggering, often catastrophic, effects (Saich, 1996). The domestic

social policy oscillations ranged between the typically brutal mass campaigns of the Mao era on one hand and the often tacit acceptance of the influential roles of civil society organizations during the Hu era on the other hand (Figure 1.3). Mass campaigns represent one extreme and usually destructive form of domestic policy. Yu (2009) noted China's recent social transformation, based on the adoption of a market economy, and suggested that the rise of civil society organizations represents the short-term and incremental adoption of democratic norms by the Party leadership. Tolerance, regulation, and even encouragement of civil society organizations represent the other extreme of domestic level policy outcomes.

During most of the Deng era (1978-1992), economic loosening (*fang*) was associated with the faction led by Deng's chosen successors Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang (Baum, 1994). Hu Yaobang's power base was the Communist Youth League, which, along with being a long-time client of Deng, was a major consideration in his selection as the Chinese Communist Party general secretary in February 1980. Zhao Ziyang, a well-known reformer, was named the premier in 1982, but replaced Hu as the general secretary after Hu was accused of mishandling the student demonstrations of 1986. Economic tightening (*shou*) was associated with the faction led by Party elder Chen Yun, a long-time economic planner and considered an expert in national development policies (Baum, 1994). During Mao's Great Leap Forward, and during Deng's Opening Reform, Chen supported, in general, moves toward modernizing and reforming major economic structures, but pushed back against the *rapidity* of such changes. The Party's domestic economic guidance, whether *fang* or *shou*, is contained in the Five-Year Plans.<sup>25</sup> Since the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1971-1975), China's strategically important Five-Year Plans have

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<sup>25</sup> See also Baum (1994). China experienced *fang* and *shou* as a result of the factional dynamics that occurred between Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, on one side, and Chen Yun and Li Xiannian on the other.

been developed by Central Committee-appointed planning commissions and ministries, and approved by full Central Committee meetings, also known as plenums.<sup>26</sup>



Figure 1.3 Range of policy outcomes at the domestic level.

Mass campaigns represent the most virulent type of domestic policy outcome. The central Party leadership often surreptitiously promulgated slogans to the provincial Party apparatus. The provincial leaders then led “spontaneous” mass demonstrations demanding that the central government take appropriate actions.<sup>27</sup> At some point, a fair portion of the country was demonstrating and the Party took action against specific targets presumably in response to public demands (Guillermaz, 1976). At times, the people themselves “struggled” against the intended, and occasionally unintended, targets, putting the targets through public humiliation and requiring repeated self-criticism. Some of the more significant mass campaigns were the Three- and Five-Antis Campaigns of 1952,<sup>28</sup> the Great Leap Forward of 1958, the

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<sup>26</sup> Central Committee plenums were preceded by Central Work Conferences and Conferences of Provincial and Municipal Party Secretaries. They were large preparatory meetings attended by Party leaders and subject matter experts. The meetings served as forums for debate on a range of issues, in the case of the former, or focused on a specific problem, in the case of the latter. Changes in the role of preparatory meetings reflected “significant changes in the policy process at the top of the Chinese system. The previous practice of holding fairly regular meetings of top bodies, along with central work conferences, fell victim to the extraordinary political infighting [during the Cultural Revolution]. Regular consultation gave way to personal intrigue.” The system of elite consultation reemerged in the mid-1970s. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989)

<sup>27</sup> See Pye’s (1981) description of Deng and Hua’s dueling slogans in the late-1970s.

<sup>28</sup> The Three-Antis Campaign was a mass political movement against corruption, waste, and bureaucracy in the Party and state institutions. The Five-Antis Campaign closely followed the Three-Antis Campaign, but targeted owners of private property and industrial capital. The latter campaign sought to eliminate bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, and theft of state economic intelligence.

Socialist Education Movement of 1962, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution begun in 1966 (Sullivan, 2012). Mass campaigns reside at the far left end of the continuous domestic policy spectrum. Similar to the purges of the intra-Party policy spectrum, mass campaigns represent a qualitatively more contentious and militant policy approach, but at the national level.<sup>29</sup>

Moving again to the right along the domestic policy spectrum from mass campaigns (Figure 1.3), the tightening of economic and social policies represents a less malignant category of domestic policy outcomes. China scholar Richard Baum insightfully described domestic policies in the 1980s as alternating between *fang* (or loosening) policies and *shou* (or tightening) policies. Tightening policies are characterized by central planning, increasing economic regulations, and societal controls. These policy cycles typically lasted for roughly two years each and became increasingly pronounced with each subsequent cycle (Baum, 1994). Tightening peaked in June 1989 with the crackdown of student protesters in Tiananmen Square. The *fang-shou* cycles of the 1980s, according to Baum (1994), began with Deng Xiaoping's rehabilitation.

In 1978, in the midst of Deng Xiaoping's return from internal exile, a movement by students advocating democracy, human rights, and rule of law began plastering big character posters on a wall along Chang'an Avenue in Beijing.<sup>30</sup> What became known as "Democracy Wall" soon became the focal point for other protestors demanding political change. Many new

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<sup>29</sup> Lewis and Xue (1988, p. 202) related the mass campaigns of the Cultural Revolution with the decision to build and test nuclear weapons in mid-1966. The decision to move from testing to building a nuclear arsenal came later.

<sup>30</sup> Nathan (1986) described the scene: "Extending a hundred yards or so along the north side of Changan Avenue, between the telegraph tower and the Xidan intersection, is a gray wall seven or eight feet high, set well back from the street, that belongs to no government office. It fronts on an athletic field and a bus stop. Because it was the closest large wall to Tiananmen Square, people had been pasting posters there for some time and by late 1978 had started calling it "Democracy Wall.""



protest groups formed, most with diverse and divergent political agendas. Once Deng consolidated power at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee<sup>31</sup> (discussed in much greater detail in one of the case studies to follow), the usefulness to Deng of the Democracy Wall Movement quickly evaporated and local public security organs and the PLA rounded up and arrested the movement leaders and provocateurs (Cheung, 1996).

The *fang* policies hoped for by the Democracy Movement of 1979 were frustrated by *shou* policies adopted by the Twelfth Central Committee, elected in 1982. Another China scholar, Ezra Vogel, recounted how uncertainty among Party elites regarding how to open China's economy without experiencing widespread destabilization. With the help of a team of economists from the World Bank in 1980-1981, China's leaders adopted policies of step-by-step reforms, rather than all at once (Vogel, 2011). Monetary and fiscal controls would remain powerful tightening tools of China's central government at least until the mid-1980s.

One of the underground periodicals to come out of the Democracy Wall Movement was *Beijing Spring*, which became the namesake for the resurgence of protests following Hu Yaobang's death in April 1989. The memorialization of Hu, who was criticized for his less-than-firm response to student protests in Tiananmen Square in 1986, became the spark for a long and massive protest movement that included students, teachers, workers, and even some military and low-ranking Party members. The massive protests spread to at least 116 other major cities (Zhang L. , 2001). In early June 1989, the PLA entered Tiananmen Square and crushed the protest movement, arresting and killing a great number of people blocking their

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<sup>31</sup> The preceding Central Work Conference (November 11-December 15, 1978) was attended by 210 people from the Central Committee, government, PLA, and provinces. A Central Committee document was issued during the work conference limiting "the extent of demonstrations and criticism contained in wall posters" (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989).

route to the square and many more demonstrators in the square itself (Wortzel, 2005). The outright imposition of martial law only days before the June Fourth crackdown remains a clear example of the adoption, by the Party elite,<sup>32</sup> of domestic policies intended to centralize political power and to tighten economic and social dimensions.

Continuing to the right along the spectrum of domestic level policies are policy outcomes I characterize as modest reforms (Figure 1.3). In modern Chinese history, reforms have occurred almost exclusively within the social, cultural, and economic dimensions. Social and cultural reform was an early and continuing revolutionary dream of Mao's (Teiwes, 2011; Kissinger, 2011). Significant or meaningful political reform—such as greater political participation—has not been observed and is not expected for some time (Lieberthal, 2004 (1995)). Political reform will most likely occur incrementally, from the bottom up, beginning in the towns and counties (Yu, 2009). Domestic policy outcomes characterized as modest reforms have therefore come primarily in the economic realm, the domains of private property ownership, managerial autonomy, and the accumulation of personal wealth. Deng Xiaoping's program of "opening up" in the early 1980s and the decision to join the World Trade

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<sup>32</sup> The decision-making process was extremely complex. The disagreement among members of the Politburo Standing Committee regarding the response to the student demonstrations extended throughout the Party structure. General Secretary Zhao Ziyang and his pro-liberalization Party colleagues wanted to encourage the students and support reform using grass-roots Party organs. Premier Li Peng and his conservative Party colleagues sought to restore order—by force if necessary. The Standing Committee was deadlocked: Li Peng and Yao Yilin voted for martial law and Zhao Ziyang and Hu Qili voted against it. Qiao Shi abstained. Li Peng attributed the final decision to Deng Xiaoping (Zhang L. , 2001). On May 19, 1989, Li Peng and Beijing Mayor Chen Xitong (a Central Committee member since 1982) declared martial law. Over the next few days, both sides sought to coopt the Wan Li's (chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) and Central Committee member) support. After Jiang Zemin briefed Wan on the situation in Beijing, Wan supported the Party's decisions on the turmoil, averting the possibility that the NPC might convene to remove Premier Li Peng. In Deng Xiaoping's "Speech to Martial Law Units" (June 9, 1989), he justified implementing martial law: "We must resolutely implement the series of line, principles, and policies formulated since the third plenary session of the Eleventh CCP Central Committee." The Fourth Plenum of the Thirteenth Central Committee was held in Beijing June 23-24. The Central Committee validated the martial law decision made by the Standing Committee. Despite Zhao Ziyang's defense of his actions, the Central Committee formally removed Zhao and Hu Qili from their Party posts. Jiang Zemin was elected general secretary (Zhang L. , 2001).

Organization in 2000-2001 represent such modest reforms (Naughton, 1995; Miller A. , 2011). Joining the WTO was a major step made possible by gaining institutional knowledge regarding regulating foreign direct investments, desperately needed to finance domestic modernization, and controlling monetary policy in order to control domestic inflationary pressures.

At the far end of the domestic policy scale lie policy outcomes characteristic of an emerging or vibrant society with civil society organizations (Figure 1.3). Such policy outcomes are official policies that tolerate or even encourage the creation of civil society organizations. Civil society organizations operate within issue-specific domains outside the sphere of direct government control (Yu, 2009). They include somewhat independent trade associations, relatively autonomous public interest associations, approved community interest groups, and traditional academic associations. In a general sense, civil society organizations include nongovernmental organizations, nonprofit organizations, and civic groups. As noted earlier, these prototypical institutions can serve as arenas for Chinese to learn democratic processes; such as the election of their leaders, choice of organizational objectives, decisions regarding the allocation of resources, and the adoption of institutional norms; all without impinging upon the authority, primacy, or prerogatives of either the Party or the state.

#### *Foreign Policy Level*

China's foreign policies have undoubtedly changed since 1949. China's early ideological allies became foes in bitter military conflicts as interpersonal relations between national leaders collapsed. Foes, once economically and culturally at odds with China, became partners with remarkably parallel national interests (Kissinger, 2011). Foreign policy outcomes can be

considered to operate along three generic dimensions: diplomatic, military, and economic (Robinson & Shambaugh, 1994).

Although it is clear that foreign policies are generally incentive compatible (i.e. reciprocating another state's behavior), there is some consensus that China's foreign policy is not necessarily formulated for consumption by foreign leaders, but more for *domestic* audiences within China (Whiting, 1983).<sup>33</sup> Undoubtedly, the most important domestic audience is the Party elite embodied in the Central Committee. Just as with policy outcomes at the intra-Party and domestic levels where policymaking decisions are influenced by changes in the membership of the Central Committee, foreign policy outcomes fall within a broad range of possibilities, from coercive to cooperative (Figure 1.4).



Figure 1.4 Range of policy outcomes at the foreign policy level.

China's diplomatic history is well documented (Chai, 1972; Garver, 1993). Premier Zhou Enlai dominated the first three decades of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through his clients Foreign Minister Chen Yi and Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs Qiao Guanhua (Barnouin & Yu, 1998). Chen Yi was one of the first to join Mao's forces at Jinggangshan in 1928. Western educated Qiao Guanhua began working with Zhou at Chongqing in 1942. All three survived the Cultural Revolution virtually unscathed and formed a foreign policy nucleus. Their tenures were

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<sup>33</sup> See also Scobell (2003).

known for cooperative events such as the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance of February 1950; China's participation in the 1955 Bandung Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement; and the Sino-American Rapprochement of 1972 (Niu, 1998; Westad, 2007; Gao, 2007; Lüthi, 2008).

Diplomatic forays since Zhou Enlai's death in 1976 include the normalization of relations with the United States and joining the United Nations (UN) in the late 1970s, participation in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum in 1997, and participation in the East Asia Summit of 2005 (Kissinger, 2011). Since diplomacy is a distinctly soft power instrument, examples of foreign policies based on diplomatic power tend to be found at the right end of the spectrum (i.e. selective engagement and cooperative policies).

Although military alliances might be interpreted as cooperative, China has, so far, avoided long-term, binding military alliances and cooperative security agreements in general. China's military policy outcomes typically fall at the far left end of the foreign policy spectrum (i.e. coercive) (Figure 1.4). Examples of military policy outcomes include the decision to launch the civil war against Guomindang (GMD) forces at the end of the Second World War;<sup>34</sup> the "War to Resist America and Assist Korea" (1950-1953);<sup>35</sup> and the Taiwan Strait Crises of 1954 and 1958 (Westad, 2003; Chen J. , 1994; Scobell, 2003). Other instances of China's use of military power as a coercive instrument of foreign policy include the Sino-Indian War in 1962, the Sino-

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<sup>34</sup> After a series of informal sessions at Yanan (June-July 1946), the Politburo adopted Mao's strategy to defend communist positions in North China and withdraw from indefensible areas in Central and South China (Westad, 2003).

<sup>35</sup> Shortly after North Korea's attack on South Korea in June 1950, Mao and the other Party leaders had already made the strategic decision to put the PRC's assault on Taiwan on hold and to turn its attention to Korea (Chen J. , 1994). Among the Party leaders, there was a sense that a conflict with the United States was inevitable, either in Indochina, Taiwan, or Korea. Marshal Nie Rongzhen recalled "In the end, the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong decided to intervene" in the Korean War (Nie, 2001).

Soviet conflict over Zhenbao Island in 1969, the Sino-Vietnamese War in 1979, and the Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1996 (Whiting, 2001 (1975); Ryan, Finkelstein, & McDevitt, 2003; Kissinger, 2011). As China's military forces become more professional, modern, and capable, it will become increasingly important to predict the conditions under which the decision to use force are likely to occur (Kamphausen, Lai, & Scobell, 2009; Kamphausen, Lai, & Scobell, 2010; Lewis & Xue, 1994; Lewis & Xue, 2006). The focus of this present study is to demonstrate that changes in Central Committee membership, entailing changes in the social network connections within the policy network, influenced the type of foreign policy adopted.

Finally, China's economic foreign policy choices have also spanned the full range of policy outcomes from coercive and isolationist, on one hand, to selective engagement and cooperative, on the other (Figure 1.4). Ross (1994) observed that China's economic foreign policy shifted dramatically several times since 1949—from dependence on Soviet assistance to autarkic isolation to global integration. Policy choices were influenced, at times and in part, by the paramount leader, at other times by potential competitors, and sometimes by the entire Central Committee. Mao made China's economic foreign policy decidedly isolationist, particularly during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping—with Chen Yun's support—energized China's opening to the world in 1978, enabled the expansion of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in 1980-1992, guided the establishment of the People's Bank of China as the central bank in 1995 (necessary for foreign direct investment), and promoted China's eventual entry into the World Trade Organization—realized in 2001. All of these economic foreign policies were policy outcomes approved by the Central Committee (Miller A. , 2011).

China's foreign policy since 1949, as a whole, can be said to vary in observable ways, from coercive to isolationist to selective engagement to cooperative (Figure 1.4). Whenever China's foreign policy changed or shifted, there was a specific change in the membership of the Central Committee beforehand. Such shifts affected the balance of power within the Central Committee and marked changes in the informal, guanxi-based, power relationships of every member of the Central Committee. This study considers which members are most influential in determining policy. It is posited that the dynamical relationship between three key actors—the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Central Committee—in part explains China's policymaking process and policy choices at the intra-Party and domestic level as well.

### *This Study*

The Chinese Communist Party is expected to remain in power, ruling the most populous country, the fastest growing major economy, and potentially the second most formidable military force in the world for many years to come (Shambaugh, 2010). Bo (2004) argued that the Central Committee “constitutes the nucleus of the political system” and “the leadership changes in the Central Committee ... often reveal fundamental changes in Chinese politics.” I argue that the policymaking organs, such as the Politburo and the Standing Committee, are enmeshed in the Central Committee's policy network. The Central Committee is, therefore, well-positioned to influence the Party elite's policy choices. Knowing how changes in the Central Committee's social network structure affect the political body's policy preferences is crucially important.

This study describes the Central Committee's social network using basic interpersonal ties defined by the Chinese concept of *guanxi* or social connections (Gold, Guthrie, & Wank, 2002). These connections between members of the Central Committee give the network an observable, measurable structure, revealing which individuals are important and which groups of individuals hold power. Individual and group characteristics emerge from a careful and comprehensive study of social network structures (Nooy, Mrvar, & Batagelj, 2011 (2005)).

By using basic biographical information about each Central Committee member and coding relational and attribute data into network analysis software, I am able to precisely calculate individual centrality and group centralization—that is, how important each individual member is within the Central Committee network and how cohesive and well-integrated the entire Central Committee was for any given year. The leader at the top, the paramount leader, greatly mattered in the policymaking process, but so too did his nearest potential competitor, who constrained the paramount leader's freedom of action. Those two individuals swam in a pool of swirling political intrigues and competing interests known as the Central Committee.

This study is organized into six major chapters. In Chapter Two, a literature review of scholarly research about the Central Committee prior to 1949, the study of *guanxi* (Chinese social connections), and social network analysis and methodology is presented. Fundamental concepts are also introduced from all three diverse research fields. Along the way, I offer praxis sections in the second chapter in order to apply, in a progressive manner, the concepts of *guanxi* and social network analysis to the Central Committee at that particular point in history.

Chapter Three is a literature review of scholarly research about the Central Committee after 1949 and highlights the paramount leaders, potential competitors, and thematic policy



threads associated with each Central Committee up to 2011. I also critique the most recent and most widely accepted network-based research on the Central Committee, exposing flaws in the researchers' assumptions and methods, and explain how the present study mitigates those flaws to create a more valid model of the Central Committee as a policy network. I challenge their major assertions of who the paramount leaders and potential competitors were, but also question their conclusions regarding when the paramount leaders were most influential.

In the chapter on theory (Chapter Four), I carefully construct a reasonably parsimonious conceptual model that casts the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Central Committee as a single network operating within a policy space. A dynamical theory of policy networks is developed and a set of intuitive hypotheses and observable implications are articulated.

The chapter on research design (Chapter Five) explains how cases were selected for a structured, focused comparison based on all of the diverse types of policy outcomes possible. Also, the variables of interest—dependent, independent, and control variables—and the data for the statistical analyses are explained. Chapter Six offers four case studies to examine structural changes as the causal mechanism for changes in policy outcomes. Chapter Seven presents statistical analyses examining the causal effect of structural changes on domestic and foreign policy changes from 1949 to 1978 and from 1984 to 1995.

The vast majority of the extant literature on policy networks analyzes static network structures (i.e. network characteristics based on snapshots of policy networks at single points in time). Also, the body of network literature is not theory-based and therefore does not offer predictive value and does not consider or incorporate cross-disciplinary theories of how policy

networks work. This study is based on a unique, longitudinal data set of China's Central Committee over a ninety-year period. The results of this study, which argues that the *rates of change* of the paramount leader and his nearest potential competitor's centrality, and the Central Committee's measure of centralization are statistically significant causal factors partially explaining the type and timing of intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policies, support my dynamical theory of policy networks.

Philosopher Michael Polanyi (1962) acknowledged in his article "The Republic of Science: Its Political and Economic Theory" that "nothing in science ever quite fits, no experiment is ever final proof; everything is simplified and approximate" (Rhodes, 1986). So it is with this study of China's Central Committee. As I will highlight at appropriate points, the dynamical theory does not fit perfectly and the simplification of an extremely complex policy network requires acceptance that the dynamical theory—as with any political theory—at best captures only the probabilistic, and not the deterministic, nature of human behavior.

## Chapter Two - General Concepts

This chapter reviews important relevant literature and introduces the fundamental concepts needed to build the dynamical theory of policy networks. It draws from three bodies of scholarly work: the history of China's Central Committee (CC), the study of Chinese relationships (*guanxi*), and social network analysis. In the process of briefly describing most of the pre-People's Republic Central Committees, conceptual bricks are laid down in chronological order to show how social network analysis can incorporate *guanxi* relationships. For example, one of the simplest social connections—similar education level—is introduced first because it was the only attribute the members of the Central Committee of 1922 had in common. This chapter summarizes the Second through the Seventh Central Committees, identifies the social relationships between its members, and describes how social network analysis is applied throughout this study.

What follows is an extrapolation about how fundamental *guanxi* relationships, or ties, serve as incipient or gateway connections for further interactions and, possibly, eventual coordination and cooperation politically, economically, or otherwise.<sup>36</sup> Axelrod (1984) insightfully wrote that people's personal attributes "allow a player to begin an interaction with a stranger with an expectation that the stranger will behave like others who share these same observable characteristics." He continued, "This labeling, in turn, allows the inferences about how that individual will behave." In other words, basic shared characteristics or experiences function as initial conduits for the future exchange of gifts, favors, and services.

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<sup>36</sup> I emphasize that the presence of *guanxi* ties does not firmly establish that a strong relationship exists. I suggest, in keeping with the probabilistic nature of human behavior, that there is a "chance" that further interaction and cooperation are "possible."

In the same manner that “phatic utterances” lead to patterns of social rituals (Malinowski, 1923), *guanxi* relationships lead to convergent actions and behaviors. More recently, Sokhey and McClurg (2012) found that social networks facilitate connections between “supportive social environments” and individuals’ voting decisions. This chapter reviews the more important scholarly literature about the early Central Committees, seminal field work on *guanxi*, and accepted standards for network analysis methods.

After each major section on a Central Committee, I introduce at least one fundamental type of *guanxi* connection and a couple of important concepts from the social network analysis literature. Then, I interject with a *praxis* section in which I use the network analysis concept just introduced to demonstrate how the Central Committee members are related by *guanxi* connections. The visualizations and the discussions regarding the socio-metrics associated with each network structure will come into play as I present my case studies and are relevant to the statistical analyses in later chapters.

This study uses full Central Committee members as the actors within a policy network of interest. Although there were “alternate members” elected to each Central Committee, it is often very difficult to determine their particular presence or role at each plenary meeting.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> The Central Committee was originally called the Central Executive Committee or CEC. The first “Constitution of the CCP” (July 1922) stipulated that “The CEC is to be composed of five members elected by the National Congress; three alternate members are also elected by the Congress; when members leave their posts, they must be replaced temporarily by alternate members.” The guidance was silent on the role alternate members should play and ambiguous as to which alternate member should be temporarily promoted during the absence of any particular full member. The “Organizational Code of the CCP CEC” (June 1923) increased the number of full members to nine, but offered no clarification: “In the event that one member is absent, the vacancy should be filled by an alternate member.” The “Resolution on the Third Revised Constitution of the CCP” (June 1927) stipulated, “When members of the CEC ... leave their positions, alternate members fill the vacancies in order of ranking.” The role of alternates may be inferred from the guidance regarding alternate members of the new Politburo: “When alternate Politburo members attend Politburo meetings, they have only the right to speak, not the right to vote.” The “Constitution of the Communist Party of China” (November 2002) left the guidance unchanged: “Vacancies on the Central Committee shall be filled by its alternate members in the order of the

While it is true that a number of full members were absent from several plenary meetings, I suggest that the actions of those present at the meetings were held accountable by the fact that the minutes of the meeting would be internally distributed and, therefore, the present members acted and voted “as if” the meeting was a full plenary session.<sup>38</sup> (It should be noted that this study does not attempt to correlate voting patterns with *guanxi* relations.)

I define the relationships, or ties, between each actor based on the fundamental Chinese connections of shared educational level, provincial origin, military generation, and kinship. These *guanxi* relationships are thoroughly defined later in this chapter. I then use social network analysis software as the instrument to measure and observe changes in the network structure.

McGregor (2010) described the Central Committee “as a kind of enlarged board of directors for the Party in China.” Moody (1973) characterized the Central Committee as “a kind

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number of votes by which they were elected.” Some of the more notable alternate members were Mao Zedong (1927), Chen Boda (1945), and Luo Ruiqing (1945). In Mao’s case, alternate membership was a temporary demotion and represented intra-Party discipline. In most cases, alternate members are potential replacements for full members.

Lieberthal and Dickson (1989) noted that uncertainties exist regarding specific meeting dates, titles of meetings, locations of meetings, and who was in attendance. In some cases the dates of meetings are inferred from secondary citations. Occasionally, dissimilar titles are used for the same meeting. Finally, attendance at meetings is sometimes inferred from speeches that note members of the audience.

<sup>38</sup> The “Constitution of the CCP” (July 1928) required “Party organizations at all levels should make regular reports to those party members who elected them.” The reporting process has been consistent over time. The “Constitution of the Communist Party of China” (November 2002) requires the National Party Congress elect the Central Committee and “To hear and examine reports of the Central Committee.” Also, the “Resolution on Parliamentary Actions” (July 1922) required “Drafts of speeches made by [parliamentary] members to the national parliament shall be submitted in advance to the [Central Committee] for approval.” It should be noted that free and open discussions was always intended to be a hallmark of Party meetings. The “Resolution on the Third Revised Constitution of the CCP” (July 1927) clearly stated: “Decisions by organs of the party organizations must be quickly and correctly implemented. However, with respect to differences within the party before a decision has been made, there can be completely free discussion.” Free discussion (not generally recorded or published) was a defining characteristic among members of the Standing Committee prior to the Tiananmen Massacre of 1989 (Zhang L. , 2001).

of parliament of the Party.”<sup>39</sup> The membership includes high Party officials, government ministers, senior military officers, and provincial and municipal governors and Party secretaries.<sup>40</sup> On occasion, academics and ethnic minorities have been allowed to become members. Since 2002, the Party has accommodated the membership of private entrepreneurs in the Central Committee as well as the Party (Wibowo, 2003). Officially, the Central Committee elects the smaller and more powerful Politburo from the Central Committee membership.<sup>41</sup> The Politburo, in turn, selects the even smaller and even more powerful Standing Committee from the Politburo membership (Fewsmith, 2012). The Central Committee is, therefore, fundamentally important to the selection of China’s elite leadership.

There is one important aspect to how those at the pinnacle of leadership who are on the Standing Committee are influenced by members of the Central Committee. (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith (2011) referred to them as the “elites” and “selectorate,” respectively.) By tradition, the Standing Committee members produce *the* list of Party members who are candidates for election to the Central Committee by the National Party Congress (Dreyer, 2012).<sup>42</sup> The National Party Congress members may vote for all, most, some, or none of the approved

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<sup>39</sup> This is an apt analogy. The “Resolution on Parliamentary Actions” (July 1922) provided some ground rules for the conduct of “revolutionary parliamentary action.” Although the Party envisioned a parliament under the control of the Central Committee, the intent was clear.

<sup>40</sup> Liu (1986) suggested describing the Central Committee as the “strategic reserve,” revealing the role of the Central Committee in the power alignment of top Party leaders. The Central Committee is composed of all major national and subnational leaders, whose cooperation is necessary to execute any Party policy and program. The largest contingent in the Central Committee consists of regional Party secretaries. The next largest group includes the state functionaries, especially from industry and finance. Military officers have always had substantial representation on the Central Committee.

<sup>41</sup> The most influential Party leaders deliberate and decide on who will be considered for the Politburo. The Central Committee approves the Party leaders’ choices.

<sup>42</sup> This shows one important aspect of how the Party’s central organizations interact from the “top down.” The gist of my study, however, investigates the “bottom up” influence of the Central Committee on the pinnacle of leadership. Liu (1986) observed, “The composition of the Central Committee membership is meant to show support for the current “line” of the elite of the party.”

candidates. The candidates are rank ordered according to the total number of votes they received. Candidates ranking above a predetermined cut line, determined by the outgoing Central Committee, are then “elected” to the new Central Committee. (See Figure 2.1)



Figure 2.1 The various levels of policy networks and how they relate to each other.

Elections were not always that way. The earliest Central Committees were probably a collection of those who were chosen representatives of invited soviet base areas and urban committees. The “Constitution of the CCP” (July 1922) mandated that “On joining the Party, the prospective member must have one Party member recommend him or her ... to the executive committee” (Saich, 1996). As mentioned earlier, sometimes the plenary sessions only included a fraction of the full membership, while at other times the elites packed the meetings with non-members who would influence the members’ votes. Although the documents of the Central

Committee are generally available, the detailed history of the inner workings of the plenary meetings that produced those documents is not.<sup>43</sup>

Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank (*A Documentary History of Chinese Communism*, 1952) provided an early chronology of the Chinese Communist Party since its founding in 1921. Kuo (*Analytical History of the Chinese Communist Party*, 1971) was a compilation of previously published studies. China's "opening up" in the 1980s made a large body of archival material, including personal letters, Party circulars, and reports available. Saich (*The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party*, 1996) is an extremely comprehensive 1,400-page collection of those documents. It is a useful reference for and commentary on the Party's early history from 1920 to 1949.

#### *China's Second Central Committee: 1922*

While a great deal of the extant literature focuses on the most elite individuals of the Chinese Communist Party there are some notable exceptions that consider the Central Committee as a whole. Although the Chinese Communist Party was established in the summer of 1921, the Second Central Committee was not elected until 1922.<sup>44</sup> There are fewer studies dedicated to the Central Committee's internal dynamics prior to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 than after. Saich's (1996) commentaries and Uhalley's (1988) straightforward account provide rich background information about elite political interaction

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<sup>43</sup> Lieberthal (1978) studied how leaders attempted to manipulate the distribution of Central Documents to influence political decisions. He conceded that knowledge about "the handling of different types of Central Documents as they are transmitted down the hierarchy is spotty, at best." Lieberthal and Dickson (1989) noted, "Meetings frequently reached decisions and took actions that were not embodied in known documents passed by the gathering."

<sup>44</sup> The 1<sup>st</sup> Party Congress of the Chinese Communist Party did not elect a Central Committee due to disagreements and member absences. Supreme power was to be vested in a "Central Executive Committee" with the power to supervise and direct finances, publications, and policies. It was not until the 5<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in 1927 that the name was shortened to "Central Committee," which is the name I use throughout for consistency.



behind Party policies, resolutions, and programs—which help to complete the picture of the CCP’s early history.

The first Central Committee, called the Second Central Committee<sup>45</sup> after the Party Congress that elected it, consisted of only five full members and two alternate members. The five—Cai Hesen, Chen Duxiu, Gao Junyu, Li Dazhao, and Zhang Guotao—inspired by the anti-imperialism themes and admiring the apparent initial success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia of 1917, sought to influence the kind of government system that would replace the dynastic system that collapsed in 1911-1912.<sup>46</sup> They wanted to create a political system that would enable China to stand up to the West. There were many options: democracy, pragmatic liberalism, anarchism, and socialism, all motivated to a great extent by the patriotic and nationalistic desire to pursue wealth and power, and to restore the Middle Kingdom to its rightful place in the international system (Saich, 1996).<sup>47</sup>

The first post-dynastic revolutionaries were enlightened intellectuals who formed the New Culture Movement—a revolt against Confucianism and traditional Chinese culture in the mid-1910s. They sought to emancipate critically-minded Chinese from the traditional ethic of subservience (Schwarcz, 1986). The Central Committee members, who for the most part, came

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<sup>45</sup> Bartke (1990) did not list a Second Central Committee plenum. The Second Congress met July 16-23, 1922 in Shanghai.

<sup>46</sup> This does not suggest that there was not a government system in place following the end of the Qing Dynasty. The Republican period (1912-1927) began after General Yuan Shikai was called upon to defend the Qing Dynasty and pressured the child emperor (Puyi) to abdicate. Yuan assumed the presidency of a new Chinese Republic based on a centralized, bureaucratic government system. In late-1915, Yuan declared himself emperor—inciting widespread opposition to his rule. His death in 1916 marked the rise of Sun Yat-sen’s campaign for national unification and the start of the Warlord period (1916-1928) and it was in the midst of that tumultuous period that the Communist Party of China was founded. See also McCord (2002)

<sup>47</sup> Swaine and Tellis (2000) wrote: “[T]he notion that China should in some sense enjoy a *preeminent* place among *neighboring Asian states* remains relatively strong among both elites and ordinary Chinese citizens.”

from the New Culture Movement,<sup>48</sup> rallied around the intellectual maelstrom known as the May Fourth Movement (1919). It was *the* defining event for the creation of the Chinese Communist Party (Gao, 2007). The May Fourth Movement was named after student protests in Beijing in 1919 following the failure, under the Versailles Peace Treaty, to return former German concessions in China's Shandong Province seized by Japan during the First World War (Lieberthal, 2004 (1995)).<sup>49</sup> Chinese had understandably expected that President Woodrow Wilson's principle of self-determination would lead to the return of Chinese concessions to Chinese rule. Chen Duxiu,<sup>50</sup> a Peking University professor, was a leader in the country's intellectual search for "national salvation" and "enlightenment," and is considered, along with Peking University's Librarian, Li Dazhao, one of the founding fathers of the Chinese Communist Party (Schwarcz, 1986).

Intra-Party policies were borrowed. Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao found the Leninist form of Marxism more appealing than the other modern (and Western) political systems and sought to imitate the Bolsheviks' ideologies and organizational structure (Leung, 2002). Inherent in the Leninist form was the strict intra-Party disciplinary norm.<sup>51</sup> Specifically, policy debate among the Party elites was expected, but once the elite arrived at a decision, the Party had every expectation that *all* Party members would fully and wholeheartedly implement the approved

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<sup>48</sup> Comprised of students who had congregated in and around National Beijing University (Beida) in 1919 (Schwarcz, 1986).

<sup>49</sup> China was a declared ally of the Allies in World War 1 and had sent more than one hundred thousand workers to France to mitigate the labor shortage caused by the military mobilization there. China also promised to halt German shipping along China's coastline.

<sup>50</sup> In the New Culture Movement, Chen Duxiu established himself as the spokesman for a generation of Chinese intelligentsia who wanted to fundamentally change Chinese society by adopting Western ideology. In 1915, he founded the *New Youth Magazine*, which promoted faith in democracy and science as the keys to China's future. He is credited with organizing Chinese communists into a cohesive movement. (Leung, 2002)

<sup>51</sup> See also Lenin's (1902) "What is to be done?": "Only a centralized, militant organization that consistently carries out a Social-Democratic policy, that satisfies, so to speak, all revolutionary instincts and strivings, can safeguard the movement against thoughtless attacks and prepare it for attacks that hold out the promise of success."

policy. In the Soviet Union, failure to toe the Party line was usually met with either death or banishment. In time, Chinese communists sought to create a “Sinified” version of the Leninist intra-Party norm (Saich, 1996). Modifying Western models to suit actual conditions in China is a consistent theme in modern Chinese history.

Domestic policies of the Second Central Committee focused on class struggle. Conceptually, China was a poor fit for Marxist doctrine. The difficulty lay in identifying who the working class or proletariat was in China’s largely pre-industrial society. The ratio of rural peasant farmers to urban factory workers in China at the beginning of the twentieth century was probably above 9-to-1, requiring the modification of Marxism to Chinese conditions (Saich, 1996). Nevertheless, Communist International (Comintern)<sup>52</sup> advisors from the Soviet Union successfully urged the Party to organize revolutionary groups in the cities, inciting revolution there. Initially, the Party founders promoted railway workers’ strikes and labor unrest primarily along the coastal provinces and centered in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and other major industrial centers. The urban working class was the “primary agent of revolutionary change” in the first decade of the Party’s history (Saich, 1996).

The Party’s early “foreign policies,” if they can be called that, were also influenced by Comintern advisors. They encouraged the Chinese Communist Party to accommodate and cooperate with “bourgeois-nationalist” leader Sun Yat-sen<sup>53</sup> and his Guomindang (GMD),

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<sup>52</sup> The Communist International (or Third International) was a communist organization with international membership created in 1919 to create an international Soviet republic. Comintern advisors came from many different countries.

<sup>53</sup> Sun Yat-sen was born in 1866 in Guangdong Province. While studying medicine in Hong Kong (1885-1892), Sun became politically active and sought political and economic reforms—replacing the Manchu’s monarchical rule. He was inaugurated the provisional president in October 1911, but resigned in favor of the more powerful leader, Yuan Shikai two months later. Sun is considered the “Founding Father of the Chinese Republic” and his ideas on nationalism, democracy, and social well-being influenced the Guomindang and Communist parties.

creating what became the First United Front. The joint efforts to create inclusive national institutions such as the Whampoa Military Academy, with the GMD's Jiang Jieshi as the Commandant and the CCP's Zhou Enlai as the head of the school's Political Department, seemed promising in the beginning (Gao, 2007). Within a few years, however, both of the CCP founders, Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, were removed from the Central Committee as a result of inner-Party struggles, elite Party members began to search for a new agent of revolutionary change from among the population-at-large, and the cooperative spirit of the First United Front came to a violent end.

### *Guanxi*

How were members of the Second Central Committee linked? What attributes or experiences, if any, did they share in common? *Guanxi* (pronounced "gwan-shee") is ubiquitous in Chinese culture, society, economics, and politics (Wellman, Chen, & Dong, 2002). It is usually translated as relations, relationships, or connections (Gold, Guthrie, & Wank, 2002). The cultivation and manipulation of *guanxi* holds a very special place in Chinese life (Kipnis, 1994). There were a number of early studies that considered the central importance of social relationships to political behavior (Pye, 1968; Dittmer, 2001), social processes (Solomon, 1969), and military promotions (Whitson & Huang, 1973), but those studies were not about *guanxi* per se. Walder (1983) maintained that the formal structure of authority is "a hollow shell, overlaid with networks of *guanxi* (particularistic ties) and *ganqing* (good will) that determine the actual operation of the organization."

Western scholarship concerning *guanxi* proliferated during the Reform Era that began in 1978. Even today, Chinese often speak of building and using *guanxi*. Jacobs (1979) used *guanxi*

as a noun (relationships) and as a verb (to relate). He referred to *guanxi* as “particularistic ties.” Tu (1981) observed that within East Asian societies in general “a person is always born to a complex network” of personal relationships. King (1985) noted that social interactions play a fundamentally central role in the formation of an individual’s identity. The emphasis is on the relationship—not the individual. “The focus is not fixed on any particular individual, but on the particular nature of the relations between individuals who interact with each other” (King, 1985). Cultural and societal norms, the accepted nature of relations, are passed from generation to generation primarily through interpersonal activities defined by relationships: parent-child and teacher-student, for example.<sup>54</sup> Lieberthal and Oksenberg (1988) stated that *guanxi* constitutes “the single most important ingredient which integrates the [organizational] system and enables it to function.” Such bonds of mutual obligation arise from family connections, common geographical origin, shared educational or military experience, and patron-client relationships.

The seminal scholarly contribution to the body of knowledge on *guanxi* is Mayfair Yang’s *Gifts, Favors, and Banquets: The Art of Social Relationships in China* (1994). Yang (1994), a cultural anthropologist, compared Chinese constructing social connections to “spiders weaving magic webs” of *guanxi* networks. Actors seek to position themselves at the center of the network by bringing in new friends and allies or by eliminating foes and challengers. Cultivating relations by providing gifts, favors, or support is “something one had to do in order to accomplish certain tasks” (Yang M. M.-h., 1994). Cultivating *guanxi* seems to come naturally to

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<sup>54</sup> There is a notable similarity between *guanxi* and the five relationships in Confucian tradition: ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, older brother-younger brother, and friend-friend. The five relationships are an extension of the virtue of “filial piety” and, like *guanxi* relationships, prescribe specific duties and obligations.

Chinese at every level of society. She singled out the Party cadres as the most “adept *guanxi* practitioners”—something required for political security and advancement. Yang (1994) observed that “the larger one’s *guanxi* network, the more diverse one’s *guanxi* connections with people of different occupations and positions, the greater the likelihood that he will obtain resources and opportunities.”

One fundamental type of *guanxi* relational tie is based on similar educational levels. Gold, Guthrie, and Wank (2002) argued that people who attend the same school have ties to each other. This is considered true even if they did not attend that school at the same time. (This relational connection is found in other cultures, as exemplified by the strong affiliation of graduates of American universities blessed with winning football teams.) In her study of China’s labor market, Hanser (2002) concluded that education level was a determinant of an individual’s job prospects. She categorized individuals by educational achievement: high school, technical college, and university. Hanser (2002) found that people were often linked according to similarities in education level.

Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a; 2010b), whose study I will delve into more deeply in the next chapter, used educational background to assign ties between the Party General Secretary and Central Committee members. Education represents an important domain within which people often establish the basis of further relationship building. For the Central Committee of 1922, founded by Peking University elites, it was natural for education level to be the most important social marker for members of the nascent Communist Party. Although *guanxi* is probably older than four millennia as a social phenomenon, the methodology to study it as a network

characteristic came about only a quarter century before the election of the Second Central Committee.

### *Social Network Analysis*

In his study of suicide patterns in Europe, Durkheim (1951 (1897)) had earlier defined relationships as shared attributes with his landmark study of suicide rates among Protestants and Catholics—finding that those who lacked social networks (or safety nets) were more likely to commit suicide when compared to those embedded within social networks—thus the interest in identifying disconnected individuals. At the 1933 annual meeting of the Medical Society of the State of New York, J.L. Moreno proposed a new science called “psychological geography” (Moreno, 1933). He argued that it was possible to map human relationships in a community and to identify people who were isolated from society.

Another pioneer of methods of network analysis, Bavelas (1948), introduced the idea that a network could be mathematically modeled and that networks exhibit structure—the basis for the network diagrams used in this present study. Barnes (1954) is credited with coining the term *social network* and Cartwright (1959) argued that researchers should consider the role of social power within networks. By the late 1950s network analysis was being applied to the study of organizational behavior (Freeman L. , 2011). Scholars wanted to know how characteristics of social networks, that is, the network structure, affect the behavior of both the individuals who make up the network as well as the behavior of the network as a whole.

The network structural approach, relating network characteristics to social phenomena, was the central feature of the evolving field of network analysis in the 1970s. Bonacich (1972) concluded that certain metrics of networks, measures of the number of connections enjoyed by

individuals or the number of links it took to connect two individuals not directly tied, enabled researchers to identify cliques within networks. Granovetter (1973) argued that communities with many strong ties have pockets of strong local cohesion, but weak global cohesion.

Alternately, communities with many weak ties have weak local cohesion, but strong global cohesion (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2011). Granovetter's (1973) strength of weak ties theory is based on the idea that people are naturally *homophilous*—that is, people tend to have stronger ties with people who are similar to themselves, exemplified with the common observation, “Birds of a feather flock together” (Nooy, Mrvar, & Batagelj, 2011 (2005)). Wasserman and Faust (2009 (1994)) identified cliques as cohesive subgroups who shared the same types and same numbers of connections. The observation of clusters or lumps of individuals within a network is critical to the ability of network analysts to identify cohesive subgroups, components, cores, and cliques within a network (Borgatti & Halgin, 2011).

The network analysis software used in this present study identifies members of the same clique by using the same colored node for those members (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). Although those members have the exact same *number* of connections as others in their clique, they will not necessarily have the same *types* of connections. More generally, Homans (1950) explained that members of cohesive subgroups tend to interact more frequently with others in their subgroup than with actors outside of their subgroup.

Power in Chinese politics typically exists with reference to status and prestige – oft-cited bases for webs of social relationships—both built on the foundation of familiarity and trust. Pye (1981) argued that factional politics is based on clients establishing career-enhancing “linkages to power” based on which potential patrons they think will emerge victorious from leadership



struggles. Earlier in this study, I suggested that *guanxi* ties are incipient relationships in that they serve as a gateway for more frequent interactions between people. Frequent interaction creates an environment of familiarity and trust that leads to the greater probability that they will be able to explicitly or tacitly coordinate their interests and activities.

### *Praxis*

Praxis is a Greek word that means “action with reflection” (Vella, 1997). All of the praxis sections in this chapter are intended to apply the social network analysis principle(s) just introduced by demonstrating how *guanxi* connections reveal the network structure of specific Central Committees prior to 1949. This allows the reader the opportunity to see how some of the basic concepts used in this study apply to a real network as well as the chance to reflect on their implications. This praxis section shows how network analysis uses educational ties to reveal the network structure of the Central Committee of 1922.

Wasserman and Faust (2009 (1994)) defined network members as discrete individuals. Relational ties link actors to other actors. And social networks, at least the ones we want to study, must consist of finite sets of actors and the observable relationships defined on them (Wasserman & Faust, 2009 (1994)). The foregoing review introduced the full members of the Central Committee as the actors of interest. The Chinese conception of *guanxi*, which will be further developed by describing the other fundamental social connections in Chinese society, defined relations between the actors. Therefore, the social network consists of the Central Committee members and their *guanxi* relations. This is the foundational concept upon which the rest of this study is built.

The Central Committee of 1922 had five full members: Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Cai Hesun, Zhang Guotao, and Gao Junyu. The Chinese Communist Party was founded by Chen and Li who were also the only classically educated members. Classical education was the norm during the dynastic era and focused on learning Confucian classics and passing the civil service examinations required for employment in the Chinese bureaucracy (Polachek, 1992).<sup>55</sup> Li, Zhang and Gao were the only university-educated members. Li also attended Waseda University in Japan. Zhang and Gao both attended Peking University as students. Following the discussion in the preceding section, Chen and Li had a *guanxi* connection based on similar classical education levels. Similarly, Li, Zhang, and Gao had *guanxi* connections based on similar university education levels. Chen attended high normal school in Tokyo and Cai Hesun received a high normal school education in Hunan Province, so they had a *guanxi* connection based on similar high normal school education.<sup>56</sup>

This particular set of actors and the relationships between them is visualized in the network below. The five full members are displayed as nodes or squares and the educational ties are indicated by lines connecting members with equivalent educational levels (Figure 2.2). The lines are not arrows, indicating that the connections are “non-directional” or, more precisely, the connection operates in both directions equally. The actor nodes are colored to indicate they are members of cohesive subgroups, which are subsets of a network that contain actors with at least the same number of ties.<sup>57</sup> Only subgroups with the same color and whose

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<sup>55</sup> They were also faculty members at Peking University.

<sup>56</sup> Cai Hesun and Chen Duxiu did have foreign travel (to France) in common. Cai was in France 1919-1921 while Chen was there 1907-1910 (Bartke, 1990).

<sup>57</sup> According to Wasserman and Faust (2009(1994)), a cohesive subgroup should have at least three members. Nooy, Mrvar, and Batagelj (2011(2005)) accept that two people can constitute a cohesive subgroup.

members are linked are considered cohesive subgroups. In the example below the Central Committee consists of two distinct cohesive subgroups.

Cohesion of the entire group is captured by the *centralization* of a network, which is the ratio of the number of ties present to the total number of ties possible (Nooy, Mrvar, & Batagelj, 2011 (2005)). In this case, there are 5 ties present out of a total of 24 ties possible. In other words the centralization is  $5 \div 24 = 0.0833$  or 21%, a moderately low centralization.

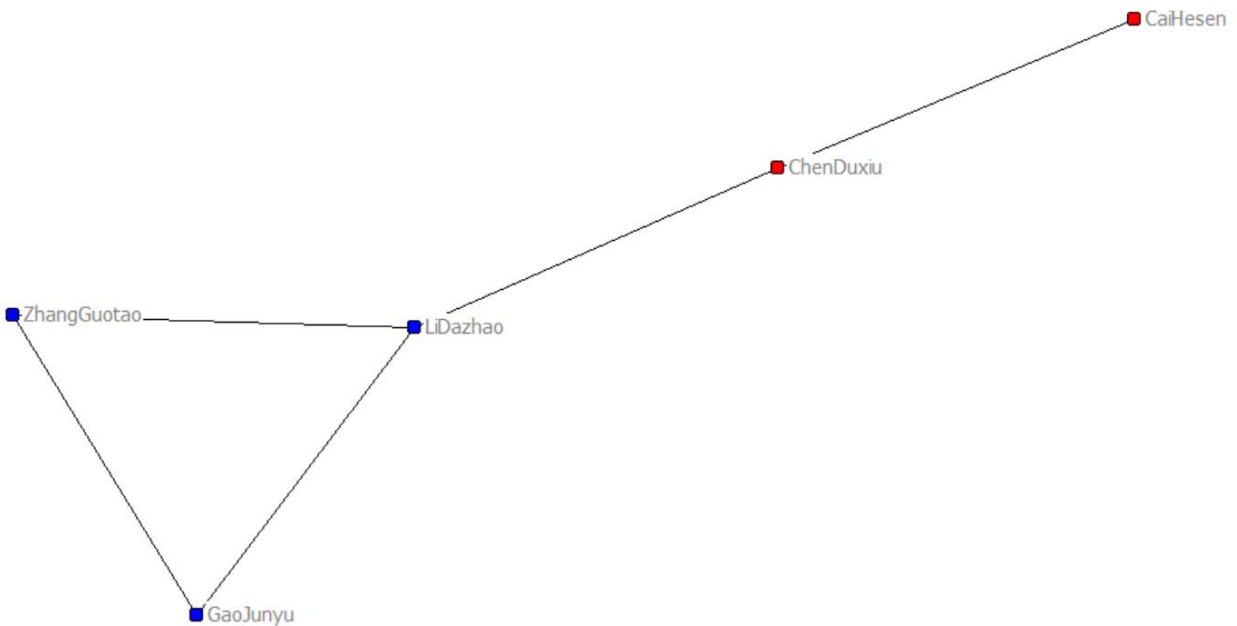


Figure 2.2 Network diagram of the Second Central Committee of 1922.

This praxis used the Second Central Committee to demonstrate how knowledge of *guanxi* ties can be visualized using social analysis software. At this point, because of the small network size and the lack of complexity, neither the social diagram nor the socio-metric for centralization is of particular interest. Some scholars may conclude that it is the lack of many “weak ties,” as Granovetter’s (1973) theory might lead us to conclude, that makes this network

not cohesive and that we should not be surprised that it did not survive very long. The fact is that the network lacks complexity and sophistication.

The Central Committee produced few remarkable reports, circulars, or documents. Most of them, like the “Statement of the CCP on the Current Situation” (June 15, 1922), simply echoed Marxist-Leninist doctrine such as “the CCP is the vanguard army of the proletariat” and it “opposes the feudal warlords” (Saich, 1996).<sup>58</sup> The Second Central Committee, clearly under the Comintern’s influence, grudgingly accepted the Comintern’s suggestion to work with the Guomindang. The “Manifesto of the Second Party Congress” (July 1922) declared that “the GMD represents the enlightened bourgeois democratic movement”—small praise indeed. Also, little is known about the day-to-day working relationship between Zhang Guotao and Gao Junyu, so any conclusions based on this network analysis is bound to be highly speculative.

#### *China’s Fourth Central Committee: 1925*

Following the Central Committee of 1922, there was a deliberate effort by the existing Central Committee to recruit new Central Committee members to tip the balance in the Central Committee in their own favor and against other Central Committee members (Saich, 1996).<sup>59</sup> The Third Central Committee (1923)<sup>60</sup> expanded to nine full members with the group’s

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<sup>58</sup> This is not to say that the Central Committee of 1922 did not propose important policies. The July 1922 statement also called for the distribution of warlord property, universal suffrage, compulsory education, and a progressive tax system. Their agenda was certainly foreshadowed future Party programs. The point is that such policy goals were not the product of an established policymaking process and were essentially “boiler plate” solutions to problems found in capitalist-industrialized societies.

<sup>59</sup> The Central Committee is not a representative political body. The number of members has generally increased with each new Central Committee—the exception was the drastic reduction during the Cultural Revolution. Since 1977 the number of full members has stabilized around 200.

<sup>60</sup> The Third Congress met June 10-20, 1923 in Guangzhou (Bartke, 1990). The Third Central Committee had 9 full members and 5 alternates.

centralization slightly falling to 20%.<sup>61</sup> The Fourth Central Committee of 1925<sup>62</sup> found Chen Duxiu more cautious about CCP cooperation with the Guomindang. The 10-member Fourth Central Committee elected Chen Duxiu as General Secretary and voted to adopt a new Constitution that created Party branches that would be controlled from the center (Uhalley, 1988).

The “May 30 Movement” was fertile ground for the Party’s domestic program. Demonstrations in Shanghai were organized by the Central Committee and other groups to protest the arrest of student activists. Student associations and merchants joined the movement which spread to Hong Kong and Guangzhou. In late June 1925, British and French soldiers attempted to suppress the movement in Guangzhou, killing 52 demonstrators.<sup>63</sup> Uhalley (1988) considered this a watershed event in modern Chinese history as the number of Party-led strikes expanded and the movement took on a political as well as economic agenda. The strikes lasted until October 1926. Interestingly Mao Zedong, who was not yet a member of the Party center, unsuccessfully advocated making the peasant class the core of the revolution (Saich, 1996).<sup>64</sup> Chen Duxiu, still part of the Party center, kept the focus on the urban proletariat (Uhalley, 1988).

The “foreign” policy choices of the Central Committee of 1925 still reflected the prerogatives of the Comintern representatives, the Party still lacked a paramount leader, and,

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<sup>61</sup> The Central Committee’s group centralization has averaged 30% since then.

<sup>62</sup> The Fourth Congress met January 11-22, 1925 in Shanghai (Bartke, 1990). The Fourth Central Committee had 10 full members and 6 alternates.

<sup>63</sup> The violence was triggered by the shooting of a Chinese worker by a Japanese foreman in a Japanese-owned Shanghai cotton-mill.

<sup>64</sup> In 1925, Mao was the Party Secretary of Hunan Province and Director of the Central Committee Organization Department (Bartke 1990). Bartke (1990) considered Mao a founding Party member and Mao was full member of the Central Committee (1923-1925).

at that time, the Party elites were still bound to coordinate their activities with the Guomindang as part of the United Front.<sup>65</sup> Significant events would occur in the next two years to begin to change that.

### *Guanxi*

Another type of relational tie is provincial origin—that is, the province in which a person was born. As the number of Central Committee members increased in 1925, the number of provinces that gained representation in the Central Committee was bound to increase as well. Whereas none of the Second Central Committee members shared provincial origins, every subsequent Central Committee had multiple members from the same province. Provincial origin became a measurable characteristic of the social network as the size of the Central Committee grew.

Gold, Guthrie, and Wank (2002) suggested that ties can be based on “native place.” Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) used “birth province” as the basis of identifying ties between the Party General Secretary and Central Committee members. Provincial boundaries, which for the most part have remained remarkably stable over the centuries, often trace similar language dialects, ethical standards, societal values, and beliefs and serve as the basis for doing favors for those from the same province (Yang M. M.-h., 1994). Skinner (1964) argued that market-based interactions (producing what he called “market structures”) shaped local social organizations,

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<sup>65</sup> The “Resolution on the Relations Between the CCP and the GMD” (October 1925) noted: “The [Communist Party’s] current task is to continue, more firmly than ever, with its policy of cooperation with the GMD in order to bring it close to the majority of the masses, give assistance to the left, and enable it to carry out the tasks of expanding the revolutionary movement. At the same time, we should do our utmost to oppose the slogans and strategies of the rightists. All Party members should realize that our current policy toward the GMD is to oppose the rightists but form a close alliance with the left, doing all we can to help the left and fight the right.” (Saich, 1996)

integrated peasant communities, and helped create total societies. Skinner's (1965) spatial model of how Chinese villages aggregated was a function of the ease with which villagers could economically interact. Transportation networks and topography were key factors determining the geographical extent of larger bounded market regions.<sup>66</sup> Shared geographic origin is easily seen as the basis for initiating contact with strangers regardless of time, place, or cultural heritage.<sup>67</sup> Most conversations with strangers begin with "Where are you from?"<sup>68</sup>

Shared provincial origin is one of the primary social connections available to Chinese, especially considering the rapid population growth and massive migration into the urban areas since 1949. This remains true particularly since China's reform and opening in the late 1970s when hundreds of millions of Chinese began migrating from their rural homes to the cities in search of employment. Although these Chinese migrant workers might live and work in the urban centers, their families often remain in the rural villages.<sup>69</sup> Chinese, regardless of social level, acknowledge the "call" to reestablish their connections back in their home provinces. Provincial origin matters a great deal.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> See also G. William Skinner (Markets and Social Structure in Rural China, Part 3, 1965).

<sup>67</sup> The social reality is complex in all provinces. For example, there are differences in dialect and culture between northern (Subei) and southern (Jiangnan) parts of Jiangsu Province.

<sup>68</sup> Porter (1965) concluded, "Even if they have never met before, when they come into contact with one another as members of elites their identity of interests stemming from their common social characteristics and experiences facilitates communication." Moore (1979) suggested, "Personal interaction among elites is probably the crucial dimension of integration."

<sup>69</sup> The reverse migration for the Chinese New Year (or Spring Festival) celebrations is often called the largest annual human migration in the history of mankind. The Spring Festival period is officially 2-weeks long and the movement of roughly 200 million Chinese back to their home towns and families strains the national rail system to the point of collapse (Clifford, 2006).

<sup>70</sup> See also Burgess's (1930) conclusion that family, village, and guilds formed the core of social organization; Noboru and Eder's (The Industrial and Commercial Guilds of Peking and Religion and Fellowship as Elements of Their Coherence, 1950) argument that local area limitations on industrial and commercial guilds were the seeds of "strong associative dispositions;" Mann (1984) noted the "ties of kinship and territoriality defined social organization" for Chinese migrating from rural to urban areas and vice versa; and Oakes (2000) observation that provinces can be distinguished as coherent cultural units and serve as the locus for constitution of place-based identity.

## *Social Network Analysis*

The application of network analysis to fields outside of social science led to new approaches to the study of human networks. The most profound applications of social network analysis have been cross- or multi-disciplinary. Some examples of cross-disciplinary network studies are genomic regulator dynamics (Luscombe, Babu, Yu, Snyder, Teichmann, & Gerstein, 2004) and animal behavior (Wey, Blumstein, Shen, & Jordan, 2008). In the 1990s, a small group of physicists addressed the nature of Milgram's (1967) small world phenomena and in the process revolutionized the field of social network analysis. Their studies more broadly defined actors within networks and the ties that connected them.

The networks they studied exhibited complex characteristics. Watts (1999) concluded that networks with "high local clustering" and "short global separation" are neither completely ordered nor completely random. He argued that such networks appear to be very common. Page (2009) called networks that operate at this level of complexity as existing in the "interesting in between." Barabási and Albert (1999) presented a sophisticated analysis of large, scale-free networks. The networks were sophisticated in the way they survived and grew. They found that large, scale-free networks expand continuously by adding actors and that those new actors *attach preferentially* to actors that are already well connected. Their work agreed with Axelrod and Bennett's (1997) landscape theory which predicted that networks will grow based on pair-wise evaluations and selections and they will adjust incrementally because individual actors will switch between cohesive subgroups rather than entire blocks of actors switching attachments simultaneously.



What is important to note at this point is that properties of order emerge as networks such as the Central Committee become larger. First, the incorporation of new members occurs under a simple rule: new members have something in common with old members. Therefore, we should expect that the network defined by the Central Committee will have few new members with no connection to any other members. In other words, we should find very few isolated members in the network as the network expands. Second, since large, complex networks experience small, individual shifts of members from one clique to another, we ought to find some level of stability of cliques. That is, while the members of identifiable cliques may change from year to year, the cliques themselves should remain distinct.

### *Praxis*

The Central Committee of 1925 had ten full members. Gao Junyu, one of the original Central Committee members, died in March 1925 (Bartke, 1990). Of the six new members, Tan Pingshan and Peng Shuzhi had university educations and had that particular *guanxi* tie to veteran members Li Dazhao and Zhang Guotao. Li Weihang had a normal school education and so had that connection with Cai Hesen. Founders Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao still had their classical education in common.<sup>71</sup> The social network of the Central Committee of 1925, based on only *guanxi* ties defined by educational level, is shown below (Figure 2.3).

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<sup>71</sup> They were both educated in Japan and represented a slightly older generation than the others.

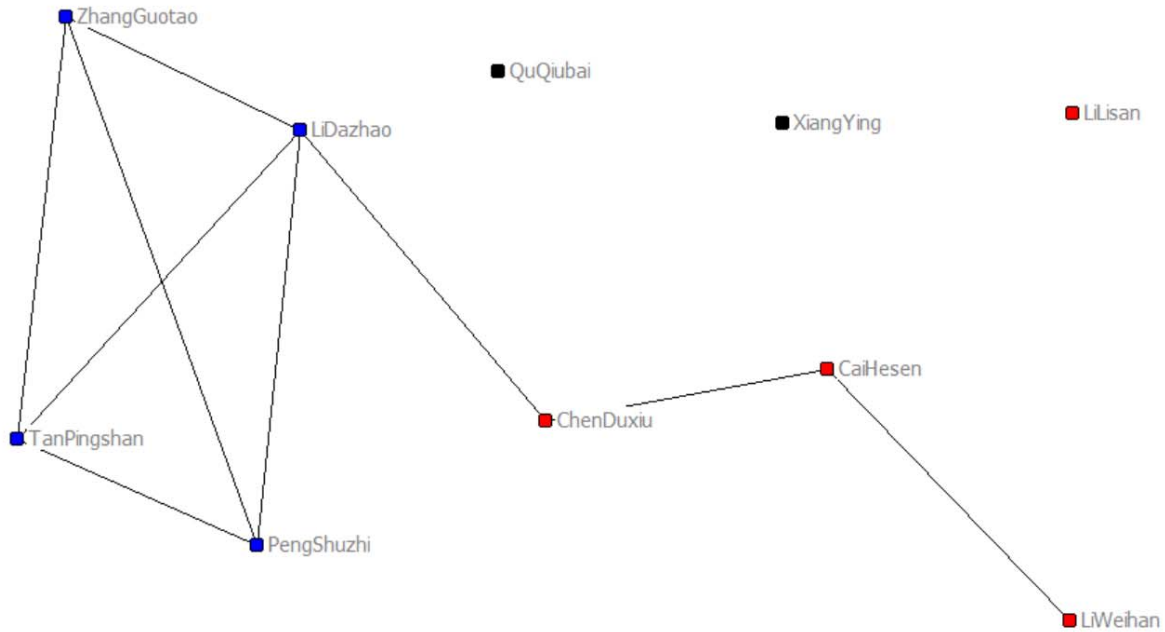


Figure 2.3 Network diagram of educational ties for the Fourth Central Committee of 1925.

Unlike the Central Committee of 1922, some of the members of the Central Committee of 1925 had *guanxi* ties based on provincial origin. Li Lisan, Li Weihan, and Cai Hesen were all from Hunan province and therefore had that type of social connection. Peng Shuzhi and Chen Duxiu were both from Anhui province and they had that connection. The social network based on only provincial origin ties is shown below (Figure 2.4).

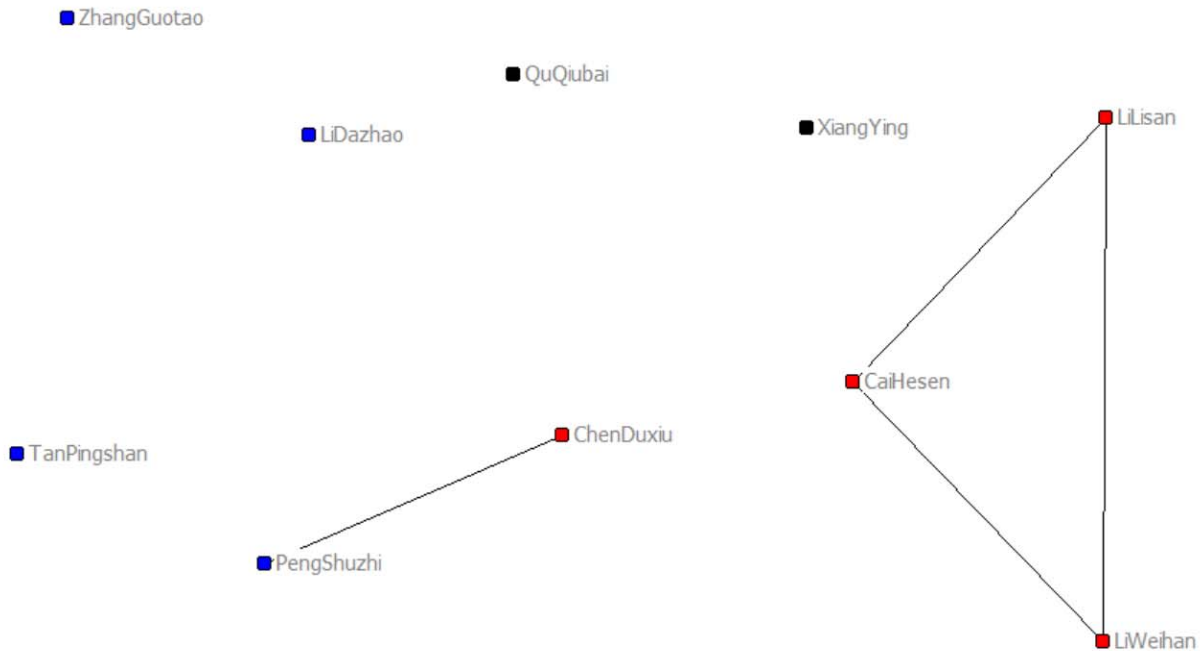


Figure 2.4 Network diagram of provincial ties for the Fourth Central Committee of 1925.

Of all the members, Qu Qiubai and Xiang Ying had neither educational nor provincial ties to any of the others.<sup>72</sup> They were isolated from the network, so called *isolates*. So combining the network diagrams for educational and provincial ties for the Central Committee of 1925, it is apparent that a network structure or form is beginning to emerge. Nooy, Mrvar, and Batagelj (2011(2005)) define a clique as a cohesive subgroup that consists of actors who are connected to all other actors within that subgroup. The social network analysis software automatically identifies members of a clique with the same color node (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002).

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<sup>72</sup> In 1925, Qu Qiubai was the editor-in-chief of the *Vanguard*, a Party journal. Xiang Ying joined the Communist Party in 1922 and was a member of the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Labor (1925-1929) (Bartke, 1990).

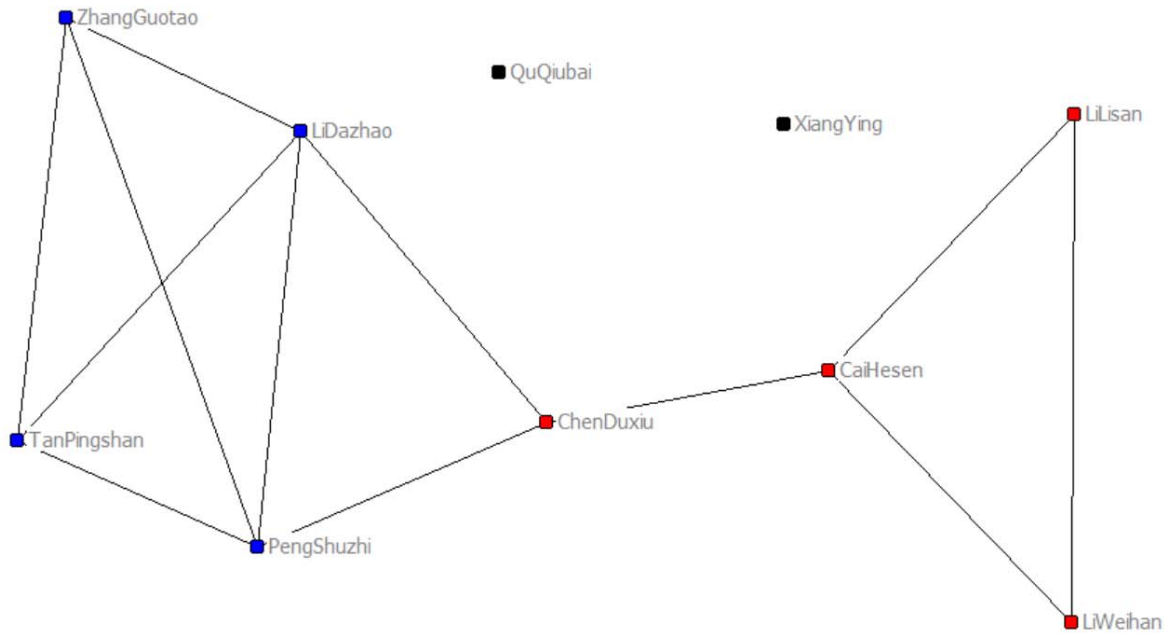


Figure 2.5 Network diagram of the Fourth Central Committee of 1925.

As shown above (Figure 2.5), the cohesive subgroup consisting for Chen Duxiu, Cai Hesen, Li Lisan, and Li Weihan is one clique (red nodes connected by lines). Another clique consists of Li Dazhao, Zhang Guotao, Tan Pingshan, and Peng Shuzhi (blue nodes connected by lines). The red clique members are internally connected by at least two ties, so the colors are the same. The blue clique members are internally connected by at least three ties. Chen and Li would lose both their influence and their leadership positions and would be removed from the Central Committee together in 1927, which was a disastrous year for the Party as a whole.

*China's Fifth Central Committee: 1927*

The Fifth Party Congress met April 27-May 9, 1927 at Hankou and elected Chen Duxiu as General Secretary and a Central Committee of 37 full members and 12 alternates. Co-founder

Chen Duxiu was also promoted to the new Emergency Political Bureau (Politburo)<sup>73</sup> along with Zhang Guotao, Cai Hesen, Qu Qiubai, Li Lisan, Zhou Enlai, Tan Pingshan and Li Wei-han (Bartke, 1990; Uhalley, 1988; Sullivan, 2012).<sup>74</sup> The Central Committee's membership had expanded since its creation five years earlier and the members shared more attributes—resulting in a more connected social network.

Intra-Party relationships became institutionalized. The “Resolution on the Third Revised Constitution of the CCP” (June 1927) established “democratic centralism”—stipulating that the Party elite manages Party organizations—as the guiding principle for the Party. At the intra-Party level, strict Party discipline became the first and most important duty of all Party members and organizations (Saich, 1996). Before a decision was made, members could engage in “completely free discussion,” but everyone was expected to “quickly and correctly” implement policies once a decision was made.

The Party's policy toward the Guomindang was forced to parallel the Party's oppositional policy toward the independent warlords. In April 1927, just over a year after Jiang Jieshi's<sup>75</sup> March 1926 coup,<sup>76</sup> the Guomindang purged the communists from the United Front government in the midst of the Northern Expedition (1926-1928) to defeat the warlords and to unite the country under Nationalist rule (McCord, 2002).<sup>77</sup> Jiang Jieshi, who ascended to GMD

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<sup>73</sup> Bartke (1990) listed the “Emergency Session” took place August, 7, 1927 in Jiujiang.

<sup>74</sup> Mao Zedong was originally listed as an Alternate Member of the Politburo at the time of the Fifth Party Congress, but was not listed as one at the August Emergency Session. Chen Duxiu and Li Wei-han were not listed as either full or alternate Politburo members in August 1927.

<sup>75</sup> Also known as Chiang Kai-shek, Jiang was born in 1887 and rose under the patronage of Sun Yat-sen. Jiang married Sun's daughter Soong Meiling. After Sun's death in 1925, Jiang emerged as the leader of the Guomindang Party and commander of the Nationalist Army.

<sup>76</sup> On March 20, 1926, Jiang arrested Communist cadres at Whampoa, disarmed strikers at Hong Kong and Guangzhou, and even placed Soviet advisors under house arrest (Uhalley, 1988).

<sup>77</sup> The Northern Expedition began in 1926 with the Nationalists and Communists cooperating at the operational level.

leadership after Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, seized the moment to violently turn against the communists as well as the warlords. Co-founder Li Dazhao was arrested and killed on April 28, 1927 by forces loyal to Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin<sup>78</sup> (Ladany, 1988). The Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927—considered the birth of the Red Army—was the first violent engagement between the Guomindang and the communists in which the communists fought back (Sullivan, 2012).<sup>79</sup> The Communists' effort to ignite an uprising among workers and peasants was crushed by the Nationalist forces (Uhalley, 1988). Following the Nanchang Uprising, the Fifth Central Committee held an emergency meeting on August 7, 1927 at Jiujiang to remove Chen and install Qu Qiubai as the new general secretary (Saich, 1996; Uhalley, 1988).

The Party began developing the organs and appendages of a national government necessary for the implementation of domestic policies. As mentioned earlier, the 37-member Fifth Central Committee created a Political Bureau capable of secretly coordinating Party activities and recognized the need for its own military forces. Some Party members, still focused on gaining grassroots support, unsuccessfully attempted to turn the Party's attention toward the task of building labor unions. The new Party leadership, consisting of Politburo members Zhang Guotao, Zhou Enlai, Li Lisan, Li Weihan, and Zhang Tailei, instead advocated "agrarian revolution as the crux of the democratic revolution" (Uhalley, 1988, p. 35).

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<sup>78</sup> Zhang Zuolin was a major warlord. Three years prior, he combined his Manchurian forces with Feng Yuxiang—the "Christian General"—to crush a competing warlord, Wu Peifu, setting up the eventual seizure of Beijing in 1927 (McCord, 2002). Bartke (1990) claims "Li was executed by the KMT on April 28, 1927." Many of the warlords simply joined to Nationalist forces in return for autonomy.

<sup>79</sup> Known as The White Terror, this event gave credibility to the communist leaders who opposed cooperation with the GMD.

It is at this point in late 1927 that Mao Zedong was removed from the Central Committee network for a short period.<sup>80</sup> During the Autumn Harvest Uprising of September 1927, Mao Zedong's small military force failed to garner enough peasant support to take the city of Changsha and Mao led his force in retreat into the Jinggang Mountains for protection.<sup>81</sup> Mao was removed from full membership in the Central Committee in November 1927 for alleged errors during the Autumn Harvest Uprising (Uhalley, 1988).

Up to this point in time, there was no real paramount leader in the Party to speak of. Although Qu Qiubai was the formal Party leader,<sup>82</sup> he was one among equals. Zhang Guotao and Zhou Enlai were powerful and influential in their own right. Wang Ming and the 28 Bolsheviks<sup>83</sup> would not return from the Soviet Union until 1931 and Mao Zedong would not begin to significantly influence Party policy at the center until 1935.

In general, domestic policies began to change from the Comintern-preferred revolution-from-the-cities to inciting revolution among the peasant masses. Mao Zedong's "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (March 1927) predicted "hundreds of millions of peasants will rise in ... China with the fury of a hurricane; no force, no matter how

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<sup>80</sup> Bartke (1990) considered Mao as a founding member of the Party in 1921. Mao was a full Central Committee member 1923-1925. In addition to being named an Alternate Member of the Politburo, Mao was also named an Alternate Member of the Central Committee. His brief assignment in 1926 as the Secretary of the Peasants Committee came to an end.

<sup>81</sup> See also "The Struggle in the ChingKang Mountains." (November 25, 1928). In *Select Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume 1*.

<sup>82</sup> During the May Fourth Movement, Qu was an elected representative in the Beijing Student Union. As Chen Duxiu's interpreter at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow (1922), Qu became a protégé of Chen. As mentioned earlier, Qu was the chief editor of the newspaper *New Youth* in 1924 and published articles in 1925-1926 critical of the GMD's right-wing faction. Qu's support of Mao's "Peasant Movement" report in April 1927 placed him at odds with Chen Duxiu and Qu became an opposition faction leader in the Party. (Kampen, 1999; Leung, 2002).

<sup>83</sup> Wang Ming joined the Party in 1925 and was among a group of students—originally called the "Wang Ming Dogmatic Faction" and later known as the "28 Bolsheviks"—who studied at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow (1925-1929). While in Moscow, the group (especially Wang) became protégés of the Soviet leadership and came to dominate Party politics after they returned to China. Wang Ming and his associates became a major opposition faction to Mao. (Leung, 2002)

strong, can restrain them.”<sup>84</sup> Mao would return to full membership in 1928<sup>85</sup> to refocus the Party’s domestic policy on the peasant movement and, eventually, take absolute control of the Party and country.

The Party’s view of foreign policy now considered the Guomindang as an illegitimate national revolutionary government that had compromised with the foreign colonial powers (Chen D. , 1926). The Fifth Party Congress held at Hankou from late April to early May adopted “The Policy of Insurrection” that led to the subsequent Autumn Harvest Uprising in August 1927 (Ladany, 1988; Saich, 1996).

The First Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee was held near Moscow in July 1928<sup>86</sup> to reassess the Party’s policies in the wake of a bad year. The “soviet” as a governmental system was adopted. The soviet system consisted of the Party, the soviet government, and the Red Army as the basic formula for communist revolution for the next ten years (Saich, 1996). Greater emphasis was placed on the role of peasants in the revolution, pursuit of rural land reforms, and the creation of a worker-peasant Red Army. Numerous soviet base areas, small and large, were established throughout China’s countryside and served as safe zones for the communists to experiment with various domestic land and tax reform policies (Wei, 2002). Despite being nearly destroyed in the previous year, the Party continued to grow. A new Central Committee, however, was not formally elected for another 17 years—shortly after the

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<sup>84</sup> In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume 1*.

<sup>85</sup> This occurred at the Sixth Party Congress held in Moscow, June 18-July 11, 1928.

<sup>86</sup> The Sixth Party Congress was held in Moscow (June 18-Jul 11, 1928). The First Plenum of the Central Committee was held immediately after (Bartke, 1990). Because of the failures of the Autumn Harvest Uprising (October 1927) and the Guangzhou Uprising (December 1927), Qu Qiubai was replaced as the Party leader by Xiang Zhongfa and Li Lisan (Leung, 2002).



first true Party rectification campaign at Yanan in 1942-1944. In some sense, the difference between the Sixth Central Committee and the Seventh Central Committee was generational.

### *Guanxi*

Generational distinctions paradoxically enable societies to cohere around a well-defined period of time while causing those same societies to divide along temporal fault lines. Pye (1981) described four general theories of generations in political analysis. The Experiential Theory holds that political experience may define a group, leaving it with a “distinctive socialization experience.” The Long March, the Civil War, or the Cultural Revolution would fall under this category.

The Life Cycle Theory suggests that people at different stages of life have different political beliefs, each generation transitioning through different attitudes as they age (Pye, 1981). According to Life Cycle Theory, rebellious youths become moderates as they get older. The Clash Theory more vaguely defines generations based on one generation clashing with another generation (Pye, 1981). Similarly, the Succession to Leadership Theory argues that the defining generational clash occurs when the generation in power fails to step aside in deference to the rising generation (Pye, 1981). One common thread among these four theories is that inclusion in a generation is substantially defined by when a person was born.

With the birth of the Party’s military arm, the Red Army, another type of fundamental relational tie, military generational experience, could be defined. August 1, 1927 is considered the birth date of the PLA, so *guanxi* ties based on military experience, as far as this study is concerned, began at that point in time. Gold, Guthrie, and Wank (2002) state that individuals

who served in the same unit or shared experiences (such as the Nanchang Uprising) have a relationship to each other.

The conventional wisdom specifically identifies *guanxi* military ties according to Whitson and Huang's (1973) military generations. They defined a military generation as "a group of men, regardless of age, who enter the military during a period that was characterized by a particular crisis" (Whitson & Huang, 1973). For example, the First Military Generation is defined as the group that entered military service between 1923 and May 1928. This first period was known for the "unprofessional, roving bandit tactical style that had characterized Mao's military operations" (Whitson & Huang, 1973), the type of military performance common prior to the combination of Zhu De and Mao's forces at Jinggang Mountain. The end of the period, May 1928, marked the time when the Red Army began to adopt professional standards of organization and tactics.

The Party was, as noted earlier, still focused on implementing the Comintern's strategy of seizing the cities. At the center of the professionalizing Red Army were four regiments combined from Mao Zedong's guerrilla forces and Zhu De's forces led mostly by Whampoa Military Academy trained graduates (Blasko, 2002). The nascent nature of the Red Army led to unresolved debates over what the correct military strategy should be. Mao's concept of strategic defense-tactical offense known as People's War became, over time, the guide to the employment of military forces (Blasko, 2002).<sup>87</sup> Mao's military doctrine became orthodoxy and was summed up in his famous quatrain:

*When the enemy advances, we retreat.*

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<sup>87</sup> See also "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War." (December 1936). In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume 1*.

*When the enemy halts and encamps, we harass them.  
When the enemy seeks to avoid battle, we attack.  
When the enemy retreats, we pursue.*

The ability to specify the shared generational experience, or experiences, is crucial to understanding why a military generation is distinct from all other types of generations. As Whitson and Huang (1973) argued, military generations shared “a time of professional feast or professional famine” in terms of promotions (Table 2.1).<sup>88</sup> Sharing in a number of crises defined a special association of officers—superiors, peers, and subordinates—who learned to trust one another. The generational associations lasted a lifetime: Whampoa Military Academy graduates from the first four class groups later served together in provincial Party organs and government ministries in the 1940s.

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<sup>88</sup> See also Blasko (The PLA from 1949 to 1989, 2002).

Table 2.1 Summary of Whitson and Huang's (1973) Military Generations

	Period	Crises
First Generation	1923-May 1928	White Terror Zhu De's Reorganization
Second Generation	June 1928-November 1931	Nationalist Threat Communist Response
Third Generation	December 1931-December 1936	Military Role Civil-Military Relations
Fourth Generation	January 1937-December 1940	Recruitment in North China Geographical Focus
Fifth Generation	January 1941-August 1945	Decentralized Military Operations New Military Role
Sixth Generation	September 1945-October 1950	Civil War
Seventh Generation	October 1950-September 1954	Chinese People's Volunteers in North Korea
Eighth Generation	October 1954-September 1959	Professionalization of Regular PLA
Ninth Generation	October 1959-December 1963	Sino-Soviet Conflict PLA Rectification Campaign
Tenth Generation	January 1964-December 1966	Ascendance of Commissars Learn from the PLA Movement
Eleventh Generation	January 1967-March 1979*	Sino-Soviet Conflict Sino-Vietnam War
Twelfth Generation	April 1979-June 1989*	Modernization Tiananmen

\* I further defined the end date of the Eleventh Generation and the period for the Twelfth Generation

Military generations were also distinguished by their military ethics and style. Their views on the role of the military, civil-military relations, and command authority were formed by their shared experiences. The first generation, for example, was to a great extent the product of the Whampoa Military Academy, which opened in 1924 and consequently influenced preferred tactics, military organization, and promotion criteria (Chang J. , 2002).

Military generations developed a supreme self-interest in the professional development of their members: from recruitment to training to employment.

### *Social Network Analysis*

Technically speaking, cores are cohesive subgroups that are tightly connected because each actor has a particular minimum number of ties (Nooy, Mrvar, & Batagelj, 2011 (2005)).<sup>89</sup> This study uses network analysis software to automatically identify cores with a k-number of ties or “k-cores” (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). Davis, Gardner, and Gardner (1941) determined that individuals belong to either core or peripheral groups within a network. Members of core groups were known as primary members while members of peripheral groups were secondary members. The visual impact of seeing a well-defined core should lead to the conclusion that a particular core group is “in” while groups and individuals residing on the periphery are “out.” Looking ahead in time, the network diagram for the Central Committee of 2002 clearly shows which members belong to the core and which members do not (Figure 2.6).

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<sup>89</sup> Moore (1979) found that the structure of US elite networks assumed an outer circle of elites and an inner circle of elites. “The existence of a central elite circle facilitates communication and interaction both within the large, diverse group and between its members and those in more specialized elite circles and cliques.”

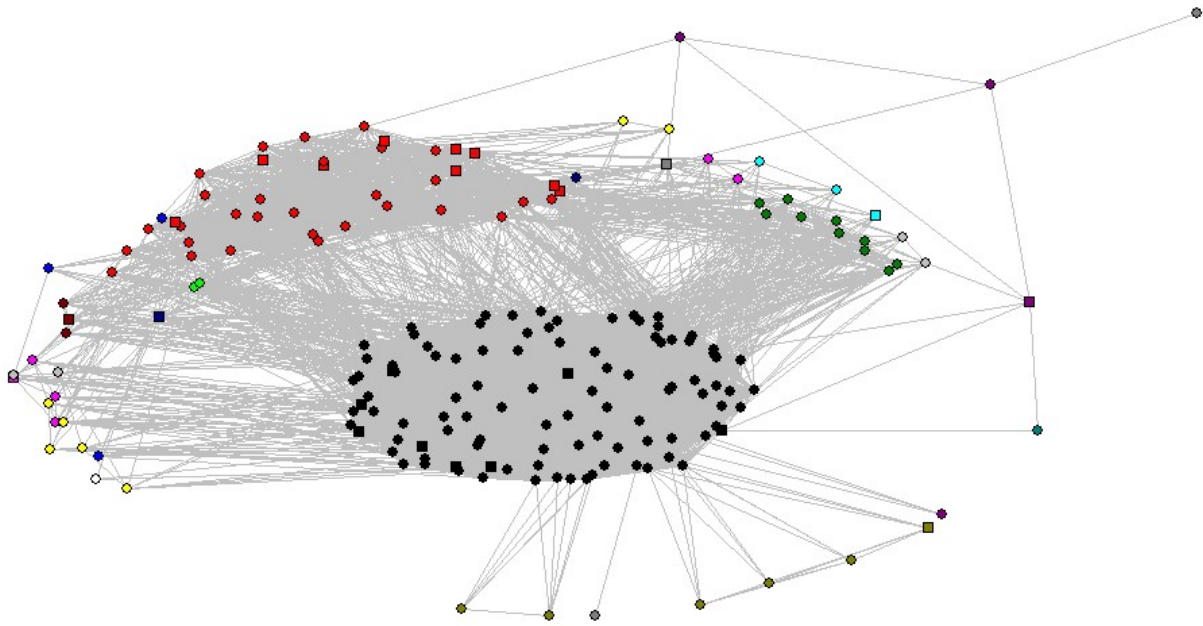


Figure 2.6 Sixteenth Central Committee of 2002.

Social network analysis has lately reconsidered Durkheim's (1897) line of investigation that focuses on the individual actors in a network and their individual social roles (Freeman L. , 2011). In addition to understanding the importance of the structural characteristics of the entire Central Committee, this study follows the trend by studying the two most important individual actors within the entire policy network: the paramount leader and his nearest potential competitor. In general, we know who the most important political actors were by their formal positions within the Party hierarchy: chairman, premier, and defense minister, for example. Actors with formal authority can exert enormous influence almost exclusively on the basis of their official position.

There are, however, socio-metric indicators of an individual's *informal* importance.<sup>90</sup>

One of the simplest measures of an actor's informal importance is the number of ties he has to other actors in the network (Wasserman & Faust, 2009 (1994)). Another way of measuring an actor's informal importance is the measure of how close an actor is to all the other actors in the network—how many intermediate actors he must go through to reach another actor (Bavelas, 1948). Using either method, it is possible to identify relatively more important actors within networks.

For the purpose of this study the number of ties—or degree of centrality—is a more appropriate measure of an individual's importance. Degree of centrality indicates how connected an actor is to *all other actors* in the network. The greater number of incipient relationships available to a person results in a greater probability that a greater number of others will develop parallel or convergent interests. The closeness of an actor to all other actors, on the other hand, suggests the ease with which information is conveyed from one part of the network to another. Closeness is, specifically, a measure of the efficiency of internal communication and is more appropriate for studying the spread or contagion of ideas, disease, or the exchange of goods.

### *Praxis*

This section demonstrates how the *guanxi* relationships introduced so far, combined with social network analysis methods, reveal the network structure of the Central Committee of 1927. Applying the educational (green lines), provincial (red lines), military (blue lines), and

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<sup>90</sup> Dittmer (2001) considered formal and informal power as equally important.

special (purple lines) *guanxi* relations<sup>91</sup> to the members of the Central Committee of 1927 results in the network diagram below. The greater number and types of relations considered produces a relatively more interesting network, about which more can be learned. Members, or nodes, of the same color represent cohesive subgroups while squares indicate Politburo members. The diagram for 1927 is interpreted as a social network with two distinct cohesive subgroups consisting of relatively more important or influential members (Figure 2.7). The subgroup in the center (grey nodes) is primarily connected by educational (green) ties while the other subgroup at the left (red nodes) is primarily connected by provincial (red) ties. Military (blue) ties do not define a separate clique, but appear to serve as a bridge between the two cohesive subgroups.

Individual degree of centrality can be precisely measured. For example, Chen Duxiu, the Party general secretary, has a total of 4 connections (three special ties and one educational tie) out of a total of 36 possible connections. (Keep in mind that although there were 37 full members, the total possible is one less.) Therefore, Chen Duxiu had a centrality of  $4 \div 36 = 0.111$  or 11%. In other words, he had *guanxi* ties to slightly more than one-tenth of the Central Committee members.

Using the same methodology, Zhang Guotao, the nearest potential competitor, had *guanxi* connections to 11 other members meaning he had a degree of centrality of 31% or nearly one-third of the Central Committee members. Zhang is clearly more central (and more important) than Chen in terms of absolute centrality and in terms of his location within the network diagram.

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<sup>91</sup> Special *guanxi* relations will be introduced and further defined in the next section.



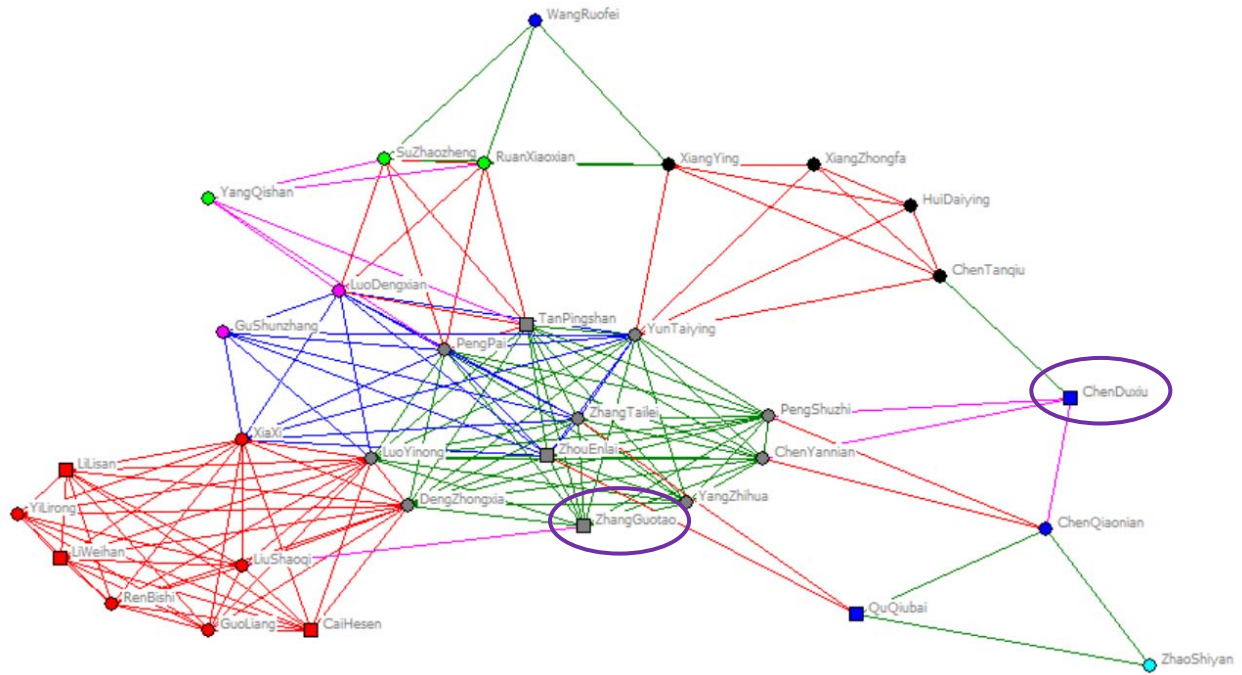


Figure 2.7 Fifth Central Committee of 1927 showing educational (green lines), provincial (red lines), military (blue lines), and special (purple lines) *guanxi* relations.

The Central Committee's degree of centralization can be measured as well. There are 37 members each with 36 potential connections or a total of 1,332 possible connections across the whole network. In actuality, there are 440 *guanxi* connections present in the network diagram for the Central Committee of 1927, so the Central Committee's degree of centralization is  $440 \div 1332 = .33$  or 33%. In other words, roughly one-third of the possible connections are present. In the chapter on theory, I will elaborate on how a group's measure of centralization provides a kind of context for policymaking. For now, it should suffice that we are able to calculate an individual's centrality and the entire group's centralization.

### *China's Seventh Central Committee: 1942-1945*

The singular turning point for Chinese history between the Sixth Central Committee of 1928<sup>92</sup> and the Seventh Central Committee of 1945<sup>93</sup> was the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 1937, a clash between Japanese and Chinese troops (MacKinnon, 2002). The incident led to the abandonment of diplomatic compromise regarding Japan's occupation of areas north of Beijing (known at that time as Peiping). Japan seized Tianjin and Beijing by the end of July 1937. Shanghai fell in November 1937.

Japan's brutal occupation was never complete, but it forced the Nationalists to relocate their government from Nanjing to the southwestern metropolis of Chongqing in Sichuan Province. The Chinese Communists, having firmly established an enclave centered on Yanan further north following the Long March in 1934-1935, were still reconsolidating their military forces and were still experimenting with localized tax and land reforms in the rural areas they controlled (Baum, 2010). Nevertheless, in the midst of the series of defeats suffered by the Nationalists, the Communists' Eighth Route Army scored a minor (but morale boosting) victory over Japanese forces near Taiyuan in Shanxi Province—"annihilating a Japanese brigade" (MacKinnon, 2002).

Intra-Party relations were in flux. Conventional wisdom has it that, in the midst of the Long March, Mao Zedong rose to paramount leadership and was formally made "Chairman of

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<sup>92</sup> The Sixth Central Committee initially had 33 full members and 13 alternates. Fourteen more full members were "by-elected" between 1930 and 1938. The Sixth CC's plenums were held in Moscow (July 1928), Shanghai (June 1929; September 24-28, 1930; January 1931), Ruijin (January 1934), Zunyi (January 1935), and Yanan (October-November 1938; April 1945). The precise dates are not available. (Bartke, 1990; Saich, 1996)

<sup>93</sup> The Seventh Central Committee had 44 full members and 33 alternates. The Seventh CC's plenums were held in Yanan (June 19, 1945), Pingshan (March 5-13, 1949), and Beijing (June 6-9, 1950; February 6-10, 1954; April 4, 1955; October 4-11, 1955; August 22-September 8, 1956). (Bartke, 1990)

the Central Committee” (Guillermaz, 1972).<sup>94</sup> The Red Army had escaped the Nationalists’ Fifth Encirclement Campaign against the Jiangxi Soviet base in central China, first fleeing far to the west away from the coastal provinces, pausing at Zunyi.

At an enlarged Politburo meeting of Party and Red Army leaders at Zunyi, roughly 150 miles south of Chongqing, in January 1935, Mao Zedong argued for the movement of the surviving Red Army forces into northern Shaanxi Province (Wei, 2002). Other leaders preferred to consolidate north of Chongqing in northern Sichuan Province or move even further west into Xinjiang Province. The Red Army, moving piecemeal along distinctly different routes, appeared broken with three rapidly dwindling Front Armies heading toward different destinations.<sup>95</sup> By 1935, however, most of the Red Army was converging on northern Shaanxi,<sup>96</sup> Mao’s argument at the Zunyi Conference was later seen as the “correct” strategy<sup>97</sup> and Mao used his increasing credibility in military decision making to solidify his political leadership position and began to marginalize the 28 Bolsheviks. In the years following the Long March, Comintern representatives gradually faded into the background and their influence on internal Party affairs diminished.

Domestic and foreign policies were also in flux. By mid-1941, the stage for the showdown between Party leaders who sought to follow Moscow’s strategic guidance to “seize

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<sup>94</sup> The record, however, suggests that Mao was not quite at the pinnacle of leadership. Chen Yun’s “Outline for Communicating the Zunyi Enlarged Politburo Meeting” (February-March 1935) noted “Comrade Zedong was appointed as the assistant to Comrade Enlai in military command.”

<sup>95</sup> The Long March was conducted by the First Front Army under Zhu De and Mao Zedong, the Second Front Army under He Long, and the Fourth Front Army under Zhang Guotao and Xu Xiangqian (Guillermaz, 1972).

<sup>96</sup> He Long’s army did not *begin* their Long March until October 1935, when Mao finished his Long March, and the Second Front Army did not arrive in northern Shaanxi until October 1936 (Ladany, 1988).

<sup>97</sup> “The [Zunyi Conference] inaugurated a new central leadership, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong—a historic change of paramount importance in the CCP.” (See “Resolution of the CCP CC on Certain Historical Questions.” (20 April 1945) in Saich (1996))

the cities” and those who subscribed to Mao’s preference to lead the peasants in the revolution focused on land and tax reforms. In May 1941, Mao made a speech to the Central Committee, reinterpreting recent Chinese history to place the revolution in proper context, explaining the need for the Party to redefine socialism for Chinese conditions and to make Party policies independent of Moscow, the Comintern representatives, and the students returning from education in the Soviet Union (Saich, 1996). Probably due to opposition by some Central Committee members against Mao’s outright declaration that Wang Ming, his primary competitor since Zunyi, was following the wrong line, the speech was not published until March 1942, which is considered the beginning of the Party’s first rectification campaign.

The Yanan Rectification of 1942 was a campaign to repudiate Wang Ming (“Chen Shaoyu”) and diminish the influence of the 28 Bolsheviks. The intra-Party rectification consisted of the directed study groups and discussion primarily of Mao’s lectures and writings.<sup>98</sup> Works by Kang Sheng,<sup>99</sup> Liu Shaoqi, and Chen Yun were included, but nothing by the 28 Bolsheviks was part of the approved curriculum (Ladany, 1988). Uhalley (1988, p.59) noted that “the campaign was basically an educational one, conducted in small groups, using the method of criticism and self-criticism to enhance comprehension.” By the end of the Yanan Rectification in 1944, Wang Ming, irrelevant to the Party’s developing orthodoxy, was assigned an unimportant post within the Central Committee and Mao Zedong was firmly ensconced as the paramount leader (Moody, 1973).

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<sup>98</sup> To some extent, the assigned readings were previously approved Central Committee documents Mao edited to conform to his understanding of the revolution in the greater context of Chinese history.

<sup>99</sup> Kang was born in 1899 and worked as an underground Party operative in Shanghai in the 1930s. In 1937, he (along with Wang Ming) returned to Yanan after studying in Moscow. In addition to being a Politburo member, he headed the Party’s security apparatus, including the Central Investigation Department.

The 44-member Seventh Central Committee held their first plenum at Yanan on June 19, 1945. Mao Zedong's rise to power was complete. He had become a member of the Politburo in 1932 and Chairman in 1943. In 1945 Mao was setting the Party's agenda. Moody (1973) noted that the "cult of Mao," initiated by Liu Shaoqi, was quite strong in the first half of the 1940s.<sup>100</sup> He delivered a key address on the creation of a coalition government—a "new democratic" state system subordinating all of the other political parties in China under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party (Saich, 1996). Mao explicitly rejected any reconciliation leading to a new government dominated by the Guomindang.

Unlike at the Zunyi Conference in 1935, in 1945 the entire Party elite unanimously lined up in support of Mao, whose power and influence had steadily risen in the aftermath of the Yanan Rectification Movement. Zhu De, the first and last supreme commander of the PLA, praised Mao's role in past military operations. Zhou Enlai, who would serve as the Premier from 1949 until his death in 1976, named the coalition government the New United Front. As the new Party leader of all communist forces in Manchuria and northern China, Liu Shaoqi in his report on the Party Constitution highlighted Mao's central role in the Chinese revolution. (Uhalley, 1988)

The *guanxi* attributes of the new Central Committee members indicated Mao's dominance, but not total control (Saich, 1996). Even without total control, the election of the Seventh Central Committee was a major personal success for Mao. The new Party Constitution incorporated "Thought of Mao Zedong," unifying the Party under Mao's emerging personality cult (Uhalley, 1988). The 28 Bolsheviks' power and influence had vanished after the Yanan

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<sup>100</sup> It could be argued that Lin Biao played a significant role in creating the "cult of Mao." See "Lin Piao: Long Live the Victory of People's War." (September 1965) from Peking, Foreign Language Press.

Rectification. The Politburo, elected by the Central Committee, reflected a tight-knit group of leaders: Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Ren Bishi, Chen Yun, and Kang Sheng—all committed to Mao and his policy of “democratic coalition government.”

Guillermaz (1976) provided a summary analysis of the “mass lines” (mobilization politics) used by the Party domestic policy to obtain the allegiance and loyalty of the Chinese population. The Party had expanded from 1.2 million members in 1945 to 2.7 million two years later, most of them new to communism. A new rectification campaign begun in 1947 invited non-Party members to criticize Party members. This domestic campaign methodology would return with a vengeance less than twenty years later with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

With the emergence of a legitimate Party-state came the articulation of a series of true foreign policies. The Seventh Central Committee’s term was best known for the Communist military victory over the Nationalists in the Chinese Civil War from 1946 to 1950 (Westad, 2003),<sup>101</sup> the founding of the People’s Republic of China in October 1949 (Guillermaz, 1976), and China’s historic intervention against US and United Nations forces in the Korean War from 1950 to 1953 (Chen J. , 1994). The Seventh Central Committee’s tenure was decidedly coercive against the Nationalists at the foreign policy level.

### *Guanxi*

The last type of relational tie relevant to this study is probably the strongest of all: kinship. Wellman, Chen, and Dong (2002) considered the full range of relational ties to fall into

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<sup>101</sup> China’s occupation of Tibet and the seizure of Hainan in 1950 also marked the foreign policy approaches of the Seventh Central Committee.

two categories: kin and non-kin. Kinship ties have existed throughout the history of the Central Committee. They are readily observable. For example, Cai Hesen (Central Committee member, 1922-1931) was married to Xiang Jingyu (alternate Central Committee member, 1922-1925) and was Cai Chang's (Central Committee member, 1928-1982) brother. Cai Chang was married to Li Fuchun (Central Committee member, 1934-1975).

Levi-Strauss (1969) examined how kinship formed alliance structures between two families in France. Gold, Guthrie, and Wank (2002) called kinship a "primordial" tie between people. In a sense, kinship ties are superior to all other kinds of relations. Yan's (1992) study of rural Chinese networks referred to close kin as the "inner core" of social networks. "One's immediate natal and nuclear family is the strongest kinship tie, followed by the extended family and consanguine relations, and then the more distant set of affinal relatives" (Yang M. M.-h., 1994). Even within the inner core of kinship there is stratification and hierarchical distinctions.

Two variations of the kinship tie are patron-client relations and patrilineal bonds. Yang (1994) described the patron-client relationship as one where an official controls underlings who depend on his political or bureaucratic power. Similarly, Nathan (1973) defined patron-client ties as the created relationship between two people: the client is selected by the patron for cultivation through the exchange of gifts or services, and involves the, usually tacit, "rights and obligations between the partners." The patron-client relationship also requires reciprocity or a sense of obligation: patrons support clients' careers and clients support their patron's agenda (Yang M. M.-h., 1994).

Pye's (1981) "composite model" of Chinese politics incorporated the paradoxical cultural themes of elite solidarity and partisan careerism. He also noted that *guanxi* requires

patrons to reward clients in return for their support. Patrons typically have numerous clients. Pye (1981) argued that factional politics is based on clients establishing career-enhancing “linkages to power” based on which potential patrons they think will emerge victorious from leadership struggles. More recently, Shih, Adolph, and Liu (2012) found that patron-client relationships, combined with educational background and provincial revenue collection, played substantial roles in determining elite ranking. As one Chinese entrepreneur put it, “Everything depends on personal ties (*guanxi*). If you have good ties with officialdom, everything is easy to deal with. If you do something wrong, your friends in the official bureau will see that the matter is forgotten” (Menges, 2005). Patron-client relations are necessary for political survival.

Patrilineal bonds are parent-offspring relations deeply embedded in Chinese culture. Although, as Yang (1994) observed, patrilineal bonds have imperial origins, the tradition of conveying or conferring power to a person on the basis of who his father is continues today. To a great extent, fathers continue to confer political power to their sons in modern China. Bo’s (2004) study of the Sixteenth Central Committee, elected in 2002, found that Central Committee members who are offspring of well-known Party leaders, also called “Princelings,” form a kind of faction, but a faction with “extremely low” group cohesion.

Patron-client relations and patrilineal bonds are not as common as other bonds in the Central Committee, but are potentially very important (Anderlini, 2010).<sup>102</sup> Bo’s (2008) study of the Seventeenth Central Committee, elected in 2007, observed that the Princelings had gained some level of power parity with the other political factions in the Central Committee. Princeling infighting recently took center stage in Party politics. In 2012, Xi Jinping, son of Xi Zhongxun, a

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<sup>102</sup> See also “Asia: Princelings and the Goon State.” In *The Economist* (2011) and “The Princelings are coming.” In *The Economist* (2011).



former Politburo member, was able to moderate factional infighting by orchestrating the removal of Bo Xilai, son of Bo Yibo, one of the Eight Elders of the Chinese Communist Party.

### *Social Network Analysis*

This study is interested in singling out the most important actors within the Central Committee's social network. As I noted earlier, one of the simplest measures of a member's importance is the number of ties he has to other actors in the same social network (Wasserman & Faust, 2009 (1994)). The measure, called centrality, is easily calculated by dividing the number of ties a member has by the total number of other members in the network. Presented as a percentage, this permits the comparison of each member's relative importance within a network in a given year. From that, the calculation of *changes* in any member's importance from one year to the next is done by subtracting the centrality in a given year from the centrality of the previous year. The ability to articulate these changes is central to the present study.<sup>103</sup>

Freeman (2004) suggested that social network analysis approaches had four defining characteristics: 1) they intuit that links among social actors are important, 2) they are based on the collection and analysis of data that record social relations that link actors, 3) they draw heavily on graphic imagery to reveal and display the patterning of those links, and 4) they develop mathematical and computation models to describe and explain those patterns. These

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<sup>103</sup> Another way of measuring an actor's importance is the measure of how close an actor is to all the other actors in the network (Bavelas, 1948). For example, although an actor may not have a direct relationship with another actor, the two people may be connected to a third party and would therefore be separated by two degrees (Wasserman & Faust, 2009 (1994); Nooy, Mrvar, & Batagelj, 2011 (2005)). Since the measure of closeness is best used to replicate the ease with which information is communicated within a network, it is not considered a key independent variable in this study.

four characteristics trace the outline for the review of social network analysis literature up to this point in this chapter.

In a later paper, Freeman (2011) focused on the positions occupied by individual actors in social networks. Specifically, he considered four previously studied kinds of positions: positions in groups (Davis, Gardner, & Gardner, 1941), social roles<sup>104</sup> (Linton, 1936), hierarchical structures (Landau, 1951), and structural centrality<sup>105</sup> of people in networks (Bavelas, 1948). Consideration of these four position types naturally led to the comparison of individuals of interest in network analyses in the 1940s and 1950s.

Determining the power or influence a person of interest has is important. Dittmer (2001) highlighted the difference between formal and informal influence: formal power generated by official titles and informal power coming from *guanxi* relations. The difference is crucial. (For the purpose of this study, I will zero in on two individuals with particular positions *and* connections, favoring the latter, that make them notable above all others within a network: the paramount leader and his nearest potential competitor. I will have more to say about who they are in the Research Design chapter.)

Wasserman and Faust (2009 (1994)) discussed the potential for equivalence to lead to the partitioning of non-directional networks into neighborhoods. Although a paramount leader and his potential competitor may be approximately structurally equivalent, differences in their roles creates different patterns of informal ties for each one. Consequently, a leader's neighborhood (i.e. those he is directly connected to) will differ in some ways from his

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<sup>104</sup> Homans (1950) defined role as "the behavior expected of a [person] occupying a particular social position."

<sup>105</sup> Lorrain and White (1971) formalized the idea of structural equivalence. That is, two individuals are structurally equivalent if they have the same relations linking them to the same others.<sup>105</sup> But as much as structural equivalence conceptually binds members of a network, different social roles serve as a basis for competition and rivalry.

competitor's neighborhood, clique, or faction. Therefore, the likelihood of a leader and his competitor to have perfectly balanced cliques is highly unlikely in reality. Wasserman and Faust (2009 (1994)) argued that we can reverse the logic and use the patterns of ties to describe individual roles. In other words, informal connections may matter more than formal titles.

As important as a leader and his nearest potential competitor may be, it is equally important to remember that their status and roles are defined with reference to a social network. Knoke (2011) defines policy networks as social networks. Although policy network analysis seeks to identify the important actors in policymaking institutions (Knoke, 2011), the policy network as an institution matters greatly.

Wasserman and Faust (2009 (1994)) described a number of ways to measure the group characteristics of a network. The first is "group degree of centralization," which Freeman (1997) recommended using and which is primarily used in this present study. As demonstrated earlier, it is calculated by dividing the total number of connections present in a network by the total number of connections possible. I refer to this metric simply as "centralization" and use the abbreviation  $V$  in the statistical analysis presented in Chapter Seven.

The second measure of network cohesion is "clustering coefficient," which Watts and Strogatz (1998) used to detect higher probabilities of collaboration among scientists. This measure does not necessarily describe non-directional networks as a whole, but tells us something about how tightly knit subgroups in a network are relative to the entire network's density of ties. In a sense it implies that clustered networks may contain more than two clusters. I refer to this metric in the analysis chapter as *Clustering*. There is enough similarity

between the concepts of degree of centralization and clustering to expect that where one is a significant explanatory factor, so too is the other.

Another indicator of a network's structure is the "group closeness centralization," which uses each network member's distance from all other members of the network to calculate the average distance for all network members. The index reflects the pervasiveness of pathways within a network and the distance actors must transmit information or goods to communicate with or to influence other network actors. Closeness basically describes how easily internal communication occurs in a network. I do not expect measures of distance to be important to explaining cohesive behavior, but I would expect it to act in the opposite direction of the other measures of centralization. Freeman, Roeder, and Mulholland (1980) found that the closeness index was not even "vaguely related to experimental results." I refer to this metric in the analysis chapter as *Distance*.

Finally, the idea of density or compactness is the basis of one of the most widely used group-level indices measuring group cohesion (Wasserman & Faust, 2009 (1994)). Used since Kephart's (1950) quantitative analysis of intra-group relationships, Barnes (1969b) wrote that such measures describe how "close knitted" empirical networks were. Since networks are to a great extent spatially defined, the density or compactness of a network seems conceptually related to the earlier indices of group centralization and clustering. Therefore I expect that wherever degree of centralization and clustering are important—compactness will also be important. I refer to this index in the analysis simply as *Compactness*.

Together and in tandem, the paramount leader, his potential competitor, and the policy network produce policy outcomes. Emphasizing the strong connection between individual

connections and collective behavior, Katzenstein (1976) concluded that network structural relations within state institutions had consequences for policy network dynamics and collective decision making outcomes. Katzenstein (1976) followed Wendt's (1999) constructivist argument that norms and identity shape interests – and therefore shape policymaking. Katzenstein (1996) observed that norms emerge collectively as social practices, policy strategies, and mechanisms for conflict management. He also noted that states' identities and interests emerge from institutions embedded in long held social rules and conventions. Howlett (2002) suggested that “the identification of the nature of the policy subsystem in a given policy sector reveals a great deal about its propensity to respond to changes in ideas and interests.” The propensity for collective behavior, characterized in some manner, is predicated on its nature defined by the structure of the network.

### *Praxis*

In 1942 Mao Zedong was ready to begin the Party's first rectification. The targets were Wang Ming (“Chen Shaoyu”) and the 28 Bolsheviks.<sup>106</sup> We can see from the network diagram below that Wang Ming was already largely marginalized with no *guanxi* ties to the main network structure of the Central Committee of 1942 (Figure 2.8). Mao's own clique (red nodes) was primarily defined by provincial (red) ties while the other major clique (blue nodes) was connected by educational (green lines) and military (blue) ties. Only one special relationship existed and that is the tie between Cai Chang and Li Fuchun, who were married (Bartke, 1990).

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<sup>106</sup> Also known as the “returned students” from Moscow, they took over the Party leadership at Ruijin in 1931 (Ladany, 1988).

The measures of centrality provide greater depth to our understanding of the situation in 1942. Conventional wisdom holds that Mao became the Party leader at the January 1935 Zunyi conference held in the midst of the Long March (October 1934 to October 1935) and his influence within the Party steadily grew (Guillermaz, 1972). Mao's measure of centrality rose from 29% in 1935 to 35% in 1942.<sup>107</sup> Mao's *guanxi* did in fact steadily grow.

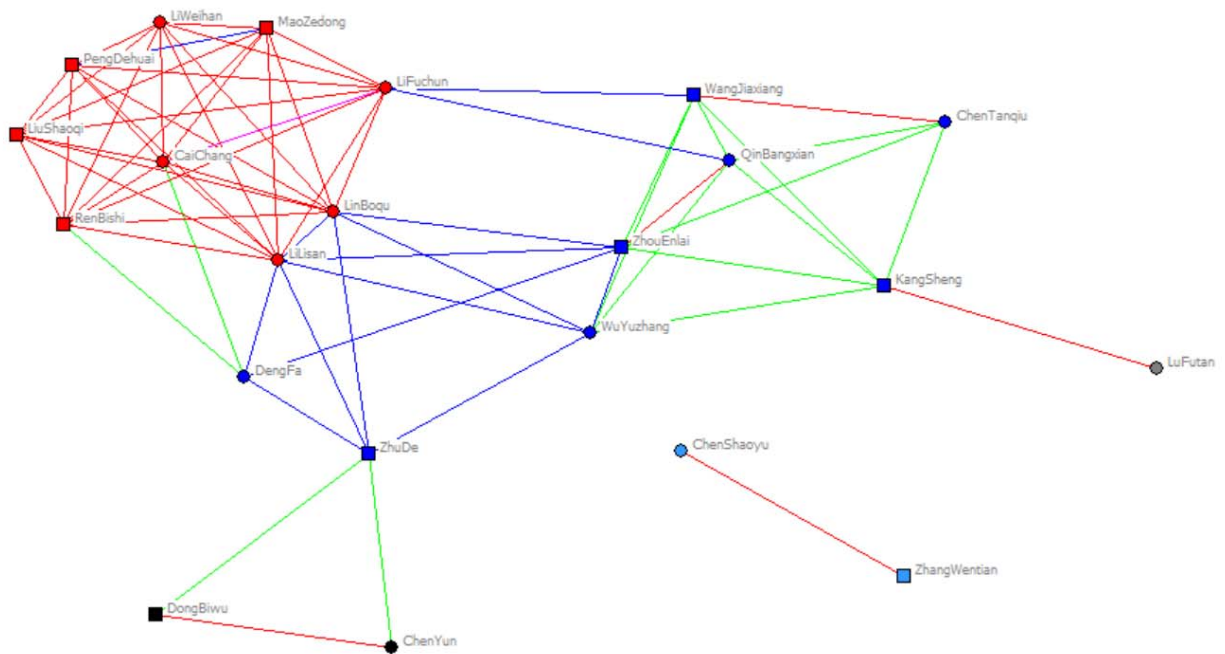


Figure 2.8 Central Committee of 1942 showing educational (green lines), provincial (red lines), military (blue lines), and special (purple lines) *guanxi* relations.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> For comparison, among the sixteen Florentine families of the early 1400s the highly influential Medici family had a degree of centrality of 40% based on marriage relations (Padgett & Ansell, 1993).

<sup>108</sup> It should be emphasized that *guanxi* does not determine influence per se. *Guanxi* is a gateway relationship and combined with formal positions of authority enable people to exert influence. For example, despite appearing in the center of the “provincial subgroup” in Figure 2.7, Cai Chang did not hold any important Party positions. This is not surprising given China’s male-dominated culture. Also, defined as a cohesive subgroup, every person in the “provincial subgroup” has exactly eight ties to the other eight members in that subgroup. She would eventually become the founding Chair of the All-China Women’s Federation in 1949. Network Theory suggests that people in “cutoff” positions (linking two different subgroups), as seen in Figure 2.7 with Li Lisan, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, are very important people.

At the time the Seventh Central Committee was elected in 1945, Mao's measure of centrality rose slightly to 37%. Considering that the number of Central Committee members roughly doubled from 23 in 1942 to 44 in 1945, it is clear that many of the new members had *guanxi* ties with Mao.<sup>109</sup> This is consistent with the earlier observation that the list of new Central Committee members indicated Mao's dominance, but not total control (Saich, 1996).

In 1945, there was an obvious change in the network beyond the increased number of members. A new clique, or core, of members (purple nodes)—whose members had degrees of centrality of 51%—occupied a central position in the social network. Interestingly, the core members' social connections in 1945, on the eve of China's Civil War, are based on military ties – very different from the core's provincial ties in 1942. A close inspection of the network diagram (Figure 2.9) reveals that Mao (yellow square node), the paramount leader, had no military ties to the core clique, but had provincial ties to nearly half of them. As Mao's nearest potential competitor beginning in 1945, Gao Gang (green square node) and his clique (green nodes) had degrees of centrality of 42% and are connected to the core clique almost exclusively by educational ties.

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<sup>109</sup> Wang Ming, the competing leader in 1942, was no longer a Central Committee member in 1945. Gao Gang, the competing leader in 1945, was not yet a Central Committee member in 1942.

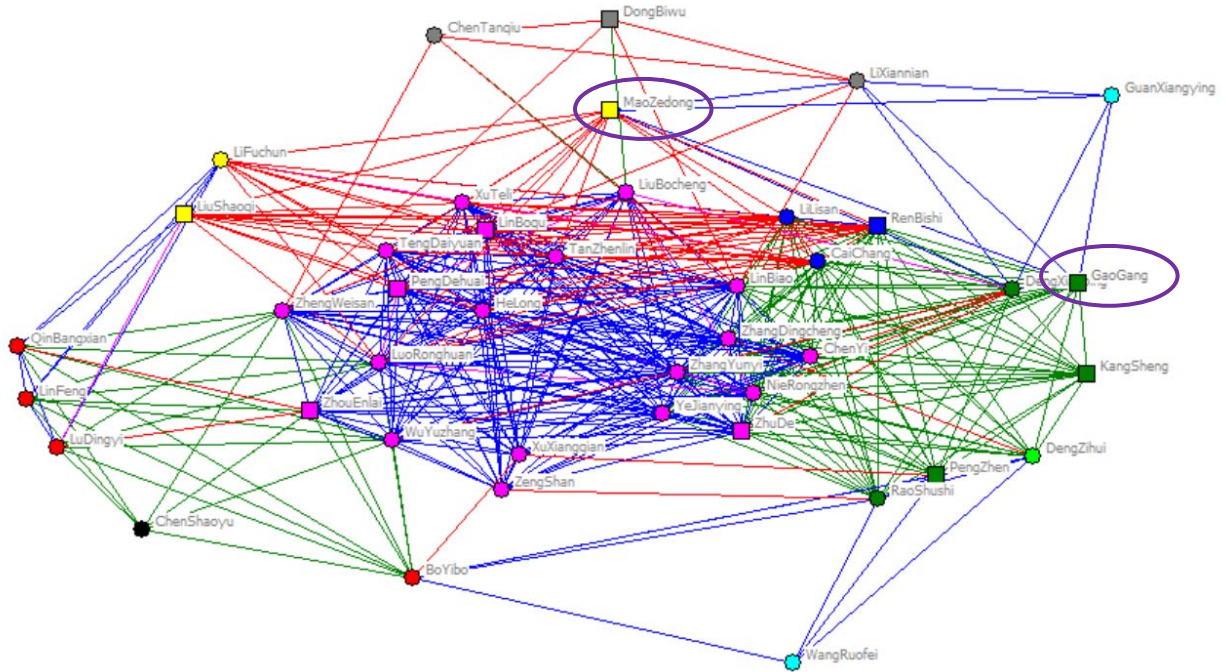


Figure 2.9 Seventh Central Committee of 1945 showing educational (green lines), provincial (red lines), military (blue lines), and special (purple lines) *guanxi* relations.

This last praxis section demonstrated that all of the *guanxi* relational ties can be effectively used to reveal characteristics of the network structure of the Central Committee. The entire network may be skewed. Core cliques may reside “off center”—as it was in 1942—or in the center of the network diagram—as it was in 1945. The paramount leader and his nearest potential competitor may reside as part of the core clique or stuck somewhere between the core and the periphery—each vying for control of the core clique.

In the broadest term, this study follows a two-stage conceptual process. First, identification of the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Party’s policy choices is founded on historical works by China scholars. Their observations of who really made policy are compared with who had formal positions of authority. In the case of Deng Xiaoping, for example, Deng held the reins of power without having the titles usually associated with



those in ultimate power. Once these leaders are identified, then an analysis based on their *guanxi*-based degrees of centrality follows. As is often the case, the paramount leader does not have the highest degree of centrality, but combined with his position of authority he is enabled to pursue his policy preferences.<sup>110</sup>

Taken together, all of the preceding praxis sections covered some of the relevant literature about the Central Committee prior to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, introduced all of the foundational conceptions of *guanxi* used in this present study, and reviewed the development and demonstrated the application of social network analysis methods as the observational tool that enables us to "see" the Central Committee's social network structure.

The important point to keep in mind going forward from here is that changes occurred to the Central Committee's social network as a result of the changing membership. At times the paramount leader was more central in the network, sometimes not. At times his nearest potential competitor was more central in the network, sometimes not. And sometimes the entire Central Committee was a tightly knit group, and sometimes not. The next chapter reviews the literature on the Central Committee since 1949, which was perhaps *the* pivotal year in the history of the Communist Party.

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<sup>110</sup> In other words, the paramount leaders were not identified based on their degree of centrality.

## Chapter Three - Central Committee Studies, 1949 to 2011

How do changes in the Central Committee's social network structure influence the type and timing of intraparty, domestic, and foreign policy outcomes? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to highlight the changes that occurred in the Central Committee membership and the specific policy changes that accompanied the changes in membership. A large body of literature about and analyses of the Central Committee since the founding of the People's Republic enables us to consider both of these core aspects in conjunction with each other.

There are a number of scholarly works that chronicle membership and policy changes since 1949. Guillermaz (1976) and Uhalley (1988) place CCP policies in greater historical context. Hinton (1980) and Myers, Domes, and von Groeling (1986) provided excellent summary overviews of the Party's policies and resolutions. Works that cover the Party's history since Mao's death in 1976 include Lieberthal and Dickson (1989), Salisbury (1992), Shambaugh (2010), McGregor (2010), and especially MacFarquhar (2011). These volumes thoroughly chronicle the trials and tribulations of the Chinese Communist Party since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Significant membership changes were rare just prior to the establishment of the People's Republic of China.<sup>111</sup> There were no Central Committee plenary sessions from the point in time at which the previous chapter ended (1945) to the beginning of the Party's modern history (1949). By the summer of 1949, the outcome of the bloody Civil War was no

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<sup>111</sup> Sixth Central Committee members Chen Tanqiu, Guan Xiangying, Qin Bangxian, and Wang Ruofa were not reelected to the Seventh Central Committee. No (official) membership changes occurred between 1947 and 1953.

longer in doubt.<sup>112</sup> Mao was temporarily settled just outside of Beijing in the Fragrant Hills while the rest of the Party elite were busy restoring order and laying the foundations for government throughout the rest of China (Salisbury, 1992). Uhalley (1988) noted, “The apex of political power in China continued to be the Central Committee.” Although few membership changes occurred, the paramount leader and the Central Committee were compelled to initiate new policies for New China in early 1949.

The Common Program of 1949, which confirmed citizen freedoms of speech and thought, was supposed to present the new rulers of China as moderately transformative and politically inclusive. Dreyer (2012) described the “disparate composition” of the Central Committee responsible for redefining the “people’s democratic dictatorship” to include workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie—the last were those with substantial economic means, but had not collaborated with Japan.

The manifestation of this inclusive intra-Party policy was the creation of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) consisting of regional representatives, PLA officers, professionals, minorities, and “guests” (Uhalley 1988). The CPPCC, at the behest of the Central Committee, adopted the Common Program, approved the Western calendar system, and declared “March of the Volunteers” as the national anthem. The CPPCC did not approve policy, but in this case the Central Committee did.<sup>113</sup>

Because the Second Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee (March 1949), attended by 34 full members and 19 alternate members, was not a newly elected body, no particular

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<sup>112</sup> It may be argued that Stalin, lacking accurate reports, still expected that the Nationalists to win the Civil War.

<sup>113</sup> The Second Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee (March 5-13, 1949) met in Hebei Province. The CPPCC was established and the Party’s work shifted from rural to urban areas. The Second Plenum drafted the Common Program. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989) Seven plenary sessions were held between 1945 and 1956.

changes in the makeup of the Central Committee can be emphasized (Uhalley, 1988).<sup>114</sup> In fact, there were no official membership changes from 1949 until 1954. The year 1949 was, however, the first opportunity for the Central Committee to legitimately and credibly adopt domestic and foreign policies. The Common Program reflected what Guillermaz (1976) called a Party leadership that was a “solid, coherent hierarchy, united by a centralized political system.” The elites had “survived rigorous selection in the field” and were “tempered by twenty years of experience as military commanders” (Guillermaz, 1976).

In the fall of 1949, Mao Zedong was completely in charge of a highly cohesive policy network that chose to adopt a set of policies characteristically described by Uhalley (1988) as “more conservative,” moderate, and inclusive.<sup>115</sup> The early years of the People’s Republic were a case study of the “Mao-in-command” model—he was fully in charge and often made policy unilaterally. Mao, however, was not standing alone on Tiananmen, either figuratively or literally, on the morning of October 1, 1949, when the Party grasped the Mandate of Heaven. Salisbury (1992) captured the scene perfectly in his sober description and asked: “Who would guess ... that men who stood now arm in arm, comrades all, would be bludgeoned or tortured to death on public stages?” Standing with Mao were Lin Biao, Gao Gang, Deng Xiaoping, Peng Dehuai, and Yang Shangkun<sup>116</sup>—comrades in arms and future potential competitors. Mao, at that moment in time, emphasized that persuasion, not compulsion, was the preferred method to “advance towards a socialist and communist society” (Salisbury 1992). Guillermaz (1976)

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<sup>114</sup> One Central Committee member, Liu Zujou, was dismissed by the Second Plenum for having “betrayed the revolution” (Uhalley, 1988).

<sup>115</sup> The Second Plenum also approved Mao’s conditions for negotiating peace with the Nationalists to end the Civil War. The peace negotiations were brief, ending in April 1949.

<sup>116</sup> Yang Shangkun was a Long March veteran and allegedly one of the 28 Bolsheviks who graduated from Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow (Salisbury, 1992). Yang supported Mao at Zunyi (1935) and was rehabilitated in 1978 along with his friend Deng Xiaoping.

characterized intra-Party and domestic policies as accommodative, noting “during the first few months after its rise to power the Party showed restraint, moderation, and deliberation” in its approach to ruling China.

New China’s domestic policies encouraged economic reforms<sup>117</sup> and even promoted local experimentation, the latter serving as a tell-tale sign of decentralization in later years (Heilmann & Perry, 2011). New China’s foreign policies, initially circumscribed by the Civil War, the large scale fighting not ending until the capture of Hainan Island in April 1950 and the invasion of Tibet in late 1950, were developing in the context of the emerging Cold War superpower rivalry. In June 1950, after a fleeting opportunity to open US-China relations was lost,<sup>118</sup> Mao surprised no one when he announced the foreign policy that China would “lean to one side”—toward the Soviet Union. Uhalley (1988) described this policy more accurately as *learning* from one side.

Despite the creation of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association only four days after Mao declared that the People’s Republic of China had “stood up,”<sup>119</sup> Guillermaz (1976) observed that Mao’s leaning and learning policy had long-term limits. “Mao Zedong certainly did not want to make China into an imitation of Russia; he only sent his country to school in Moscow so that at the end of its education it could become independent and master of its own house” (Guillermaz, 1976). In the short term, Mao and China nevertheless followed the Soviet Union down one profoundly counterproductive policy path: intervention in Korea.

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<sup>117</sup> Mao declared that the policy “is to regulate capitalism, not destroy it” (Uhalley 1988).

<sup>118</sup> Tuchman (1971) and Esherick (1974) argued that American fears of communism led to a flawed policy toward Mao and the Chinese Communists.

<sup>119</sup> Short (1999) quoted Mao’s words: “We, the 475 million Chinese people, have stood up and our future is infinitely bright.” The analogy was consistent with Mao’s speech in mid-September 1949: “The Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up. The Chinese have always been a great, courageous, and industrious nation; it is only in modern times that they have fallen behind.”

As mentioned earlier, the policy network, that is, the Central Committee within which Mao and the other Party elite operated did not change from 1949 until 1954, so the major policies during this period can be associated with the Central Committee of 1949. China's leaders had chosen to lean to the Soviet side. In the spring and summer of 1950, China pursued domestic and foreign policies that, on the surface at least, did not appear to be mutually supporting (Salisbury, 1992).<sup>120</sup>

In May 1950, Party leaders approved the creation of a PLA command structure to coordinate military support operations to Vietnam (Chen J. , 2001). Planning and rehearsals were underway for the final amphibious operation to take Taiwan. The PLA was garnering and training forces to occupy Tibet—which happened in October 1950. Yet, in the midst of these major preparations, the PLA was reducing in half its troop strength from over five million with the intent of creating smaller, more competent and loyal military forces (Salisbury, 1992). Another example of the disconnection between domestic and foreign policies was the diversion of PLA units to assist farmers with the harvest.

The decision to intervene in Korea revealed the tensions that existed among the Party elite and showed Mao's ability to influence others. Whiting (1960) argued that the Party leadership was simply responding to an unambiguous and compelling threat to China's security. Zhai and Hao (1990) suggested that Mao had "come to see a direct conflict with the United States as inevitable," and until the summer of 1950 he was unsure where that conflict would begin. Zhang (1995) emphasized the "interplay of romanticism and pragmatism shaped the CCP

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<sup>120</sup> The Third (Enlarged) Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee (June 6-9, 1950) held in Beijing received Mao's report, "Fight for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in the Financial and Economic Situation in China," which specified that the domestic situation would improve for another three years, proposed the partial demobilization of the PLA, and asserted central control of financial and economic work. The draft of the Land Reform Law was also approved. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989)

attitude, thinking, and behavior regarding the use of force in Korea.” Chen (1994) concluded that the “Great Movement to Resist America and Assist Korea” was a Party enterprise with Mao in the lead. Chen (2001) later opined that the decision was a test of the Sino-Soviet alliance’s “utility for Chinese security.”

In the end it was “Mao and his colleagues in Beijing” who accelerated military preparations, mobilized the country, and did so while maintaining domestic stability (Chen J. , 1994). And just as with all other important policy decisions, the decision to intervene in Korea was under the cover of the Central Committee. In this case, it was the document entitled “The CCP Central Committee’s Directives on the Current Situation” (October 1950) that announced and explained China’s entry into the Korean War. At that point in time, the paramount leader and the Central Committee were establishing policy for the entire Communist Party.<sup>121</sup>

In 1949 there were 4.5 million Party members—most of them were illiterate peasants who lacked the requisite skills and training to govern new, complex institutions or to solve the myriad problems facing China (Uhalley, 1988).<sup>122</sup> Uhalley (1988) noted the Party cadres found

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<sup>121</sup> The actual decision most likely occurred during a Politburo meeting at Zhongnanhai in early October. Chen (1994) believed that the decision was made during an enlarged Politburo Standing Committee meeting on October 1-2 attended by Mao, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Zhou Enlai, Gao Gang, and Nie Rongzhen. Nie’s (Beijing’s Decision to Intervene) personal account of the process reflects some uncertainty: “After several meetings in early October presided over by Mao, the CCP Central Committee decided to send part of our military forces, to be called the Chinese People’s Volunteer Force, to Korea to fight the Americans ... On October 4 Peng came to Beijing and the next day attended the Politburo’s meeting at Zhongnanhai ... The Central Committee had decided that [Peng Dehuai] would command the volunteers ... On October 13 Chairman Mao and the Central Committee again reaffirmed the necessity of our entry into the Korean War.”

<sup>122</sup> The dramatic rise in the number Party members was recorded as: 57 members in 1921; 40 thousand in 1928; 1.2 million in 1945; and 10.7 million in 1956 (Lewis, 1963). In 2000 there were roughly 61 million members (Associated Press, 2000).

themselves in an environment conducive to “adverse influence, backsliding, and corruption.”<sup>123</sup>

A series of campaigns set out to rectify the problem.

The first post-Common Program domestic rectification policy was the “Campaign for the Elimination of Counterrevolutionaries” in February 1950,<sup>124</sup> which led to mass arrests and trials of “foreign cultural aggressors” and “anti-social elements” (Guillermaz, 1976). For their part, cadres were required to participate in small group discussions and conduct self-criticisms (Wang J. , 2002). The arbitrariness of target selection was probably the most troubling to average Chinese.<sup>125</sup> Mao is purported to have suggested an execution rate of 0.8 percent in towns and 0.6 percent in cities (Guillermaz, 1976). At any rate, the hand of Mao was certainly at work in the Central Committee’s adoption of the policy. In Ladany’s (1988) words, “Behind them all was the august figure of Mao.”

The next major domestic campaign was the More-Production-and-Thrift Campaign, a campaign meant to restore the nation’s economic vitality, which incorporated two subordinate campaigns: the Three-Antis and the Five-Antis Campaigns (Ladany, 1988).<sup>126</sup> The Three-Antis Campaign of 1951 sought to curb corrupt cadre (Party member) conduct that could separate the Party from the people. The Five-Antis Campaign of 1952 was directed at the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie (businessmen) who might corrupt the Party cadre. From the Party’s

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<sup>123</sup> Wang (2002) described “cadres” as the bureaucrats or functionaries who staff the various Party and government agencies. They may fall under the categories of state, local, and military.

<sup>124</sup> Also known as a “Regulation on Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries,” the published document was signed by Mao Zedong as head of the government (Ladany, 1988).

<sup>125</sup> For example, roughly 10,000 people were arrested in Shanghai during one night of terror in April 1950. The accused were brought before crowds of spectators en masse and condemned to punishment, occasionally including summary execution (Guillermaz, 1976). Zhou Enlai estimated over 28,000 executions and 89,000 arrests were made in Guangdong Province over a 10 month period in 1950.

<sup>126</sup> Ladany (1988) associated the decision to conduct the Three-Antis and Five-Antis Campaigns with the Third Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee held in June 1950. Lieberthal and Dickson (1989) noted that the plenum “called for the overall rectification, consolidation, and development of the party.”



perspective, these early campaigns had a generally positive effect. Teiwes (2011) described the Seventh Central Committee's overall success up to 1955:

The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) could look back on the period since 1949 with considerable satisfaction. A strong centralized state had been established after decades of disunity, China's national pride and international prestige had grown significantly as a result of fighting the world's greatest power to a stalemate in Korea, the country had taken major steps on the road to industrialization and achieved an impressive rate of economic growth, the living standards of its people had made noticeable if modest progress, and the nation's social system had been transformed according to Marxist precepts in relatively smooth fashion. (p.6)

Change, however, was in the air. At the Fourth Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee of February 1954,<sup>127</sup> Liu Shaoqi highlighted the lack of understanding of Marxist precepts by Party members of the critically important, but tried to emphasize basic concepts of Party cohesion, collective leadership, and the importance of the Central Committee (Ladany, 1988). Also, for the first time in five years, the Central Committee membership significantly changed at the Fourth Plenum.

Lüthi (2008) noted that the Party's 1954 purge of Gao Gang, the Party leader in Manchuria, and Rao Shushi, the Party leader in Shanghai, remains shrouded in mystery. Both men were on the powerful State Planning Commission led by Gao. Rao was the director of the influential Central Organization Department. Salisbury (1992) aptly described Gao Gang's

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<sup>127</sup> Consistent with the importance of Central Work Conferences, the Fourth (Enlarged) Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee (February 6-10, 1954) was immediately preceded by the Symposia on Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, which was attended by 37 full and alternate members of the Central Committee.

prestige as “Mao’s newly appointed viceroy for the Special Manchurian Economic Region in late 1949.” Teiwes’ (1979) study of the Party’s rectification norms superbly described the Gao-Rao Affair—the first example of post-liberation inner-Party strife.<sup>128</sup> The Fourth Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee of 1954 hailed the defeat of the “Gao Gang-Rao Shushi Antiparty Clique.” Manchuria’s proximity to the Soviet Union and Gao’s working relationship with Stalin made the region a gateway for massive trade and assistance from the Soviets. Mao perceived Gao as a threat to his leadership, citing Gao’s treaties and deals with Stalin as evidence that Gao was building a private, independent kingdom in northeast China. It is generally accepted that Gao challenged Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai, two of Mao’s top lieutenants, but did not intend to usurp Mao’s authority (Leung, 2002). Nevertheless, the removal of Gao, who committed suicide in 1954, and Rao, whose offenses were never made clear, but was officially expelled from the Party in 1955, solidified Mao’s influence while removing the greatest perceived threat to his rule.<sup>129</sup>

The Party’s success during the first half decade of rule stood in stark contrast to the turbulent years to follow; the turbulent years themselves followed regular changes in the

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<sup>128</sup> Teiwes (1979, p. 167) provided a very detailed chapter on the events surrounding the Gao-Rao Affair. He summarized the affair: “The Gao-Rao affair went through three stages. First, the case became a major problem behind the scenes in the latter half of 1953 while Gao and Rao remained active political figures. The second stage began with the February 1954 Fourth Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee which focused on the problem of Party unity and clearly indicated that very high ranking but unnamed cadres had breached this unity... The third stage began with a CCP National Conference in March 1955 which openly denounced Gao and Rao, detailed their “crimes,” and expelled them from the Party.” Teiwes (1979, p. 174) considered the discussion of Party unity at the plenum as key: “a most dangerous kind of conceit” grew among some high ranking members. He continued, “Only Gao and Rao were highly enough placed, however, that their activities could threaten the established leadership.” Teiwes (1979) noted that Gao and Rao’s “political maneuvering” at the financial and economic work conference of June 13-August 12, 1953 was probably out of the Party’s norm for intra-Party behavior and rose to the level of “unacceptable factional activities.” Lieberthal and Dickson (1989, p. 15) noted that “The dispute with Gao Gang and Rao Shushi seems to date back to this meeting, although little specific information is available on the nature of the dispute at this stage.”

<sup>129</sup> The Fifth Plenum of the Seventh Central Committee (April 4, 1955) also promoted Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping to the Politburo (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989).

Central Committee membership that began with the Gao-Rao Affair. In order to describe those changes which surrounded the election of the Eighth Central Committee in September 1956,<sup>130</sup> many China scholars have investigated a number of key factors that might explain the changes in political behavior.

Houn (1957) studied the social and educational background of the Eighth Central Committee of 1956 members to consider the “kinds of influence” they exerted on affairs of the Party and the nation. Houn (1957) observed a “rigid position stratification in a revolutionary movement newly come to power” reflected a top-down decision making process. Chao (1959) also analyzed the 98-member Eighth Central Committee members and found a group of men and women who were relatively young and well-educated. Chao (1959) associated a higher level of political stability and notable organizational skills among its members—skills that would “greatly assist mobilization of the population” with the policy changes that followed. In his dissertation, Moody (1971) concluded that factional alignment in the Eighth Central Committee was the best predictor of intra-Party purges. He later focused his analysis on the influence of the Central Committee’s “institutional authority” and Mao’s “charismatic authority” on the policymaking process (Moody, 1973). The power and influence of the paramount leader and the Central Committee were the most critical factors in studies of the Central Committee in the 1950s and 1960s.

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<sup>130</sup> The First Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee (September 28, 1956) met in Beijing. Ninety-six full members and seventy alternates attended. The plenum created the position of general secretary and the Standing Committee. The Second Plenum was held shortly after, November 10-15, 1956, with 84 full members and 65 alternates to approve of the Soviet Union’s actions toward Hungary. Lieberthal and Dickson (1989) believe Mao spoke at a “preparatory meeting” on October 21, 1956. Twelve plenary sessions were held between 1956 and 1968.

Caldwell's (1980) dissertation described how, from 1949 to 1969, the Party's policy of keeping "top leaders flexible through diverse job assignments and frequent reorganizations" had an overall effect of "increased policy flexibility and improved economic growth." Caldwell (1980) viewed the rotating job assignment policy as the Party's modernization tool and concluded that in the long run job diversity would prevent specialization and division of labor among the Party's elite. Each member's broader base of experiences was associated with a greater tolerance of reform-minded policies and local innovation. Where the preceding scholars related leader attributes and characteristics to policy choices, other scholars were unconvinced.

Some researchers took a restrained view that the Central Committee makes policy. In Klein and Hager's (1971) study of the 170-member Ninth Central Committee of 1969,<sup>131</sup> the authors assumed that the sheer size of the Central Committee "precludes" the possibility that it is a policymaking body. They did believe that the "CC has probably served more as a useful avenue for top policymakers to transmit ideas to the various strata of society and for the same policymakers to receive opinions from below" (Klein & Hager, 1971).<sup>132</sup> In any case, it is clear that policy and decision making took place in the *context* of the members of the Central Committee.

At least one researcher concluded that changes in the Central Committee's membership did not always result in dramatic policy choices. The Tenth Central Committee of 1973

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<sup>131</sup> The First Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee (April 28, 1969) met in Beijing with all 170 full members and 109 alternates. They elected Mao Zedong Chairman and Lin Biao as the sole Vice-chairman. Three plenary sessions were held between 1969 and 1972. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989)

<sup>132</sup> This is sometimes referred to as the "transmission belt" analogy. Their analysis, which considered which Eighth Central Committee members were re-elected to the Ninth Central Committee, led them to conclude that the Ninth Central Committee was "the story of the victors and victims of the Cultural Revolution."

consisted of 195 full members.<sup>133</sup> Harding's (1972) study of China's leadership in the immediate aftermath of the first few, chaotic years of the Cultural Revolution found that policy had "drifted rightward, and ultraleftism has been condemned." Specifically, he believed that 1) basic social, economic, and organizational policies remained undecided and 2) political power was held by an unstable coalition of political forces with divergent political agendas (Harding, 1972). He predicted that the "heterogeneous coalition" would collapse in the face of a crisis or Mao's death. There was, he conceded, an unspecified relationship between an unsettled Central Committee and their indeterminate policy choices. Nevertheless, the Politburo did decide in December 1973 to bring Deng Xiaoping back to Beijing as a full member of the Politburo and Military Affairs Commission (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989). Mao and Zhou Enlai restored him to his position as Vice Premier of the State Council (Salisbury, 1992). In the case of Deng's first rehabilitation, the paramount leader (Mao), his potential competitor (Zhou), and the Central Committee all played key roles in Deng's return in late-1973.<sup>134</sup>

With Mao in rapidly declining health and the Gang of Four holding sway over the Central Committee in 1976, Deng was purged again. Mao's death in September 1976 signaled the end of the Cultural Revolution and the beginning of a remarkable struggle for leadership. Dittmer (1990) provided a superb overview of China's troublesome politics of succession. Although he initially suggested that "Politics among CCP elites remains so free-wheeling and explosive as to defy prediction," it does not defy description. He outlined the various "bases" of power within

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<sup>133</sup> The First Plenum of the Tenth Central Committee (August 30, 1973) met in Beijing. They re-elected Mao as Chairman and four Vice-chairman. Three plenary sessions were held between 1973 and 1977. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989; Lieberthal, 2004 (1995))

<sup>134</sup> After receiving Deng's self-criticism letter of August 1972, Mao directed Zhou Enlai to bring Deng back to Beijing. Zhou circulated a memo from Mao, placing Deng back in favor, to the Central Committee (Vogel, 2011). Nevertheless, Deng's rehabilitation was not complete until the December 1973 meeting of the Politburo—elected by the First Plenum of the Tenth Central Committee in August 1973.

the Central Committee from 1976 to 1978, and observed that Deng Xiaoping came to power because Ye Jianying's base (or cohesive subgroup) was superior, numerically greater and including more influential members, to Hua Guofeng's cohesive subgroup.<sup>135</sup> Despite skillfully getting the PLA leaders to support the arrest and imprisonment of the Gang of Four, Hua Guofeng never exercised true control of the military, whereas Ye Jianying and Deng Xiaoping clearly did.

Changes in policy directions followed changes in the Central Committee membership. A close look at the Eleventh Central Committee of 1977<sup>136</sup> shows Ye's cohesive subgroup (purple nodes) occupied a relatively more central position compared to Hua's cohesive subgroup (light blue nodes) (Figure 3.1).<sup>137</sup> Baum (1994) provided rich historical detail of the struggle for succession that brought Deng to paramount leadership at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of December 1978<sup>138</sup> and left Hua pushed to the side.<sup>139</sup> Nobody was surprised when Deng's power eclipsed Hua's and Deng became the undisputed paramount leader in December 1978. Dittmer (1982) went further and delved into the following struggle between Deng Xiaoping (and the Practice Faction), Wu De (and the Small Gang of Four), and Li

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<sup>135</sup> The proper nomenclature for "cohesive subgroups" is not firmly established. Terms such as k-core, clique, faction, group, subgroup, core, base and gang—as used in this present study—are all intended to refer to the same abstract and larger categorical concept of the cohesive subgroup: a set of actors who are more connected with each other than with other actors in the same network.

<sup>136</sup> The lines were drawn at the Central Work Conference (March 10-22, 1977). The attendees heard reports from Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, and Chen Yun. Hua reportedly tried to prevent Chen's call for Deng Xiaoping's rehabilitation. The Third Plenum of the Tenth Central Committee (July 16-21, 1977) restored Deng to his Party posts. The First Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee (August 19, 1977) met to elect new leadership.

<sup>137</sup> More precisely, Ye Jianying's cohesive subgroup members had degrees of centrality of 24.5%, while members of Hua Guofeng's cohesive subgroup had degrees of centrality of 17.0%.

<sup>138</sup> The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee (December 18-22, 1978) was attended by 169 of the 210 full members and 112 alternates. The plenum called for the end of campaigns to criticize Lin Biao and the Gang of Four and the end of mass campaigns for class struggle. They also established the Central Discipline Inspection Commission (CDIC). (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989)

<sup>139</sup> Hua Guofeng was not purged, but continued to serve in the Central Committee until 2002 when he was not re-elected to the Sixteenth Central Committee. He died in 2008.

Xiannian (and the Petroleum Clique).<sup>140</sup> The consequent policy choices, in general, leaned decisively toward modernization, opening to the West, economic growth and development. The political debate—for the next two decades—centered on how *rapid* that growth and development ought to be.

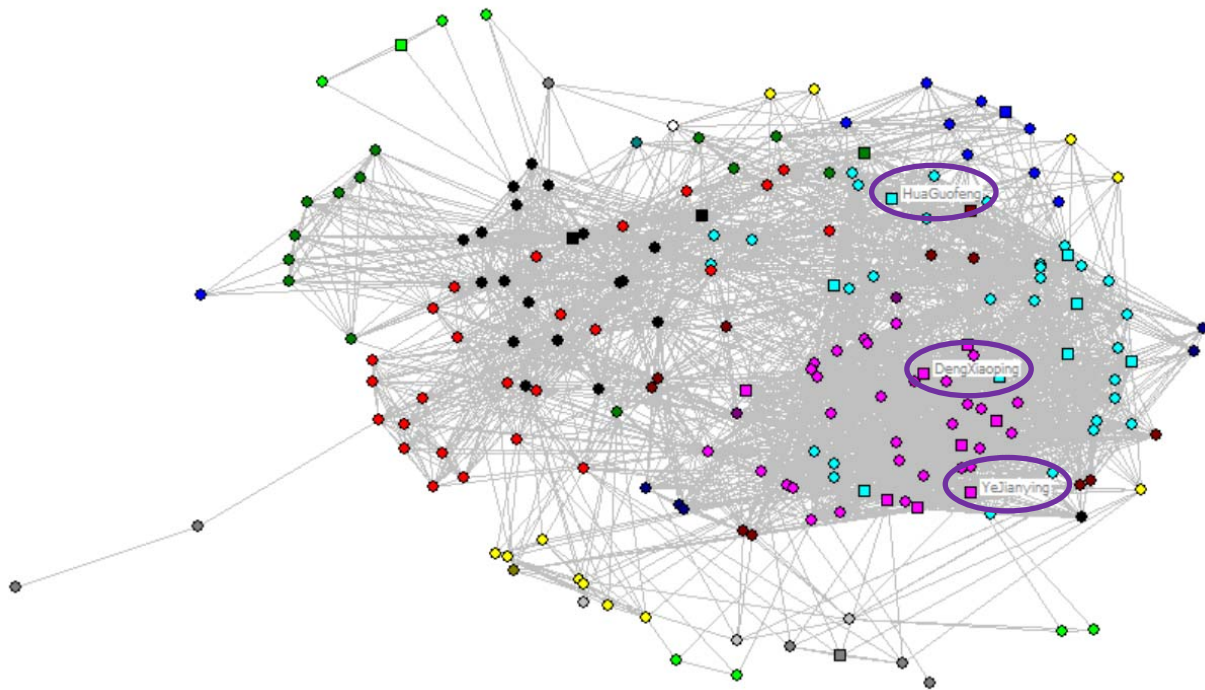


Figure 3.1. Eleventh Central Committee of 1977. Positions of Hua Guofeng (top), Deng Xiaoping (center), and Ye Jianying (bottom) are circled.

There were initially 201 full members elected to the Eleventh Central Committee.

Wortzel (1981) noted how China’s transition from collective (socialist) ownership to private

(capitalist) ownership changed the 1977 Eleventh Central Committee’s “remunerative system”

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<sup>140</sup> The Practice Faction supported Deng Xiaoping’s pragmatic reforms. The Small Gang of Four consisted of CC members Wu De, Chen Xilian, Ji Dengkui, and Wang Dongxing, who generally supported Hua Guofeng and opposed Deng Xiaoping’s reforms. The Petroleum Clique consisted of Li Xiannian, Yu Quili, and Kang Shi’en, who were key advisors to Hua and advocated using profits from the petroleum exports to finance high technology imports from the West.

from one of moral basis to one of material basis. This in turn affected domestic policies regarding “work point” calculations and monthly wage rates of average Chinese, consequently affecting national productivity. Goodman (1981) took a detailed look at the “spectacular” personnel changes that occurred during the Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee in 1981.<sup>141</sup> In that plenum, the Central Committee formally removed Hua Guofeng from the leadership position and placed Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang in control of the Party and the state, respectively.<sup>142</sup> Observe that between 1979 (Figure 3.2) and 1981 (Figure 3.3) Hua gradually shifted to the periphery of the network diagram below while Hu and Zhao became more central within the network structure as new members were added. Goodman (1981) traced the history of Cultural Revolution victims, rehabilitated and returning to the Central Committee, seeking revenge against Cultural Revolution survivors and how that finally played out at the Sixth Plenum. The Cultural Revolution survivors were not purged, indicating a period of rising intra-Party accommodation. A more-or-less gentle Party rectification took place in the early 1980s.

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<sup>141</sup> The Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee (June 27-29, 1981) met in Beijing. There were 195 full members, 114 alternates, and 53 “nonvoting participants” in attendance (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989).

<sup>142</sup> Salisbury (1992, p. 392) wrote: “If anyone wanted to know what Deng hoped for China, he had only go to Sichuan. There in the graveyard of Mao’s communes, Zhao Ziyang was creating a laboratory for economic and social experiment...you got a whiff of what China was going to be like in the year 2000 if Deng’s plan succeeded.”



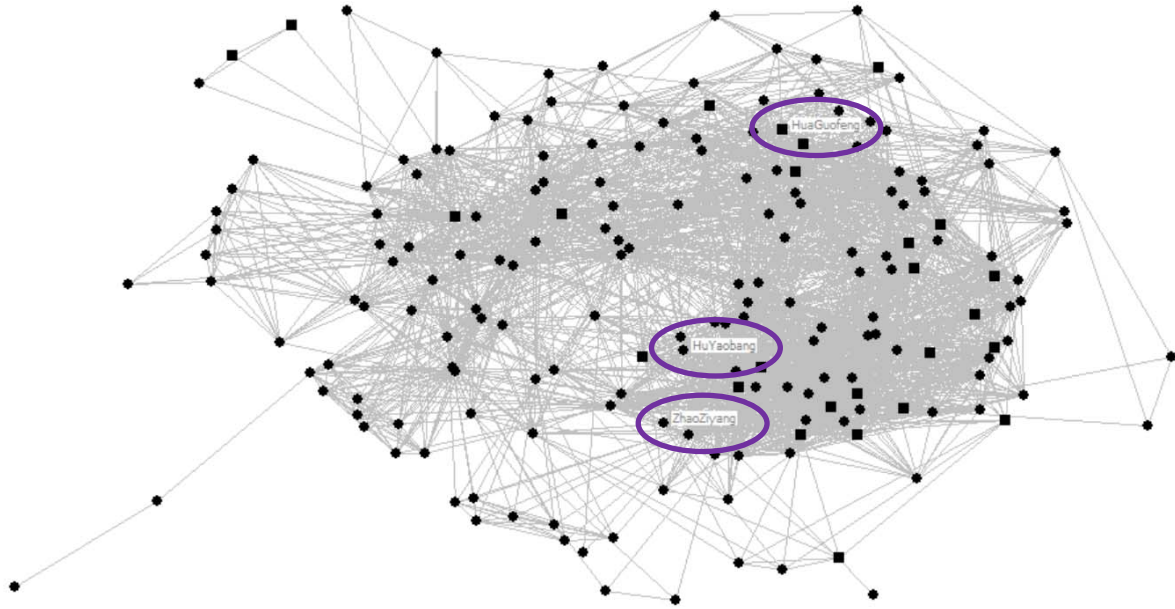


Figure 3.2 Fourth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of 1979. Locations of Hua Guofeng (top), Hu Yaobang (center), and Zhao Ziyang (bottom) are highlighted.

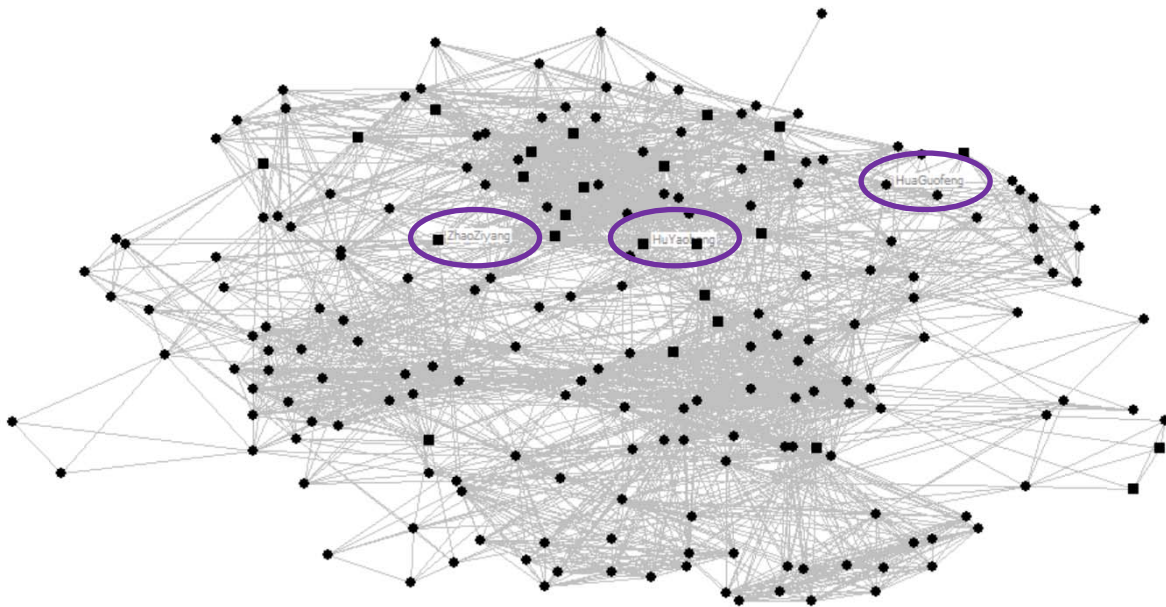


Figure 3.3 Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of 1981. Locations of Hua Guofeng (right), Hu Yaobang (center), and Zhao Ziyang (left) are highlighted.

Dittmer (1983) described the constitutional debates in the Twelfth Congress in 1982 and discussed how that culminated in the election of the 210-member Twelfth Central Committee.<sup>143</sup> Lee (1983) went a step further and analyzed the Twelfth Central Committee itself. Lee (1983) noted that the rise to power of rehabilitated cadres and technocrats signaled the final and abrupt policy shift from revolutionary change to economic development. The rise of the technocrats is one of the most readily apparent changes in the Central Committee since 1982 and Lee (1983) argued the two changes were related (Figure 3.4). (Note how the technocrats (red nodes) generally occupy positions throughout the network.) Many China observers welcomed the promotion of Party leaders who were less ideological and, like Deng, more pragmatic. The greater pervasiveness of the rehabilitated cadres (green nodes) compared to the technocrats (red nodes), however, suggests that the victims of the Cultural Revolution had a greater opportunity to influence policymaking than the technocrats.

Goodman's (1984) analysis of the Second Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee<sup>144</sup> found that the Party's conception of rectification, a policy guiding intra-Party relationships, had changed from one of "mass criticism" to one of "limited democracy." He suggested that the rise of rehabilitated Cultural Revolution victims and the turn toward more humane policies and mechanisms for Party consolidation is not a coincidence. The prevailing focus was on improving intra-Party policies with procedural implications, revamping domestic policies to modernize economic structures, and establishing foreign policies to ensure peaceful coexistence with

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<sup>143</sup> The First Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee (September 12-13, 1982) was attended by all 210 full members and 138 alternates. Sessions of the Central Disciplinary Inspection Commission (CDIC) and the new Central Advisory Commission (CAC) were held in conjunction. Six plenary sessions were held between 1982 and 1986. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989)

<sup>144</sup> The Second Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee (October 11-12, 1982) included 201 full CC members, 136 alternates, 150 members of the CAC, and 124 members of the CDIC. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989)

other countries. To be sure, the influence of the technocrats was not yet sufficient to bring about the massive infrastructure and technically complex projects. The age of the third generation leaders, mostly technocrats, did not come until the 1990s, after the Tiananmen Massacre and after the GPCR victims (and survivors) began to die off.<sup>145</sup>

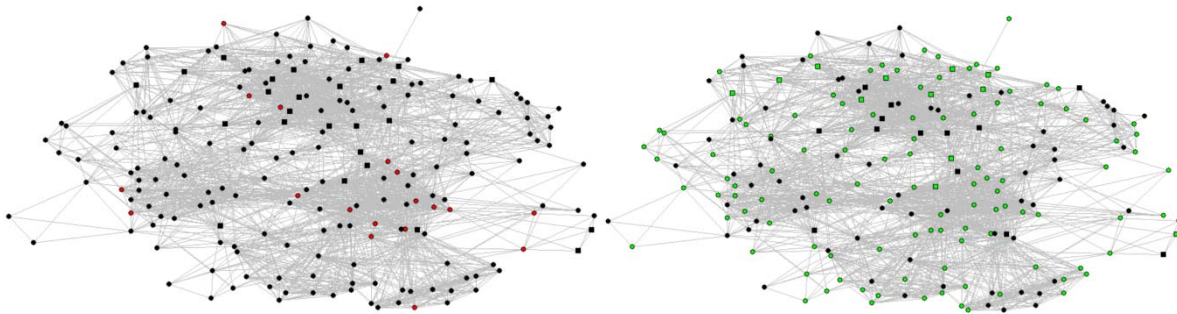


Figure 3.4 Twelfth Central Committee of 1982. The technocrats (red nodes, left) were not as dominant or pervasive as the rehabilitated victims of the Cultural Revolution (green nodes, right).

Changes in leadership have always heralded changes in policies. By the time the Sixth Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee met in September 1986,<sup>146</sup> however, the market reform movement led by Zhao Ziyang had run head-on into the ideological conservatism of Deng Liqun and Hu Qiaomu (Dittmer, 1989).<sup>147</sup> Rampant inflation, “social dislocations,” and “spiritual pollution” exposed the downsides of getting rich quick. The increasingly difficult economic problems also set the stage for conflict between Deng Xiaoping’s remaining champion of reform and Chen Yun’s champions for more stringent centralized planning. After

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<sup>145</sup> Dreyer (2012, p. 141) noted that the *entire* Politburo Standing Committee of the Fourth Generation Leadership had higher education in an engineering discipline.

<sup>146</sup> The Sixth Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee (September 29, 1986) included 199 full CC members, 126 alternates, 161 CAC members, and 122 CDIC members. This plenum was preceded by a five-day preparatory meeting. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989)

<sup>147</sup> Deng Liqun was the Director of the Propaganda Department (1982-1985) and Hu Qiaomu was Mao’s former secretary and Politburo member (1982-1987) (Bartke, 1990).

Deng Liqun and Hu Qiaomu had pushed Hu Yaobang out of the picture in January 1987,<sup>148</sup> they wholeheartedly pressed for Zhao's exit, which came in June 1989.<sup>149</sup>

Some later researchers like Goodman (1984) attributed policy changes to the types of members prevalent in the Central Committee. Li and White (1988) observed that membership changes in the Thirteenth Central Committee of 1987 had significant repercussions on social, economic, and political changes in China.<sup>150</sup> They assigned policy changes to the rise of a new kind of political elite characterized as managers and technocrats. Their analysis was based on biographical data, educational background, career pattern, and occupation. Li and White (1988) applied Technocracy Theory, which suggested that changes in functional needs in society changed values among Party leaders. A comparison of the positions of the technocrats (red nodes) in 1983 with their positions in 1987 is visually striking because the technocrats had come to occupy many positions within the core of a much more cohesive, well-defined, and symmetric policy network (Figure 3.5).

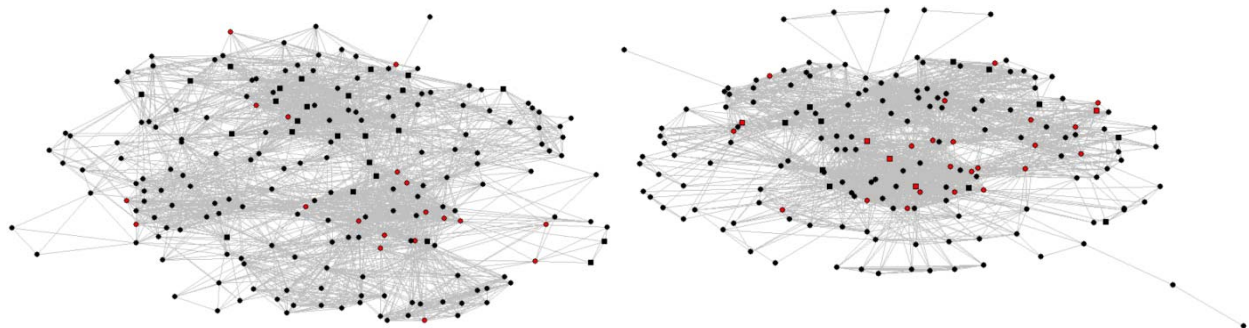


Figure 3.5 Central Committees of 1983 and 1987. The technocrats (red nodes) became more dominant in an increasingly cohesive and well-defined policy network.

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<sup>148</sup> Leung (2002) put it kindly: "He was deposed as general secretary, ostensibly for softness in handling student demonstrators, and in January 1987 he retired in seclusion. Dittmer (1989) noted that Hu Yaobang's clients; Zhu Houzi, Liu Binyan, and Fang Lizhi; were also purged.

<sup>149</sup> Dittmer's (1989) analysis is particularly prescient considering the Tiananmen Massacre was still several months in the future. Zhao Ziyang remained under house arrest until his death in 2005.

<sup>150</sup> The First Plenum of the Thirteenth Central Committee was held November 2, 1987. Nine plenary sessions were held between 1987 and 1992. (Lieberthal, 2004 (1995))

One researcher sought to investigate the rivalries between Central Committee members in order to explain political behavior. Zang (1993) studied the 181 members of the Fourteenth Central Committee of 1992.<sup>151</sup> He called them “the most powerful political figures in Chinese politics.” Zang (1993) described the rivalry between technocrats (defined as economists, engineers, and those in applied sciences) and bureaucrats (defined as cadres in the government system, the Party hierarchy, and mass organizations) as the most important factor in the Central Committee’s policy choices. Similar to Li and White (1988), Zang (1993) analyzed the Central Committee based on demographic data, educational background, and career pattern. He concluded that although the leaders were younger and better educated, there was not a ruling technocracy in China in 1992, so the rivalry forced the two factions to balance their divergent interests.

Li and White (1998), continuing their research focus on the increasingly powerful technocrats, analyzed the 189 members of the Fifteenth Central Committee of 1997.<sup>152</sup> Following the analytical method of Li and White (1988) and Zang (1993), they concluded “The ascent of technocrats to dominance of the leadership is now clearer than ever in the composition of the new Fifteenth Central Committee.” By 1997, the technocrats (red nodes) continued to pervade the now extremely well-defined core at the center of the Central Committee network (Figure 3.6). Li and White (1998) opined that the eras of strong man leadership were at an end and that an era of modern collective leadership had begun. In other

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<sup>151</sup> The First Plenum of the Fourteenth Central Committee was held October 19, 1992. Seven plenary sessions were held between 1992 and 1997. (Lieberthal, 2004 (1995))

<sup>152</sup> The First Plenum of the Fifteenth Central Committee was held September 19, 1997. Seven plenary sessions were held between 1997 and 2002. (Lieberthal, 2004 (1995))

words, the paramount leader (Jiang Zemin) lacked the power and influence to unilaterally determine policies as Mao had. Instead, the Central Committee as a whole had become the most important element in the decision making process.

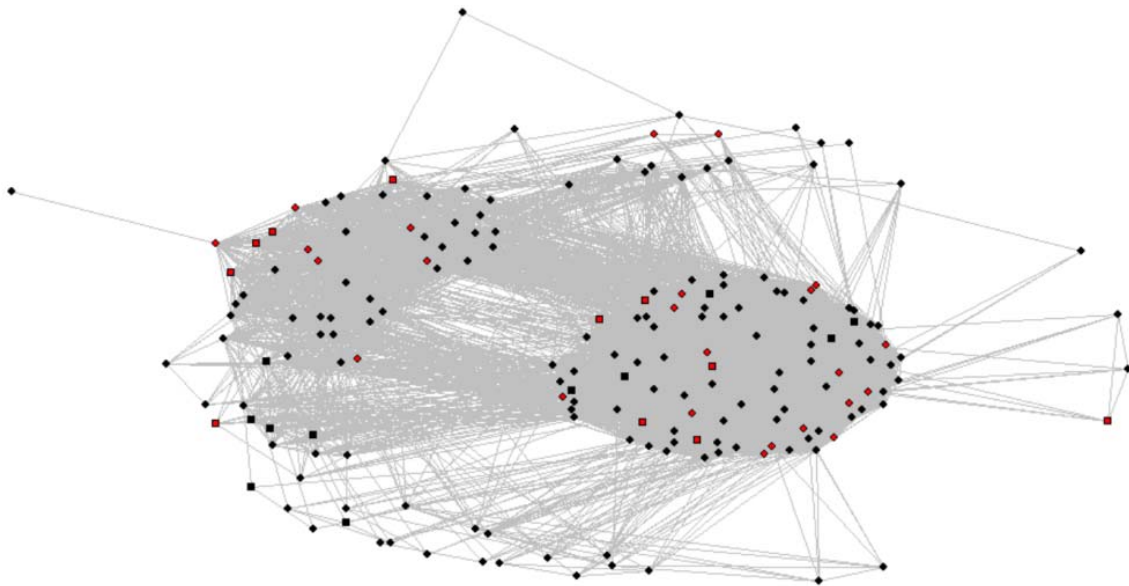


Figure 3.6 The Fifteenth Central Committee of 1997. The technocrats (red nodes) increasingly dominated the very well-defined core of the policy network.

The election of the Sixteenth Central Committee was remarkable because it represented to many the first “peaceful” transfer of power in the history of the People’s Republic of China.<sup>153</sup> Dittmer (2003) considered the Sixteenth Central Committee of 2002 and noted that its 196 full members represented a continuation of Deng Xiaoping’s emphasis on marketization, privatization, and elite civility. He also observed that the Central Committee reflected former paramount leader Jiang Zemin’s contradictory goals of increasing economic reforms and growing state capabilities. Li and White (2003) applied their now standard analytical

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<sup>153</sup> The First Plenum of the Sixteenth Central Committee was held November 5, 2002. Seven plenary sessions were held between 2002 and 2007 (Lieberthal, 2004 (1995))

methodology to look at factionalism in the Sixteenth Central Committee. They inaccurately predicted that the friction between Hu Jintao's "tuanpai officials" and Zeng Qinghong's<sup>154</sup> "Shanghai Gang" would prevent consensus on social and economic policies. The coalitions eventually balanced Party policies with state implementation through the fragmented and complex territorial and functional lines of command that have always distinguished China (Lieberthal, 2004 (1995)).

Bo (2004) also analyzed the 196-member Sixteenth Central Committee but in terms of formal institutions and informal factional groups. He found that provincial-based units emerged as the most powerful institutions in Chinese politics. In terms of informal factional groups, he found that Communist Youth League members formed the basis of the most powerful factional group by a large margin, followed by the Qinghua clique, the Shanghai Gang, and the Princlings.<sup>155</sup> The Princlings were observed to have extremely low cohesion as measured by representation in the Central Committee. There was, nevertheless, a pronounced sense of intra-Party balance and a preference for a political environment marked by compromise. The relatively un-dramatic transfer of power and election of a new president, a new prime minister, and a new Central Committee in 2002 was followed by the continuation of domestic economic reforms and a foreign policy of increasing engagement.

Fewsmith's (2008) study of the 204-member Seventeenth Central Committee of 2007<sup>156</sup> recalled that Chinese political observers believed that China had reached a decision point very

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<sup>154</sup> Zeng Qinghong was a client of Jiang Zemin and promoted Jiang's policies after the 2002 election. Jiang Zemin, for his part, remained Chairman of the Central Military Commission until September 2004.

<sup>155</sup> The name Princlings, also known as the Crown Prince Party, refers to the children of prominent and powerful Party leaders. They do not constitute a formal political faction, coalition, or party.

<sup>156</sup> The First Plenum of the Seventeenth Central Committee was held October 22, 2007. Seven plenary sessions were held between 2007 and 2012.

similar to the one it faced in 1978, that is, finding a balance between rapid economic development and the need for political reform. Hu Jintao attempted to thread the needle with his call for an “organic integration of CCP leadership of the people as masters of the country and the rule of law” (Fewsmith, 2008). The factional difficulties of the Sixteenth Central Committee extended into the Seventeenth Central Committee with the promotion of Zeng Qinghong’s protégés He Guoqiang and Zhou Yongkang to the Politburo Standing Committee. Hu Jintao’s protégé Li Keqiang, who became Premier in late 2012, was also promoted to the Standing Committee in 2007. Fewsmith (2008) noted that the promotion of Xi Jinping, elected Party leader in late 2012 and son of Party elder Xi Zhongxun,<sup>157</sup> to the Standing Committee represented the selection of a compromise candidate. Xi Jinping did not appear to be aligned with either Hu Jintao, who stepped down in 2012, or Zeng Qinghong, who retired in 2008.<sup>158</sup> The propagation of cliques or factions from one Central Committee to the next suggests that the policy choices will continue to reflect the need for compromise and accommodation at all policy levels.

The preceding section reviewed literature relevant to connecting specific changes in specific Central Committees with general changes in policy choices. Wherever possible, I tried to make reference to thematic policies—at the intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policy levels—associated with each Central Committee. In the following sections, I will review scholarly works that attempted to connect general changes over the long course of time with particular changes or trends in the Central Committee’s policy decisions.

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<sup>157</sup> Vogel (2011, pp. 394-418) captured Xi Zhongxun’s pivotal role as the Guangdong Provincial Party Secretary in opening China to the international economy beginning in 1978.

<sup>158</sup> Li (2012) noted that Xi Jinping “is widely considered to be a protégé of both” Jiang Zemin and Zeng Qinghong.



### *Earlier Empirical Studies*

Much of the extant literature on Chinese politics is empirical in nature. This is the natural result of the secretive, isolationist, and sometimes xenophobic world view long held by Chinese for millennia. Communist China has been no different, keeping a great deal of its archival material secret. There is a great deal of information that remains unavailable, information that would add rich detail and context to our knowledge of the Party. The relative paucity of data on China's political machinations has not prevented scholars from theorizing about how policies are made.

Dreyer (2012), who conceded that not much is known about the internal workings of Chinese politics, outlined several leading theories about Chinese political decision making. She noted that leading paradigms have changed with the times. During the early years of the People's Republic, many scholars turned to the "totalitarian model," which suggested that policy decisions were made consensually by a harmonious Party elite dominated by Mao. Nathan (1973) described the nature of elite, intra-Party relations as the "opinion group" model: a discussion between opinion groups within a consensual policymaking organization with no organized force, *a la* Mao, behind them. The opinion group model adequately described Party politics before Mao rose to preeminence, but certainly not after. The opinion group model captured the force of organizational constraints on collective political behavior.

Dreyer (2012) continued with an extension of the totalitarian model, the "generational school," which argued that the views and interests of Party leaders were shared because they experienced common military, political, and economic crises. Whitson and Huang's (1973) study of military generations is a good example of this model. Another similar theory was the

“strategic interaction school,” which stressed the shared national experience of China’s century of humiliation as *the* motivating factor in policymaking. The common thread between the generational and the strategic interaction school is the concept that shared experience(s) led to converging interests.

Several more theories were generated in light of the catastrophic Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. “Factional models” considered patron-client ties as the primary medium of exchanging goods and favors that resulted in connections of loyalty and obligation among faction members (Pye, 1981; Shih, Shan, & Liu, 2010a). This model is consistent with my interpretation of *guanxi* ties as incipient or gateway relationships.

Referring to the early years of the Cultural Revolution period, Nathan (1973) observed that the “Mao-in-command” model was a valid interpretation of a policy process used by Mao to identify and purge those who would challenge Mao’s preeminence. The “central-regional school” mentioned by Dreyer (2012) emphasized personal affiliations between leaders in Beijing and their supporters who controlled the provinces. Another version of these schools of thought was the “political-cultural school,” which held that the central issue in the Party’s decision making politics was an echo of China’s late-nineteenth century *ti-yong*<sup>159</sup> struggle to assimilate Western technology without destroying China’s long cultural fabric. That school’s simple division of the Party elite into only two camps led to the great difficulty of lumping everyone into one of those camps.

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<sup>159</sup> The *ti-yong* idea came from the Chinese words *ti*, meaning “essence,” and *yong*, meaning “practical use.” The full phrase is generally translated as “Chinese learning should remain the essence, but Western learning be used for practical development” (Spence, 1990).

In the post-Mao era, several new theories were proposed to explain China's changing political behavior. The "pluralist paradigm" argued that China's move toward a market economy pulled Chinese politics away from its ideological and totalitarian traditions toward greater tolerance for pluralistic competition (Dreyer, 2012). The "civil society paradigm" suggests that interest groups are emerging as citizens feel free to voice dissatisfaction with the Party, the government, and even the elite leadership (Dreyer, 2012). Societal norms engendered Party accountability. The "communist neo-traditionalism model" posits that distinctive communist institutions shape patterns of association and political behavior via the development of instrumental personal ties (Dreyer, 2012). Each of these post-Mao theories attempted to reflect the end of distinctly unilateral policymaking by a powerful paramount leader.

Two strictly historical studies are relevant to this present research. The first is Johnston's *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (1995) in which he examined the role of strategic culture in Chinese political behavior. Johnston (1995) detected "consistent and persistent historical patterns in the way particular states (or state *elites*) think about the use of force for political ends." Johnston (1995) focused on how strategic traditions are ideational influences on China's policymaking. The heart of Johnston's (1995) method was his use of cognitive mapping to describe Chinese roots of strategy. Johnston's (1996) chapter "Cultural Realism and Strategy in Maoist China" in Katzenstein's famous edited volume applied cognitive mapping to specific policy outcomes. The cognitive map tracing the Party's policy on the creation of an anti-Japanese United Front with the Guomindang in 1938 suggested the ideational influence of "defeating Japan" on the Party's decision to make "concessions to the

GMD.” Snyder’s (1977) earlier groundbreaking report on Soviet strategic culture paved the way for Johnston’s (1995) work and suggested that “attitudes and beliefs ... set the parameters of strategic debate” and that within a culture subcultures could exist. Johnston’s (1995, 1996) works led to the conclusion that *people* with certain political bents *influence* and persuade *decision makers*.

The second historical study worth noting is Swaine and Tellis’ (2000) *Interpreting China’s Grand Strategy*. The authors presented a comprehensive examination of China’s past, present, and future national security strategy. Swaine and Tellis (2000) identified and analyzed the major factors determining China’s grand strategy and strategic behavior. They proposed a “weak-strong state theory” that suggests that either strong, charismatic leaders focused on ideological issues domestically and were risk-acceptant in international politics or collective leadership focused on “minimal policy consensus” and pursued risk-averse foreign policies. The primary factor was whether the country was ruled by a single, strong leader or by a collective leadership group. A variation of their theory suggested that the absence of formal leaders with informal influence was associated with pragmatic domestic policies and engagement abroad.

In a similar vein, Adam and Kriesi’s (2007) purely theoretical approach predicted that the distribution of power within a policy network intersects with the characteristic type of interaction between leaders to produce the likelihood of policy change (Figure 3.7). For example, if power is fragmented during a cooperative period, then the network is predisposed toward maintenance of the policy status quo. Their model is fully reproduced below. (Adam & Kriesi, 2007, p. 145):

Distribution of Power	Type of Interaction		
	Conflict	Bargaining	Cooperation
Concentration	Moderate potential for rapid shift	Low to moderate potential for incremental change	Low potential for change--maintenance of status quo
Fragmentation	High potential for rapid shift	Moderate to high potential for incremental change	Low to moderate potential for change--maintenance of status quo

Figure 3.7 Adam and Kriesi's (2007) typology predicted the likelihood of policy change.

Adam and Kriesi's (2007) work preceded this current study's conceptual link between the distribution of interpersonal influence within a policy network and that group's intra-organizational policies. Power resides in relationships and group behavior may be explained by the distribution of power (Adam & Kriesi, 2007). The connection between power relationships and the probability and timing of policy changes is plausible.

#### *Earlier Network Analysis Studies*

Although the present research is original in its use of a new dataset to compare the Central Committee's social network structure with the Central Committee's policies, some scholarly works have in part brought together elements of this present study: social network analysis, *guanxi*, and the CCP Central Committee. Three of those studies are reviewed here. The first example is Wellman, Chen, and Dong's (2002) "Networking *Guanxi*" cited earlier. The authors noted that "The fit between network analysis and *guanxi* is tight." They believed that social network analysis can illuminate different aspects of multi-person *guanxi* networks. Network analyses, they stated, can follow relationships between people or within institutions. Wellman, Chen, and Dong (2002) suggested that within network structures, the "personal networks" of individuals show how different types of relationships affect the flow of *guanxi* to

the “focal person” at the center of each network. In other words, a network defined by different relational ties can be parsed to reveal sub-networks with different structural characteristics. Their study, however, did not discuss the implications of knowing who the “focal person” is and how that might be related to non-trivial phenomena such as collective behavior or policymaking.

The second network analysis study of interest is Guo’s (2001) study entitled *Dimensions of Guanxi in Chinese Elite Politics*, which suggested how “*Guanxi* has been embodied in the behavior of the Party elite since the early days of the CCP and has become a significant part of the organizational culture.” As with Wellman, Chen, and Dong (2002), Guo (2001) used *guanxi* as the basis for drawing the outline of a social network. In this case, Guo (2001) went a step further and honed in on Chinese political networks. The importance of *guanxi* among all Chinese—especially China’s political elite—is profound. Guo (2001) continued:

The volatility of Chinese politics encouraged the political elite to rely on personal relationships to get things done and promoted a culture of mutual dependence and moral obligation among the elite and between the elite and their subordinates. In a context in which a political campaign and specific people could advance or ruin a career, members of the elite have carefully cultivated relationships of trust with selected “activists” from among Party members, and through them have entrenched their control over Party organizations. (p.70)

Guo (2001) used case studies to demonstrate the role of *guanxi* ties in elite politics. For example, he observed that the dismissal of Peng Dehuai during the 1959 Lushan Plenum was followed by the purge of Deng Hua, Hong Xuezhong, and Wan Yi because of their close personal

ties with Peng. Another example is from 1968 when Lin Biao's faction cooperated with the Gang of Four to attack Nie Rongzhen, and Nie's clients Yang Chengwu and Fu Congbi became prime targets as well. Deng Xiaoping is alleged to have had *guanxi* with some surprising people. Interestingly, Guo (2001) asserted that Gao Gang cultivated his relationship with Deng by "offering Deng an attractive position as a Party vice-chair" in 1953.<sup>160</sup> Guo (2001) attributed intra-Party political maneuvering to *guanxi* ties.

### *Shih, Shan, and Liu's Study*

The last study reviewed here represents the single most similar research for my own study. Improving upon their work is a primary motivation for this research paper. Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) published "Gauging the Elite Political Equilibrium in the CCP: A Quantitative Approach Using Biographical Data" in *The China Quarterly* and Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010b) chapter "The Central Committee, Past and Present" discussed the former article in *Contemporary Chinese Politics: New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies* edited by Carlson, Gallagher, Lieberthal, and Manion.<sup>161</sup>

In the introduction to the edited volume, the editors praised Shih, Shan, and Liu for bringing "more rigor to the study of elite politics" by developing a "comprehensive database of the Chinese leadership dating back to the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921."<sup>162</sup>

The authors mentioned a data set they created by coding biographical information about

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<sup>160</sup> They had a *guanxi* tie based on educational level. Guo (2001) also observed that Deng Xiaoping and Kang Sheng "developed good *guanxi* with each other despite the fact that Kang was widely hated by the majority of the elite." Their relationship formed during ideological debates with the Soviet Union during the early 1960s. As I will demonstrate, the network diagram based on *guanxi* relationships for 1961 is consistent with Guo's (2001) observation.

<sup>161</sup> Their study appeared earlier that year in *The China Quarterly* (Shih, Shan, & Liu, 2010a).

<sup>162</sup> Shih, Shan, Liu's (2010a, 2010b) database is not available. Final research data related to this dissertation will be made available to the public in accordance with prevailing standards and practices.

individual Central Committee members from 1921 to 2007. They also wrote their own statistical algorithm to analyze their data. It is difficult to address the comprehensiveness of their data as it is not available for academic scrutiny.

The Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) study used statistical analysis software to analyze their data to derive an indicator of “how influential the official heads of the CCP were in the CCP elite, as represented by the Central Committee, over time.” Relational ties to the Party leader were based on similarities of gender, birth year, birth province, jobs held, “and so on.” Furthermore, a member’s personal influence was based on the number of ties (shared experiences and characteristics) that he shared *only* with the Party leader—and no one else. The Party leader’s own strength was calculated based on the number of ties he had with other Central Committee members and was referred to as the Party Secretary General Influence (PSGI) indicator.<sup>163</sup> They also evaluated the strengths of Central Committee support bases (“factional influence indicator”) during the same time period based on the number of ties a faction’s members shared with the Party leader. Finally, they conducted a basic analysis of contemporary politics to check that their indicators matched qualitative observations.

Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) concluded that from 1921 to 2007 the Party consolidated to a large degree around its formal leaders during the period of struggle and great expansion between 1931 and 1956. Among other things, the authors argued 1) that Mao’s influence in the Central Committee peaked in 1943, 2) Mao’s influence declined significantly at the Eighth Central Committee in 1956, and 3) the factions led by Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping gained significant influence in the Central Committee in 1956. One objective of this present study is to

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<sup>163</sup> I use the title “General Secretary,” whereas Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) refer to the “Secretary General.” Readers should keep in mind that we are referring to the same office.



contradict Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) findings, which I do in the Conclusions. Also, although Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) focused on a trend analysis of the relative strength of rival factions in the Central Committee, they did not attempt to find any statistical correlation with any of the Central Committee's policies. Whereas Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) calculated a Central Committee member's importance with respect to only the chairman, this present study calculates each Central Committee member's importance relative to *all* other Central Committee members, which I argue is a more accurate reflection of influence.

The Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) study was based on a methodological interpretation of Party history that is, I argue, generally erroneous. They identified the Party Secretary General and his Challengers during the period in question (Table 3.1). The Party Secretary General's Influence (PSGI) represents the importance of the formal Party leaders in their study. Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) assert the Party leaders were: Chen Duxiu (1921-1927), Qu Qiubai (1928), Xiang Zhongfa (1929-1931), Qin Bangxian (1932-1934), Zhang Wentian (1935-1942), Mao Zedong (1943-1976), Hua Guofeng (1977-1981), Hu Yaobang (1982-1986), Zhao Ziyang (1987-1989), Jiang Zemin (1990-2002), and Hu Jintao (2003-2012). Their decision to conflate the formal leader with the paramount leader requires the belief that formal power trumped informal power. This is an invalid assumption, especially during the Deng era.

Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) did not make a compelling argument that Hua Guofeng was the paramount leader following the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee. As discussed earlier, Deng Xiaoping had risen to paramount leadership in December 1978 and Hua's power was titular. Their claim that either Hu Yaobang or Zhao Ziyang was preeminently important requires the suspension of disbelief because it requires us to accept that Deng

Xiaoping was merely a *potential* challenger, as asserted by Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a), to his own political lieutenants. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Potential challengers or successors' centrality as measured by Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) represents the importance of the potential challenger to the Party Secretary General or Chairman, but not in the context of the Central Committee as a whole. Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) assert they were: Mao Zedong (1935-1942), Liu Shaoqi (1943-1966), Lin Biao (1967-1971), Hua Guofeng (1972-1976), Deng Xiaoping (1977-1994), Hu Jintao (1995-2002), and Zeng Qinghong (2003-2006). The assertion that Hua Guofeng challenged Mao or that Hu Jintao challenged Jiang Zemin is not credible.

Table 3.1 Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) Leaders and Challengers

Year	Party Sec'y or Chairman	Potential Challenger/Successor
1921	Chen Duxiu	not stated
1928	Qu Qiubai	
1929	Xiang Zhongfa	
1932	Qin Bangxian	
1935	Zhang Wentian	Mao Zedong
1943	Mao Zedong	Liu Shaoqi
1967		Lin Biao
1972		Hua Guofeng
1977	Hua Guofeng	Deng Xiaoping
1982	Hu Yaobang	
1987	Zhao Ziyang	
1990	Jiang Zemin	
1995		Hu Jintao
2003	Hu Jintao	Zeng Qinghong

In Chapter Five - Research Design, I will go into some depth to explain why my identification of paramount leaders and their nearest potential competitors is a more valid conception of elite Chinese politics. I will also show that China's political elite did not operate in a vacuum, as implied by Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a), but made decisions while deeply embedded in the context of the entire Central Committee. All three elements—paramount leader, potential competitor, and the Central Committee—are crucial to understanding and explaining the policy outcomes.

## Chapter Four - Theory

As noted at the end of the Introduction, political science seeks to explain probabilistic human behavior by simplified abstractions of complex realities. In that sense, this chapter presents a dynamical theory of policy networks that simplifies reactive decision making by policymakers and abstracts social network structures. Physicist Albert Einstein averred, “It is the theory which decides what we can observe” (Rhodes, 1986). A dynamical theory of policy networks should help us observe an aspect of China’s policymaking process. The gold standard of general theory development requires balancing depth and breadth, accuracy and parsimony while still maintaining logic and achieving innovation (Gerring, 2001). As Gaddis (2002) observed, generalizations are “compressions and distillations of the past in order to make it usable in the future.” Scientist Gerring (2001) and historian Gaddis (2002) came to the same conclusion that in trading off literal and abstract interpretations of the past, it is impossible to find deterministic cause-effect relationships. A dynamical theory of policy networks can only hope to find, in the words of Gaddis (2002), “that science, history, and art have something in common: they all depend on metaphor, on the recognition of patterns, on the realization that something is “like” something else.”

### *A Dynamical Theory of Policy Networks*

This chapter introduces a dynamical theory of policy networks which posits that the *rate of change* of leaders’ centrality and the Central Committee’s centralization influences the probability of certain types of policy outcomes.<sup>164</sup> Mann (1993) speculated: “If social actors

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<sup>164</sup> Measures of network structure characteristics can be formally defined. An individual’s centrality ( $C_{n_i}$ ) is the proportion of the number of relational ties ( $d(n_i)$ ) that an individual ( $n_i$ ) has with other members of the network

become aware of ongoing structural transformations, they may seek to resist them.” Changes in network structures engender certain behaviors. Given that *guanxi* relations are inherent qualities of the Central Committee members, there are two basic ways for structural changes in the network to occur.

First, new members with desirable relational characteristics or attributes are elected (or preferentially selected) to the Central Committee. Second, existing members with undesirable relational characteristics are removed from the Central Committee. The primary mechanisms to accomplish the former are the election of a new Central Committee and promotions of alternate members. The traditional method of accomplishing the latter is through purging or retirement. Riker (1962) observed that victorious actors eliminate defeated ones and do not allow undesirable replacements to rise. The result is what Riker (1962) calls “practical disequilibrium.” Drastic changes in membership through either scheduled elections or political turmoil entail significant changes in the Central Committee’s network structure.

It is important to take a step back now to understand at this point how these concepts are visualized because social network analysis is, at its heart, a visual science. An *individual* with a relational tie to all other members of a group has *centrality* equal to 1.0 (Carrington, Scott, & Wasserman, 2005). Graphically, he appears at the center of the star-shaped group (Figure 4.1,

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to the size of the group minus one ( $g - 1$ ) (Equation 1). Similarly, a group’s centralization ( $C_*$ ) is the sum of differences between the largest individual centrality ( $C_{n_*}$ ) and each member’s centrality ( $C_{n_i}$ ) divided by a function of the group size ( $(g - 1)(g - 2)$ ) (Equation 2).

$$C_{n_i} = \frac{d(n_i)}{g - 1}$$

Equation 1. Individual centrality. Adapted from (Wasserman & Faust, 2009 (1994))

$$C_* = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^g [C_{n_*} - C_{n_i}]}{[(g - 1)(g - 2)]}$$

Equation 2. Group centralization. Adapted from (Wasserman & Faust, 2009 (1994))

left in red). A *group* whose members all have relational ties to all other members has *centralization* equal to 1.0 (Carrington, Scott, & Wasserman, 2005). Graphically, the network takes on a circular structure (Figure 4.1, right). (The accepted nomenclature associates individual with *centrality* and associates group with *centralization*.) The structure completely changes when members and connections are added.

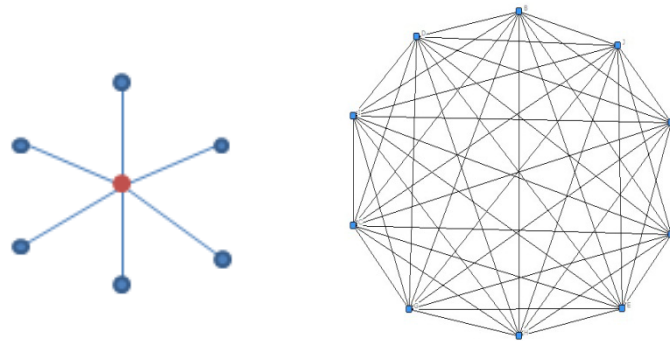


Figure 4.1 Examples of networks where only one member has connections with all others (left) and where every member is connected to every other member (right).

The group network portrayed on the right with centralization equal to 1.0 can be modified by replacing some members such that the centralization is reduced to 0.5. In other words, a network where only half of the possible relational ties exist is created. Graphically, the modified network structure assumes a more elliptical appearance (Figure 4.2). I have made the members (or nodes) occupying the *foci* locations appear red and yellow to facilitate the development of my theory, which follows later. (These two members at the foci have high centrality with respect to the subgroups lumped at each end of the elliptical structure.) The subgroups, although partially connected are two distinctly different groups within the network.

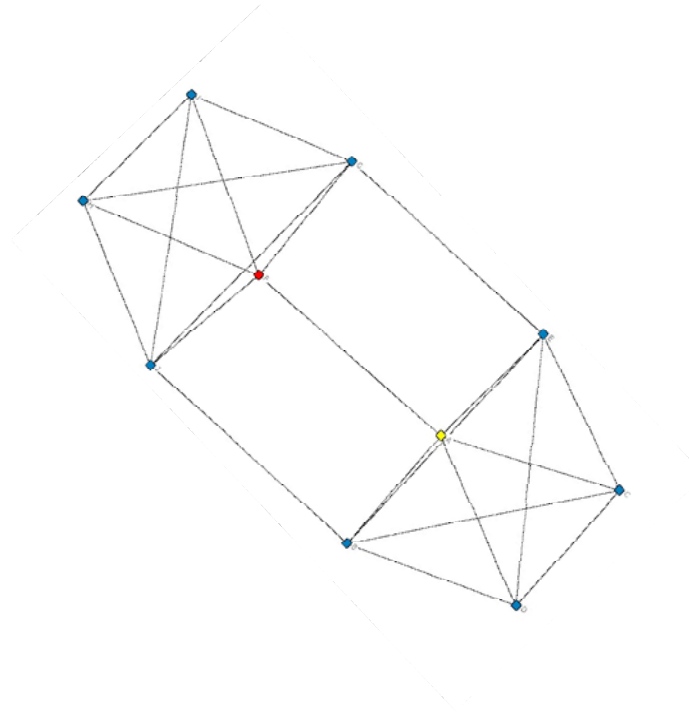


Figure 4.2 Example of a decentralized network where half of the possible connections are present.

The bifurcation of the network into two subgroups is deliberate. By creating two contending subgroups, factions, or cliques, the polarized network more accurately represents real political networks. The Party has long had the slogan: “The whole life of the Party has been a struggle between two lines” (Guillermaz, 1976). The two lines represented the divergent or opposing perspectives and the two different political paths available to the Party. For example, the “Liu-Deng line,” despised by Maoists in the 1960s for its capitalist persuasions, and the more ideologically, but vague, acceptable “mass line” represented two contending lines.

Lying between these two lines or perspectives is room for political compromise. Downs (1957) portrayed policymakers’ preferences as lying along a 1-dimensional, straight-line scale and argued that competition in a traditional two-party political system would cause each party to move towards its opponent ideologically. The idea is that as a political party moderates its

position and moves toward the center, the leader articulating that political position “captures” a greater share of the policy network or selectorate.

Expanding that idea into a 2-dimensional policy space, Tsebelis’ (2002) Veto Player Theory argues that policymakers exist in a policy space as points—much like the red and yellow actors in the network in Figures 4.2 and 4.3. The full range of acceptable policies circumscribes a “circular indifference curve,” defined in part, by the status quo (Tsebelis, 2002). In other words, politicians consider the policy choices within their circle to be acceptable alternatives. The area of overlap between two policymakers represents a “winset” or a set of alternative policies potentially preferable to the status quo (Figure 4.3). I use the term *bargaining space* because it represents the whole set of acceptable (but vague) policy alternatives which both policymakers might consider reasonable.

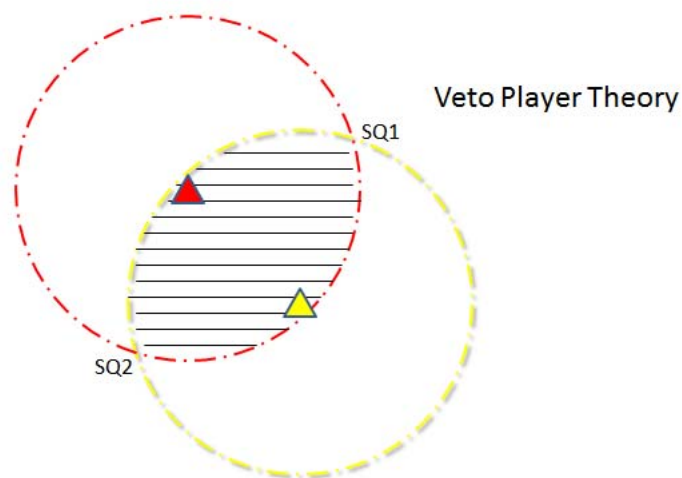


Figure 4.3 Tsebelis’ (2002) Veto Player Theory. Presentation of two actors and how the intersection of their indifference curves define their 2-dimensional bargaining space.



By combining abstract graphical representations of the network structures introduced earlier with Tsebelis' (2002) Veto Player Theory, the following construction is made below (Figure 4.4). The light blue ellipse represents the entire Central Committee in policy space. The two (red and yellow) members are the competing leaders of each of the factions, which are the portions of the ellipse on the same side of the status quo line as the leader. For the remainder of this chapter, I call the "red" member the paramount leader and the "yellow" member his nearest potential competitor.

The perfectly centralized policy network (dashed blue line, circle) is used as a reference to highlight the degree to which the Central Committee (solid blue line, ellipse) is decentralized. I call the penumbral (dark blue) portion of the ellipse extending beyond the ideal circle the factional base of each faction—representing the elements of their faction most committed to that faction's political line. The more decentralized the policy network becomes, the larger the penumbral regions grow, which translates to greater divergence in preferred policy between the two factions and the diminishing of the whole bargaining space.

The bargaining space, the cross-hatched area of overlap in the figure, is bounded by each leader's indifference curve and the ellipse. The bargaining space is also notably constrained by the Central Committee's members—restricting the bargaining space based on the Central Committee's level of decentralization. The more decentralized the Central Committee is, holding the paramount leader's and potential competitor's positions constant, the smaller the bargaining space becomes. Decentralization subsequently leads to a diminishing likelihood of the two factions finding political compromise. The blue (dashed line) circle, representing the ideal condition of perfect cohesion and full centralization, is included in all of

the following graphics for reference—allowing us to visually judge the degree of elongation and decentralization of the Central Committee network.

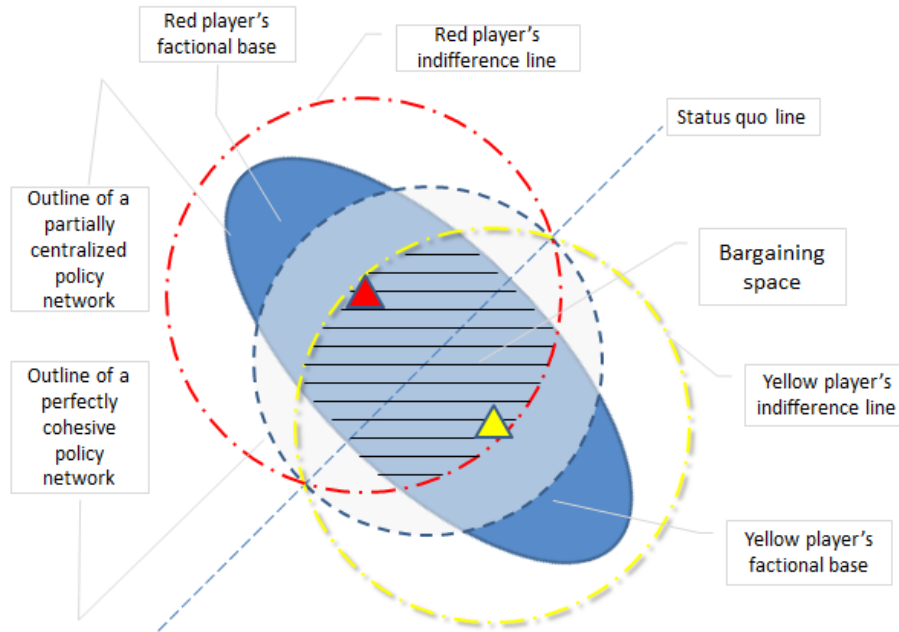


Figure 4.4 Construction of the model for the dynamical theory of policy networks.

Individual centrality is a measure of a member’s importance and his ability to influence other members. Centrality, reported as a percentage, is calculated by dividing the number of members he is connected to by the total number of other network members. Connections serve as the basis for improving their relationship or for using the relationship to transact favors or goods. In general, centrality is a measure of a person’s power in their network. Similar to *guanxi*, it represents their ability to get things done and reach goals presumably in their own self-interest.

Group centralization is a measure of the overall coherence of the entire network.

Friedkin (1984) examined the use of network cohesion to explain the emergence of consensus

among members of a group. Members of highly centralized groups easily communicate with many others in the network. Networks in which its members cohere are more tightly connected and are able to efficiently coordinate the collective effort to accomplish goals. In general, centralization represents how far apart the factions are from each other—the more decentralized the entire network is, the smaller the bargaining space and opportunities for compromise become.

I extend the concept of the basic static network measures of individual centrality and group centralization—strictly speaking, they all tell us something about the network structure—to define measures of *dynamic* changes in the network—which will lead to my dynamical theory. Leader centrality changes when members with *guanxi* connections join or leave the Central Committee. The Central Committee’s network structure inevitably changes due to deaths, retirements, and elections. By calculating the changes in centrality and centralization between one year and the preceding year, the annual *rate of change* in centrality and centralization is known.<sup>165</sup>

The dynamical theory of policy networks suggests that the rate of centrality change implies changes to the size of the bargaining space and therefore influences the probability of certain types of policy outcomes. Greater centrality and centralization, in general, results in an increasing overlap of indifference curves and a larger bargaining space (Figure 4.4). Shifts

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<sup>165</sup> The equations for the rates of change for individual centrality and group centralization are shown in the following Equations 3 and 4, respectively.

$$V_{n_i} = \frac{dC_{n_i}}{dt}$$

Equation 3. Rate of change in individual centrality.

$$V_* = \frac{dC_*}{dt}$$

Equation 4. Rate of change in group centralization.

toward greater centrality and centralization result in collective decision-making and cooperative policies. Shifts away from centrality and centralization result in intra-party strife and coercive policies. Decreasing centrality and centralization, in general, results in a smaller bargaining space. The concept is graphically stated below (Figure 4.5).

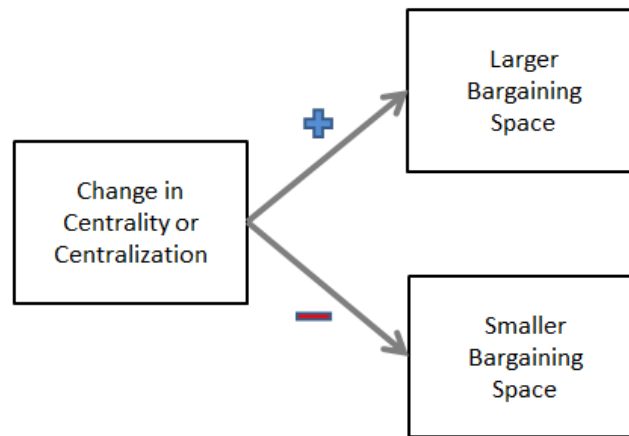


Figure 4.5 Concept relating network structure changes to bargaining space.

Any decrease in individual centrality is a loss in political power because he is moving away from the status quo line and center. Similarly, treating the Central Committee as a key actor with a collective sense of being, the decrease in group centralization is a loss of capability for the Central Committee. What are typical human responses to perceived gains or losses? How are perceptions of gains or losses connected to policy choices? Lieberthal and Oksenberg (1988) noted, "Groups who share *guanxi* are not totally cohesive; they are marked by internal rivalries. Loyalties may change, and clients of one patron may shift to others if the client believes the first patron is losing his capacity to fulfill his obligations."

Kahneman and Tversky's (2000(1979)) Nobel Prize winning Prospect Theory posits that decision-makers faced with uncertainty evaluate choices against a value function with specific characteristics (Figure 4.6). People experience diminishing sensitivity to increasing gains or losses (Berejikian, 2004). Also, the value function for losses is steeper than for gains. Finally, decision-makers evaluate each choice anew and against a neutral reference point. Altogether, decision-makers evaluate policy outcomes using two different value functions—one for gains and one for losses (Kahneman & Tversky, 2000 (1979)) Prospect Theory predicts that people tend to be cautious and risk averse when they are in a good position (gains value function), and more likely to take risks when they are in a bad position (losses value function) (McDermott, 2001).

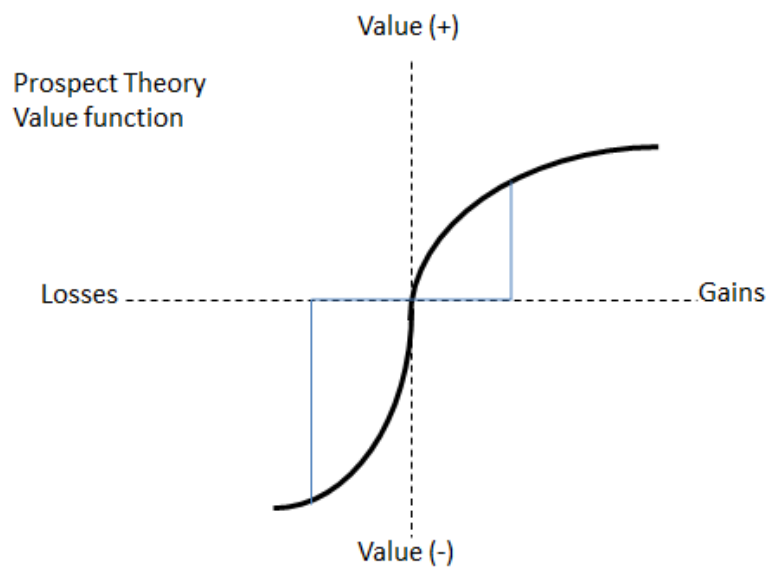


Figure 4.6 Kahneman and Tversky's (2000(1979)) Prospect Theory value function.

Change, in abstract terms of gains or losses, is relative to one's previous or status quo position. I interpret a leader's neutral reference point to be his previous position and, more precisely, the measure of centrality in a given year. An increase in centrality places an actor on the gains value function (upper right quadrant), and a decrease in centrality puts him on the losses value function (lower left quadrant) (Figure 4.7). Extrapolating from the graph, an increase in centrality (a gain on the horizontal axis) corresponds to risk-averse policies while a decrease in centrality (a loss on the horizontal axis) corresponds to risk-acceptant policies. If an individual perceives his centrality is increasing and he is on the gains curve, he consequently places greater value on what he already has and he will prefer to avoid losing what he has. Alternately, if he finds his centrality is decreasing and he is on the losses curve, then he assays his lot as "in a hole" and will take action to acquire more power in order to get out of the hole.<sup>166</sup>

Extending the basic concept of the dynamical theory of policy networks, and considering the three most key actors derived from the review of the history of the Central Committee in the previous chapters; paramount leader, potential competitor, and the Central Committee; the implications for increasing or decreasing centrality are asserted. Following George and Bennett's (2005) procedure for developing typological theories, I interpret Kahneman and Tversky's (2000(1979)) value function and identify four subcategories or types of policy outcomes and describe characteristics of those policies for intra-Party, domestic, and

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<sup>166</sup> In a similar vein, Lewis (1986) noted: "The study of networks in the Chinese policy process, as we shall see, seems to suggest that the "nature of informal network behavior and especially the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of control that formal decision makers exert over activities of these networks may vary with their closedness or looseness."

international domains. These four outcome types represent the full range of possible policy outcomes (Figure 4.7).

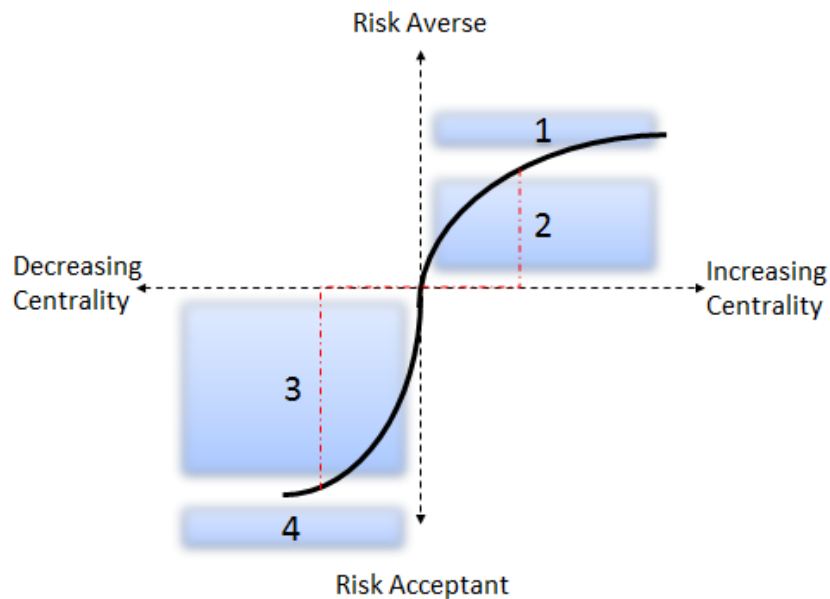


Figure 4.7 Adaptation of Kahneman and Tversky's (2000(1979)) value function indicating the relationship between changes in the network structure and the types of policy outcomes.

Based on the dynamical theory of policy networks, four sets of hypotheses are derived. These hypotheses are specific statements about the relationship between the combination of the rates of change in the defined parameters and the probability of particular types of policy changes in the intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policy domains. Consistent with George and Bennett's (2005) typological theory building, the set of combinations represent all possible combinations of the rates of changes (George & Bennett, 2005).<sup>167</sup> Each key actor's centrality (or centralization in the case of the Central Committee) can independently increase or decrease based on the addition or removal of Central Committee members.

<sup>167</sup> By definition, typological theories "provide a comprehensive inventory of all possible kinds of cases" and are "open to the possibility of equifinality—the same outcome [type] can arise through different pathways" or configurations of variables (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 235).

The paramount leader's centrality may rise or fall. His nearest potential competitor's centrality may increase or decrease. And the Central Committee may become more or less centralized. Since each actor's set of connections are typically different, each one's measure of power or influence may change independently of the others. The observable implications of the various combinations of changes in centrality (or centralization) are explained in the following sections. Each section describes how changes in the centrality of the paramount leader, the potential competitor, and the Central Committee directly affect the extent of bargaining space available.

#### *Combination of Increasing Rates of Change Indicates Type 1 Outcomes*

Type 1 policy outcomes occur when both the paramount leader (red leader in Figure 4.4) and his nearest potential competitor (yellow leader) are accumulating power within the context of an increasingly cohesive Central Committee (blue ellipse). All three actors' centralities are increasing. Note how the bargaining space in the figures below expands from initial conditions as first the paramount leader's centrality increases, then the competitor's centrality increases, and finally as the Central Committee becomes more centralized (Figure 4.8). The increasing sense of stability and cohesion within the policy network encourages the adoption of permissive policies within the Party, the country, and with states beyond territorial boundaries. This combination considers that as the rates of change of the paramount leader's centrality, his nearest competitor's centrality, and the Central Committee's centralization increase, the greater likelihood that elite intra-party consensus, domestic civil society, and cooperative foreign policies will result—the Type 1 policy outcomes consistent with a larger bargaining space.



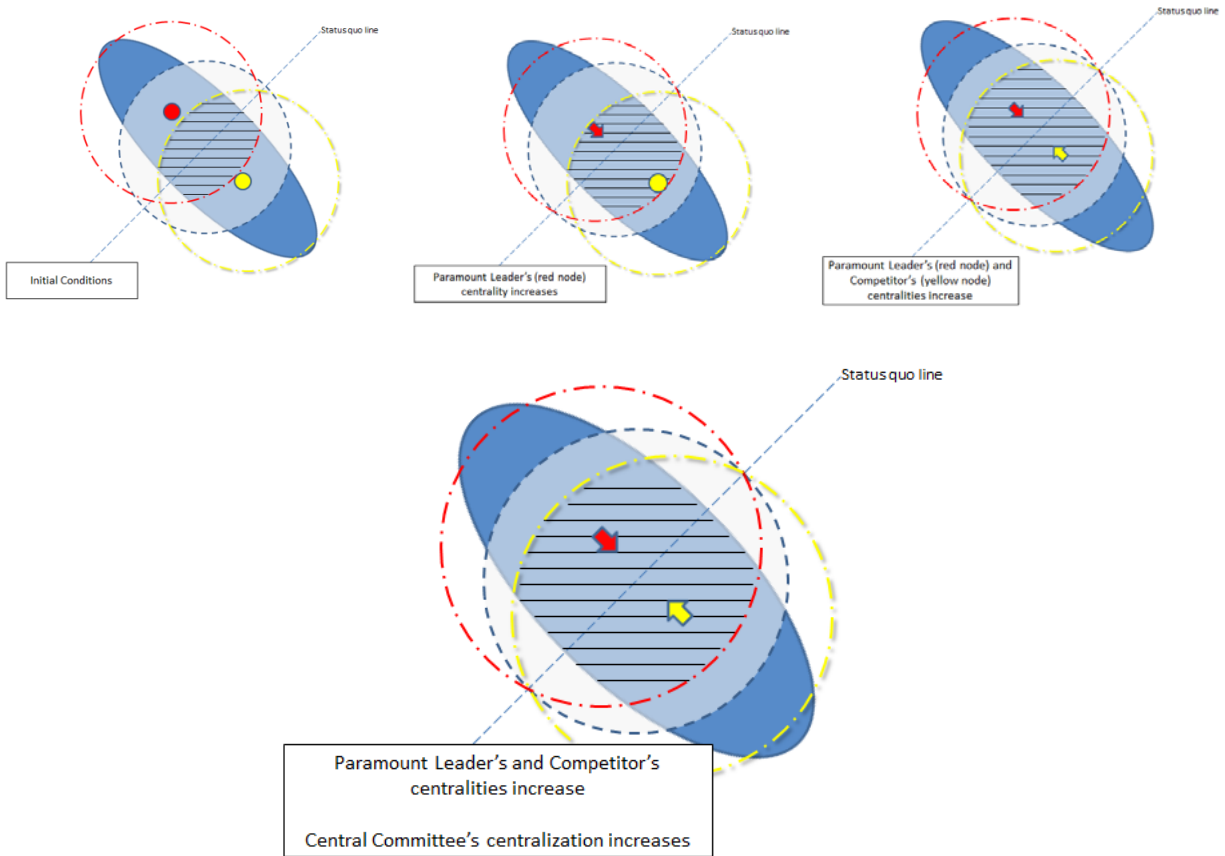


Figure 4.8 Construction of Type 1 configuration of explanatory variables. From the initial status quo configuration (top left), the paramount leader's centrality increases (top center), the potential competitor's centrality increases (top right), and finally the Central Committee's centralization increases. Note how the bargaining space significantly expanded.

Type 1 policy outcomes can be stated as a set of three hypotheses. Elite intra-party consensus is marked by consensus decision-making—particularly among the Politburo members ( $H_{1a}$ ). The paradox is that the more dominant a leader becomes, the less he needs to resort to brutally competitive measures with respect to rival leaders (Pye, 1995). Increasing centrality results in the expansion of the bargaining space meaning that more policy alternatives become acceptable and the leaders find consensus more easily. The absence of open intra-party strife is indicative of this policy outcome. Domestic civil society is defined as the condition where citizens freely influence broader society through informal collective action

associations with diverse interests ( $H_{1b}$ ) (Malena & Heinrich, 2007). Cooperative foreign policies are policies highlighted by the adjustment of state behavior through coordination and compromise ( $H_{1c}$ ) (Keohane, 2005 (1984)). Other examples of Type 1 foreign policies include voluntary unification or major regional/international alliance.<sup>168</sup> At each policy level, the implications of an expanding bargaining space are policy choices reflective of a policy network defined by key actors who are able to easily find compromise within a risk-averse policymaking environment.

#### *Combinations of Rates of Change Indicating Type 2 Outcomes*

Type 2 policy outcomes occur when either a) both the paramount leader and his competitor garner greater influence, but within the context of a fragmenting Central Committee, b) the paramount leader's influence is increasing, his competitor's is decreasing, and the Central Committee is becoming more unified, or c) the paramount leader's power is decreasing, his competitor's is increasing, and the Central Committee is becoming more unified (Figure 4.9).<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> The idea that domestic political stability and stable governments are less likely to initiate international disputes is consistent with the Democratic Peace Theory literature (Russett, 1993; Doyle, 1996)

<sup>169</sup> Downs (1957) noted that logic dictates that those at the extreme fringe of factions will vote for the leader "closest to them no matter how distasteful [his] policies seemed in comparison with those of their ideal government." Downs (1957), however, argued that such "extremists" may rationally abstain from supporting their closest leader: "They are willing to let the worse party win today in order to keep the better party from moving towards the center, so that in future elections it will be closer to them."

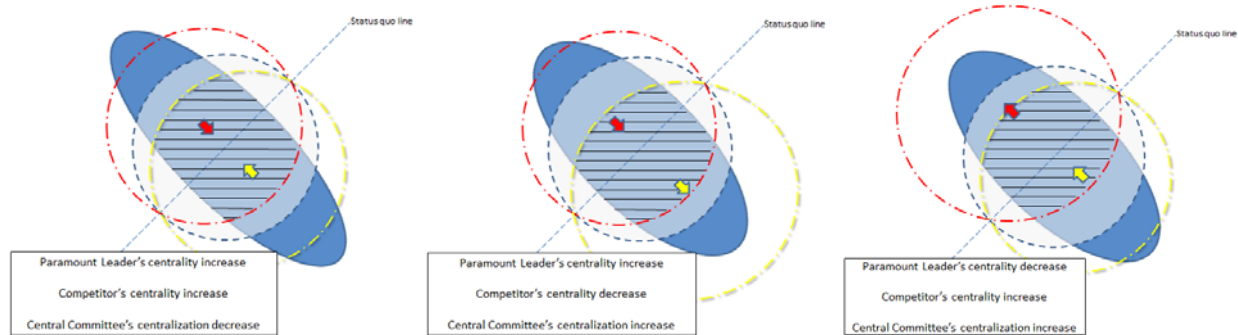


Figure 4.9 Representation of various Type 2 configurations of variables. Leader and competitor centralities increase while CC centralization decrease (left). Leader and CC centralities increase while competitor's decrease (center). Competitor and CC centralities increase while leader's decrease (right).

In the first case, the opportunity arises for the paramount leader and his competitor to make marginal gains within a decentralizing network structure. In the second and third cases, the Central Committee is coalescing around either the paramount leader or his competitor. In any case, the resulting policy outcome reflects the practice of relatively broad based collective leadership within the Central Committee, the adoption of modest or limited reforms, and a foreign policy marked by selective engagement. In all Type 2 cases, the bargaining space is expanding to some degree, but, especially in the second and third cases, it is shifting in favor of either the paramount leader or his competitor.

Type 2 policy outcomes can be stated as a set of three hypotheses. Broad based collective leadership distributes the political decision-making power within the arena of the entire Central Committee ( $H_{2a}$ ). Policy development and approval rests with the Central Committee. Modest reforms run the gamut of greater capitalism and privatization, military modernization, social freedoms, and democratization ( $H_{2b}$ ). A foreign policy based on selective engagement is marked by friendly diplomatic relations with a select few states ( $H_{2c}$ ). Other examples of Type 2 foreign policies include economic, military, or cultural agreements.

Generally speaking, two of the three actors' centralities are increasing while the third actor's is decreasing. The observable implications are consistent with a marginally growing, but shifting, bargaining space.

*Combinations of Rates of Change Indicating Type 3 Outcomes*

Type 3 policy outcomes occur when either a) both the paramount leader and his nearest potential competitor are losing influence, but within the context of an increasingly cohesive Central Committee, b) the paramount leader's influence is decreasing, his competitor's is increasing, and the Central Committee is becoming more decentralized, or c) the paramount leader's power is increasing, his competitor's is decreasing, and the Central Committee is becoming decentralized (Figure 4.10). In the first case, the need arises for the paramount leader and his competitor to regain influence over a more centralized network structure. In the second case, the Central Committee's rising disorder is in the competitor's favor as his influence is increasing while the paramount leader's influence wanes. In the third case, the Central Committee is fragmenting to the advantage of the increasingly influential paramount leader. In any case, the bargaining space is marginally decreasing and shifting.

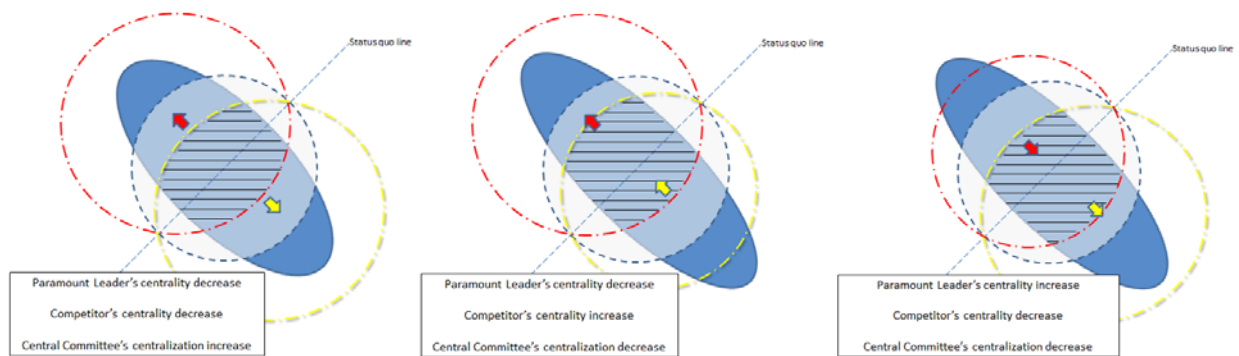


Figure 4.10 Representation of Type 3 configurations of variables. Leader and competitor centralities decrease while CC centralization increase (left). Leader and CC centralities in decrease while competitor's increase (center). Competitor and CC centralities decrease while leader's increase (right).

Type 3 policy outcomes can be stated as a set of three hypotheses. The Type 3 policy outcome reflects competitive leadership practices, the adoption of domestic tightening, and an isolationist foreign policy. An intra-party environment is marked by rectifications, criticisms, and self-criticisms ( $H_{3a}$ ). Domestic tightening can be seen as greater central planning, nationalizing economic sectors, and the domestic tightening of society ( $H_{3b}$ ). An isolationist foreign policy seeks to limit or block economic and diplomatic interactions ( $H_{3c}$ ). Other examples of Type 3 foreign policy behavior include expressions of discord or hostility, sanctions, or even small-scale military actions.

#### *Combination of Decreasing Rates of Change Indicates Type 4 Outcomes*

Type 4 outcomes occur when the rates of change for the paramount leader's centrality, his nearest potential competitor's centrality, and the Central Committee's centralization are all decreasing (Figure 4.11). The bargaining space is consequently decreasing and compromise is perceived as much less likely. As the Central Committee succumbs to decentralization, the paramount leader and his competitor are both losing influence and control. In fact, the network becomes chaotic and *in extremis* policies become more likely.

Type 4 policy outcomes can be stated as a set of three hypotheses. Radical intra-party practices—especially purges—become rampant ( $H_{4a}$ ). The natural response is to eliminate rival leaders (Riker, 1962; Salisbury, 1992). Mass campaigns use propaganda or censorship to influence public opinion to support government policies or increase a leader's legitimacy (Sullivan, 2012). The mobilization of opposing social elements—marked by destructive mass campaigns—takes place ( $H_{4b}$ ). Finally, the Central Committee, unable to reach consensus,

accedes to increasingly aggressive and coercive foreign policy approaches ( $H_{4c}$ ). Military campaigns are calculated for effect (Whiting, 2001 (1975)). One of those intended effects of military campaigns is to affirm a faction’s political agenda—returning them (and the Central Committee) to a high degree of centralization (Morgan & Bickers, 1992). Other types of Type 4 foreign policies include limited acts of war such as intermittent shelling or sinking of ships.<sup>170</sup>

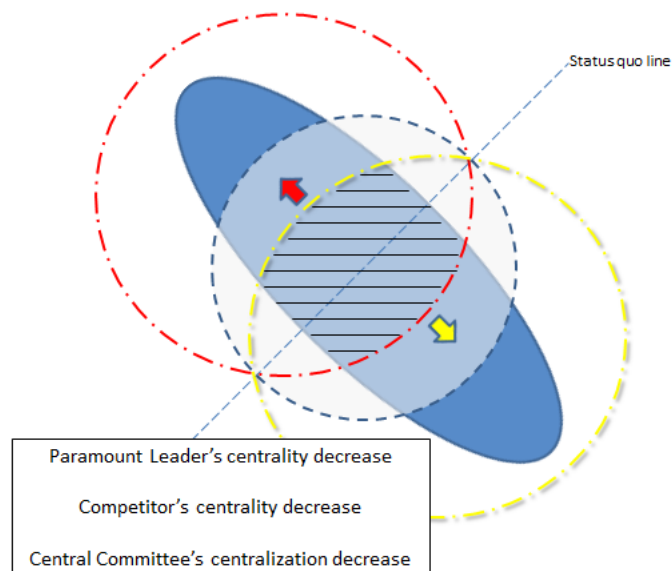


Figure 4.11 Representation of Type 4 configuration of variables. Paramount leader, potential competitor, and Central Committee centralities are declining. Note the bargaining space is significantly reduced.

The predictions based on the dynamical theory of policy networks are summarized in Figure 4.12. It is important to note that the arrows are intended to indicate only the configurations of the changes in centrality of the key actors resulting in the types of policy outcomes—not a dependent relationship between the rates of change.

<sup>170</sup> The idea that autocrats, faced with elite dissent, have few foreign policy options available to them and are therefore motivated to “dispatch troops abroad” is consistent with Diversionary Theory (Pickering & Kisangani, 2005).

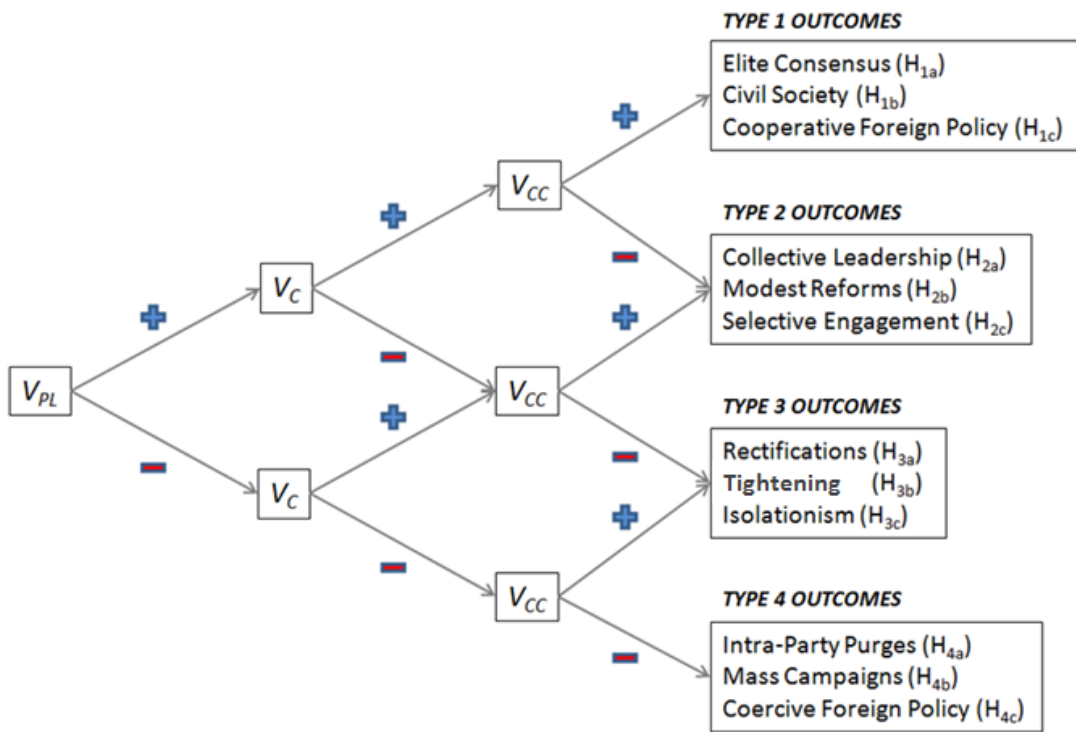


Figure 4.12 Summary of observable implications.

## Chapter Five - Research Design

### *General Study Description*

This study is a network analysis of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee (CC) from 1922 to 2011. The unit of analysis is the Central Committee-year. Social network analysis software is used to derive individual and group socio-metric data about the Central Committee in any given year. This study, in general terms, follows a two-stage conceptual process. First identification of the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Party's policy choices is based on historical works by China scholars. (In other words, the three key actors are not selected based on their socio-metrics.) Once these leaders are identified, some analyses based on their *guanxi*-based degrees of centrality follow. The analyses follow two major lines of investigation. A structured, focused comparison of four representative Central Committee-years is presented. Finally, the individual and group socio-metrics are correlated with China's international and domestic policies.

I define the network as the body of full members of the Central Committee in any given year. Alternate members are excluded from the analysis.<sup>171</sup> The network is manipulated using software tools to display the network for visual inspection and evaluation. The visual layout of the network (initial positioning of individual actors within the network) is accomplished using the "node repulsion and equal edge length" function.<sup>172</sup> The next step is the analysis of the

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<sup>171</sup> We know in some cases that roughly half of the CC members were present at plenums, such as the Second Plenum of the Sixth Central Committee in July 1929. In other cases such as the First Enlarged Plenum of the Fourth Central Committee in October 1925, there is some uncertainty as to who else attended. I define the network as the full CC members for the purpose of standardization.

<sup>172</sup> For space reasons, most of the network diagrams are not incorporated in this text. The layout algorithm is akin to mimicking the attraction-repulsion phenomenon seen in electric fields. Actors with high connectivity are pulled



Central Committee network to determine the structural features: actor centrality and group centralization. This is accomplished again using network analysis software tools. The last step is to compare the observable implications of the dynamical theory with empirical observations. The static characteristics of particular interest in this first phase of the study, the measures of centrality of the formal leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the measure of centralization of the entire Central Committee, are used to calculate the key explanatory variables.

### *The Real Paramount Leaders and Potential Competitors of China*

Identification of the paramount leader and his nearest potential competitor is a critical element of this research. As mentioned earlier, the mistaken identification of these two key actors is a major fault of Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) study and it is the basis of my challenge to their methodology. Paramount leader centrality represents the importance of the top informal Party leader. They are: Chen Duxiu (1923-1927), Li Lisan (1928-1930), Wang Ming ("Chen Shaoyu") (1931-1934), Mao Zedong (1935-1976), Hua Guofeng (1977-1978), Deng Xiaoping (1979-1992), Jiang Zemin (1993-2001),<sup>173</sup> and Hu Jintao (2002-2011). The index is noted as  $C_{PL}$ .

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toward the center of the network diagram. Actors with low connectivity are pushed toward the periphery (Krempel, 2011).

<sup>173</sup> Although Jiang Zemin was elevated to head the Party in mid-1989 and chaired the Military Affairs Committee beginning in 1990, he was not named to be the president until the Fourteenth Party Congress (October 1992). In any case, Deng Xiaoping's time as paramount leader did not end until the Central Advisory Commission was abolished by the same Fourteenth Party Congress.

Competitor centrality represents the importance of the nearest potential challenger to the paramount leader. They are: Mao Zedong (1923-1924),<sup>174</sup> Zhang Guotao (1925-1927), Mao Zedong (1928-1934),<sup>175</sup> Wang Ming (1935-1944), Gao Gang (1945-1953), Peng Dehuai (1954-1959), Liu Shaoqi (1960-1965), Lin Biao (1966-1971), Zhou Enlai (1972-1976), Deng Xiaoping (1977-1978), Chen Yun (1979-1992), Qiao Shi (1993-1996), Li Ruihuan (1997-2001), Zeng Qinghong (2002-2006), and Wu Bangguo (2007-2011). The index is noted as  $C_C$ . The side-by-side listing of the paramount leaders and their nearest potential competitor is shown below (Table 5.1).

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<sup>174</sup> Rue (Mao Tse-tung in Opposition, 1927-1935, 1966) noted that in 1923-1924, Li Lisan and Liu Shaoqi's organization of the Hanyeping Union (based on iron and steel industries) competed against Mao's organization of Changsha's city-wide craft unions. In 1924, unemployed miners became militant unionists who found Mao's organization more attractive than Li's union. Many of the militant unionists filled the ranks of the Red Army in 1927.

<sup>175</sup> See also Rue (1966).

Table 5.1 Paramount Leaders and Potential Competitors

Year	Paramount Leader	Potential Competitor
1923	Chen Duxiu	Mao Zedong
1925		Zhang Guotao
1928	Li Lisan	Mao Zedong
1931	Chen Shaoyu	Mao Zedong
1935	Mao Zedong	Chen Shaoyu
1945		Gao Gang
1954		Peng Dehuai
1960		Liu Shaoqi
1966		Lin Biao
1972		Zhou Enlai
1977	Hua Guofeng	Deng Xiaoping
1979	Deng Xiaoping	Chen Yun
1993	Jiang Zemin	Qiao Shi
1997		Li Ruihuan
2002	Hu Jintao	Zeng Qinghong
2007		Wu Bangguo

For the purpose of this study, it is not particularly important to argue that a paramount leader or a potential competitor even existed prior to the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The crux of this present research effort is focused on the policy outcomes of the Central Committee since 1949.

The Party was small, disorganized, and insignificant during its first decade. At the time of the Party founding in 1921 in Shanghai, the total number of Party members was possibly as high as 300. The Party grew by fits and starts as it tried to gain a toehold in Sun Yat-sen's United Front of the early 1920s. After nearly being exterminated during Jiang Jieshi's White Terror campaign in 1927, the Party split into three distinct groups: the Central Committee-in-exile, the White area group, and the Red area group (Wei, 2002). Each group spent the late 1920s and

early 1930s working to establish secure base areas in the cities or in China's mountainous rural regions.

After a series of debilitating "encirclement campaigns" by Nationalist forces in the early 1930s, virtually all communist forces broke out to the west, many of the major Red Army units and their leaders initially stopping at Zunyi in January 1935. (Stalin's choice for Party leadership, Wang Ming, went to Moscow in 1931. He did not physically rejoin the communist movement in China until 1937.) It was there and then that historians associate with Mao's rise to power. I assign to Mao the title of paramount leader at that point in time. It is for this reason that I argue that Mao was paramount leader from the mid-1930s and Wang Ming was the potential competitor.<sup>176</sup>

Wang Ming and the 28 Bolsheviks were ideologically eviscerated by the Yanan Rectification discussed at the end of Chapter Three, which left Mao with more influence within the Party. At the end of the war against Japan, there were two distinctly self-aggrandizing Party leaders: Mao and Gao Gang. Mao, the paramount leader, managed to seat a favorable Seventh Central Committee in 1945. Gao Gang, the competitor, was busy establishing his own base of power in Manchuria with extremely close political and economic ties to the Soviet Union. Salisbury (1992) called Gao "Mao's Manchurian proconsul." By 1954, Gao's power sufficiently threatened Mao's paramount leadership so as to justify the purge known as the Gao-Rao Affair.

With Gao Gang "suicided" and out of the way, Peng Dehuai, the hero leader of the Chinese Volunteer Army during the Korean War, became Mao's next potential competitor. Peng

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<sup>176</sup> Compare this with Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) assertion that Zhang Wentian ("Luo Fu") was the leader and Mao Zedong was the challenger. Zhang Wentian was considered one of the 28 Bolsheviks, but was "excluded" from the Party's decision making body in 1934 (Leung, 2002).

joined the Party in the 1920s and was one of the foremost military commanders—one of only ten to ever be promoted to Marshal in the mid-1950s. As the Minister of Defense (1954-1959), Peng led the effort to professionalize and modernize the PLA. The implications of a less ideological or less revolutionary army must have annoyed Mao. Domes (1985a) also considered Peng’s “propensity for modesty and simplicity had imbued him with a thorough distaste for any cult of personality.” The friction between Mao and Peng began as early as 1953 given “Peng’s disagreement with Mao’s military doctrine, his distaste for the developing personality cult, and possibly his opposition to the Party Leader’s experiment in liberalization” (Domes, 1985a).

In the August 1959 plenum at Lushan, as China suffered with the consequential famine of the Great Leap Forward, Peng questioned the wisdom of Mao’s economic policy in a letter to Mao. Mao revealed the letter to the Party leadership and Peng was purged for his criticism—the only Party leader to openly object to Mao’s program (Baum, 2010). Based on this, Mao remained the paramount leader; his potential competitor from 1954 to 1959 was Peng Dehuai.<sup>177</sup>

The next potential competitor was Liu Shaoqi. In the aftermath of the Lushan Conference in 1959, Mao removed himself to the “second line” in order to spend more time on strategic and ideological issues—leaving the formal position of PRC President to Liu Shaoqi, the next potential competitor. Nevertheless, throughout the early 1960s there was no doubt about who the paramount leader was. Liu Shaoqi, working with Deng Xiaoping, began drafting a

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<sup>177</sup> Peng Dehuai’s efforts in early-1958 to promote closer military cooperation with the Soviet Union may be seen, in retrospect, as an effort to strengthen his position vis-à-vis Mao (Domes J. , 1985a). Compare this with Shih, Shan, and Liu’s (2010a) assertion that Liu Shaoqi was the primary challenger to Mao from 1943 to 1966. Although Liu was recognized as Mao’s heir apparent in 1945, he did not make clear moves to strengthen his position until he began making organizational changes in 1960 (Dittmer, 1998).

number of policy articles to reverse the effects of the Great Leap Forward.<sup>178</sup> While Liu asked Mao to review and approve the most important articles, Mao was annoyed when some articles slipped past his purview. In the run-up to the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966, Mao and Liu Shaoqi were the central figures of Chinese politics. Mao was the paramount leader and Liu was the potential competitor from 1960 to 1965. A major target of the Cultural Revolution, Liu was removed from his leadership position at the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee in 1966 and died in prison in 1969.

The purge of Liu Shaoqi cleared the way for Mao to name a new heir apparent and the next nearest potential competitor: Lin Biao. Lin Biao became Minister of Defense after the fall of Peng Dehuai in 1959 and led the institutionalization of Mao's cult of personality with the mass publication of the *Quotations of Chairman Mao*, later known simply as the ubiquitous "Little Red Book." Marshal Lin Biao was literally named Mao's official successor in the new constitution of 1969. His rise to near-paramount leadership ran parallel to his aspiration to replace Mao by a military coup in 1971—if the Party reports are to be believed. In September 1971, Lin Biao and members of his family died in a plane crash in Mongolia after presumably fleeing China after the coup failed.

After Lin's death and still in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, identifying the paramount leader and the nearest potential competitor is difficult. Mao was ailing and arguably not engaged in the day-to-day decision making in the Party. Jiang Qing and the Gang of Four were grappling for power in the vacuum left by Lin's death. Another group straining to hold on to power was led by Premier Zhou Enlai. The situation was very complex. Who were the

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<sup>178</sup> MacFarquhar (1997) observed that *Mao* and the Party tried a number of programs from 1961 to 1966: the Fourteen Articles on Science, the Sixty Articles on Agriculture, and the Seventy Articles on Industry.

paramount leader and the potential competitor from 1972 to 1976? Dittmer (2001) captured the inner workings best: “Thus Mao in the last 10 years of his life formed a coalition with the weaker but personally loyal Gang of Four against the more senior members of his leadership team—Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying and Deng Xiaoping.”<sup>179</sup> What appeared to be a three-way struggle for leadership was more likely a two-way competition between Mao as the paramount leader and Zhou Enlai as his nearest potential competitor—at least in the eyes of Mao.

Zhou Enlai died in January 1976. Mao died in September 1976. The way was finally cleared for a new paramount leader and a new potential competitor. Hua Guofeng was Mao’s choice as his successor and he was the paramount leader for a brief period. After enabling the arrest, and later trial, of the Gang of Four in October 1976, Ye Jianying and Li Xiannian began to push Hua Guofeng to bring Deng Xiaoping back to Beijing from his internal exile at the Central Committee work conference in March 1977. In the interim, the competition between Hua and Deng, the competitor, appeared in the debate between Hua’s “two whatevers” slogan and Deng’s “seeking truth from facts” slogan<sup>180</sup>. Hua, understanding the implications of Deng’s rehabilitation, keenly aware of Deng’s growing support within the Central Committee, finally approved Deng’s return in November 1978. Hua’s time of paramount leadership was short indeed: 1977 to 1978. Deng’s rise from potential competitor to paramount leadership, sealed at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of December 1978, had a profound effect on modern China.

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<sup>179</sup> There are many other opinions. Deng Xiaoping’s own recollection of the Cultural Revolution reflected the complexity: “it was taken advantage of by the two counterrevolutionary cliques headed by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, who schemed to usurp power” (Deng, 1980).

<sup>180</sup> See “Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Unite as One in Looking to the Future.” (December 13, 1978). In *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*.

There is little debate that Deng Xiaoping ruled as the paramount leader from 1980 to 1992. Ironically, his nearest potential competitor was one of the Party leaders who argued for his rehabilitation: Chen Yun. Chen, who was the economic specialist of the CCP, opposed rapid market reforms that threatened the Party's hold on political power, so it was natural that Deng and Chen were typically at odds with one another during China's reform and opening in the 1980s. Although Chen nominally retired in 1987, he and many other Party elders remained extremely influential through the Central Advisory Commission (CAC), sometimes derisively called the "sitting committee" because it was a way point for Party elders on the verge of retirement. The CAC was officially abolished in 1992 with the election of the Twelfth Central Committee—marking the end of Deng era.<sup>181</sup>

The last quarter century of the Party's history of paramount leaders and potential competitors is straight-forward, owing to the relative stability among the Party elite and the regularity of the transfer of power from one generation to the next. In the immediate aftermath of the Tiananmen Massacre, Jiang Zemin, the former Party leader and mayor in Shanghai, emerged as the compromise candidate, balancing between Deng's reform faction and Chen's anti-liberalization faction (Wortzel, 2005). Jiang Zemin was appointed, at Deng's behest, to the positions of Party general secretary in May 1989, chairman of the Military Affairs Commission (MAC) in 1990, and PRC president in 1993. During Jiang's paramount leadership

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<sup>181</sup> Deng Xiaoping's "final offensive" to encourage the Party to continue his reform and opening up program was his fabled 1992 "Southern Tour" or *nanxun*, which led to the "Central Document No. 2" (1992), a publication of his speeches made during the tour (Baum, 1994). Chen Yun, still pushing back against Deng, remarked that Central Document No. 2 "on Comrade Xiaoping's southern tour only reflects his own opinion and local opinion." The degree to which their relationship had degraded can be seen by recalling the opening from "Implement the Policy of Readjustment, Ensure Stability and Unity." (December 25, 1980). In *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*: "I fully agree with Comrade Chen Yun's speech ... His statement will serve as our guide in this field [of economics] for a long time."



from 1993 to 2002, China enjoyed its fastest economic growth in modern history. His nearest potential competitor, Li Ruihuan, represented a distant challenge. Li was elected to the Politburo in 1987 and became chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) in 1993. He called on workers to "serve the people and socialism" and attacked the "wholesale Westernization" associated with modernization. Although Jiang retained chairmanship of the MAC until 2004 and Li failed to be reelected to the Standing Committee in 2003, their time as paramount leader and potential competitor effectively came to an end with the election of the Sixteenth Central Committee of 2002.

Since 2002, Hu Jintao has been firmly entrenched as the paramount leader of China. Although neither Jiang Zemin nor Hu Jintao ever exhibited the charismatic and Machiavellian characteristics of Mao or Deng, Jiang and Hu were *the* national leaders. While Jiang's factional base, which included Wen Jiabao (premier from 2002 to 2012), consistently promoted marketization of the economy, Hu's factional base was more conservative, reflecting Li Ruihuan's cautious approach. The two lines took a turn at paramount leadership. During the tenure of the Sixteenth Central Committee (2002-2007), the potential competitor was Zeng Qinghong, a client of Jiang Zemin and president of the Central Party School since 2002. Three years after Jiang left the political stage, Zeng's influence waned and Wu Bangguo ascended to the role of potential competitor with the election of the Seventeenth Central Committee in 2007. Wu, a Shanghai politician like Jiang and Zeng, joined the Politburo in 1992 and eventually became the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Congress. Where Zeng pushed for liberalization, Wu had advocated a relatively hard line toward the transfer of Hong

Kong with his “Basic Law of Hong Kong” speech in June 2007. Nevertheless, most China observers agree that Wu was Hu’s greatest political competitor since 2007.

Now that I have stipulated who the paramount leaders and their nearest potential competitors were, primarily since 1949, the next section articulates how that information will be used. The previous chapter on theory discussed, in general terms, which three actors were most important to the policymaking process: the paramount leader, the potential competitor, and the Central Committee.

The centrality and centralization indices are used to calculate the rate of change in any given year. The rate of change of the paramount leader’s centrality ( $V_{PL}$ ) is based on the  $C_{PL}$  measures and is the difference in centrality between a given year,  $C_{PL_t}$ , and the preceding year,  $C_{PL_{t-1}}$ .<sup>182</sup> Similarly, the rate of change of the potential competitor’s centrality ( $V_C$ ) is based on the  $C_C$  measures and is the difference in centrality between a given year,  $C_{C_t}$ , and the preceding year,  $C_{C_{t-1}}$ . Finally, the rate of change of the Central Committee’s centralization  $V_{CC}$  is based on the  $C_{CC*}$  measures and is the difference in centralization between a given year ( $C_{CC_t}$ ) and the preceding year,  $C_{CC_{t-1}}$ .<sup>183</sup> These indices,  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$  and  $V_{CC}$ , are the formally defined key explanatory variables based on the concepts introduced in the earlier chapter introducing the dynamical theory of policy networks. They are compared with specific historical observations of intra-party, domestic, and international policies. In the next section, four representative case

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<sup>182</sup> The formal definition is presented in Equation 5.

$$V_{PL_t} = C_{PL_t} - C_{PL_{t-1}}$$

Equation 5. Rate of change of the paramount leader’s centrality.

<sup>183</sup> The formal definition is presented in Equation 6.

$$V_{CC_t} = C_{CC_t} - C_{CC_{t-1}}$$

Equation 6. Rate of change of the Central Committee’s centralization.

studies are selected for structured, focused comparison to demonstrate consistency with the predicted policy outcomes.

*Structured, Focused Comparison: Case Selection*

Four case studies are used in a structured, focused comparison to demonstrate the explanatory power of my dynamical theory of policy networks in predicting variance in policy outcomes at the intraparty, domestic, and international levels of analyses. Each case study is selected because it represents one of the four categories of policy outcomes and each case is of historical interest (Figure 5.1). Seawright and Gerring (2008) defined “diverse” methods as those that use two or more cases which exemplify diverse values of independent variables, dependent variables, or some particular relationship between the two. The present study chooses one case from each category and seeks to confirm the hypothetical relationship between changes in the network structure (independent variables reflecting changes in centrality) and particular policy outcomes at the intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policy levels (dependent variables). A brief summary description of each case is presented to justify their selection. The full case studies are presented in Chapter Six.

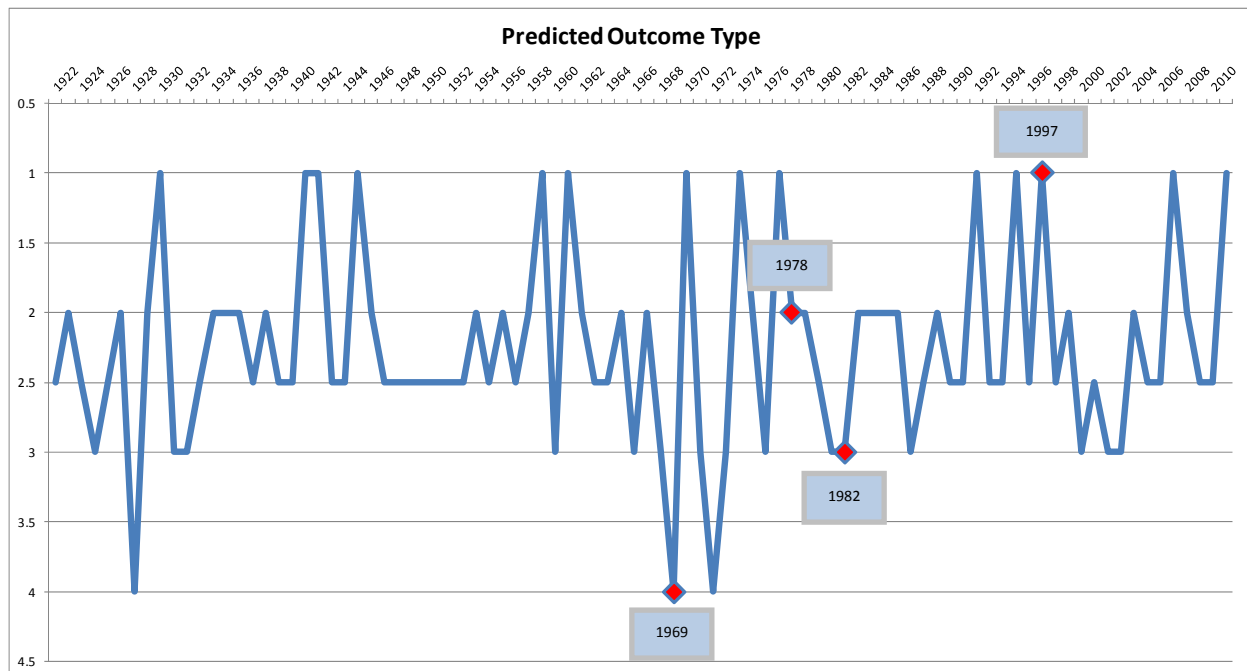


Figure 5.1. Predicted policy outcomes, 1922-2011.<sup>184</sup>

The Central Committee-year of 1997 is representative of Type 1 policy outcomes. At the intra-party level, there was elite consensus as demonstrated by the promotion of Shanghai politician and reform-minded Premier Zhu Rongji, the less-than-dramatic election of the Fifteenth Central Committee and the inclusion of Deng Xiaoping Theory in the constitution. Neither of these actions could have occurred without a high degree of cohesion among the Central Committee's elite leaders. At the domestic level, the strong emergence of civil society organizations signaled the acceptance of incremental political reform, albeit at the lowest levels of society (Yu, 2009). At the foreign policy level, the peaceful return of Hong Kong to Chinese

<sup>184</sup> It is apparent from Figure 5.1 that the dynamical theory is not completely successful in predicting policy outcomes. The period 1949-1953 reveals that no policy change was predicted as there were no changes in the network structure during that time. Considering China's preparations to invade Taiwan, its decision to lean toward the Soviet Union, and its entry into the Korean War, it is a clear demonstration of the model's poor fit during certain periods of time.

jurisdiction from British rule was a significant historical event (Sullivan, 2012). The dependent variables for Central Committee-year 1997 were consistent with Type 1 policy outcomes. The key independent variables were also consistent with the proposed model. According to the model, the rates of change of the paramount leader's centrality, his nearest competitor's centrality, and the Central Committee's centralization should all be positive. In fact, the  $V_{PL}$  was +16.0%, the  $V_C$  was +2.6%, and the  $V_{CC}$  was +2.0% in 1997.

The Central Committee-year of 1978 is representative of Type 2 policy outcomes. At the intra-party level, Deng Xiaoping promulgated the "Four Cardinal Principles," which empowered the hard line Party leaders to persecute any Party member who advocated significant political reform and human rights (Sullivan, 2012). Party leaders coalesced around Deng and presented a newly unified political body. At the domestic level, the "Four Modernizations" focused on (in order of priority) improving agricultural productivity, developing the industrial base, encouraging scientific and technological achievements, and improving the military forces. China's foreign policy activities were distinctly selective. Some policies leaned toward the cooperative end of the foreign policy spectrum. There was a diplomatic campaign to normalize relations with the West as evidenced by the Joint Communiqué by the United States and the People's Republic (December 1978), Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States (January 1979), and the exchange of ambassadors (March 1979). China's foreign policies toward the Soviet Union and its ally, Vietnam, admittedly can be characterized as having leaned toward the coercive end of the foreign policy spectrum. China's attack on Vietnam in early 1979 involved more than a half million PLA troops and was China's last large-scale combat operation. China was, however, very selective in pursuing cooperation with some states while acting coercively

with others (Blasko, 2002). According to the model, two of the three key independent variables should be positive. The value of  $V_{PL}$  was +0.2, the  $V_C$  was -0.1%, and the  $V_{CC}$  was +0.5% in 1978.

The Central Committee-year of 1982 is representative of Type 3 policy outcomes. At the intra-party level, Hu Yaobang clashed with Deng Liqun over the role of ideology and with Chen Yun over economic planning. Chen Yun also sought to marginalize the “Three Categories of People,” which included former Red Guards. Domestically, the Party used a National Conference on Ideology and Political Work and a Central Party School forum to raise national focus on socialism. China’s domestic and foreign policies were heavily influenced by the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign which repressed the introduction of Western social and cultural trends stemming from China’s Open Door Policy. According to the model, two of the three key independent variables should be negative. The value of  $V_{PL}$  was -8.4%, the  $V_C$  was +0.4%, and the  $V_{CC}$  was -4.8% in 1982.

The Central Committee-year of 1969 is representative of Type 4 policy outcomes. At the intra-party level, Liu Shaoqi died in custody and the bitter rivalry between Lin Biao and Jiang Qing was virtually institutionalized. Many other Central Committee members were also purged. Domestically, China was in the midst of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and had entered the “struggle-criticism-transformation” phase (Barnouin & Yu, 1998). There was also a mass movement (also known as the Third Line construction) led by the National Defense Working Group and Lin Biao’s Number 1 Order put the entire nation under high alert. In the triangular relationship with the Soviet Union and the United States, China assumed policy positions at odds with both superpowers. China initiated the Zhenbao Island conflict along its

border with the Soviet Union. According to the model, all three key independent variables should be negative. The value of  $V_{PL}$  was -22.0%, the  $V_C$  was -19.7%, and the  $V_{CC}$  was -6.8% in 1969.

Table 5.2 Summary of Case Selection Justification

Outcome Type	Predicted Characteristics	CC-Year	$V_{PL}$	$V_C$	$V_{CC}$	Actual Outcomes/Policies
1	Elite Consensus Civil Society Cooperative FP	1997	+16.0%	+2.6%	+2.0%	"Talk about politics" CSOs Emerge Return of Hong Kong
2	Collective Leadership Modest Reforms Selective Engagement	1978	+0.22%	-0.08%	+0.53%	Deng's Rehabilitation Four Modernizations Normalization
3	Rectifications Tightening Isolationism	1982	-8.39%	+0.35%	-4.84%	Three Categories of People Emphasis on Ideology and <i>Shou</i> Policies Anti-Spiritual Pollution
4	Purges Mass Campaigns Coercive Foreign Policy	1969	-21.98%	-19.68%	-6.83%	Lin-Jiang Split Cultural Revolution Sino-Soviet Border Conflict

These cases are summarized above (Table 5.2) and will be analyzed in much greater detail in the next chapter.<sup>185</sup> I will scrutinize the changing importance of specific individual actors in the context of the changing network structure of the Central Committee. An interesting aspect is that the relative magnitudes of these rates of change for each case are consistent with my interpretation of the value function from Prospect Theory (Kahneman &

<sup>185</sup> Due to data limitations, three of these cases, 1978, 1982, and 1997 are not fully accounted for in the general quantitative analyses presented in Chapter Seven. Those statistical analyses consider China's policies during the periods of 1949-1978 and 1984-1995.

Tversky, 2000 (1979)). Specifically, relatively greater gains (or losses) pushes actors into Type 1 and Type 4 policy outcomes, respectively.

### *Explanation of Statistical Data*

My dynamical theory may be said to be generalizable. The second part of the research design is a quantitative analysis of the Central Committee intended to specifically address the hypotheses concerning patterns of Chinese domestic and foreign policy. Using the measures of network structural features, that is, the rates of change of centrality and centralization, a statistical model compares variations in China's interactions with other states (Azar, 1980; Bond & Bond, 1998) with the Central Committee's network attributes using regression analysis. An explanation of the data follows.

#### *Guanxi Data Set.*

This study is based on a unique data set I created from the biographical information of the roughly 1,700 Central Committee members since 1922. The vast majority of the data comes from two sources. Bartke's (1990) *Biographical Dictionary and Analysis of China's Party Leadership 1922-1988* provides a photograph of each Central Committee member and displays their name in Chinese characters. It also lists birth/death years, birth province, educational background, military experience, Party career assignments, government jobs, visits abroad, and any special remarks. Two appendices in Bartke (1990) provide some detailed numerical analyses of the Politburos of the Fifth thru Thirteenth Central Committees (Appendix A) and the Second thru Thirteenth Central Committees (Appendix B). Bartke (1990) is missing data for roughly fifty individuals. The second source is the *Past Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Dictionary, 1921-2003* (中国共产党历届中央委员大辞典, 1921-2003) published



by the Organization Department of the Chinese Communist Party (Party History Research, 2004). It provides the same types of information and fortunately fills most data gaps in Bartke (1990).<sup>186</sup>

Specific information was coded into a spreadsheet for import into the network analysis software. Each Central Committee member's education level, military generation, provincial origin, kinship, and patron-client information was coded for each Central Committee-year. These provided the bases for relational ties between individuals. Individual attributes were also collected for each Central Committee member to indicate if he or she was a member of the Politburo or Standing Committee, a Long Marcher, previously purged and rehabilitated, a general officer, a technocrat, and/or a member of the Central Advisory Commission, as appropriate.

*Conflict and Peace Data Bank (COPDAB).*

The Central Committee-year metrics derived from the Guanxi Data Set will be regressed on the COPDAB data. COPDAB is a longitudinal collection of domestic and international events (Azar, The Conflict and Peace Data Bank (COPDAB) Project, 1980). Event records contain variables describing the actions, reactions, and interactions of nation-states. These events are distinct transactions. In order to be considered for inclusion in the COPDAB, events must be sufficiently significant as to be reported in reputable and public news sources.

The COPDAB event records also specify which state initiated an event, which state was the target of the action, a description of the event, and assigns the event a scale value

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<sup>186</sup> Two supplementary sources were consulted: Leung's (2002) Political Leaders of Modern China: A Biographical Dictionary and Sullivan's (2012) Historical Dictionary of the Chinese Communist Party.

indicating the degree of cooperativeness or “conflictedness” (Azar, The Conflict and Peace Data Bank (COPDAB) Project, 1980). The scale runs from “1” (most cooperative dyadic interaction) to “15” (total war). The COPDAB further typologizes the interactions as symbolic, economic, military, cultural, and political. The COPDAB events dataset is limited and only covers the period from January 1948 to December 1978.

#### *Protocol for Nonviolent Direct Action (PANDA)*

The Protocol for Nonviolent Direct Action (PANDA) data (Bond & Bond, 1998), an automated event code data aggregation program, is used to aggregate events by year and dyad. PANDA was designed to identify acute conflict interaction events reported in a global news wire service and track their development in conjunction with a fully automated data development system. The data set is limited and only covers the period from 1984 to 1995.

#### *Operational Definitions: dependent variables*

The dependent variables reflect changes in China’s foreign policy approach toward other states during the periods for which data is available. Using the COPDAB data (Azar, 2009), the average intensity of occurrences of Chinese international interactions is calculated for each year from 1949 to 1978. Events are categorized as *high intensity cooperation* (1 thru 3), *low intensity cooperation* (4 thru 7), *low intensity conflict* (9 thru 12), or *high intensity conflict* (13 thru 15) (Faber, 1987). Following Faber (1987), intensity category 8 is left out due to interpretation problems. The COPDAB data is filtered to derive subsets of aggregated data for specific dyadic interactions where China is the ACTOR nation. The subsets represent the first set of dependent variables. They are: Sino-US relations (China’s foreign policies *toward* the US or

*Sino-US*), Sino-Soviet relations (*Sino-USSR*), Sino-Indian relations (*Sino-Indian*), and PRC-ROC relations (*Sino-ROC*). The overall aggregate of the intensity of China's interactions with all TARGET states is also included as a dependent variable representing China's foreign policy approach in general (*Sino-Int'l*).

In order to generate data reflecting China's domestic policies, a similar principle used with the COPDAB data is applied to the PANDA data, except in this case China is the *Source* and the *Target*. The event (context) codes represent the level of violence of any recorded event. A context value of 0 indicates "negligible physical violence" was associated with the interaction. Values of 1 or 2 suggest reported or actual "material destruction" occurred. Values of 3 or 4 suggest reported or actual physical injury occurred. A context value of 5 or 6 indicates at least one death was associated with the interaction.

#### *Operational Definitions: independent variables*

Adam and Kriesi (2007) observed that a major branch of policy network research is the formalized, quantitative approach of social network analysis. Specifically (Adam & Kriesi, 2007):

The quantitative analysis of networks results in images of the network structure and summary indices, allowing characterization of their key aspects (degree of centralization, connectedness, density, etc.). (p.130)

The three key independent variables of interest in this study,  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$  and  $V_{CC}$ , were calculated as described earlier and are used for the quantitative analysis.  $V_{PL}$  is the rate of change of the paramount leader's centrality.  $V_C$  is the rate of change of the potential competitor's centrality.  $V_{CC}$  is the rate of change of the Central Committee's degree of centralization. Earlier in Chapter Two, I introduced three other measures of network structure: *Clustering, Distance, and*

*Compactness*. They are included in the analysis for two reasons. First, I want to consider other measures of group cohesion. As mentioned earlier, I expect the alternate measures of group cohesion, especially *Clustering* and *Compactness*, to have statistical significance when group degree of centralization ( $V_{CC}$ ) does. Second, I expect that *Clustering* and *Compactness* will affect policy outcomes in the same direction as  $V_{CC}$  because they are all conceptually similar. The foreign policy outcomes predicted by my dynamical theory of policy networks were developed in Chapter Three and are identified as the  $H_c$  set of hypotheses.

#### *Control Variables and Causal Relationship with the Dependent Variable*

Three control variables are included in the policy network model.

*Annual Military Spending* increases, measured as percent change, are considered to take into account the role of capability in a state's decision-making process. Increasing military power projection capability should be directly related to periods of conflictual or coercive behavior (Haas, 1990). Greater military capability, combined with its use or threat of use, represents an extreme foreign policy tool. The annual percentage increases in military spending are calculated from Rubin (1978) and the Stockholm Institute for Peace Research International (2010) estimates of military expenditures.

Gross Domestic Product (*GDP Growth*) is an important variable to include in the model as it may reflect an incentive for China to pursue cooperative behavior (Mansfield & Pollins, 2009). Economic growth and expansion may influence state cooperation in the international environment (Jacques, 2009). I expect that the annual GDP growth rate measured as the percent change from one year to the next is a potentially important explanatory variable for the

Central Committee's preference for cooperativeness on international fronts.<sup>187</sup> This variable is indicated as *GDP Growth*. The GDP data available (1952-2008) is taken from annual issues of the State Commission of Statistics in China as measured in 2008 constant Renminbi (RMB) in millions (National Bureau of Statistics, 2009).<sup>188</sup>

The COPDAB and PANDA datasets are filtered to generate control variables reflecting the nature of international interactions where China is the TARGET state. The external influence by other states is a potentially important factor explaining state behavior (Robinson, 1994). Reciprocal cooperation or coercion, treating others as they treat you, is an empirically consistent theory. I expect that when other states behave cooperatively toward China that China reciprocates with cooperative behavior of its own. These control variables are identified as US-Sino relations (*US-Sino*), Soviet-Sino relations (*USSR-Sino*), Indian-Sino relations (*Indian-Sino*), and ROC-PRC relations (*ROC-Sino*). For example, *US-Sino* indicates the characterization of US policies *toward* China.

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<sup>187</sup> The causal direction of this factor is debatable. Naughton (1994, p. 50) , for example, found that "For nearly thirty years [1946-1976], then, China's assessment of its international relations shaped its domestic economic strategy more than the reverse."

<sup>188</sup> The annual *People's Republic of China Year Book* is also consulted for economic data (Editorial Department of the PRC Year Book, annual report).

## Chapter Six - Case Studies and Discussion

Case studies, in general, attempt to trace links between possible causes and observed outcomes. Historical sources are examined to see whether the causal process a theory hypothesizes is in fact evident in certain events (George & Bennett, 2005). Readers should bear in mind that the case studies that follow are not intended to offer proof of the dynamical theory of policy networks, but rather that there are fundamental patterns of policymaking consistent with the theory (Griffiths, 1999).

The imperfect fit of the dynamical model, mentioned earlier in this study, will become plainly apparent in this chapter. For example, the Sino-Soviet border conflict of 1969 is offered as an example of a Type 4 Foreign Policy Outcome even though it involved relatively few PLA divisions conducting small-scale actions across a very broad front. The Sino-Vietnam War of 1979 is offered as part and parcel of a Type 2 Foreign Policy Outcome even though it involved three full strength PLA corps conducting major combat operations outside of China's traditional boundaries. I acknowledge, up front, the obvious difficulties of trying to connect theory to reality, but suggest that the dynamical theory remains an internally, logically consistent theory with a satisfactory degree of plausibility.

### *1969: Type 4 Outcomes Case Study*

The 170 full members of the Ninth Central Committee were elected in April 1969. It was the beginning of the third year of the chaotic, and in many ways catastrophic, Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The preceding Eighth Central Committee, with only 97 members, was elected in September 1956 at the height of what many observers believe was the height of

the Party's unity, cohesiveness and collective leadership (Teiwes, 2011). By 1969, the paramount leader was still Mao, but his nearest potential competitor was Lin Biao. The Party had successfully established a strong centralized state, created a sense of national pride and prestige – especially in light of the Korean stalemate with the United States – and made considerable progress towards industrialization. In order to emphasize the tenor of 1969, it will be necessary to first discuss the historical significance of events leading up to it.

Two particularly important campaigns between 1956 and 1964 made China's political climate challenging for Mao. The first was Mao's Great Leap Forward (GLF). Begun in 1958, the Great Leap Forward was the Party's attempt to force China on the road to "more, better, and faster" economic development and social progress (Lieberthal, 2011 (1994)). The GLF was an alternative development strategy to the Soviet-inspired First Five Year Plan (FFYP) of 1953-1957. Based on the belief that mass mobilization could overcome traditional obstacles to transformation from a feudal society to communism, the Party expanded rural communization, increased steel production, and replaced technical specialists with political generalists (Lieberthal, 2011 (1994)).<sup>189</sup> Political zeal and extremism encouraged leaders at all levels to exaggerate productivity reports – especially grain harvests – led to widespread famine.<sup>190</sup>

By the summer of 1959, Peng Dehuai, Mao's potential competitor since the Gao-Rao Affair, criticized the "petty-bourgeois fanaticism" of the GLF at a Party conference at Lushan (Teiwes, 1979). Mao perceived Peng's critique as a personal attack and had Peng, the

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<sup>189</sup> This Type 4 domestic policy outcome (mass campaign) is consistent with the foreign policy outcome (coercive). At the foreign policy level in mid-1958 Mao and his colleagues approved Nie Rongzhen's formal recommendation to create the nuclear submarine and submarine launched ballistic missile programs. See also Lewis and Xue (1994).

<sup>190</sup> Lieberthal (2011 (1994)) related how the Party leadership, as a result of misplaced high expectations, allowed greater than normal proportions of grain harvests to be sold to the Soviet Union to avoid having the "surplus" go to waste. The grain needed to feed Chinese was exported.

commander of Chinese troops during the Korean War, purged. Lin Biao replaced Peng as the Defense Minister (Ladany, 1988). Liu Shaoqi became Mao's potential competitor following Peng Dehuai's fall from grace. More importantly, the GLF program and the resultant famine continued for the most part until 1962.

It was then that the second pre-GPCR campaign began: the Socialist Education Movement (SEM). The SEM – agreed to by Mao, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, and Deng Xiaoping – sought to reintroduce basic socialist values into Chinese society (Spence, 1990). Mao held Liu, his heir apparent, primarily responsible for the success or failure of the SEM. Class struggle became central in the fight to “cleanup” accounting procedures, property accumulation, and the calculation of work points in communes. Perhaps a forewarning of things to come, cadres were sent into the countryside learn from the peasants the value of collectivism and communes.

To be sure, the SEM was President and Vice-chairman Liu Shaoqi's mission (MacFarquhar, 1997). Mao had called for class struggle and collectivization at the Tenth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee in September 1962 (Dittmer, 1998). When it appeared that Liu Shaoqi was not achieving the stated goals in May 1963, Mao personally supervised the drafting of the “First Ten Points,” which officially initiated the Socialist Education Movement. Beijing mayor Peng Zhen, Liu's protégé, countered with his “Later Ten Points in September 1963.”<sup>191</sup> In 1964 Liu issued his own “Revised Later Ten Points.” By January 1965, Mao had had enough and criticized Liu's implementation of the SEM with his “Twenty-Three Articles” and claimed “persons in authority were taking the capitalist road” (Dittmer, 1998).

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<sup>191</sup> MacFarquhar (1997) refers to these as the “Former Ten Points” and the “Latter Ten Points.”



Liu Shaoqi, nearing the bitter end of his time as the nearest potential competitor, viewed the difficulties of the GLF recovery as coming from the “grass roots” while Mao saw the Party elite as the primary problem (MacFarquhar, 1997). The difference of opinion was the basis for the decisive break between Mao and Liu that occurred in 1965.<sup>192</sup>

Mao believed that the lack of success of the Great Leap Forward and the Socialist Education Movement was due to failures of the Party leaders. He placed the cross-hairs for the emerging Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution squarely on the political elite. Many scholars believe that the GPCR resulted from inner Party factionalism and the primary purpose was to replace Mao’s heir apparent, Liu Shaoqi, with Lin Biao (Dittmer, 1998). Mao launched the GPCR as a premeditated move to purge Liu and his power base. Mao used the relatively blunt instrument of Jiang Qing and her coterie (becoming the Central Cultural Revolution Group (CCRG) in April 1966) to cut away at Liu’s network at the periphery.

In 1961 in the depth of the GLF famine, Wu Han, a client of Peng Zhen and vice-mayor of Beijing, wrote two plays about an historical character (Hai Rui) who informed the emperor about the miserable conditions of the peasantry. Although Wu was never a member of the Central Committee, he certainly was a part of Peng Zhen’s personal network. Wu was actually encouraged by one of Mao’s secretaries to write the plays. In late-1965 Mao asked Peng Zhen to criticize Wu for writing plays that analogously attacked Mao and praised Peng Dehuai (Vogel, 2011). Peng temporized. Jiang Qing and Yao Wenyuan seized the moment and in November 1965 published their own criticism of Wu Han (Short, 1999). Initially, Peng Zhen and Lin Biao barred the publication of the criticism in the local press and in the *People’s Liberation Army*

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<sup>192</sup> Mao told Edgar Snow that he knew as early as January 1965 that Liu had to be purged (Dittmer, 1998, p. 110)

*Daily*, respectively (Gao, 2007). Their delay in coming out in support of the criticism was a risky maneuver.

Jiang and Yao's criticism set the stage for the purge of first Wu Han and Peng Zhen, then Liu Shaoqi (Dittmer, 1998).<sup>193</sup> When Peng Zhen was purged in April 1966, he was the first Politburo member to become a victim of the Cultural Revolution (Bartke, 1990). Momentum for Mao's undermining of Liu's leadership grew following the release of the "May 16 Circular" targeting "China's Khrushchev" and the posting of big character posters defining the upcoming struggle between the somewhat ambiguously defined "outs" against the "ins" (Short, 1999; Dittmer, 1998).<sup>194</sup> Chinese high school and university students were the first to demonstrate in support of the GPCR. The students understood, with the help of the CCRG, that Liu Shaoqi was "China's Khrushchev" and repeated strong verbal attacks against the "Number One Capitalist Roader." Liu Shaoqi's fate was sealed when he followed standard Party practice and sent work teams out to lead and guide the students in their protests (Dittmer, 1998). It was "incorrect" to have the targets of the Cultural Revolution trying to constrain it.

At the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee in August 1966, Deng Xiaoping, as Party general secretary, presented the agenda and Liu Shaoqi delivered the main speech which was a self-criticism of the work teams' errors (Dittmer, 1998). The writing must have been on the wall when Chen Boda<sup>195</sup> criticized both Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping (the Liu-Deng

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<sup>193</sup> Gao (2007) called Peng Zhen "one of the first victims of the Cultural Revolution."

<sup>194</sup> "Liu had proclaimed that he was the "one and only state chairman during an extraordinary era." ... Liu seemed to be aiming his efforts at upsetting the very leadership of the CCP, such was the provocative vigor with which he acted. He was a threat to the supremacy of Mao, who decided that when the right moment presented itself he would have to destroy this Chinese Khrushchev" (Gao, 2007, p. 92).

<sup>195</sup> Chen Boda was born in 1904 and joined the Party in 1927. In the late-1930s, he taught at the Central Party School and served as Mao's political research assistant and ghost writer. He became a member of the Standing

line) and Mao expressed his dissatisfaction with the Party elite. By the end of the plenum, Lin Biao was promoted within the Politburo and Liu Shaoqi was demoted to eighth place and Deng Xiaoping lowered to sixth in rank.

By late-1966, Lin Biao, Kang Sheng, and Chen Boda criticized Liu Shaoqi for adopting the “bourgeois line,” for incorrectly sending out work teams, and for suppressing the people. Lin, ironically, further implied that Liu was complicit in a coup plot. Kang accused Liu of “extinguishing class struggle.” And Chen argued that Liu followed an “incorrect line” and was actually “counter-revolutionary” (Dittmer, 1998). Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and many others were on the verge of being purged.

Liu Shaoqi was formally purged at the Twelfth Plenum in October 1968 and died in prison a year later in 1969 (Leung, 2002). Deng Xiaoping, targeted by the CCRG as the “Number Two Capitalist Roader,” was under house arrest in October 1966. Deng was expelled from the Central Committee in April 1969 and sent to Jiangxi province with his family to work at a tractor repair station (Vogel, 2011). By the time of the Twelfth Plenum, the membership had fallen drastically from 97 full members to only 44 – a decrease of nearly 55 percent. The need to reinvigorate the Central Committee with new members was obvious.

The Central Committee-year of 1969 is an example of across the board declines in centralities and centralization leading to Type 4 policy outcomes. Mao intended the election of the Ninth Central Committee in 1969 to serve as “the watershed, between old and new, bad and good, pollution and purity, revisionism and revolution” (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals,

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Committee and oversaw drafting the May 16 Circular that led to the spread of the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution.

2006).<sup>196</sup> As noted earlier, the Ninth Central Committee was “the story of the victors and victims of the Cultural Revolution” (Klein & Hager, 1971). What changes in the social network occurred as a result of dwindling from 97 members in 1956 to 44 members in 1968 – and expanding to 170 members in 1969? In terms of individual centrality and group centralization, who were the winners and who were the losers? And what intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policy changes accompanied those changes in the network structure?

A look at the Eighth Central Committee in 1956 shows where the key players in this case study stood when times were good and the Party enjoyed a high degree of unity (Figure 6.1). In terms of the network structure, the measure of individual centrality for Mao was 52% and 51% for his potential competitor, Peng Dehuai. (Incidentally, the centrality measures for future potential competitors can be stated for Liu Shaoqi (47%), Lin Biao (45%) and Zhou Enlai (52%).) The measure of centralization of the entire Central Committee of 1956 stood at 31%. More specifically, the combination of  $V_{PL}$  (+14.2%),  $V_C$  (-15.8%), and  $V_{CC}$  (+2.1%) predicts Type 2 policy outcomes for 1956 (collective elite leadership, modest domestic reforms, and selective engagement of other states), which is consistent with the observations. In fact, the network diagram exhibits—at least viscerally—some of the core-periphery characteristics noticeable in the extremely stable Central Committee of the 1990s and 2000s.

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<sup>196</sup> At the First Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee (April 28, 196), Mao declared that “the revolution has not yet ended” (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989).

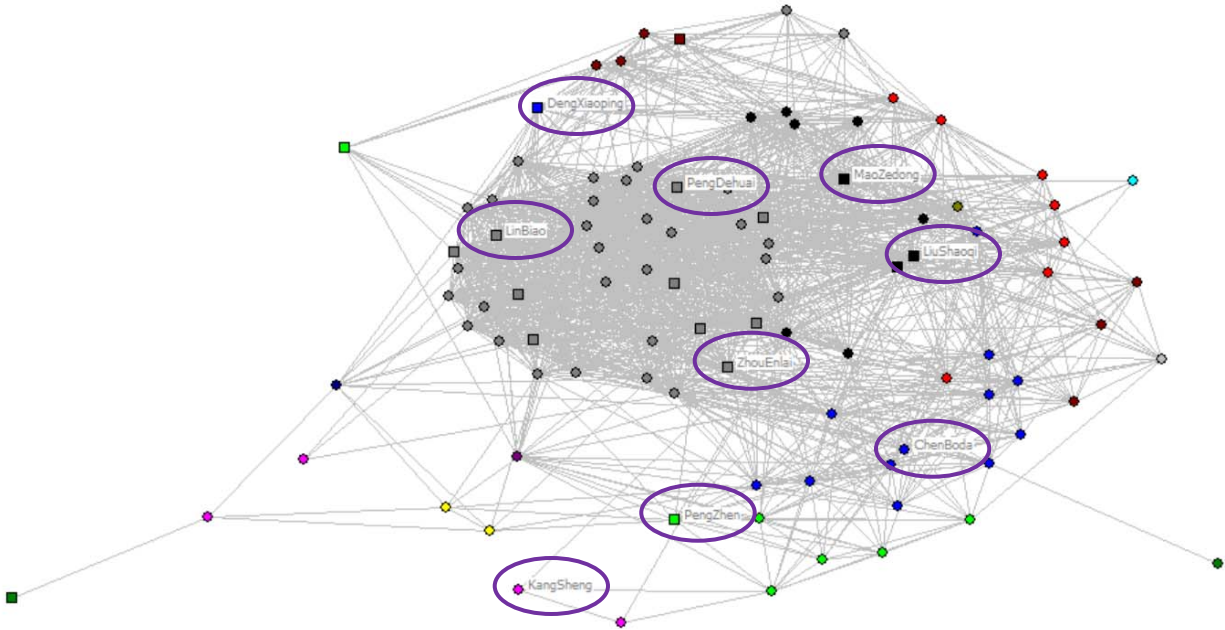


Figure 6.1 Eighth Central Committee of 1956. Locations (top-bottom) of Deng Xiaoping, Mao Zedong, Peng Dehuai, Lin Biao, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Boda, Peng Zhen, and Kang Sheng are shown.

By 1959 on the eve of the fall of Peng Dehuai, the social network had changed with the changes in the measures of individual centrality and group centralization predicting Type 3 policy outcomes. In 1965 as the storm of the Cultural Revolution began to threaten and the number of Central Committee members dwindled to 90 full members, Mao's centrality (53%) had risen one percent. The centrality of Mao's nearest potential competitor at that time, Liu Shaoqi, fell by one percent to 46%. Meanwhile the Central Committee's measure of centralization held steady at 31%. The combination of dynamic changes predicts Type 3 policy outcomes in 1966. The trend was for Type 1 and Type 2 policies in the 1950s and early 1960s with Type 3 policy spikes in 1959 and 1966 (See Figure 5.1).

Even though policy changes were on the horizon following the Eighth Central Committee's Eleventh Plenum in August 1966 (Figure 6.2), the network structure did not

change. In that year the network structure for the 77 full members had not changed appreciably. Mao's measure of centrality remained steady at 52% and Liu's centrality fell two percent to 44%. The group centralization also remained at 31%. The dynamical theory implies that policies should remain status quo, which was a Type 3 policy outcome. At the time, the May 16 Circular launching the Cultural Revolution in 1966 initially appeared as yet another campaign in a series of campaigns. No one had guessed that the Cultural Revolution would be radically different.<sup>197</sup>

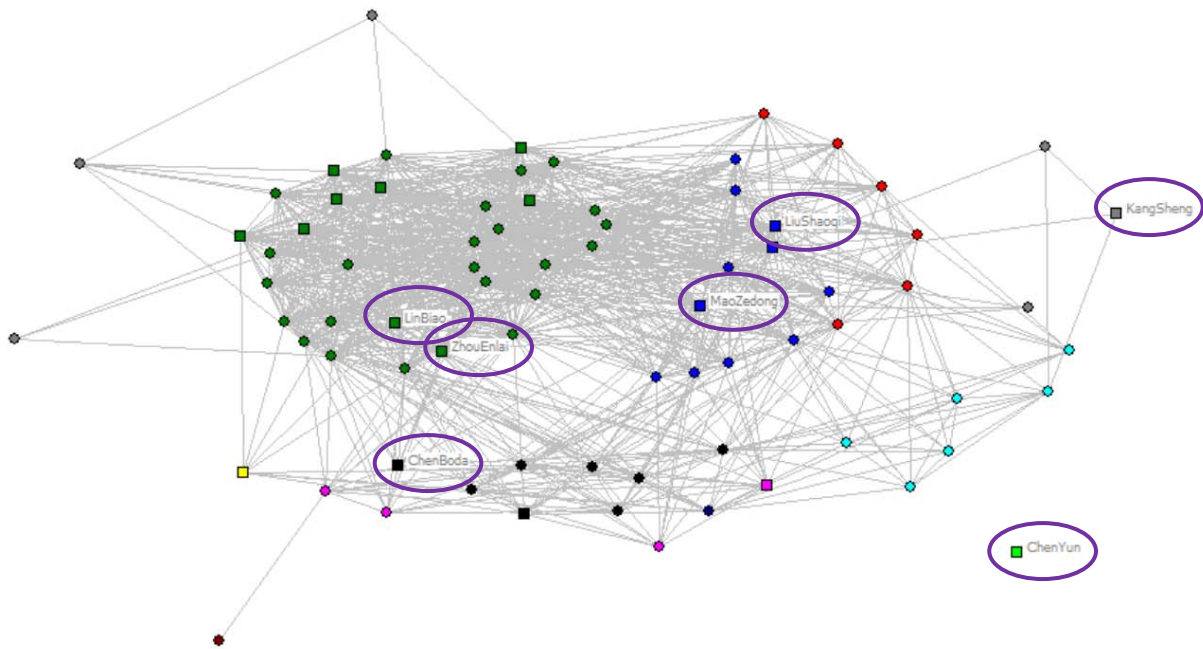


Figure 6.2 Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of 1966. Locations (left-right) of Lin Biao, Chen Boda, Zhou Enlai, Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Chen Yun and Kang Sheng are shown.

The election of the new Central Committee in April 1969 was indeed a watershed event in terms of changes in the social network structure (Figure 6.3). Only 19 percent of the Eighth Central Committee was reelected to the Ninth Central Committee. As the paramount leader,

<sup>197</sup> The dynamical theory of policy networks would not have predicted the Cultural Revolution as evidenced in Figure 5.1. Owing to the probabilistic nature of political models, it is not surprising that the dynamical theory does not predict every policy outcome and, in the case of the Cultural Revolution, many events are unpredictable even by those at the center of political processes.

Mao's measure of centrality fell 26 percentage points to 26% while the centrality of his new potential competitor, Lin Biao, fell 20 percentage points to 39%. The entire Central Committee's measure of centralization fell from 31% to 24%. More specifically, the combination of  $V_{PL}$  (-22.0%),  $V_C$  (-19.7%), and  $V_{CC}$  (-6.8%) places 1969 in the Type 4 category of policy outcomes: elite purges, mass campaigns, and coercive foreign policies.

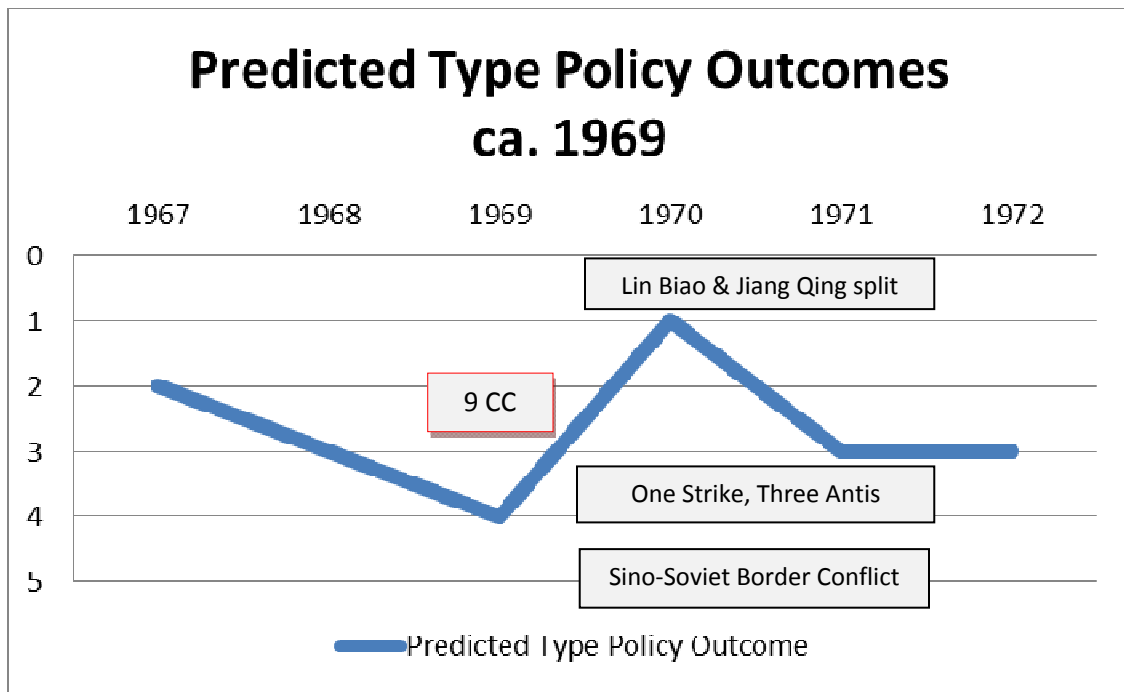


Figure 6.3 Predicted type policy outcomes surround the Ninth Central Committee of 1969.

The social network diagram for 1969 is revealing (Figure 6.4). Many of the Party elites of the Eighth Central Committee are gone: Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and Peng Zhen among them. Despite both Mao and Lin Biao's centralities falling precipitously, they actually moved closer to the center, spatially speaking, of the remaining network compared to 1966 – clearly a function of bringing in new members and promoting old members with *guanxi* ties. Mao conceded “some provinces are more fully represented, others less so ... But most significantly,

we're getting rid of Liu Shaoqi and his crowd" (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006, p. 293). One notable new Central Committee member was Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, who simultaneously became a Politburo member. Two other members of the Gang of Four, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, were promoted to the Politburo yet did not belong to the network core (blue nodes). Zhou Enlai, Li Xiannian, and Ye Jianying—managed to maintain their centrality.

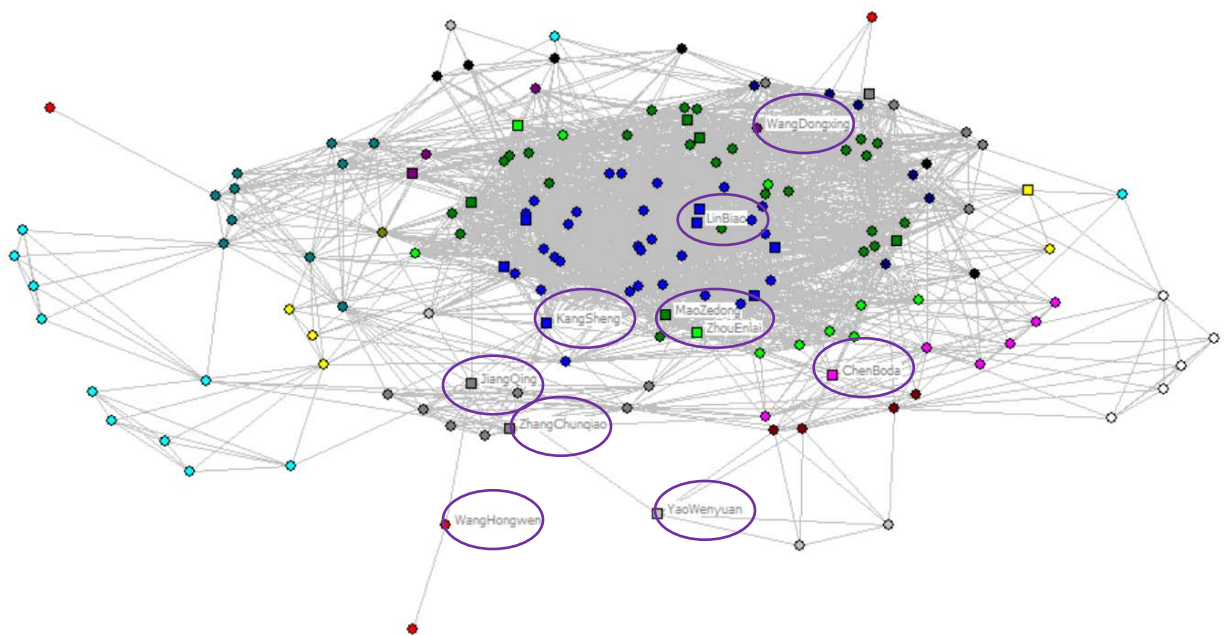


Figure 6.4 Ninth Central Committee of 1969. Locations of key leaders, including the Gang of Four, are highlighted.

To be sure, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution did not come to an end with the Ninth Central Committee. The Central Committee of 1969 marked the beginning of the end of the Cultural Revolution. Mao conceded in a speech to the CCP's Ninth Congress: "the job of the Great Cultural Revolution is not yet finished" (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006). However, instead of the institutionalization of the past policies and procedures as predicted by Chen Boda



and Kang Sheng at the time, new, more coercive, policies were adopted and the alliances of the GPCR fragmented into new, competing cliques.

Liu Shaoqi was well on his way to exiting the Party's political stage as Mao's potential competitor in late 1965. The power vacuum was quickly filled. The creation of the Central Case Examination Group (CCEG), led by Zhou Enlai, and the marginalization of the Central Cultural Revolution Group (CCRG), led by Jiang Qing, set the conditions for open rivalry between the "civilian Maoists" and the "PLA Maoists" (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006).<sup>198</sup> Although Mao expressed his support for keeping the CCRG as a formal Party organ in July 1969, in reality the CCRG was not mentioned in the new constitution, became less active and influential, issued fewer policy documents, and eventually suspended operations in September 1969. This is interesting in light of the promotion of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan to the Politburo. Paradoxically, while the formal influence of the CCRG clique waned, the individual informal influence of the clique members grew.

The CCEG, established in May 1966, expanded its operations. Approximately 400,000 people reviewed over 4 million case files from 1937 to 1949 to investigate Liu Shaoqi's crimes against the Party and the nation. The October 1968 indictment against Liu Shaoqi called him a "traitor, renegade, and scab" (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006). The fact that it was the more secretive, but powerful, CCEG and not the more media friendly CCRG delivering the *coup de*

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<sup>198</sup> The relationship between the two groups was extremely complex. Deng Xiaoping initially led the CCEG and Zhou Enlai led the group for most of the Cultural Revolution. Both groups were responsible to the Standing Committee and "virtually the entire CCRG" were members of the CCEG. When the CCEG reorganized into three offices, Wang Dongxing, Huang Yongsheng, and Xie Fuzhi were named to head each office. Wang played a role in protecting Deng Xiaoping during the Cultural Revolution. Huang was Lin Biao's chief of staff during the Cultural Revolution. Xie, as noted below, was aligned with Jiang Qing and the Gang of Four. Wang Dongxing played a role in the arrest of the Gang of Four (1976) and led the CCEG at the end of its tenure (1978-1979). See MacFarquhar and Schoenhals (Mao's Last Revolution, 2006).

*grace* is a major indication of the declining importance of Jiang Qing to the CCRG. Liu Shaoqi, imprisoned and denied medical care, died in custody in November 1969.

As if taking the helm of a sinking ship, Jiang Qing rose to lead the civilian Maoists as Chen Boda and Kang Sheng's political prominence faded. The civilian Maoists also counted Politburo members Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, based in Shanghai, and Xie Fuzhi,<sup>199</sup> based in Beijing, among their numbers. Patronized as a balance against Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying and Deng Xiaoping, the civilian Maoist clique derived its political influence and authority directly from Chairman Mao.

The PLA Maoists, however, were a cohesive subgroup loyal to Vice-chairman and heir apparent Lin Biao. The PLA officers expected their fortunes to increase with Lin's expected rise to the pinnacle of power. Lin's wife, Ye Qun, not only served as the primary coordinator for the PLA faction, but also played the intermediary between the civilian and PLA Maoists (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006). The cliques were plainly obvious to the Party elite and interaction between the cliques enabled each one to assess and reassess its position relative to the paramount leader.

As a result of the interaction between the cliques during the first three years of the GPCR, there was a level of accommodation and compromise between Lin Biao and the PLA Maoists, on one side, and Jiang Qing and the civilian Maoists on the other. *Renmin ribao* initiated the "learn from the PLA" campaign in February 1964. In May 1965, Lin Biao could rightfully claim that the PLA had become "the Great School of Mao Zedong Thought" (Jin,

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<sup>199</sup> Xie was born in Hubei Province in 1909, served as a political commissar in the Red Army in the Civil War, and was the Minister of Public Security (1959-1972). The appellation of *civilian* Maoist is meant to show his alignment with the Gang of Four's support for the Red Guards as a balance against the PLA during the Cultural Revolution.

1999).<sup>200</sup> In August 1966, Lin Biao, the new potential competitor, ordered PLA troops not to interfere with Jiang Qing's Red Guard students. In April 1967 Jiang Qing told Mao that she would ask Lin Biao, "the god of the PLA," to help her attack the bourgeois Party members.

For his part, Lin Biao even allowed Jiang Qing to hold a cultural forum with PLA leaders and directed that all PLA literary documents be reviewed by Jiang Qing (MacFarquhar, 1997). The title of the report tells the story: "Summary of the army forum on literature and art work called by Jiang Qing at the behest of Lin Biao." The god of Chinese culture spoke with the god of the Red Army. Nevertheless, the Cultural Revolution became a power struggle between Lin and Jiang that erupted into open conflict in 1969.

Although leaders of both factions were elected to the Ninth Central Committee, Jiang Qing's supporters received fewer votes than Lin's. Jiang felt humiliated and demanded an investigation (Jin, 1999). The bad blood between Jiang and Lin spilled over at a Politburo meeting after the election as Jiang openly criticized Lin Biao's report at the Twelfth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee. The friction between the two factions became even more apparent in May 1970 when Mao asked the Politburo to discuss how to restore government institutions, develop the economy, and prepare for war with the Soviet Union.

The factions were split on what the guiding principle for China should be. The PLA Maoists believed that "Mao Zedong Thought" ought to be the guiding principle. The civilian Maoists stood in opposition. At the center of the debate was whether "Mao had creatively developed Marxism," as Lin had once stated. Mao had always advised the Communist Party to apply Marxist-Leninist theory to Chinese conditions. The winner of the debate was apparent at

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<sup>200</sup> The alignment of the PLA with Mao Zedong Thought, manifested by Lin Biao's ubiquitous "little red book," may explain why the civilian Maoists opposed Mao Zedong Thought as a guiding principle.

the Second Plenum in August 1970 at Lushan where Mao allowed Lin to declare in a speech to the Central Committee, 40 percent of whom had military ties, that Mao Zedong Thought was the guiding principle for the country. For the moment, the civilian Maoists were thoroughly eviscerated and it seemed that only Lin Biao could destroy Lin Biao—which is exactly what seems to have happened one year later.

The preceding discussion highlights how the election of the Ninth Central Committee in 1969 marked a significant change in intra-Party politics. During the early years of the Cultural Revolution, there was at least a modicum of cooperation between the two major factions led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing. MacFarquhar (1997) called it “a marriage of convenience.” After the election, the bitter rivalry was practically institutionalized in the CCEG and CCRG, and was manifested in the debate over the content and meaning of the constitution. The Cultural Revolution would not end well for either Lin Biao, who was probably killed in 1971 in a plane crash while escaping the country presumably after a failed coup attempt,<sup>201</sup> or Jiang Qing, who was arrested, tried and convicted following Mao’s death in 1976.

China’s official domestic policies became coercive following the election of the Ninth Central Committee in 1969. China was not yet ready to return to any sense of political, cultural, or economic normalcy in 1969 (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006). Harding (2011) argued that “the damage of the early phase of the Cultural Revolution [to certain facets of society] ... was only moderate. More detrimental policies were implemented after 1969.” The overarching domestic policy was the particularly brutal movement known as the “One Strike, Three Anti”

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<sup>201</sup> There is a great deal of uncertainty about Lin Biao’s demise. See Jin (The Culture of Power: The Lin Biao Incident in the Cultural Revolution, 1999) for one version of the event. Lin’s alleged crimes were detailed in a 92-page “top secret” document circulated in months following the plane crash in September 1971. Lin was finally publicly denounced at the Tenth National Party Congress in August 1973.

campaign launched in February 1970. In the first ten months, according to Party estimates, nearly 285,000 people were arrested as “counterrevolutionaries.”

The “One Strike” was a nationwide crackdown on “counterrevolutionary destructive activities” by local leaders throughout China. Unlike the chaotic first three years of the Cultural Revolution, “One Strike” was a formal domestic policy. The ambiguously, but tersely, worded directive called on the people to “resolutely put down those active counterrevolutionary elements who collude with the enemy.” “One Strike” must have struck fear in the hearts of many who managed to survive the Cultural Revolution thus far. The directive encouraged the execution of those who conspire to revolt, commit murder and physical assault, commit arson, settle old scores, slander the Party, and steal state property. More ominous was the targeting of people who “disrupt social order.” The former Red Guard students who had worked to “Bombard the headquarters” were right to be concerned with the official policy to crackdown on them.

If identifying the targets of the “One Strike” was problematic, then determining the intended victims of the “Three Antis” was confusing. The Party called for an all-out “high tide” and “sorting out” with “the power of a thunderbolt” (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006). Nominally, the “Three Antis” targeted graft, profiteering, and extravagance. Practically speaking, many university students, such as those belonging to the “Communist Self-Study University,” were arrested and executed for counterrevolutionary activities in August 1970.

The crackdown following the election of the Ninth Central Committee affected Chinese in all walks of life. Politburo member Chen Yun’s wife, Yu Ruomu, was accused of being an “active counterrevolutionary,” but managed to escape with her life. Mass sentencing rallies,

known as “red typhoons,” were held throughout China and continued throughout the early 1970s. Almost anything qualified as a serious crime and almost anyone could be labeled an enemy of the people. In Hebei Province the campaign lasted until December 1972.

China’s foreign policy following the election of Ninth Central Committee was clearly more coercive than before. China’s relationship with the Soviet Union had been in decline since the death of Stalin in March 1953, but especially since Khrushchev’s denunciation of Stalin and his rejection of the personality cult in 1956. The Great Leap Forward of 1958 was a clear manifestation of two significantly divergent understandings of Marxist-Leninist theory. The Socialist Education Movement of 1962 led to Moscow’s decision to withdraw hundreds of its technical advisors from China and to renege on its promise of assistance with China’s nuclear weapons program (Lüthi, 2008). The Sino-Soviet alliance of 1950 was on a long, but predictable, decline and by the time the Ninth Central Committee was elected, the sense of fear was pervasive.

From 1964 to 1969, the number of Sino-Soviet border clashes, a result of poorly defined boundaries following the Second World War, occurred with increasing regularity and violence. In March 1969, one month before the First Plenum of the Ninth Central Committee, Chinese troops brazenly ambushed a Soviet patrol. The Chinese Communist Party leaders claimed that the Soviet force, after supposedly brazenly entering Chinese territory, was “totally annihilated” (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006). Over a two week period, Soviet and Chinese troops engaged each other in battles that resulted in perhaps 300 soldiers killed and hundreds more wounded. In the end, Chinese troops held the disputed Zhenbao Island in the middle of the Ussuri River. The Soviets maintained large numbers of troops, equipment, and even missiles

along the Sino-Soviet border (Lüthi, 2008). In a sense, the Sino-Soviet border conflict of 1969, the height of direct military engagement, resulted in a return to the *status quo ante bellum*.

China's elite was willing to risk all-out war with its neighboring nuclear power. The high level of risk acceptance among policymakers in Beijing, coincident with a major Party election and a significantly disruptive domestic campaign suggests that Mao, the paramount leader, and Lin Biao, the potential competitor, had more in mind than establishing firm control of Zhenbao Island in the middle of the Ussuri River.<sup>202</sup> Mao tipped his hand: "Even though people hold this viewpoint or that viewpoint in the Great Cultural Revolution, or have split into different factions, or in some cases haven't managed to unite yet (and there are still bad people around), under these circumstances one has to prepare for the worst ... and when the worst is exposed, it serves the dictatorship of the proletariat even better" (MacFarquhar & Schoenhals, 2006). Mao was obviously thinking about maintaining his hold on the dictatorship in the context of intra-Party factionalism, domestic campaigns, and foreign adversaries.

The election of the Ninth Central Committee in April 1969 resulted in the significant loss of centrality for the Party's paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Central Committee. The policies adopted afterward—particularly the end of accommodation between Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the "One Strike, Three Antis" movement, and the Sino-Soviet split—were consistent with the Type 4 policy outcomes.

#### *1978: Type 2 Outcomes Case Study*

The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee held in December 1978 was an historic turning point for the People's Republic of China. Since the plenary meeting occurred in

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<sup>202</sup> See also "Party Report: On Relations with Foreign Countries." (April 28, 1969). In *Peking Review*.

late 1978, the observable implications (policy outcomes) occurred in 1979. The paramount leader in 1978 was Hua Guofeng, Mao's appointed successor, who still held his formal position as party chairman. The potential competitor was Deng Xiaoping, who was purged during the Cultural Revolution in 1966 and again in 1976, was rehabilitated and elected to the Eleventh Central Committee in August 1977. While the number of full members increased from 201 to 210 in December 1978, all eyes were on Deng Xiaoping, who was perceptibly moving Mao's chosen successor, Hua Guofeng, out of the way. Deng was taking charge (Salisbury, 1992).

Deng was steadily placing his trusted clients—Zhao Ziyang, Hu Yaobang, Wan Li, and Yang Shangkun—into positions of responsibility and authority (Baum, 1994). Zhao was elected to the Tenth Central Committee in 1973, was a successful policy innovator in Guangdong and Sichuan provinces, and became an alternate Politburo member in 1977. Hu served in the celebrated 8<sup>th</sup> Route Army in the 1930s, was elected to the Eighth Central Committee in 1956, and was ascending to the Politburo in 1978. Wan was elected to the Eleventh Central Committee in 1977 and, like Zhao, experimented with agricultural and industrial policies, but in Anhui Province. A close political associate of Deng, Wan and Deng often played bridge together. Yang was freed in December 1978 after nearly 13 years in prison. Yang was a Long Marcher and one-time competitor of Lin Biao.<sup>203</sup> He was eventually placed in the vitally important Military Commission and the Central Committee's General Office. Yang was entrusted with high level Party responsibilities for a variety of support services, ranging from archives to bodyguards.

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<sup>203</sup> In another example of the role of Central Work Conferences, Mao used a conference in March 1966 to attack Peng Zhen and the "February Outline," a report that minimized the political implications of the *Hai Rui* debate. The way was cleared for a May 1966 Politburo meeting in which Luo Ruiqing and Peng Zhen were purged. During the Politburo meeting, Lin Biao accused Luo Ruiqing, Peng Zhen, and Yang Shangkun (the director of the Secretariat) of opposing Mao Zedong Thought and even plotting a military coup against Mao. (Harding, 2011)



The policies pursued in late 1978 and early 1979 are consistent with Type 2 Outcomes (Figure 6.5). At the intra-Party level, policies reflected collective leadership. Domestic policies encouraged modest political and economic reforms. And most evident, China’s political elite selectively engaged other countries with very different foreign policy goals. All of these were coincident with measurable changes in the Central Committee network structure.

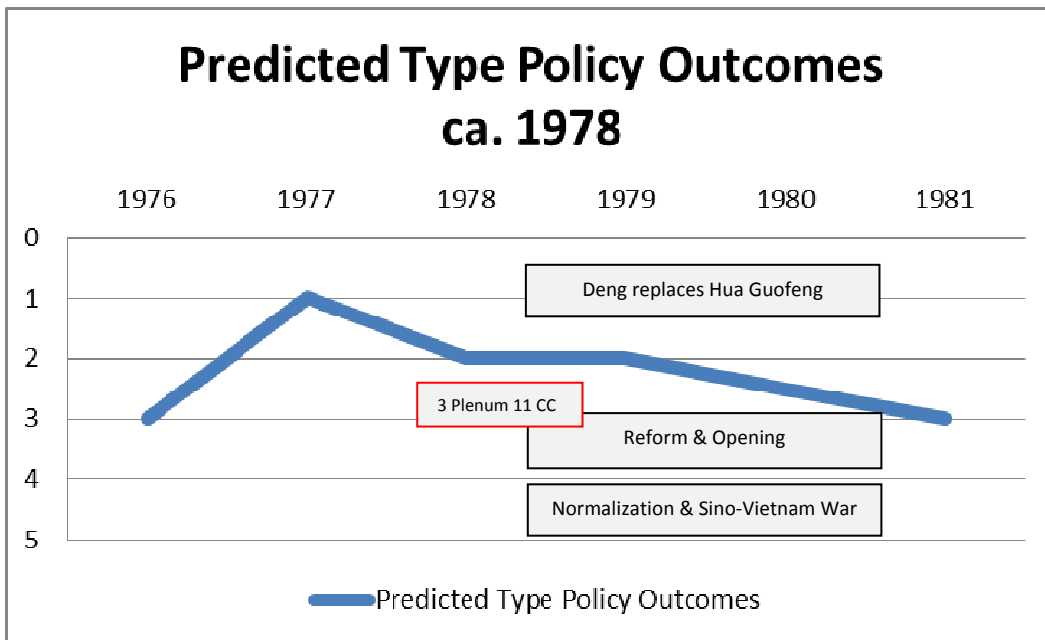


Figure 6.5 Predicted type policy outcomes surrounding the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of 1978.

Hua Guofeng was named the Chairman of the Party upon Mao’s death in September 1976. He was the last “Chairman” and was the formal leader until 1981. In 1977, Hua’s measure of centrality was 16.92%. The next year it fell slightly to 16.84%, but rebounded in 1979 to 17.35%. During this period Deng Xiaoping was clearly the rising challenger and political competitor to Hua. Deng’s measure of centrality in 1977 was 28.86%, and it rose to 29.08% where it would remain until 1981. The measure of centralization of the entire Central Committee was 20.42% in 1977, rose to 20.95% the next year, and increased to 21.34% in 1979.

Specifically, the combination of  $V_{PL}$  (+0.2%),  $V_C$  (-0.1%), and  $V_{CC}$  (+5.3%) in 1978 predicts Type 2 policies (Figure 6.5). In both 1978 and 1979, the changes in the socio-metrics of the Central Committee network lead to the expectation of Type 2 Policy Outcomes: collective elite leadership, modest domestic reforms, and selective engagement of other states.

Although factional politics still served as the underlying dynamic in China's political culture – as it does today – the post-Mao leadership operated with a new, arguably gentler, set of rules of engagement. For example, the debate between Hua's "Two Whatevers" formula and Deng's "Seeking Truth from Facts" model was, compared to sloganeering contests during the Mao era, rather benign. Although Hua, leading the Maoist faction, is often portrayed as Deng's passive stooge during the succession struggle, Hua was well-aware of and actively opposed Deng's inevitable return to leadership. Nevertheless, Deng and Hua each worked to implement the Four Modernizations to their own political advantage (Baum, 1994). Both the pragmatists and the Maoists shared the view that calls for Western-style democracy represented a threat to the one-party political system. Another indicator of the change in the intra-Party environment was the rehabilitation of virtually all of the victims of the Cultural Revolution at the Third Plenum.

Despite the obvious competition between Deng and Hua – and between the numerous factions within the Central Committee – there was a remarkable sense of collective decision making. Perhaps the single most important component of the Four Modernizations was the need for national economic growth. The debate revolved around how growth would be encouraged and how fast. In true Leninist fashion, the arguments were made within elite circles, but once the decision was made the entire Party structure was bound to implement the

policy. Factional dynamics within Deng's emerging reform-oriented coalition pushed first toward the loosening of centralized control of the economy and then toward tightening – and back again.

The ascendant heirs apparent, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, pursued greater economic innovation and political decentralization. Resurgent elders Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, and Ye Jianying, acting in opposition, urged adoption of an agenda that enabled the Party center to moderate China's modernization (Baum, 1994). Deng always sought the powerful role of “balancer” between the two ever-shifting factions. In the end, the collective decision making environment was best seen as economic policies moved from loosening to tightening and back again. Probably the most telling indication of the new collective leadership style was the fact that Hua Guofeng – marginalized and demoted – was not purged and even remained a member of the Central Committee until 2002.

As previously discussed, the Central Committee sought to implement modest reforms in line with the Four Modernizations. Deng and his co-elites understood that the Cultural Revolution was “a great catastrophe” and that Mao left China poor and backward. There was agreement that implementing the Four Modernizations program did not include either political pluralism or democracy. In December 1978, the Party adopted Deng's plan to return farming to household control: the “responsibility system.” Households were given plots of land and a contract with a production team. The contract specified that agricultural production over and above quotas could be kept or sold on the free market. The rural reforms represented a modest modernization effort.

Beginning in early 1979, pilot financial incentive programs for enterprise reform were ratified by the Central Committee. These incentives – an “industrial responsibility system” – bound state enterprises to a “profit and loss contract.” Basic profits went to the state, but excess production could be used to pay managers and workers. The industrial reforms resulted in higher wage compensation. By 1982, industrial reforms touched all industrial sectors and the foundation for China’s export-driven economy was set.

There were limits to reform following the Third Plenum. In 1979, only four special economic zones (SEZs) were established in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, and Xiamen – all southern coastal cities. The purposes of the SEZs were to gain experience regulating foreign direct investments, accumulate foreign hard currency, and use the foreign currencies to buy foreign technology and products. In the process, Chinese could learn – in a controlled environment – Western management methods and business contract norms. By limiting SEZs, Deng was able to accommodate Chen Yun’s concerns regarding foreign influence (i.e. spiritual pollution) while demonstrating the practicality of opening China to the world.

Also at the domestic policy level, political democracy – the “fifth modernization” – was not one of the intended reforms. In 1978, wall posters were put up near the Zhongnanhai Party compound in Beijing. Democracy Wall, as it came to be known, became a focal point for students, workers, and even former Red Guards calling for political reform (Nathan, *Chinese Democracy*, 1986). In December 1978, President Carter declared that human rights would be a core element of his foreign policy. A week later he announced the normalization of US relations with mainland China. A week after that the Third Plenum met. Although the timing of the

Democracy Wall movement and the US stance on human rights was hardly coincidental, the lack of political reform revealed the limits of China's modest reforms of 1978-1979.

The idea of a foreign policy based on selective engagement was manifested in China's foreign policy coincident with the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee. Even as China normalized relations with the United States, Chinese leaders were planning to attack Vietnam (Kissinger, 2011). Keeping in mind the head-to-head machinations occurring between the paramount leader and the potential competitor, the factionalism within the Central Committee circumscribed the bargaining space at the time. What was going on behind the scenes of China's decision to go to war against Vietnam less than a decade after Vietnam defeated the United States?

China was certainly using the triangular relationship between the Soviet Union, the United States, and China. During the first decade of the Cold War, Beijing sided with Moscow. As relations with the Soviet Union became strained, China pursued a unilateral foreign policy (Garver, 1993). Behind the scenes in 1978-1979, the collective leadership's need to carefully navigate a foreign policy of selective engagement is readily apparent. Hua Guofeng, the waning paramount leader, attacked the Soviet Union's expansionist policies in Southeast Asia and its collusion with the United States in the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II (Baum, 1994). Deng Xiaoping assumed a more cautious approach to foreign policy—even surreptitiously vetting China's military action with President Carter.

The Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee made two major "cooperative" foreign policy decisions. Just prior to the plenary meeting, the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with Japan was ratified. Later, China established normal diplomatic and trade relations with the

United States (Zhang B. , 2003).<sup>204</sup> These two policy decisions marked a turning point in the Party's selective approach to foreign relations, setting the stage for reforms and the policy of openness with developed nations. Selective engagement also requires that some countries would get the coercive end of China's foreign policy stick.

China's attack on Vietnam in early 1979 resulted from the collision of three groups of conservative Chinese leaders. In a sense the Central Committee was somewhat fragmented along foreign policy fault lines. They were all conservative in the sense that they perceived Vietnam as a rogue, traditionally tributary, state in need of discipline and as a threat to Maoist conceptions of China as the vanguard of socialist revolution in Southeast Asia (Scobell, 2003). Disagreements among the leaders of these three groups arose over the proper course of action with respect to Vietnam's pressure on China's ally in Cambodia. The paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, proposed outright attacking Vietnam in order to divert Vietnam's attention away from Cambodia (Scobell, 2003). The waning leader, Hua Guofeng, moderately supported invading China's southern neighbor, but was concerned about the potential contradiction with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (Scobell, 2003). The rising challenger, Chen Yun, firmly opposed invading Vietnam and cited the economic burden of war and the potential of drawing Soviet involvement in the conflict (Scobell, 2003). Deng's decision to invade Vietnam and China's relatively quick withdrawal reflected the compromise position.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> In January 1979, Deng and Carter signed a cultural exchange agreement, an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation, a high-energy physics agreement, and a consulate agreement. In May 1979, a long-term trade treaty, including a most favored nation clause, was concluded. In August 1979, US Vice President Mondale engaged in "extremely productive and friendly" talks with Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, eventually signing another cultural exchange agreement and a \$2B credit for hydroelectric power projects. Mondale also opened the first US Consulate in China in 30 years.

<sup>205</sup> This event serves as an excellent example of the flow of policymaking from the Politburo to the Central Committee through Central Work Conferences. Lieberthal and Oksenberg (1988) referred to Central Work

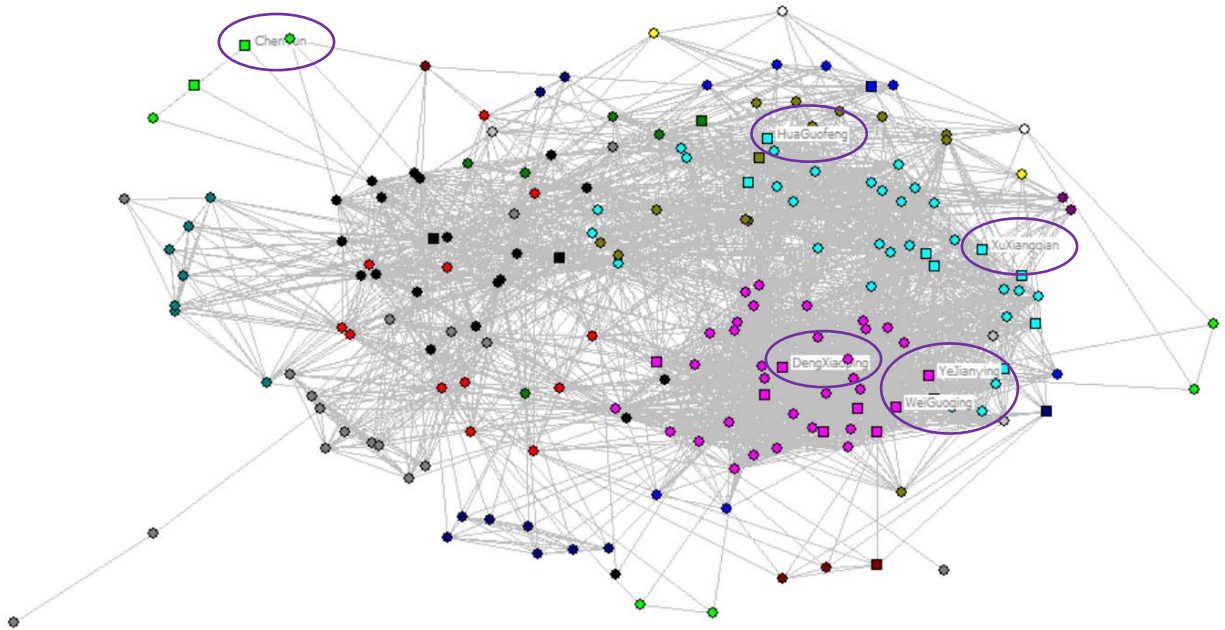


Figure 6.6 Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of 1978.

In December 1978, Vietnam invaded Cambodia and military forces in the Sino-Vietnam border region began mobilizing for war. Interstate rail lines were closed and troops from both sides were deployed to the border provinces (Whiting, 2001 (1975); Scobell, 2003). The Soviet Union’s coincident invasion of Afghanistan only served as proof of Soviet aggressive foreign policy (Westad, 2007). Deng Xiaoping’s landmark meeting with US President Jimmy Carter in late-January, during which Deng mentioned China’s intention to punish Vietnam, seemingly confirmed America’s tacit support for a Chinese attack on Vietnam. Following Deng’s return to China, top civilian and military leaders held a 4-day military planning session.

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Conferences as “secret gatherings” of “officials from diverse localities and hierarchical systems” to mobilize support, criticize and gain consensus over policies. The Central Work Conference of November 18-December 18, 1978 evaluated, among a number of other critical issues, the situation between Cambodia and Vietnam. The decision reached at that Central Work Conference was formalized at the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee (December 18-22, 1978) that immediately followed (Scobell, 2003).

The attack commenced on February 17, 1979 with a heavy artillery barrage across Vietnam's northern border. The ground assault consisted of two axes of attack: one in the west from Yunnan province and the other in the east from Guangxi province. The PLA offensive met intense resistance from Vietnamese defenders and by March 5 offensive operations ended. Once the attack had ground to a halt, Ye Jianying called the operation a "scathing indictment" of the PLA's shortcomings and argued that the troops be withdrawn immediately – which was done. Xu Xiangqian observed "we have gained experience in all aspects [and this] will lead to a very good postmortem" (Scobell, 2003). Deng Xiaoping claimed that China's international prestige as a major power was enhanced. Chen Yun was highly critical of the effect of China's punitive action on the Chinese economy, which was his policy priority. China has not conducted another large-scale combat operation since the 1979 attack on Vietnam.

The scenario just described paints a picture of a rising paramount leader and the potential competitor searching for his own policy space. It is clear, at least insofar as foreign policies are concerned, that Hua Guofeng was not involved in making foreign policy beyond criticizing Soviet imperialist ambitions and collusion with the United States. Deng Xiaoping provided the decisive vote among the Party's leadership. And Chen Yun, chosen to head the new 100-member Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, tasked with enforcing Party rules and regulations, was gaining influence in intra-Party dealings and retained his top position as China's economic planner.

### *1982: Type 3 Outcomes Case Study*

The 210 full members of the Twelfth Central Committee were elected in September 1982. The Twelfth Central Committee was another watershed for Party leadership (Li & White,



1998). The positions of chairman and vice-chairman were abolished; the position of general secretary was made the leading position in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) (Bartke, 1990).<sup>206</sup> As a result, Hua Guofeng formally lost his leadership position and eventually lost his place on the Politburo.

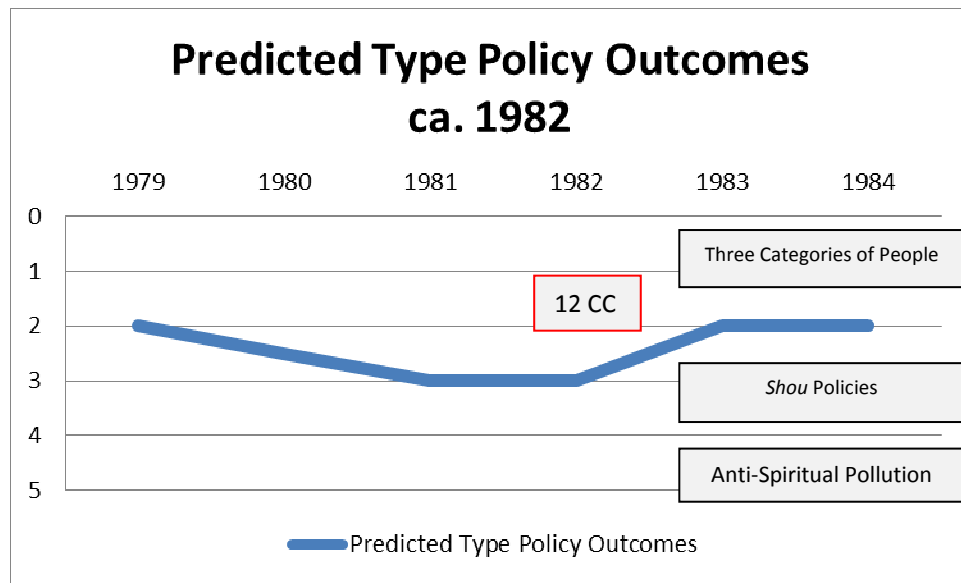


Figure 6.7 Predicted type policy outcomes surrounding the Twelfth Central Committee of 1982.

The policies pursued by the Twelfth Central Committee in late 1982 and 1983, following the network changes in 1981 and 1982, were typical of Type 3 policy outcomes predicted by the dynamical theory (Figure 6.7). Specifically, the combination of  $V_{PL}$  (+8.4%),  $V_C$  (+0.4%), and  $V_{CC}$  (-4.8%) in 1982 predicts Type 3 policies. Type 3 policies are characterized by intra-Party rectifications, domestic tightening, and the pursuit of isolationism. This case study focuses on the policy outcomes associated with the network changes of late 1982.

<sup>206</sup> I use the title “General Secretary,” whereas Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) refer to the “Secretary General.” Readers should keep in mind that we are referring to the same office.

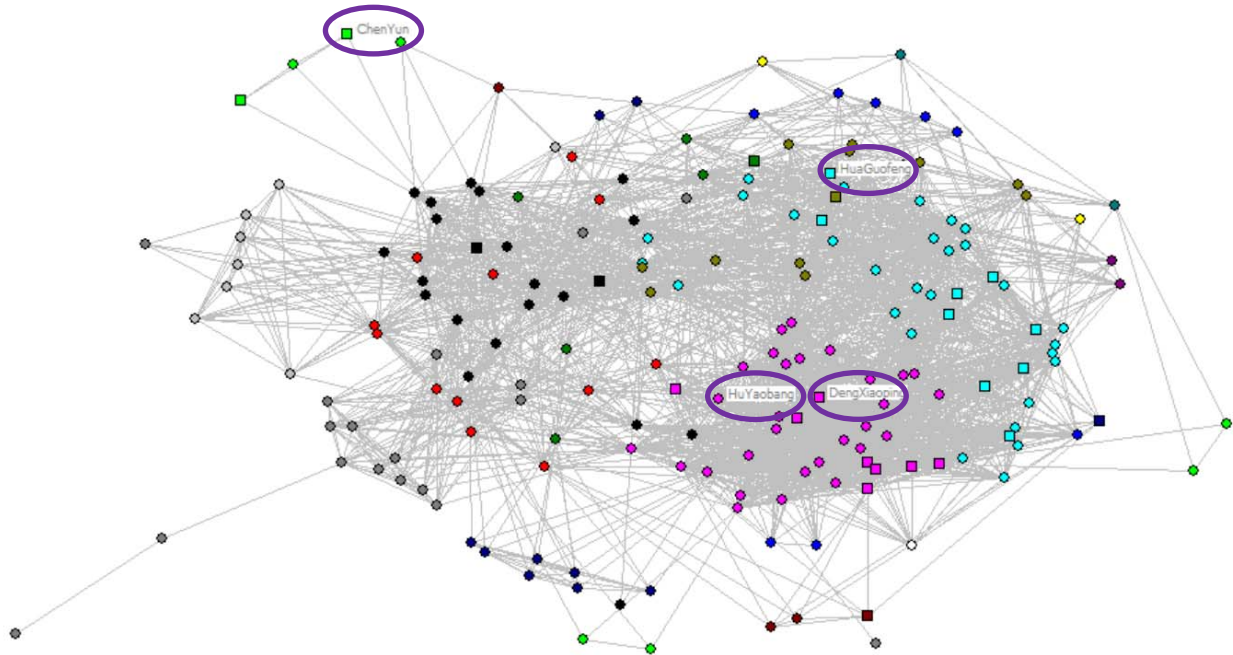


Figure 6.8 Sixth Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of 1981. Locations (top-bottom) of Chen Yun, Hua Guofeng, Hu Yaobang, and Deng Xiaoping are shown.

At the intra-Party level in April 1982, the Central Discipline Inspection Commission (CDIC), the Party’s official disciplinary organization, began cracking down on economic crimes and corruption among Party members (Sullivan, 2012). The Twelfth Central Committee approved of two-term limits for state leaders—a way for Deng to replace those opposed to meaningful reform with young technocrats.<sup>207</sup> Four months after the First Plenum (Figure 6.8), Hu Yaobang and leftist leader Deng Liqun openly debated the role of ideology in modernization at a national conference. Hu Yaobang and the pragmatist majority of the Central Committee prevailed in forging ahead with economic reform. Disagreements over the role of ideology in October 1983 led to a “major rectification campaign directed against serious impurities in ideology, work style and organization within the Party” (Chu, 1983). Deng’s potential

<sup>207</sup> Baum (1998) defined “technocrats” as those having a professional background in science, engineering, management and finance.

competitor, Chen Yun, still considered China's top economic planner but with only 2% centrality, called for the purge of former Red Guards from the Party—labeled as the “three categories of people.”<sup>208</sup> There was a discernible degree of intra-party strife in late-1982 that intensified in 1983.

Domestically, China's population passed the one billion mark<sup>209</sup> and Chen Yun pushed for centralized economic planning. Chen, who became the 1<sup>st</sup> Secretary of the CDIC in September 1982, had criticized Hu Yaobang's economic policy and sought to limit the expansion of the Special Economic Zones (SEZs). As mentioned earlier, as Party leaders prepared for the election of the Twelfth Central Committee, there was a great deal of anxiety surrounding the pace and extent of social and economic reforms and the threat that rapid marketization and modernization might pose to the Party's hold on political power (Vogel, 2011). In the aftermath of the First Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee, there was a clear sense that the momentum for reform was reversed. “Hu [Yaobang] tacitly reversed the priorities established at the time of the Third Plenum in December 1978” (Baum, 1994). The Party's distaste for “bourgeois liberalization” had grown since the days of the Democracy Wall Movement.

The domestic tightening imposed in 1982 was founded on two principles. The first was the Party's call for members to “hold firmly to the Party's established ideals, moral values, and organizational discipline” (Baum, 1994). Even Hu Yaobang, a leading reformer, warned against the dangers of “ideological degeneration” and admitted that class struggle still existed. Hu Yaobang announced to the First Plenum that a draft document on Party consolidation would be

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<sup>208</sup> The phrase was first used during the Cultural Revolution to identify those who engaged in acts of “beating, smashing, looting, ransacking, and kidnapping” (Sullivan, 2012).

<sup>209</sup> Unofficial estimates suggest that China may have passed the one billion mark in 1979.

on the agenda of the Second Plenum (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989). Baum (1994) noted the “leadership’s intention to launch a comprehensive three-year Party consolidation and rectification drive in the latter half of 1983.”

The second principle that emerged from the First Plenum was the cautious approach to incremental or step-by-step economic reforms. Hu Yaobang’s speech suggested that “if all goes well, education, labor, wage, and price reforms will begin in 1984” (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989). It was an obvious concession to Chen Yun and the Party conservatives who consistently sought to rein in China’s economic opening and reform.<sup>210</sup> The Party’s hesitation in decentralizing control of the economy can be seen in the central government’s control of top-level management selections, determination of legislative rules and procedures, and decisions regarding key areas such as taxation, investments, production and trade (Naughton, 1995; Swaine, 1995).<sup>211</sup> The hammers of mass mobilization and class struggle—although publicly set aside—remained poised for future use by the Party. In 1982, the Party maintained tight central control and “split the difference on a number of troublesome issues of ideological and political orientation, the resulting compromises left considerable room for future discord” (Baum, 1994).

The implications of Deng’s Open Door Policy for Chinese society and culture were at the center of debate among Party leaders in 1982. In October 1983, the Anti-Spiritual Pollution

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<sup>210</sup> In 1982, Zhao Ziyang, preferring uniform, centralized fiscal policies that “permitted central planners to retain substantial control over the nation’s industrial and commercial activity,” was increasingly at odds with Hu Yaobang (Baum, 1994).

<sup>211</sup> Baum (2010) referred to Chen Yun’s concept of tightly regulated economic growth as allowing China to reform in a “golden birdcage.”

Campaign began.<sup>212</sup> The propaganda campaign promoted an isolationist approach for China’s foreign policy. Leftist Party leaders condemned entrepreneurs for adopting “decadent capitalist ideas” and Chinese media criticized Western culture (Sullivan, 2012). China continued to define its international position as a power independent of the United States and the Soviet Union (Pollack, 1984). After a period of difficult diplomatic relations with the Cold War superpowers and Japan in late-1982, relations improved somewhat with separate visits to China by US Secretary of State Schultz in May 1983 and a Soviet vice-foreign minister in October 1983, and Hu Yaobang’s visit to Japan in November 1983. Nevertheless, the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign continued in 1984.

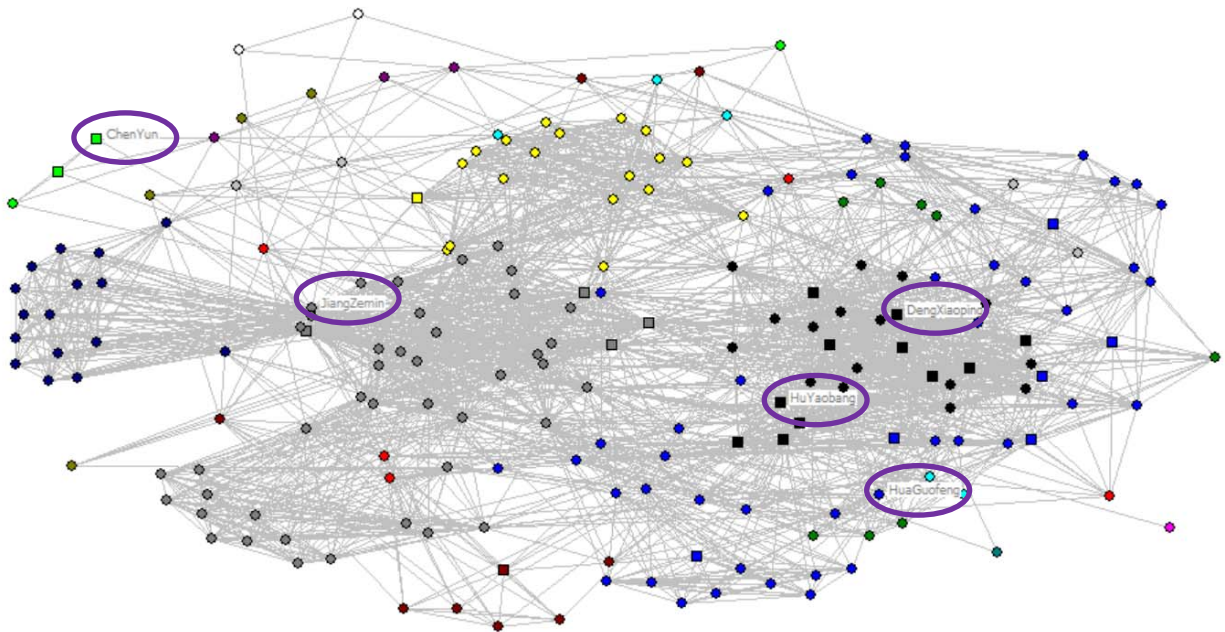


Figure 6.9 First Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee of 1982. Locations (left-right) of Chen Yun, Jiang Zemin, Hu Yaobang, Hua Guofeng, and Deng Xiaoping are shown.

<sup>212</sup> The Second Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee (October 11-12, 1983) discussed Party rectification and spiritual pollution resulting from the opening. A 27-member Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification was elected. (Lieberthal & Dickson, 1989)

Deng Xiaoping's centrality in 1982, as the paramount leader, was 21%. His nearest potential competitor was Chen Yun, whose measure of centrality was quite low at 2%.<sup>213</sup> The entire Central Committee's centralization was 16%. The rate of change of Deng's centrality from 1981 to 1982 was -8.4%. Chen Yun's centrality increased at the rate of 0.4% and the Central Committee's centralization decreased at the rate of -4.8%.<sup>214</sup> The rates of change in 1982 and the policy outcomes in 1983 (Figure 6.10) described above are all consistent with the Type 3 hypotheses.

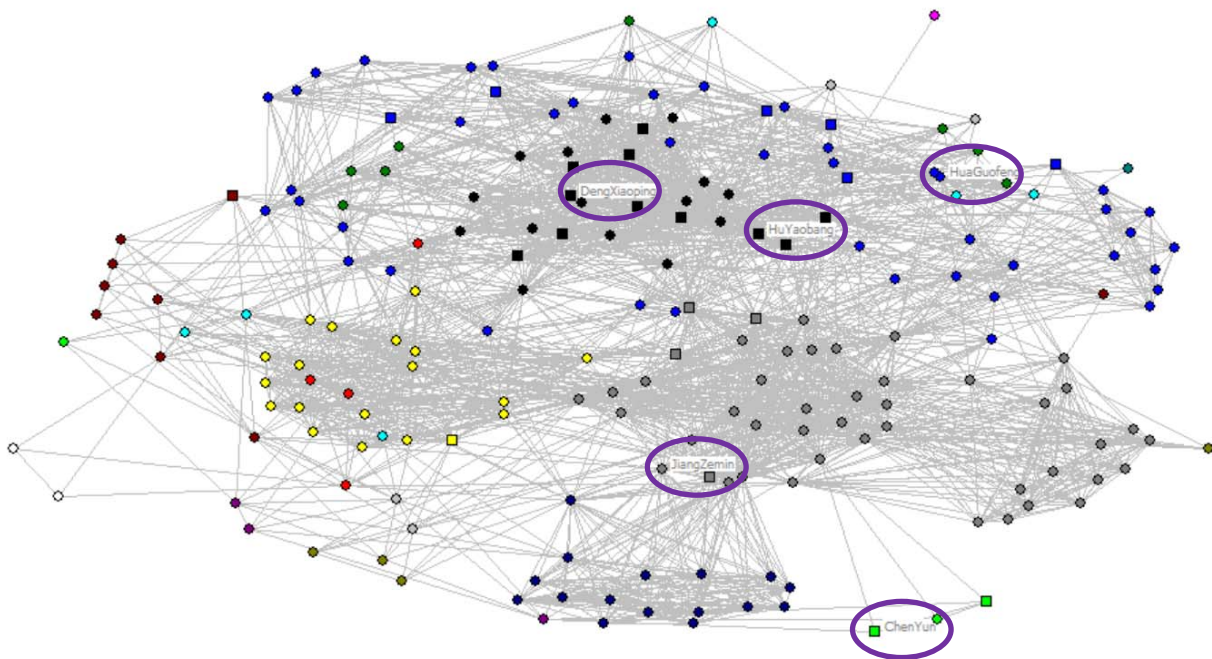


Figure 6.10. Second Plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee of 1983. Locations (top-bottom) of Hua Guofeng, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Jiang Zemin, and Chen Yun are shown.

<sup>213</sup> By comparison, Li Ximing and Kang Shi'en had the highest measures of centrality in 1982 at 25%. Jiang Zemin, who first entered the Central Committee in September 1982, had an impressive 24% centrality.

<sup>214</sup> In 1981, a Type 3 year, Deng's centrality fell -0.2%, Chen's centrality did not change, and the Central Committee's centralization dropped -0.5%. In 1983, a Type 2 year, Deng's measure of centrality fell at the rate of -0.4%, Chen's centrality rose 0.4%, and the Central Committee became more centralized at the rate of +0.2%.

1997: Type 1 Outcomes Case Study

The 193 full members of the Fifteenth Central Committee were elected in September 1997. Chinese politics and policies entered a new era. Deng Xiaoping died seven months earlier. Jiang Zemin’s influence was firmly established. And the composition of the Central Committee changed as the technocrats – scientists, engineers, and managers – dominated not only the Central Committee, but also the primary organs of the Central Committee: the Standing Committee and the Politburo.

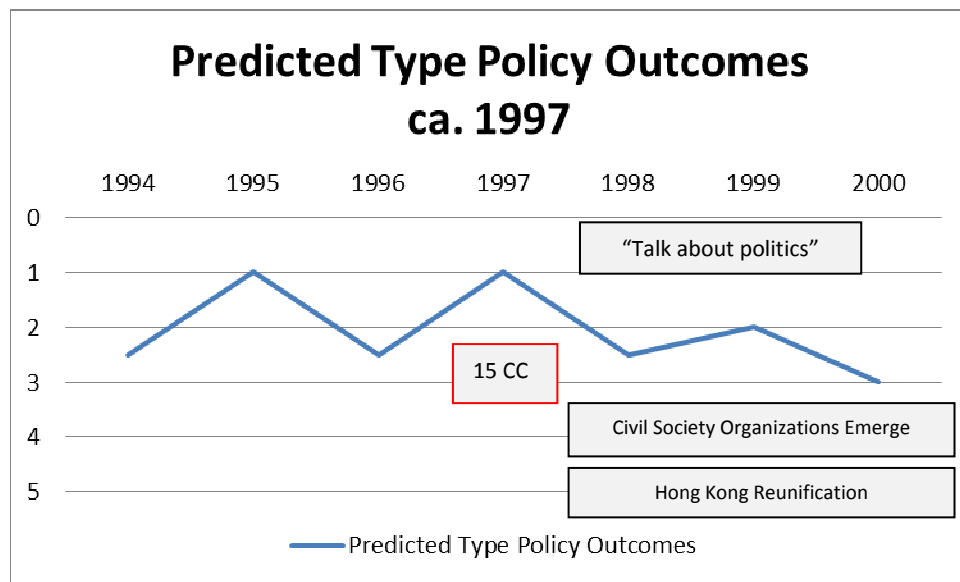


Figure 6.11 Predicted type policy outcomes surrounding the Fifteenth Central Committee of 1997.

In 1997, the key indicators of the Central Committee’s network structure – the leader’s centrality, his competitor’s centrality, and the Central Committee’s centralization—all increased. Specifically, the combination of  $V_{PL}$  (+16.0%),  $V_C$  (+2.6%), and  $V_{CC}$  (+2.0%) in 1997 predicts Type 1 policies (Figure 6.11). The Fifteenth Central Committee demonstrated elite consensus, showed greater, perhaps unprecedented, tolerance for the expansion of civil society

organizations, and pursued a broad and comprehensive cooperative foreign policy. All of these policy choices are typical of Type 1 Policy Outcomes.

Wang and Zheng (2003) noted the period beginning in 1997 as the time when Jiang Zemin “shifted his focus to the task of Party building.” At the Fifteenth Party Congress in 1997, Jiang was able to cajole his primary political threat, Qiao Shi, to retire from politics. This left Li Ruihan as Jiang Zemin’s nearest potential competitor. The Party elders, who controlled and manipulated Party politics for decades, had passed away. Jiang was able to bring in his own winning coalition of competent technocrats. All seven members of the Standing Committee were technocrats. Eighteen of the 24 Politburo members were technocrats. Engineers were running the Party and country and the policies adopted by the Fifteenth Central Committee reflected a less ideological (red) and a more material (expert) focus.

The number of full members rose from 188 to 194. As the leader, Jiang Zemin’s degree of centrality rose an impressive 15.98%. His nearest potential competitor was Li Ruihan, whose centrality also increased by 2.6%. The entire Central Committee’s measure of centralization improved 1.95%. The increase of degree of centrality and centralization across all three measures of network structure predicts Type 1 Policy Outcomes (Figure 6.11).

Perhaps the best indicators of elite consensus occurring as a result of the election of the new Central Committee in 1997 are the adoption of a new leadership concept and the absence of rectifications and purges. Although Jiang Zemin would spend the next five years searching for an effective model for leadership, his first attempt in 1996 consisted only of “talking about politics.” In the weeks after the 1997 elections the concept evolved to “talking about politics, virtue, and political learning.” The operative word was “talking.” Jiang’s politics of adaptation



focused on elite recruitment and on promoting meritocracy. Zhu Rongji, the popular and economically pragmatic former mayor of Shanghai, became the Premier in March 1998 replacing Li Peng. Although Jiang's concept initially received a cool reception and the idea was not universally accepted, the debate did not result in a campaign to remove those leaders who did not wholeheartedly support it. Elite consensus does not mean unanimous consent. Rather, the term suggests that general agreement or a majority opinion support a course of action or policy. The elites were talking and working toward consensus.

Yu Keping (2009) described, at length, the emergence of civil society organizations (CSOs) in China in the mid-1990s. Civil society organizations are associations or groups that seek to cause favorable changes in policies while remaining supportive of the Party (Dreyer, 2012). Central to CSOs functioning is the concept of some level of autonomous decision making. Such organizations, whose agendas range from community interests to labor relations to environmental sustainability, are essentially grassroots democratic institutions. They are non-profit groups that are composed of citizen volunteers who seek to pursue common interests (Yu, 2009). With the Party's guidance, CSOs learn to conduct low-level elections, incorporate transparency, and implement organizational checks-and-balances. All of this is in consonance with the generally acceptable concept of "incremental democratization," which is much more palatable for the Party than immediate political reform. CSOs are pilot projects for building democratic institutions, rules, and norms. The Party, in its traditional role as vanguard of the people, sought to create more state administrative regulations and policies governing CSOs – guiding the development of China's civil society as a whole.

China's foreign policy following the 1997 election was decidedly more cooperative and accommodating than what was seen during the Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1995-1996. "China's foreign policy," Ambassador Ma told a British audience in February 1998, "is peace oriented."

He went on:

"Defending our sovereignty, territorial integrity and the interests of the Chinese people, and safeguarding world peace and promoting cooperation are the sole goals of China's endeavor. We want to establish and develop friendly relations and cooperation with all countries in the world on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, especially the principles of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs." (Ma, 1998)

Ma (1998) cited as proof of China's "multi-dimensional and multi-level exchanges" Jiang Zemin's October 1997 visit to the United States and Li Peng's visit to Japan; increasing trade levels; increasing its own capacity to regulate the export of nuclear materials and technologies; and, especially, the "smooth" handover of Hong Kong from British control and the creation of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.<sup>215</sup> In fact, Beijing viewed the handover as a "fresh start in Sino-British relations" leading to more high-level visits.

The four case studies just presented are each typical of one of the types of policy outcomes predicted by the dynamical theory of policy networks. In each case, I demonstrated that the predicted policy choices at the intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policy levels are associated with specific changes in the structure of the policy network. Changes in the

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<sup>215</sup> To see how far China's policy on Hong Kong had come, see "Government Statement: Protest Against Hong Kong Restrictions on Chinese." (May 1950). In *China Monthly Review*, Vol. CXIX, No. 2-Supplement.

measures of centrality of the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Central Committee—each treated as a key actor—help explain the Party’s policy choices. The next chapter considers whether or not the dynamical theory is generalizable.

## Chapter Seven - Quantitative Analysis

Having demonstrated the explanatory power of the dynamical theory using process tracing in four representative case studies, I will next investigate whether the theory is generalizable by conducting a statistical analysis. Specifically, this chapter considers the hypotheses that domestic and foreign policy trends are correlated with general changes in degrees of centrality of Party leaders and the Central Committee over longer periods of time.

Earlier, I emphasized that the dynamical theory of policy networks does not suggest that the relationship between changes in network structures and policy outcomes is determinate. I want to temper readers' expectations for the performance of the statistical models used in this chapter (Bennett & Stam, 2004). In the discussion of the results I frequently refer to the  $R^2$  value of the regression models. A 100 percent success rate of prediction is reflected as an  $R^2$  value of 1.0. As Gartzke (1999) argued: even if scholars specify everything in their model exactly right, their rate of correct predictions should not be expected to exceed an  $R^2$  value of 0.5. Consequently, I characterize the results as "modest" or "moderate" where appropriate.

I first test for correlation between variations in China's foreign policy and variations in the key independent variables from 1949 to 1978 and from 1984 to 1995. Operationalizing these key independent variables was discussed in Chapter Five. Next I test for correlation between variations in China's domestic policy and variations in the key independent variables only from 1984 to 1995. Variations of the centralities of the paramount leader ( $C_{PL}$ ) and his nearest potential competitor ( $C_C$ ), and the Central Committee's centralization ( $C_{CC}$ ) are readily apparent by plotting the values from the *Guanxi Data Set* from 1922 to 2011 (Figure 7.1).

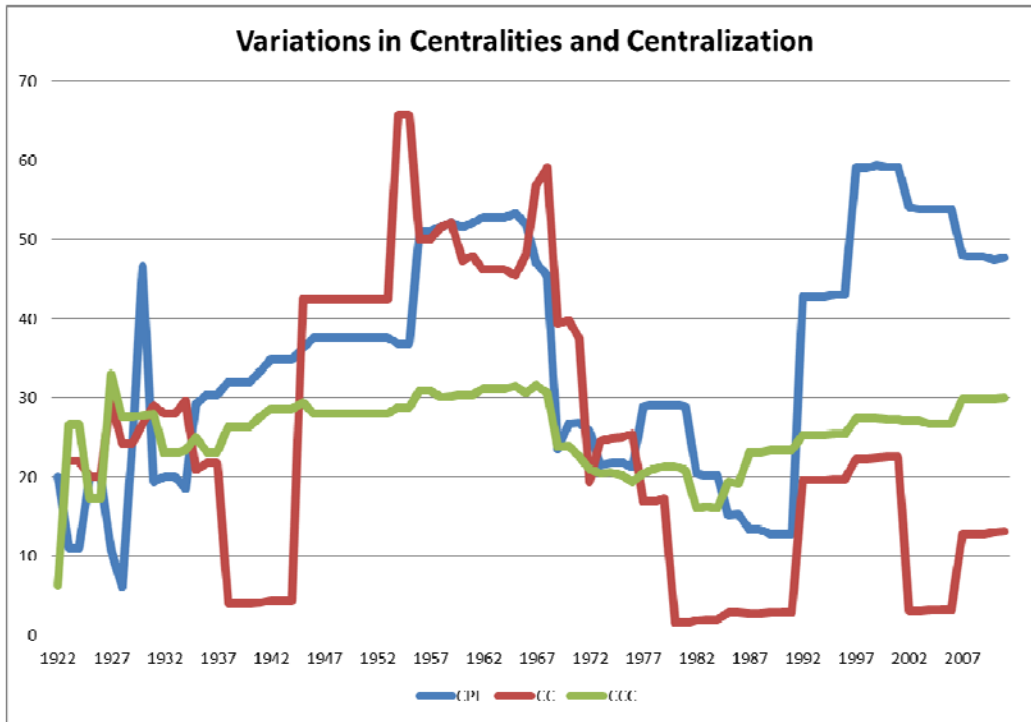


Figure 7.1 Variation of Paramount Leader and Competitor centralities and CC centralization, 1922-2011.

Similarly, the variation of the *rates of change* across time, the key explanatory variables, are presented in Figure 7.2. The rates of change for the paramount leader ( $V_{PL}$ ), his nearest potential competitor ( $V_C$ ), and the entire Central Committee ( $V_{CC}$ ) from 1922 to 2011 are shown below.

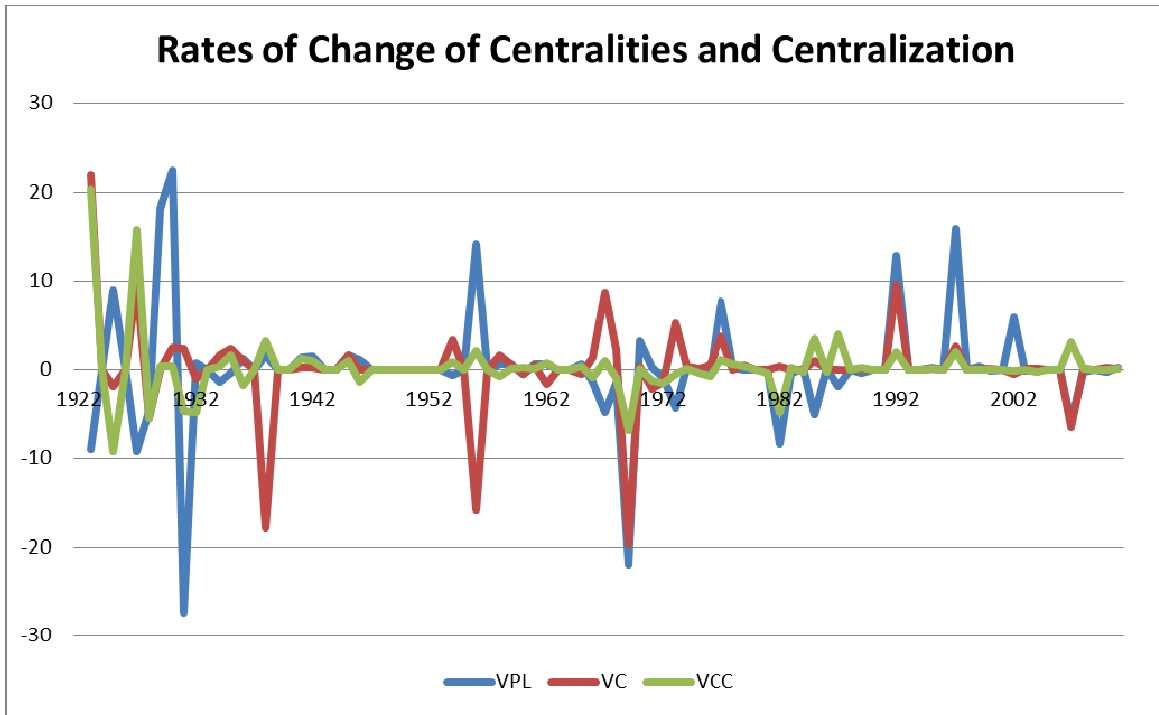


Figure 7.2 Variation of rates of change in paramount leader and potential competitor centralities and Central Committee centralization, 1922-2011.

### *Descriptive Statistics, China's Foreign Policy: 1949-1978*

The initial results of the second part of this analysis are based on comparing the intensity of China's international interactions with the key independent variables over a given period using regression models of the data (Table 7.1). The intensity of China's interactions, the phenomenon of interest, ranges from 1 to 15, previously described, and is based on the Conflict and Peace Data Bank (COPDAB) data set entries for China from 1949 to 1978 (Azar, 2009). The mean values of the dependent variables range from a low of 7.7 (*Sino-USSR*) to a high of 10.9 (*Sino-ROC*). The mean intensity for all of China's international interactions (*Sino-Int'l*) is 8.0. The standard deviations range from 0.95 (*Sino-US*) to 1.94 (*Sino-ROC*). The variation of the dependent variables is shown in Figure 7.3.

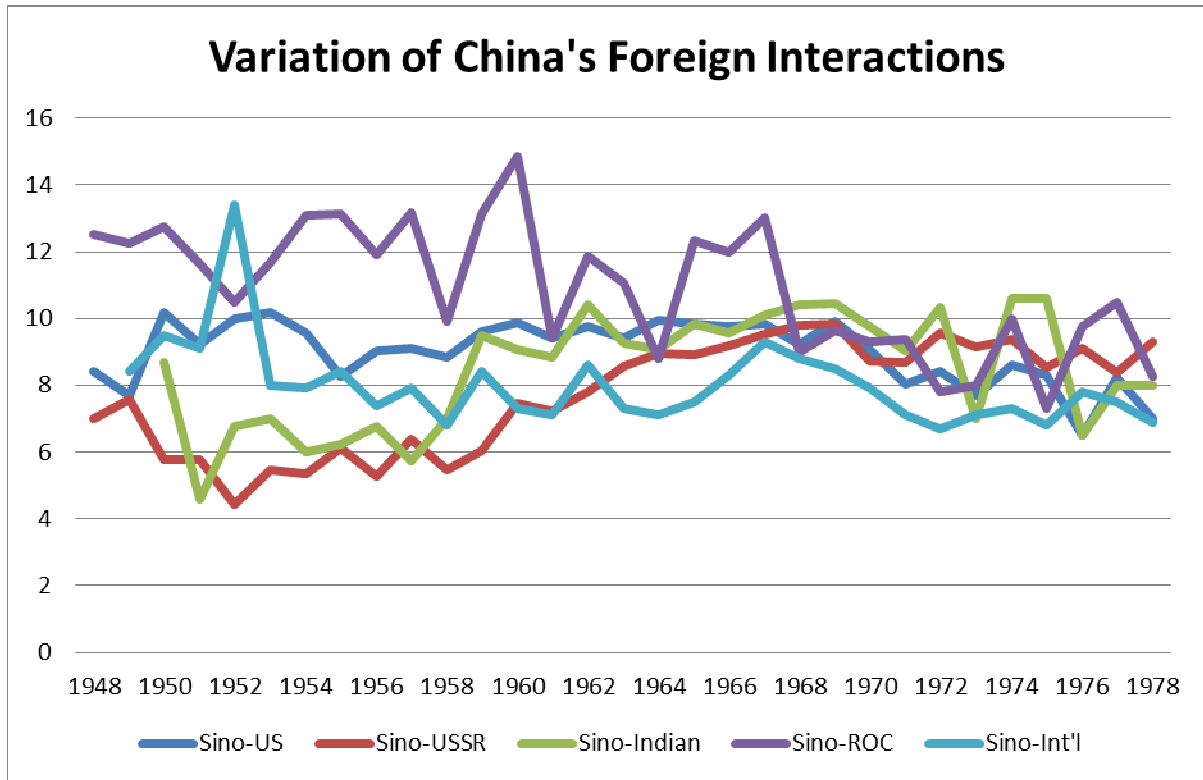


Figure 7.3 Variation of the dependent variables (COPDAB), 1949-1978.

The mean value of the paramount leader's centrality is 39.0 with a standard deviation of 12.9. The mean value of his potential competitor's centrality is slightly lower at 37.7 with a standard deviation of 13.0. The mean value of the Central Committee's centralization is 27.1 with a standard deviation of 4.3. The variation of the centrality and centralization variables was shown in Figure 7.1.<sup>216</sup> The sample size is small with N = 31.

<sup>216</sup> The pair-wise correlation coefficient between  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_{CC}$  is 0.851 and is significant. This suggests a positive correlation with a high magnitude. As the paramount leader's centrality increases, the Central Committee's centralization increases. Approximately 72% of the correlation in  $V_{PL}$  is attributed to  $V_{CC}$ .

The pair-wise correlation coefficient between  $V_C$  and  $V_{CC}$  is 0.412 and is significant. This suggests a positive correlation with moderate magnitude. As the competitor's centrality increases, the Central Committee's centralization increases. Approximately 17% of the correlation in  $V_C$  is attributed to  $V_{CC}$ .

Table 7.1 Summary Descriptive Statistics (COPDAB), 1949-1978

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
<i>Dependent Variables</i>					
Sino-US	8.995	0.951	6.5	10.18	31
Sino-USSR	7.703	1.648	4.45	9.82	31
Sino-Indian	8.449	1.736	4.6	10.6	31
Sino-ROC	10.9	1.936	7.29	14.86	31
Sino-Int'l	8.003	1.28	6.7	13.4	31
<i>Independent Variables</i>					
V <sub>PL</sub>	-0.272	5.173	-21.98	14.18	31
V <sub>C</sub>	-0.441	5.605	-19.87	8.81	31
V <sub>CC</sub>	-0.228	1.426	-6.83	2.13	31
Clustering	0.736	0.028	0.706	0.781	31
Distance	1.849	0.338	1.447	2.373	31
Compactness	0.602	0.096	0.445	0.699	31
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Military Spending	9.9	18.176	-32	69	31
GDP Growth	6.684	9.422	-27.3	21.3	31
US-Sino	8.208	1.363	5.56	10.84	31
USSR-Sino	7.32	1.628	4.71	9.83	31
Indian-Sino	8.292	1.464	6	10.67	31
ROC-Sino	10.552	1.345	8.17	13.22	31

The mean value of the rate of change of the paramount leader's centrality is minus 0.272 with a standard deviation of 5.2. The mean value of the rate of change of his potential competitor's centrality is -0.441 with a standard deviation of 5.6. The mean value of the rate of change of the Central Committee's centralization is -0.23 with a standard deviation of 1.4. The variation of the rates of change was shown in Figure 7.2. The summary statistics for all variables, including the control variables, is shown in Table 7.1. In a very general sense, the period from 1949 to 1978 falls into the Type 3 policy outcome category. The preliminary graphical analysis of each dependent variable; *Sino-US*, *Sino-USSR*, *Sino-Indian*, *Sino-ROC*, and



*Sino-Int'l*; against the key explanatory variables;  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$ ; does not suggest any strong relationships.<sup>217</sup>

*Descriptive Statistics, China's Foreign Policy: 1984-1995*

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<sup>217</sup> The graphical analysis using the kernel density plot, the standardized normal probability plot, and the quantiles distribution plot suggests that all, except *Sino-Int'l*, of the dependent variable residuals are normally distributed. The Shapiro-Wilk W test for normality for the *Sino-US*, *Sino-USSR*, *Sino-India*, and *Sino-ROC* variables suggests that the residuals for these variables are normally distributed. The probability of z for these variables are all greater than 0.05. The residuals for the *Sino-Int'l* variable are not normally distributed. The Arellano-Bond Test for autoregression suggests no AR1 process problem for *Sino-US* ( $Pr > z = 0.64$ ), *Sino-India* ( $Pr > z = 0.40$ ), *Sino-ROC* ( $Pr > z = 0.77$ ), and *Sino-Int'l* ( $Pr > z = 0.74$ ) regression models. The regression model estimates using *Sino-USSR* ( $Pr > z = 0.0003$ ) are biased. The Durbin Alternative Test for autoregression also suggests no AR1 process problem for *Sino-US* ( $Pr > z = 0.65$ ), *Sino-India* ( $Pr > z = 0.40$ ), *Sino-ROC* ( $Pr > z = 0.77$ ), and *Sino-Int'l* ( $Pr > z = 0.74$ ) regression models. The regression model estimates using *Sino-USSR* ( $Pr > z = 0.0000$ ) are biased. While there is autocorrelation for *Sino-USSR*, that data is homoscedastic so XTGLS is the proper procedure for this data. The generalized least squares command allows estimation in the presence of AR1 autocorrelation within panels and cross-sectional correlation and heteroscedasticity across panels.

The pair-wise correlation coefficient between  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  is 0.899 and is significant. This suggests a positive correlation with a high magnitude. As the paramount leader's centrality increases, the competitor's centralization increases. Approximately 80% of the correlation in  $V_{PL}$  is attributed to  $V_C$ .

Table 7.2 Summary Descriptive Statistics (PANDA), 1984-1995

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
<i>Dependent Variables</i>					
Sino-US	0.887	0.687	0	2.26	12
Sino-USSR	0.384	0.513	0	1.4	12
Sino-Indian	0.446	0.997	0	3.4	12
Sino-ROC	1.501	0.747	0.36	2.73	12
Sino-Int'l	1.817	0.083	1.65	1.93	12
<i>Independent Variables</i>					
V <sub>PL</sub>	2.127	6.702	-3.64	19	12
V <sub>C</sub>	1.125	8.731	-7	27.84	12
V <sub>CC</sub>	0.762	1.496	-0.27	3.95	12
Clustering	0.809	0.021	0.757	0.849	12
Distance	2.165	0.186	1.762	2.353	12
Compactness	0.514	0.049	0.456	0.625	12
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Military Spending	13.042	6.535	6.2	29.2	12
GDP Growth	10.692	3.693	3.8	15.2	12
US-Sino	0.792	0.517	0.07	1.64	12
USSR-Sino	0.524	0.534	0	1.54	12
India-Sino	0.434	0.895	0	3	12
ROC-Sino	1.329	0.876	0	3.14	12

The Protocol for Nonviolent Direct Action (PANDA) data (Bond & Bond, 1998) aggregates event code data by year and dyad. It provides the dependent variables for analysis from 1984 to 1995 (Table 7.2 and Figure 7.4). The mean values range from 0.384 (*Sino-USSR*) to 1.817 (*Sino-Int'l*). The values vary from 0.0 (*Sino-US*, *Sino-USSR*, and *Sino-India*) to 3.4 (*Sino-India*).

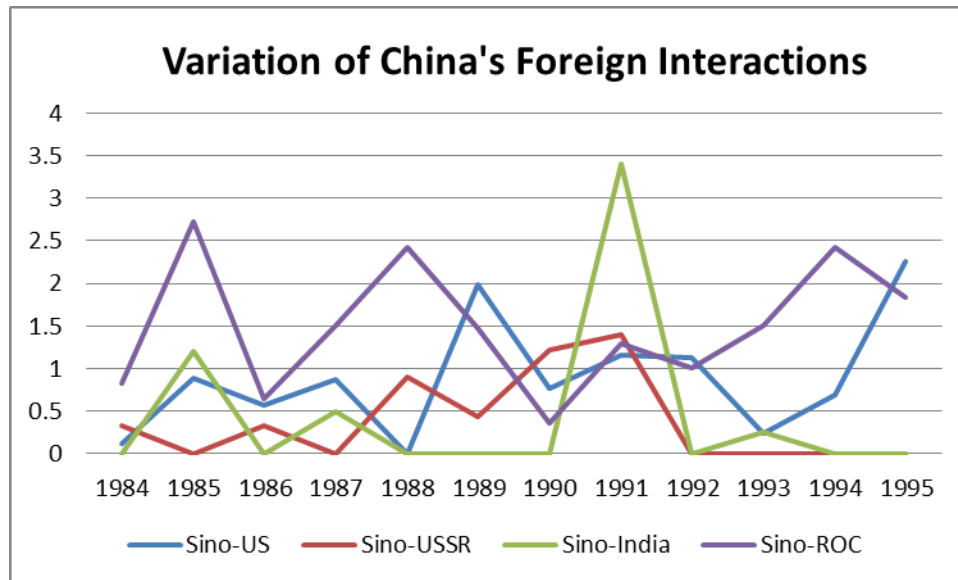


Figure 7.4 Variation of China's Foreign Interactions (PANDA), 1984-1995.

The mean value of the rate of change for the paramount leader is 2.127 with a standard deviation of 6.702. The mean value of the rate of change of the potential competitor is 1.125 with a standard deviation of 8.731. The Central Committee's mean value is 0.762 with a standard deviation of 1.496. The sample is quite small with N = 12.

#### *China's Foreign Policy: 1949-1978 & 1984-1995*

The traditional Chinese worldview saw, and continues to see, China as *Zhongguo* or the Middle Kingdom: the center of the world and the hub of civilization (Dreyer, 2012).<sup>218</sup> The PRC's interaction with all other states reflects that worldview, which is based on the belief that Chinese culture is superior, having survived continuously for over two millennia.<sup>219</sup> All other

<sup>218</sup> Swaine and Tellis (2000) observed that China's security strategy is heavily conditioned by China's enduring "great power image".

<sup>219</sup> See Xi Jinping's speech to the press after being elected Party General Secretary on November 15, 2012: "During the civilization and development process of more than 5,000 years, the Chinese nation has made an indelible contribution to the civilization and advancement of mankind ... The great revival of the Chinese nation has demonstrated unprecedented bright prospects." Scobell (2003) offered a qualified description of the Chinese

states and cultures are inferior and were long expected to perform the ceremonial kowtow and present tribute to the emperor. Such “kowtow diplomacy” continues to be a central feature of the PRC’s foreign interactions.

China’s official foreign policy may be described as having transitioned through several phases since 1949.<sup>220</sup> The first phase, the “lean to one side” policy, effectively lasted from 1949 to 1954.<sup>221</sup> At the end of the Second World War, Party leaders focused on rebuilding China’s infrastructure, reforming its vast agricultural base, and modernizing the heavy and light industrial sector. The domestic economy was the focus and the Party elite sought to create a peaceful and stable international environment for China’s economic recovery.

Although many countries immediately recognized the PRC; all of the communist countries, Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Israel, India, Pakistan, and Indonesia to name few; the United States did not (Dreyer, 2012). The Truman administration took a wait and see attitude, initially showing no support for either the Nationalists on Taiwan or the mainland communists.<sup>222</sup> The Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union was a clear signal of China’s dependence on and policy decision to “lean to one side”: that is toward Moscow.

This foreign policy phase lasted through the Korean War, which ended in 1953, and until the death of Stalin. Khrushchev’s rise to power and the partition of Vietnam marked the end of

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worldview. If the audience consists of “China’s elite” and ordinary Chinese people, then the message tends to “project the image of a tough, hardline, and vigilant China.” If the audience is the elite of “tributary states,” then the desire is to “make China appear righteous, benevolent, and peace-loving.”

<sup>220</sup> See also Wortzel’s (2002) “China’s Foreign Conflicts since 1949” and Scobell’s (2003) *China’s Use of Military Force*.

<sup>221</sup> See also ““Friendship” or Aggression?” (August 30, 1949). In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume IV* and “Mao Tse-Tung Talks with American Correspondent: Anna Louise Strong (August 1949).

<sup>222</sup> See also Stoler’s (1989) account of Marshall’s unsuccessful mission to mediate the end the Civil War.

the “lean to one side” policy and the beginning of the “Bandung Spirit” which ran from 1954 to 1957. Zhou Enlai’s June 1954 meeting with India’s Prime Minister Nehru produced the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which became the cornerstone of China’s independent foreign policy and the foundation of the April 1955 Asian-African conference in Bandung, Indonesia (Dreyer, 2012). The 1955 Bandung Conference concluded with a vision for African and Asian states, later including Middle Eastern and Latin American countries, working together, apart from the superpowers’ Cold War manipulations, to solve their common social and economic problems, and to end colonialism. China scored considerable diplomatic points by promoting cooperation and encouraging unity and prosperity among the Third World developing nations.

In 1957, on the eve of the Great Leap Forward, the Chinese leadership reassessed its position in the international system and determined that circumstances favored a revolutionary stance. The circumstances surrounding the reassessment included the Soviet Union’s successful test of an intercontinental ballistic missile in August and the launch of Sputnik into orbit in October. Mao, who had become wary of Soviet leadership following Khrushchev’s secret speech denouncing Stalin in 1956, believed that international relations had reached a turning point. The Chairman, annoyed by Moscow’s reluctance to export revolution, intended to pursue more aggressive revolutionary policies on its own. The period of “resurgent nationalism and isolation” began in 1957 and ended in 1969.

In the previous chapter, I discussed how 1969 was a watershed year with the election of a new Central Committee in the midst of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. China pursued a particularly coercive foreign policy in 1969, highlighted by the bloody Sino-Soviet

border conflict. One theory explaining China's attack on its more powerful neighbor suggests that one elite political faction encouraged the conflict in order to move China closer to rapprochement with the United States. Whatever the true reason, 1969 marked the beginning of China's use of triangular diplomacy to promote self-interests in global power politics. China stopped leaning toward the Soviet Union, stood independent from the superpowers on occasion, stood in opposition to both at times, and leaned toward the United States at the end of this phase ending in 1989.<sup>223</sup>

The end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union marked the beginning of the last ongoing phase of China's foreign policy: counterbalancing and competing against the United States. China's prediction that America's "unipolar moment" would eventually be replaced by a multipolar international system has not yet come to pass. In 1992, Deng Xiaoping admonished China's third generation of leaders to be patient. "We in China," he said, must "hide our capabilities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership." Although most Western commentators focus on the goal of hiding and biding, the crux of China's stated foreign policy during this phase has been to avoid being perceived as aggressively expanding and hegemonic. China's reluctance to becoming a great power—until recently—has served as the guiding principle for China's "peaceful rise" and "peaceful development."

#### *Sino-US Relations, in general.*

In the 1950s and 1960s, Sino-American relations were frozen in a state of potential, occasionally actual, armed confrontation. The open conflict of the Korean War (1950-1953) was

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<sup>223</sup> Sino-US relations changed from rapprochement (1972) to normalization (1979).

replaced by an armistice, military crises over Taiwan in 1954 and 1958, and eventually a proxy war across Indochina in the 1960s.<sup>224</sup> By 1969, Mao was searching for opportunities to improve relations with the long-time enemy, the United States, of China's newest enemy: the Soviet Union. Rapprochement came in 1972 with Nixon's visit to China and normalization finally came in 1979.<sup>225</sup> During the decade between the Taiwan Relations Act (1979) and the government's massacre of students in Tiananmen Square (1989), the United States became less contentious as long as China was perceived to be moving toward political pluralism and a market based economy. The bilateral relationship grew strong as annual ministerial-level visits ("trip driven diplomacy") expanded to cover commerce, finance, and defense issues.

Nevertheless, Sino-American relations have always been more competitive than cooperative.<sup>226</sup> Prior to the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, American policymakers viewed China primarily in terms of using China as a "wedge" to tear apart the communist bloc. By pulling China closer to the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, the US gained the advantage in the triangular diplomacy that marked the Cold War. The removal of the USSR as a focal point for Chinese and American foreign policy returned Sino-American relations to an openly competitive nature.

*China's Interaction with the US (Sino-US), 1949-1978.* The baseline OLS regression model including only the primary network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization (Table 7.3, column a) shows that  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are statistically significant. The F statistic is 14.49, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 2.74

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<sup>224</sup> See also "Government Statement: One US Invasion of Cambodia." (May 8, 1970). In *Peking Review*.

<sup>225</sup> See "News Announcement: Nixon's Visit to China." (July 16, 1971). In *Xinhua* and *Peking Review*.

<sup>226</sup> See also Kissinger (2012) and Nathan and Scobell (2012).

with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_C$  is 2.44 with a significance level of less than the 0.05 level. The t statistic for  $V_{CC}$  is 2.18 with a significance level of less than the 0.05 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.124 and the Root MSE is 0.939.<sup>227</sup>

In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are negative, negative, and positive. The combination of these factors is therefore consistent with Type 3 Foreign Policy Outcomes (isolationism) for the period 1949-1978 regarding the United States. Specifically, a one percent increase in paramount leader centrality decreases *Sino-US* by 0.13. Similarly, a one percent increase in the competitor's centrality decreases *Sino-US* by 0.05. Finally, a one percent increase in the Central Committee's centralization increases *Sino-US* by 0.48.

The model using the alternate measure of group centralization of *Clustering* instead of  $V_{CC}$  is a poor fit (column b). The model using the alternate measure of *Distance* is a better fit (column c) with *Distance* acting in the opposite direction as  $V_{CC}$ , *Clustering* and *Compactness*. All key independent variables are statistically significant. The F statistic is 8.17, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 3.87 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_C$  is 2.71 with a significance level of less than the 0.05 level. The t statistic for *Distance* is 3.16 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value improves to 0.352 and the Root MSE is 0.807.

The model using the alternate measure of *Compactness* is also a better fit (column d). All key independent variables are again statistically significant. The F statistic is 6.84, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 3.71 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_C$  is 2.52 with a significance level of less than the

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<sup>227</sup> The Cook-Weisberg test for heteroscedasticity and White's general test statistic each result in probability of Chi2 values greater than 0.05. The variable aSinoUS is therefore homoscedastic.



0.05 level. The t statistic for *Compactness* is 3.42 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value improves to 0.383 and the Root MSE is 0.788.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the three primary coefficients of interest are robust. The coefficient values are little changed and the signs remain the same. The  $R^2$  value falls to 0.159 and the Root MSE is 0.970.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.3 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy toward the United States from 1949 to 1978. All three key independent variables are statistically significant. The statistical significance of the F statistic (a test of the null hypothesis that the variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The variable coefficients of the paramount leader and his nearest competitor are both negative, while the variable coefficient of the Central Committee is positive. Referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see Sino-American foreign policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 3 Outcomes: Isolationism. As discussed earlier, China's foreign policy approach vis-à-vis the United States during most of the period of 1949-1978 can be described as isolationist.

Table 7.3 Baseline Regressions for Sino-US Relations (Network Variables Only)(COPDAB), 1949-1978

Variable:	Sino-US Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
$V_{PL}$	-0.134** (0.049)	-0.023† (0.013)	-0.040** (0.010)	-0.047** (0.013)	-0.134* (0.061)
$V_C$	-0.055* (0.022)	-0.022 (0.017)	-0.028* (0.010)	-0.027* (0.011)	-0.048* (0.022)
$V_{cc}$	0.481* (0.221)				0.472† (0.272)
Clustering		3.782 (6.391)			
Distance			-1.619** (0.512)		
Compactness				6.045** (1.765)	
Military Spending					0.008 (0.006)
GDP Growth					0.010 (0.017)
Intercept	9.044** (0.176)	6.195 (4.717)	11.967** (0.967)	5.334** (1.076)	8.915** (0.244)
N	31	31	31	31	31
$R^2$	0.124	0.044	0.352	0.383	0.159
F	14.49*	9.43**	8.17**	6.84**	12.98*

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed tests

*China's Interaction with the US (Sino-US), 1984-1995.* The baseline OLS regression model including only the primary network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization show that  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  are statistically significant (Table 7.4, column a). The F statistic is 1328.75, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 5.32 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_C$  is 3.60 with a

significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.237 and the Root MSE is 0.584.

In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are positive, negative, and negative. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 3 Foreign Policy Outcomes (isolationism) for the period 1984-1995 regarding the United States. Specifically, a one percent increase in paramount leader centrality increases *Sino-US* by 0.13. A one percent increase in the competitor's centrality decreases *Sino-US* by 0.14.

None of the various models using the alternate measures of group centralization (columns b, c, and d) improve on the primary model (column a) or suggest that group centralization is important for *Sino-US* relations from 1984 to 1995, the F statistics are significant at the 0.01 level.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the primary coefficients of interest,  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  (from column a), are robust. These coefficient values are little changed and the signs remain the same. The  $R^2$  value improves to 0.361 and the Root MSE is 0.632.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.4, column a, is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy toward the United States from 1984 to 1995. Only the key independent variables reflecting the paramount leader and his nearest potential competitor are statistically significant.

Nevertheless, the statistical significance of the F statistic (a test of the null hypothesis that the variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The variable coefficients of the nearest competitor and the Central

Committee are both negative, while the variable coefficient of the paramount leader is positive. The coefficient sign of the Distance variable is positive (opposite of the other models) and is consistent with Distance defined opposite of the alternative measures of groups centralization. Referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see Sino-American foreign policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 3 Outcomes: Isolationism. It is admittedly difficult to generalize China's foreign policy approach vis-à-vis the United States during the period of 1984-1995 can be described as isolationist, but the six years following the Tiananmen Massacre in 1989, the consequent US sanctions, and the Taiwan Crisis of 1995-1996 may be compelling supporting arguments in favor of the dynamical theory's predicted policy outcomes.

Table 7.4 Baseline Regressions for Sino-US Relations (Network Variables Only)(PANDA), 1984-1995

Variable:	Sino-US Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
V <sub>PL</sub>	0.127** (0.024)	0.151* (0.055)	0.157* (0.064)	0.161* (0.065)	0.146* (0.053)
V <sub>C</sub>	-0.135** (0.038)	-0.153† (0.080)	-0.159 (0.087)	-0.165 (0.090)	-0.074 (0.107)
V <sub>CC</sub>	-0.005 (0.060)				0.006 (0.032)
Clustering		-10.936 (16.218)			
Distance			0.874 (1.348)		
Compactness				-3.638 (5.266)	
Military Spending					-0.042 (0.024)
GDP Growth					-0.027 (0.116)
Intercept	0.830** (0.239)	9.671 (13.172)	-1.088 (2.882)	2.676 (2.755)	1.585 (1.339)
N	12	12	12	12	12
R <sup>2</sup>	0.237	0.269	0.274	0.273	0.361
F	1328.75**	29.83**	35.83**	39.59**	47.60**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed test

### *Sino-Soviet Relations, in general.*

The People's Republic of China was established in October 1949 in the context of the emerging Cold War and the global balance of power. Mao declared that China would "lean to one side" in the struggle between imperialism and socialism. In December 1949, Mao traveled to Moscow to negotiate a treaty of alliance with a skeptical Stalin, skeptical because he did not see any clear threats to China. After two months of negotiation that can be best described as

haphazard, the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance was signed and the Sino-Soviet alliance began. To the Soviets, China was a potentially useful counter-weight against lingering US power in East Asia after the war. The Chinese, for their part, sought an international environment of safety and stability needed to rebuild their broken economy.

The eight years that followed Mao's visit to Moscow and the adherence of the People's Republic of China to the Common Program witnessed the consummation of a gradual but final ideological break between the two countries amid the growing weakness of the political, economic, and cultural links between them.<sup>228</sup> The Maoist version of Marxism-Leninism asserted itself more clearly. Conflicts between diverging national interests appeared especially after Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin in 1956, the Great Leap Forward, the Socialist Education Movement,<sup>229</sup> and intensified during the Cultural Revolution. The Socialist bloc did not begin on solid ground and by 1969 was in its final stage of fragmentation. China and the Soviet Union had drifted far apart.

As already discussed in detail, the Sino-Soviet split was finalized with the Zhenbao incident in 1969.<sup>230</sup> Poor relations and mutual distrust continued to fester and were underlying conditions for China's invasion of Vietnam in 1979. Sino-Soviet relations stagnated during the 1980s, coinciding with the invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviets.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> See also "Soong Ching-ling: The Basis of Eternal Friendship." (February 1960). In *Sino-Soviet Alliance* and Peking, Foreign Language Press.

<sup>229</sup> See also "Chinese Editorial: The Origin and Development of the Differences between the Leadership of the CPSU and Ourselves." (September 1963). In *The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement* and Peking, Foreign Language Press. This was a significant "white paper" on Sino-Soviet relations.

<sup>230</sup> See also "Chinese Editorial: Down with the New Tsar." (March 7, 1969). In *Peking Review* from *Liberation Army Daily*; "Government Statement: Sino-Soviet Border Disputes." (May 1969). In *Peking Review*; and "Kung Chung-ping: The Theory of "International Dictatorship" is a Gangster Theory of Social-Imperialism." (May 16, 1969). In *Hongqi*, No. 5 and *Peking Review*.

<sup>231</sup> "Chinese Editorial: The Brezhnev Doctrine is an Outright Doctrine of Hegemony." (April 24, 1970). In *Peking Review* serves as an early example of China's perception of Soviet imperialism.

By 1989, however, Beijing and Moscow were prepared to restart diplomatic relations. The demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War had a dynamic effect on relations between the two countries, which slowly and incrementally improved throughout the 1990s. Both countries are key members in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), appear to cooperate with each other on issues before the UN Security Council, and occasionally conduct joint military exercises.<sup>232</sup> From 1949 to 1995, Sino-Soviet relations, in general, could be said to have begun as cooperative, over time becoming more and more belligerent, but returning to a normal accommodative bilateral relationship.

From 1949 through 1979, China essentially followed an extensive mode of development. During the 1950s, large Soviet loans helped China sustain high rates of capital accumulation and investment. The Soviet-style system adopted by China in the 1950s was very effective at mobilizing resources for extensive development, but provided few incentives for the efficient utilization of those resources. After the break with Moscow, continued high levels of accumulation and investment were made possible by Spartan living standards imposed by Maoist policies.

*China's interaction with the USSR (Sino-USSR), 1949-1978.* The baseline XTGLS regression model including only the primary network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization show that none of the key independent variables are statistically significant (Table 7.5, column a). In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are negative, positive, and negative. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 3

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<sup>232</sup> The two countries have conducted bilateral anti-terrorism drills under the auspices of SCO since 2005. Moscow and Beijing routinely block Security Council resolutions to impose sanctions against Iran and Syria. The PLA Navy and the Russian Federation Navy held "Maritime Collaboration 2012" in the Yellow Sea in April 2012. See US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, "2012 Report to Congress." (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office).

Foreign Policy Outcomes (isolationism) for the period 1949-1978 regarding the Soviet Union/Russia.

The model using *Clustering* (column b) suggests that that variables  $V_{PL}$  and *Clustering* are both significant at the 0.01 level. The z statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 3.02 while the z statistic for *Clustering* is 3.00. The Chi2 statistic is 15.98, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

The model using *Distance* as the measure of group centralization (column c) suggests that two of the three key independent variables are significant. The Chi2 statistic is 36.23, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The z statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 2.46 with a significance level of less than the 0.05 level. The z statistic for *Distance* is 5.12 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level with *Distance* acting in the opposite direction as  $V_{CC}$ , *Clustering* and *Compactness*. The panels are homoscedastic with no autocorrelation.<sup>233</sup>

Using *Compactness* as the measure of group centralization (column d) suggests that  $V_{PL}$  and *Compactness* are significant independent variables. In this case, the z statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 2.12 and is significant at the 0.05 level. The z statistic of *Compactness* is 5.24 and is significant at the 0.01 level. The Chi2 statistic is 37.68, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that, although they are not statistically significant (column a), the three primary coefficients of interest are robust. The coefficient values are little changed and the signs remain the same.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.5 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy toward the Soviet

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<sup>233</sup> The Cook-Weisberg test for heteroscedasticity and White's general test statistic each result in probability of Chi2 values greater than 0.05. The variable *Sino-USSR* is therefore homoscedastic.



Union from 1949 to 1979. All three key independent variables are statistically significant in one of the alternative models (columns b). The statistical significance of all of the F statistics (a test of the null hypothesis that the variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The variable coefficients of the paramount leader and the Central Committee are both negative, while the variable coefficient of the nearest competitor is positive. (Recall that *Distance* has a definition opposite from *Clustering* and *Compactness*, so the fact that it acts in the opposite direction is not surprising.) Referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see Sino-Soviet foreign policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 3 Outcomes: Isolationism. As discussed earlier, China's foreign policy approach vis-à-vis the Soviet Union during most of the period of 1949-1978 can be described as isolationist in the sense that China increasingly sought to pursue a foreign policy independent of the Soviet Union following Stalin's death in March 1953 and in light of the Sino-Soviet split previously discussed.

Table 7.5 Baseline Regressions for Sino-USSR Relations (Network Variables Only)(COPDAB), 1949-1978

Variable:	Sino-USSR Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
$V_{PL}$	-0.002 (0.113)	-0.143** (0.047)	-0.098* (0.039)	-0.083* (0.039)	0.000 (0.114)
$V_C$	0.077 (0.060)	0.077† (0.046)	-0.056 (0.036)	0.052 (0.036)	0.063 (0.061)
$V_{CC}$	-0.536 (0.449)				-0.531 (0.462)
Clustering		-27.605** (9.200)			
Distance			3.100** (0.605)		
Compactness				-11.200** (2.136)	
Military Spending					-0.012 (0.015)
GDP Growth					-0.022 (0.027)
Intercept	7.614** (0.270)	28.018** (6.781)	1.967† (1.131)	14.441** (1.304)	7.909** (0.368)
N	31	31	31	31	31
Wald $X^2$	7.09†	15.98**	36.23**	37.68**	8.35

Note: XTGLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed tests

*China's Interaction with the USSR (Sino-USSR), 1984-1995*. The baseline OLS regression model including only the primary network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization show that  $V_{CC}$  is statistically significant (Table 7.6, column a). The F statistic is 3.95, which is statistically significant at the 0.10 level. The t statistic for  $V_{CC}$  is 2.95 with a significance level of less than the 0.05 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.201 and the Root MSE is 0.537.

In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are positive, negative, and negative. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 3 Foreign Policy Outcomes (isolationism) for the period 1984-1995 regarding the Soviet Union/Russia. Specifically, a one percent increase in the Central Committee's centralization decreases *Sino-USSR* by 0.12.

The models using the alternate measures of group centralization; *Clustering* (column b), *Distance* (column c), and *Compactness* (column d); all suggest that  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  are important explanatory factors. The variables *Distance* and *Compactness* may be important with *Distance* acting in the opposite direction as  $V_{CC}$ , *Clustering* and *Compactness*, however the F statistic for these models lacks significance.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the three coefficients of interest are not robust. The  $R^2$  value is 0.527 and the Root MSE is 0.477.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.6 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy toward the Soviet Union/Russia from 1984 to 1995. All three key independent variables are statistically significant in one of the alternative models (column d). The marginal statistical significance of the F statistic (a test of the null hypothesis that the variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis should be cautiously rejected. The variable coefficients of the nearest competitor and the Central Committee are both negative, while the variable coefficient of the paramount leader is positive. Referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see Sino-Soviet/Russian foreign policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 3 Outcomes:

Isolationism. China's foreign policy approach vis-à-vis the Soviet Union/Russia during most of the period of 1984-1995 can be described as isolationist. Although bilateral relations were thawing in the 1980s (evidenced by Gorbachev's state visit in 1989), the collapse of the Soviet Union certainly interfered with that process. Their bilateral relationship was strengthened with the formation of the Shanghai Five (China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan) in 1996.

Table 7.6 Baseline Regressions for Sino-USSR Relations (Network Variables Only)(PANDA), 1984-1995

Variable:	Sino-USSR Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
V <sub>PL</sub>	0.010 (0.017)	0.090† (0.043)	0.146* (0.057)	0.139† (0.061)	0.018 (0.040)
V <sub>C</sub>	-0.042 (0.035)	-0.159† (0.073)	-0.200* (0.075)	-0.200* (0.080)	0.057 (0.049)
V <sub>CC</sub>	-0.121* (0.205)				-0.104† (0.045)
Clustering		-6.235 (9.118)			
Distance			2.226* (0.854)		
Compactness				-7.434† (3.984)	
Military Spending					-0.045 (0.031)
GDP Growth					-0.068 (0.044)
Intercept	0.509* (0.205)	5.494 (7.338)	-4.431* (1.742)	4.221† (2.130)	-1.727* (0.651)
N	12	12	12	12	12
R <sup>2</sup>	0.201	0.203	0.460	0.373	0.527
F	3.950†	2.15	3.14†	2.64	2.18

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed test

### *Sino-Indian Relations, in general.*

India was one of the first countries to break off relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan and to recognize the People's Republic of China. Because China has long resented intrusions on and annexations of what may be called its "territorial imperative" by both neighboring states and imperialist powers, Sino-Indian relations fell into a downward spiral in

the 1950s.<sup>234</sup> As the Guomindang forces in mainland China crumbled in 1949, Tibetan hopes for independence rose. However, assistance from third party states, such as the United States, never materialized and China invaded, “liberated,” and occupied Tibet in 1950. Organized rebellions, sometimes involving 10,000 Tibetans, have occurred sporadically ever since. The People’s Liberation Army and the People’s Armed Police have consistently suppressed such uprisings.

India’s proximity to Tibet, simultaneously connected and separated by the Himalayan Mountains, engendered the ongoing state of friction between China and India. There had been, for nearly a half century, a lack of bilateral agreement on where the border actually was, so accusations of border violations lacked specificity. The limited support that Tibetan rebels received from the US’ Central Intelligence Agency was flown from Burma crossing over the Sino-Indian border in the 1950s. For China’s part, PLA Air Forces regularly violated Indian airspace to gain intelligence on “reactionary” activities along the border. China’s leaders feared a simultaneous attack from Taiwan, supported by the US, in the east and in Tibet, supported by India, in the west.

As a consequence of the Great Leap Forward, China’s economic situation in 1961 and 1962 was disastrous. Grain production had fallen 20%, forcing China to increase wheat imports one hundred fold.<sup>235</sup> Some PLA units reported rarely having meat in their meals. Chinese

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<sup>234</sup> There were rare exceptions to the general animosity between China and India. See “Joint Communiqué of Chou En-lai and Jawaharlal Nehru.” (June 1954). In *Foreign Policy of India, Texts of Documents 1947-1958* in which India promised to maintain neutrality in the Cold War. See also “Chou En-lai: Speech at Bandung Conference.” (April 1955). In *Asian-African Conferences, Bandung, Indonesia, 18<sup>th</sup>-24<sup>th</sup> April 1955: Speeches and Communiqués*.

<sup>235</sup> See also Yang Jisheng (Tombstone: The Great Chinese Famine, 1958-1962, 2012); Dikötter (Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962, 2011); and Zhou (The Great Famine in China, 1958-1962, 2012) for recent accounts of the Great Leap Forward.

leaders feared that the GLF induced famine would force the regime to quell the population with force. It was in this context that the Sino-Indian border dispute escalated to open warfare.

There were previous border incidents. In 1958 Chinese troops forced back an Indian patrol. Border clashes in 1959 and mutual claims to frontier areas were made in 1960.<sup>236</sup> Eventually, each side was compelled to attempt to make credible threats, India seeing the process leading to negotiation, China perceiving the border issue as a national security issue.

In the fall of 1961, India declared its “forward policy” and a series of moves and countermoves led to accusations by each country of violations by the other country of infringing on the border along the McMahon Line – the effective boundary delineated by Sir Henry McMahon, foreign secretary of British-run India, in 1914. The line of control has been accepted and rejected by the major parties at some point in history. India initially rejected the line, but eventually claimed to have administrative rights over the area extending 20 kilometers north and south of what Zhou Enlai referred to as the “line of actual control.” The leader of Tibet, the Dalai Lama, has claimed the area belongs to Tibet, but more recently recognized India’s claim. The area encompasses roughly 25,000 square miles.

The first half of 1962 saw increased clashes between Indian troops and PLA patrols, the clashes closely followed by diplomatic warnings and posturing. The actual conflict known as the Sino-Indian War involved roughly three army divisions from each side and lasted for 30 days between October 1962 and November 1962. India reported 1,383 killed, 1,696 missing, and 3,968 captured. China did not give any numbers. The brief conflict shaped Sino-Indian relations

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<sup>236</sup> See also “Chou En-lai’s Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru.” (September 1959). In *Report of the Chinese and Indian Officials on the Boundary Question* (New Delhi Ministry of External Affairs).

for three decades – three decades of frosty relations.<sup>237</sup> The two countries engaged in two more major military conflicts along the border in 1967 and 1982. Beginning in the late 1980s, both countries successfully worked to improve diplomatic relations and increase economic trade.

*China's interaction with India (Sino-Indian), 1949-1978.* The baseline OLS regression model including only the network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization show that  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are not statistically significant (Table 7.7, column a). In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are negative, positive, and negative. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 3 Foreign Policy Outcomes for the period 1949-1978 regarding India.

The model using *Clustering* as the measure of group centralization (column b) suggests that  $V_{PL}$  and *Clustering* are important. The F statistic is 12.82, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 4.15 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for *Clustering* is 1.88 with a significance level of less than the 0.10 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.206 and the Root MSE is 1.64.<sup>238</sup>

Similarly, the model using *Distance* as the measure of group centralization (column c) suggests that  $V_{PL}$  and *Distance* are important with *Distance* acting in the opposite direction as  $V_{CC}$ , *Clustering* and *Compactness*. The F statistic is 10.17, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 2.66 with a significance level of less than the 0.05 level. The t statistic for *Distance* is 1.76 with a significance level of less than the 0.10 level. The  $R^2$  value is

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<sup>237</sup> See also "Agreement on Boundary Between China and Pakistan." (March 1963). In *Xinhua* revealed China's closer relations with Pakistan as a result of the border dispute with India.

<sup>238</sup> The Cook-Weisberg test for heteroscedasticity and White's general test statistic each result in probability of Chi2 values greater than 0.05. The variable aSinoIndia is therefore homoscedastic.



low at 0.188 and the Root MSE is 1.656. In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are negative, negative, and positive. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 3 Policy Outcomes for the period 1949-1978.

The model using *Compactness* as the measure of group centralization (column d) suggests that  $V_{PL}$  and *Compactness* are important. The F statistic is 9.8, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 2.41 with a significance level of less than the 0.05 level. The t statistic for *Compactness* is 1.75 with a significance level of less than the 0.10 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.18 and the Root MSE is 1.665.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the coefficients of interest, which are not statistically significant in this case, are not robust. The  $R^2$  value improves to 0.218 and the Root MSE is 1.694.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.7 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy toward India from 1949 to 1978. Two key independent variables (paramount leader and the Central Committee) are statistically significant in three of the alternative models (columns b, c, and d). The statistical significance of the F statistic (a test of the null hypothesis that the variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The variable coefficients of the paramount leader and the Central Committee are both negative, while the variable coefficient of the nearest potential competitor is positive. Referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see Sino-Indian foreign policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 3 Outcomes: Isolationism. As discussed earlier, China's foreign policy approach vis-à-

vis India during most of the period of 1949-1978 can be described as isolationist. Despite having their post-World War 2 relationship founded on the “Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (1954), their long-term border dispute has defined Sino-Indian relations as evidenced by frequent border clashes and wars during the period of 1949-1978.

Table 7.7 Baseline Regressions for Sino-India Relations (Network Variables Only)(COPDAB), 1949-1978

Variable:	Sino-India Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
V <sub>PL</sub>	-0.040 (0.121)	-0.104** (0.025)	0.071* (0.027)	-0.064** (0.027)	-0.050 (0.117)
V <sub>C</sub>	0.002 (0.046)	0.026 (0.043)	0.001 (0.037)	-0.004 (0.036)	-0.025 (0.047)
V <sub>CC</sub>	-0.201 (0.505)				-0.125 (0.492)
Clustering		-25.132† (13.393)			
Distance			1.789† (1.016)		
Compactness				-6.073† (3.460)	
Military Spending					-0.032 (0.019)
GDP Growth					-0.033 (0.027)
Intercept	8.389** -0.351	26.867* (9.824)	5.071* (1.937)	12.041** (2.063)	8.940** (0.428)
N	31	31	31	31	31
R <sup>2</sup>	0.079	0.206	0.188	0.179	0.218
F	11.89**	12.82**	10.17**	9.80**	10.77**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed tests

*China's Interaction with India (Sino-Indian), 1984-1995*. The baseline OLS regression model including only the primary network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization show that  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  are statistically significant (Table 7.8, column a). The F statistic is 4882.57, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 2.53 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_C$  is 6.42 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value is high at 0.884 and the Root MSE is 0.422.

In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are positive, positive, and negative. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 2 Foreign Policy Outcomes (selective engagement) for the period 1984-1995 regarding India. Specifically, a one percent increase in paramount leader centrality increases *Sino-India* by 0.06. Similarly, a one percent increase in the competitor's centrality increases *Sino-India* by 0.25.

The models using the alternate measures of group centralization; *Clustering* (column b), *Distance* (column c), and *Compactness* (column d); all support the argument that  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  are statistically significant at the 0.05 level (column b) or the 0.10 level (column d) with *Distance* acting in the opposite direction as  $V_{CC}$ , *Clustering* and *Compactness*.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the three primary coefficients of interest (from column a) are robust. The coefficient values are little changed and the signs remain the same. The  $R^2$  value is 0.889 and the Root MSE is 0.487.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.8 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy toward India from

1984 to 1995. Two key independent variables (paramount leader and his nearest potential competitor) are statistically significant. The statistical significance of the F statistic (a test of the null hypothesis that the variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The variable coefficients of the paramount leader and his nearest competitor are both positive, while the variable coefficient of the Central Committee is negative. Referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see Sino-Indian foreign policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 2 Outcomes: Selective Engagement. As discussed earlier, China's foreign policy approach vis-à-vis India during most of the period of 1949-1978 can be described as selectively engaged. In the mid-1980s, PLA and Indian Army units maneuvered to occupy disputed territories, but bilateral negotiations forestalled war. By 1987, both sides backed away from war and in December 1988 both countries issued a joint communiqué calling for the restoration of friendly relations. Between 1988 and 1993, six rounds of bilateral talks were held under the auspices of the Indian-Chinese Joint Working Group.

Table 7.8 Baseline Regressions for Sino-India Relations (Network Variables Only)(PANDA), 1984-1995

Variable:	Sino-India Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
V <sub>PL</sub>	0.063*	0.127*	0.132†	0.148†	0.076†
	(0.025)	(0.052)	(0.059)	(0.063)	(0.035)
V <sub>C</sub>	0.254**	0.186*	0.178*	0.161†	0.256**
	(0.039)	(0.067)	(0.074)	(0.078)	(0.059)
V <sub>CC</sub>	-0.047				-0.057
	(0.079)				(0.095)
Clustering		-18.038			
		(13.606)			
Distance			1.322		
			(1.124)		
Compactness				-6.658	
				(4.941)	
Military Spending					-0.015
					(0.033)
GDP Growth					0.017
					(0.036)
Intercept	0.251	14.826	-2.659	3.623	0.284
	(0.182)	(11.115)	(2.347)	(2.612)	(0.505)
N	12	12	12	12	12
R <sup>2</sup>	0.884	0.908	0.907	0.918	0.889
F	4882.57**	893.38**	1414.02**	1611.77**	5543.41**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed test

### *Sino-Taiwan Relations, in general.*

In mid-September 1949, as Mao prepared to declare that a New China had finally “stood up,” major portions of China were not under communist control. Although the outcome of China’s Civil War (1946-1950) was no longer in doubt, the Party was painfully aware that Tibet, areas of the southwest, the island of Hainan, and especially the island of Taiwan were not yet taken by the PLA. Also, as a reminder of past colonial injustices, Hong Kong was still under

British rule and nearby Macao was governed by Portugal. As mentioned in the previous section on Sino-Indian relations, China invaded and occupied Tibet in October 1949. PLA forces under Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping swept through the southwest provinces in early 1950. And Hainan was seized from Guomindang control during a major PLA amphibious operation in the spring and summer of 1950. Only Taiwan, with the majority of the Nationalist forces and the Guomindang's political core protected from the PLA by the 100 mile wide Taiwan Strait, remained.

Communist China's foreign policy toward Nationalist China has always been coercive. The Party's official declarations have been consistent: Taiwan is a part of China. The matter is not so much a "foreign" policy as it is an internal matter. Nevertheless, the two governments are sufficiently separate as to pursue different foreign policies with other countries, maintain distinct economic systems, and employ their military forces to protect their territorial sovereignty *from each other*.

There have been a number of Taiwan Strait crises. In the months before North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950, the PLA was well into planning and preparations for an amphibious assault on Taiwan (Chen J. , 1994). The Korean War and the deployment of the US Seventh Fleet to the strait caused the PLA to delay the assault on Taiwan.

In 1954 and 1958, mainland artillery batteries inflicted heavy casualties on ROC forces still occupying small islands a few miles off the mainland coast. China scholars suggest that the attacks were either to send a message to Taipei to discourage a declaration of independence, which would create a major obstacle to reunification, or to send a message to Moscow to

emphasize Mao's willingness and capability to pursue an independent foreign policy.<sup>239</sup> In either case, China was very careful not to engage US naval forces, giving the United States an excuse to intervene.

Over the years, the PRC's relations with the Republic of China have been defined by a series of joint declarations, known as the Three Communiqués, by the People's Republic of China and the United States. The first declaration, the Shanghai Communiqué, captured the spirit of Nixon's landmark visit to China in February 1972. Although the communiqué addressed each country's position on northeast Asia, Indochina, and South Asia – the core issue discussed was Taiwan. The PRC and US leaders agreed to mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity. More importantly, both countries acknowledged the desire for a future, unified China.

The second declaration, the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations of January 1979, announced the normalization of Sino-US diplomatic relations. By default, the declaration meant that the US no longer recognized the Republic of China as the legitimate government of China. Both sides affirmed the desire for the peaceful reunification of the two Chinas. The third declaration, the August 17 (1982) Communiqué, affirmed the joint desire for the development of Sino-US cultural, economic, and educational relations. In addition to reaffirming the first two communiqués, the US committed to the gradual reduction of arms sales to Taiwan.

Another policy declaration involving Taiwan was the 1992 Consensus in which representatives of the PRC and the US accepted the "One China Principle." Although all parties

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<sup>239</sup> See also "Chou En-lai: Speech on the Liberation of Taiwan." (June 1956). In *Oppose US Occupation of Taiwan and Peking*, Foreign Language Press.

agreed that there is one China with undivided sovereignty, they also agreed to define “one” differently. The Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1995-1996 resulted from ROC President Lee Teng-hui’s visit to the United States to speak at Cornell University. Lee had made policy statements suggesting he did not support the “One China Principle.” In mid-1995, the PLA conducted missile exercises intended to warn Lee of the risk of rejecting the “One China Principle,” which continues to define PRC-ROC relations to this day. Another missile exercise in early-1996 was intended to influence Taiwan’s 1996 national elections. The PRC effort at coercion was unsuccessful and Lee was re-elected.

*China’s interaction with the Republic of China (Sino-ROC), 1949-1978.* The baseline OLS regression model including only the primary network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization (Table 7.9, column a) suggests that  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are statistically significant. The F statistic is 8.94, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 3.47 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_C$  is 2.64 with a significance level of less than the 0.05 level. The t statistic for  $V_{CC}$  is 4.18 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.255 and the Root MSE is 1.762.<sup>240</sup>

In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are negative, negative, and positive. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 3 Foreign Policy Outcomes (isolationism) for the period 1949-1978 regarding Taiwan. Specifically, a one percent increase in paramount leader centrality decreases *Sino-ROC* by 0.31. Similarly, a one percent increase in

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<sup>240</sup> The Cook-Weisberg test for heteroscedasticity and White’s general test statistic each result in probability of Chi2 values greater than 0.05. The variable *Sino-ROC* is therefore homoscedastic.



the competitor's centrality decreases *Sino-ROC* by 0.11. Finally, a one percent increase in the Central Committee's centralization increases *Sino-ROC* by 1.58.

The models using the alternate measures of group centralization; *Clustering* (column b), *Distance* (column c), and *Compactness* (column d); do not strongly suggest that those alternative models are valid for *Sino-ROC* interactions from 1949 to 1978. Nevertheless, as with the previous analyses, *Distance* acts in the opposite direction as  $V_{CC}$ , *Clustering* and *Compactness*.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the three primary coefficients of interest (from column a) are statistically significant and quite robust. The coefficient values are little changed and the signs remain the same. The  $R^2$  value falls to 0.302 and the Root MSE is 1.788.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.9 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy toward the Republic of China from 1949 to 1978. All three key independent variables are statistically significant. The statistical significance of the F statistic (a test of the null hypothesis that the variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The variable coefficients of the paramount leader and his nearest competitor are both negative, while the variable coefficient of the Central Committee is positive. Referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see *Sino-ROC* foreign policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 3 Outcomes: Isolationism. As discussed earlier, China's foreign policy approach vis-à-vis the

Republic of China during most of the period of 1949-1978 can be described as more coercive than isolationist.

Table 7.9 Baseline Regressions for Sino-ROC Relations (Network Variables Only)(COPDAB), 1949-1978

Variable:	Sino-ROC Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
$V_{PL}$	-0.309** (0.089)	0.062† (0.027)	0.014 (0.023)	-0.005 (0.026)	-0.292** (0.102)
$V_C$	-0.111* (0.042)	-0.018 (0.042)	-0.012 (0.027)	-0.009 (0.027)	-0.093* (0.044)
$V_{CC}$	1.579** (0.378)				1.483** (0.433)
Clustering		21.897 (12.806)			
Distance			3.892** (0.586)		
Compactness				14.560** (2.167)	
Military Spending					0.023 (0.014)
GDP Growth					0.017 (0.027)
Intercept	11.127** (0.338)	-5.210 (9.620)	18.097** (1.150)	2.136† (1.276)	10.730** (0.441)
N	31	31	31	31	31
$R^2$	0.255	0.106	0.464	0.509	0.302
F	8.94**	5.52**	17.98**	18.31**	7.16**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed tests

*China's Interaction with the ROC (Sino-ROC), 1984-1995.* The baseline OLS regression model including only the primary network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization show that  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  are statistically significant (Table 7.10, column a). The F

statistic is 378.54, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 6.89 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_C$  is 4.64 which is significant at the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.289 and the Root MSE is 0.738.

In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are negative, positive, and negative. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 3 Foreign Policy Outcomes (isolationism) for the period 1984-1995 regarding Taiwan. Specifically, a one percent increase in paramount leader's centrality decreases *Sino-ROC* by 0.24. A one percent increase in the competitor's centrality increases *Sino-ROC* by 0.30. Finally, a one percent increase in the Central Committee's centralization decreases *Sino-ROC* by 0.06.

The models using the alternate measures of group centralization; *Clustering* (column b), *Distance* (column c), and *Compactness* (column d); all support the argument that  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and the alternate measures are statistically significant. The t statistics for  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  are significant at the 0.01 level. The alternate measures are significant at the 0.05 level (columns b, c, and d). The F statistics for the alternate models are also significant at the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  values are moderate and range from 0.444 to 0.548.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the three primary coefficients of interest (from column a) are robust. The coefficient values are little changed and the signs remain the same. The  $R^2$  value is 0.534 and the Root MSE is 0.690.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.10 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy toward the Republic of China from 1984 to 1995. All three key independent variables are statistically significant in

two of the alternative models. The statistical significance of the F statistic (a test of the null hypothesis that the variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The signs of the variable coefficients of the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Central Committee are not consistent across the different models. Nevertheless, models a and b indicate Type 3 Policy Outcomes (Isolationism) that are generally consistent with historical observations of Sino-ROC bilateral relations during the period of 1984-1995.

Table 7.10 Baseline Regressions for Sino-ROC Relations (Network Variables Only)(PANDA), 1984-1995

Variable:	Sino-ROC Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
V <sub>PL</sub>	-0.243** (0.350)	-0.222** (0.047)	-0.288** (0.061)	-0.294** (0.056)	-0.265** (0.043)
V <sub>C</sub>	0.296** (0.064)	-0.223* (0.087)	0.286** (0.086)	0.297** (0.083)	0.171† (0.079)
V <sub>CC</sub>	-0.057 (0.090)				-0.076 (0.980)
Clustering		17.342* (7.202)			
Distance			-2.948* (1.243)		
Compactness				12.017* (4.194)	
Military Spending					0.069† (0.034)
GDP Growth					0.073 (0.072)
Intercept	1.400** (0.284)	-12.535† (5.781)	7.905* (1.243)	-4.645† (2.155)	-0.147 (0.797)
N	12	12	12	12	12
R <sup>2</sup>	0.289	0.444	0.533	0.548	0.534
F	378.54**	67.69**	103.39**	56.44**	188.88**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed test

### *China's Foreign Policy, in general.*

China's foreign policy combines declarations about a "peaceful rise" and an aversion to seeking regional hegemony.<sup>241</sup> The legacy of Chinese history is a natural sense of "Middle Kingdom" superiority and leadership. Chinese leaders, and most Chinese, want to redress a "Century of Humiliation" as victims of Western imperialism (1840s-1940s). Foreign policy is

<sup>241</sup> China's stated aversion to hegemony in general can be traced at least back to "Chinese Editorial: Down with the Doctrine of Big-Nation Hegemony." (January 23, 1971). In *Renmin Ribao*.

made in that context.<sup>242</sup> Since 1949, China has pursued regional and global strategies based on addressing vulnerabilities to superpower dominance and manipulation (Nathan & Scobell, 2012). Cooperation occurred in order to promote economic development and generate credible military capacity for deterrence.<sup>243</sup>

*China's interaction with the World (Sin-Int'l), 1949-1978.* The baseline OLS regression model including only primary the network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization show that  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_{CC}$  are statistically significant (Table 7.11, column a). The F statistic is 10.36, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 3.15 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{CC}$  is 2.39 with a significance level of less than the 0.05 level. The  $R^2$  value is very low at 0.077 and the Root MSE is 1.30.<sup>244</sup> Interestingly, Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) data suggested that  $V_{PL}$  would be a significant explanatory factor when regressed on a dependent variable similar to the *Sino-Int'l* variable.<sup>245</sup>

In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are negative, negative, and positive. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 3 Foreign Policy Outcomes (isolationism) for the period 1949-1978. Specifically, a one percent increase in paramount

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<sup>242</sup> Swaine and Tellis (2000) wrote "China's modern history of defeat, subjugation, and humiliation at the hands of the West and Japan has produced an acute Chinese desire for international respect as a great power."

<sup>243</sup> See also "China's Historical Experience in Economic Construction." (May 6, 1982). In *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*.

<sup>244</sup> The Cook-Weisberg test for heteroscedasticity resulted in a probability of Chi2 is less than 0.05 and White's general test statistic resulted in a probability of Chi2 value greater than 0.05. The variable *Sino-Int'l* is therefore heteroscedastic.

<sup>245</sup> Sibayan, J. Conference presentation of "Strategic Culture and Network Centrality." (2011) *Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association*. New Orleans, LA: unpublished. Available at <[http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/4/3/9/5/2/p439528\\_index.html](http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/4/3/9/5/2/p439528_index.html)> | interpreted their data from a graph and found that the PSG's centrality was significant at the 0.05 level.

leader centrality decreases *Sino-Int'l* by 0.15. A one percent increase in the Central Committee's centralization increases *Sino-US* by 0.49.

Although the model using *Clustering* (column b) suggests it may be an important variable, it is not compelling. The model using *Distance* (column c), however, strongly suggests that  $V_{PL}$  and *Distance* are important explanatory variables with *Distance* acting in the opposite direction as  $V_{CC}$ , *Clustering* and *Compactness*. The F statistic is 6.72 and is significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 4.41 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for *Distance* is 2.93 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.301 and the Root MSE is 1.31.

Similarly, the model using *Compactness* (column d) strongly suggests that  $V_{PL}$  and *Compactness* are important explanatory variables. The F statistic is 5.97 and is significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 4.22 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for *Compactness* is 2.81 with significance at the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.248 and the Root MSE is 1.17.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the three primary coefficients of interest (from column a) are quite robust. The coefficient values are little changed and the signs remain the same. The  $R^2$  value falls to 0.083 and the Root MSE is 1.348.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.11 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy approach toward all other countries from 1949 to 1978. Two of the three key independent variables (paramount leader and the Central Committee) are statistically significant. The statistical significance of the

F statistic (a test of the null hypothesis that the variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The variable coefficients of the paramount leader and his nearest competitor are both negative, while the variable coefficient of the Central Committee is positive. Referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see Chinese foreign policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 3 Outcomes: Isolationism. As discussed earlier, China's foreign policy approach vis-à-vis *all other countries* during most of the period of 1949-1978 can be described as falling between selective engagement and isolationism.



Table 7.11 Baseline Regressions for Sino-International Relations (Network Variables Only)(COPDAB), 1949-1978

Variable:	Sino-International Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
$V_{PL}$	-0.146** (0.046)	-0.014 (0.014)	-0.052** (0.018)	-0.058** (0.014)	-0.148* (0.060)
$V_C$	-0.026 (0.019)	-0.032 (0.019)	-0.001 (0.010)	0.003 (0.011)	-0.022 (0.021)
$V_{CC}$	0.490* (0.205)				0.496† (0.275)
Clustering		28.323* (10.704)			
Distance			-2.044** (0.699)		
Compactness				6.524** (2.326)	
Military Spending					0.003 (0.013)
GDP Growth					-0.008 (0.016)
Intercept	8.066** (0.250)	-12.829 (7.731)	11.795** (1.463)	4.084** (1.238)	-7.979** (0.351)
N	31	31	31	31	31
$R^2$	0.077	0.346	0.301	0.248	0.083
F	10.36**	7.20**	6.72**	5.97**	0.681**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed tests

*China's Interaction with the World (Sino-Int'l), 1984-1995.* The baseline OLS regression model including only the primary network variables representing the measures of centrality and centralization show that  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are statistically significant (Table 7.12, column a). The F statistic is 2099.61, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 12.84 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_C$  is 4.90 with a

significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{CC}$  is 2.30 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value is moderate at 0.655 and the Root MSE is 0.608.

In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are positive, negative, and negative. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 3 Foreign Policy Outcomes (isolationism) for the period 1984-1995. The effects of the key independent variables are minimal. Specifically, a one percent increase in paramount leader centrality increases *Sino-Int'l* by only 0.02. A one percent increase in the competitor's centrality decreases *Sino-Int'l* by only 0.02. Finally, a one percent increase in the Central Committee's centralization increases *Sino-Int'l* by only 0.01.

Although all of the models using the alternate measures of group centralization; *Clustering* (column b), *Distance* (column c), and *Compactness* (column d); support the argument that  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  are statistically significant at the 0.01 level, the alternate measures are not. The F statistics are all significant at the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  values remain moderate and range from 0.635 to 0.637.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the three primary coefficients of interest (from column a) are robust. The coefficient values are little changed and the signs remain the same. The  $R^2$  value falls to 0.079 and the Root MSE is 1.351.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.12 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's foreign policy approach toward all other countries from 1984 to 1995. All three key independent variables are statistically significant. The statistical significance of the F statistic (a test of the null hypothesis that the

variables are not related at all to the policy outcome) suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The variable coefficients of the nearest competitor and the Central Committee are both negative, while the variable coefficient of the paramount leader is positive. Referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see China's foreign policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 3 Outcomes: Isolationism. Based on the earlier discussion, China's foreign policy approach vis-à-vis *all other countries* during most of the period of 1984-1995 can be described as falling between selective engagement and isolationism.

Table 7.12 Baseline Regressions for Sino International Relations (Network Variables Only)(PANDA), 1984-1995

Variable:	Sino-International Relations				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
V <sub>PL</sub>	0.023** (0.002)	0.031** (0.005)	0.033** (0.006)	0.033** (0.006)	0.016** (0.003)
V <sub>C</sub>	-0.018** (0.004)	-0.032** (0.008)	-0.032** (0.008)	-0.032** (0.008)	-0.019** (0.003)
V <sub>CC</sub>	-0.014† (0.006)				-0.009 (0.005)
Clustering		0.064 (2.690)			
Distance			0.036 (0.197)		
Compactness				-0.121 (0.804)	
Military Spending					0.008† (0.003)
GDP Growth					-0.008* (0.003)
Intercept	1.832** (0.025)	1.777 (2.164)	1.750** (0.444)	1.890** (0.397)	1.816** (0.050)
N	12	12	12	12	12
R <sup>2</sup>	0.655	0.635	0.637	0.636	0.875
F	2099.11**	95.61**	86.27**	89.58**	8277.05**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed test

The full model regressions provide less support for the dynamical theory of policy networks (Table 7.13). The F statistics for all models are significant at the 0.01 level. The full model regressions for 1949-1979 using the COPDAB database are provided in Table 7.13.

Table 7.13 Full Model Regressions (COPDAB), 1949-1978

Variable	Sino-US	Sino-USSR	Sino-India	Sino-ROC	Sino-Int'l
	(a)	(c)	(c)	(d)	(e)
$V_{PL}$	0.000 (0.052)	0.038 (0.044)	0.074 (0.070)	-0.216* (0.088)	-0.148* (0.060)
$V_C$	0.000 (0.017)	0.004 (0.024)	-0.033 (0.025)	0.013 (0.037)	-0.022 (0.021)
$V_{CC}$	-0.137 (0.221)	-0.198 (0.179)	-0.228 (0.262)	0.900* (0.397)	0.496† (0.275)
Military Spending	-0.008 (0.005)	0.010† (0.006)	-0.015 (0.015)	0.010 (0.009)	0.003 (0.013)
GDP Growth	0.002 (0.007)	-0.014 (0.010)	-0.013 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.022)	0.008 (0.018)
US-Sino	0.654** (0.117)				
USSR-Sino		0.976** (0.074)			
India-Sino			1.069** (0.086)		
ROC-Sino				0.847** (0.175)	
Intercept	3.664** (1.015)	0.481 (0.581)	0.389 (0.845)	1.964 (1.859)	7.979** (0.351)
N	31	31	31	31	31
$R^2$	0.736		0.789	0.558	0.083
F	11.18**		53.90**	26.47**	6.81**
Wald $X^2$		230.45**			

Note: OLS and XTGLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , †  $p < 0.1$ , two-tailed tests

The full model regressions for *Sino-USSR* relations and for *Sino-International* relations 1984 to 1995 seem to have firm empirical support (Table 7.14). In the case of *Sino-USSR* relations (column b), the variables  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_{CC}$  are statistically significant. The F statistic is

5583.43 which is significant at the 0.01 level. In the case of Sino-International relations, all of the primary independent variables, alternate measures of group centralization, and the two control variables for military spending and gross domestic product are statistically significant. All of the variables, with the exception of GDP, are significant at the 0.01 level. GDP is significant at the 0.05 level. The F statistic is 87307.24 which is significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 7.14 Full Model Regressions (PANDA), 1984-1995

Variable	Sino-US	Sino-USSR	Sino-India	Sino-ROC	Sino-Int'l
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
V <sub>PL</sub>	0.253 (0.609)	-0.032† (0.009)	0.199 (0.071)	-0.550 (0.262)	0.047** (0.002)
V <sub>C</sub>	-0.157 (0.960)	0.013 (0.027)	0.074 (0.169)	0.564 (0.402)	-0.076** (0.005)
V <sub>cc</sub>	0.093 (0.321)	0.340** (0.015)	-0.033 (0.028)	-0.433 (0.168)	0.011** (0.001)
Clustering	-76.361 (203.594)	-7.394* (1.262)	93.079 (77.544)	-3.978 (29.468)	33.319** (2.313)
Distance	-17.840 (26.604)	25.615** (1.144)	-25.759 (12.223)	30.949 (13.359)	5.032** (0.362)
Compactness	-48.609 (62.274)	91.148** (3.998)	-87.145 (23.763)	125.778 (51.494)	9.229** (0.699)
Military Spending	-0.09 (0.067)	0.068* (0.011)	0.008 (0.030)	0.078 (0.044)	0.013** (0.001)
GDP Growth	0.036 (0.496)	0.110* (0.012)	0.014 (0.057)	0.207 (0.127)	0.010* (0.002)
US-Sino	0.928 (1.589)				
USSR-Sino		0.671** (0.041)			
Indian-Sino			0.034 (0.046)		
ROC-Sino				-0.169 (0.376)	
Intercept	126.321 (236.526)	-98.158** (5.124)	176.032 (102.016)	-129.706 (57.963)	-41.096** (3.027)
N	12	12	12	12	12
R <sup>2</sup>	0.482	0.996	0.995	0.902	0.998
F	25.35	5583.43**	16652.10**	36.85*	87307.24**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed test

*Descriptive Statistics, China's Domestic Policy: 1984-1995*

The PANDA data set contains information that characterizes China's domestic events for the period from 1984 to 1995. In the following statistical analysis, China is both the source and the target state. The variation of the dependent variable, *Domestic*, is shown below (Figure 7.5). *Domestic* has a mean value of 1.128 with a standard deviation of 0.385. The maximum value is 1.77 and the minimum value is 0.5.<sup>246</sup> The descriptive statistics for the independent variables from 1984 to 1995 are shown below (Table 7.15).

Table 7.15 Summary Descriptive Statistics for Domestic Policy (PANDA), 1984-1995

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
<i>Dependent Variable</i>					
Domestic	1.128	0.385	0.5	1.77	12
<i>Independent Variables</i>					
V <sub>PL</sub>	2.127	6.702	-3.64	19	12
V <sub>C</sub>	1.125	8.731	-7	27.84	12
V <sub>CC</sub>	0.762	1.496	-0.27	3.95	12
Clustering	0.809	0.021	0.757	0.849	12
Distance	2.165	0.186	1.762	2.353	12
Compactness	0.514	0.049	0.456	0.625	12
<i>Control Variables</i>					
Military Spending	13.042	6.535	6.2	29.2	12
GDP Growth	10.692	3.693	3.8	15.2	12

<sup>246</sup> The Shapiro-Wilk W test for normality produced a probability of Z = 0.52. The Cook-Weisberg test produced a probably of Chi2 = 0.44 and the White test produced a P-value = 0.31, so the residuals are homoscedastic. The Arellano-Bond test gives a probably of Z = 0.27 suggesting no AR1 process.



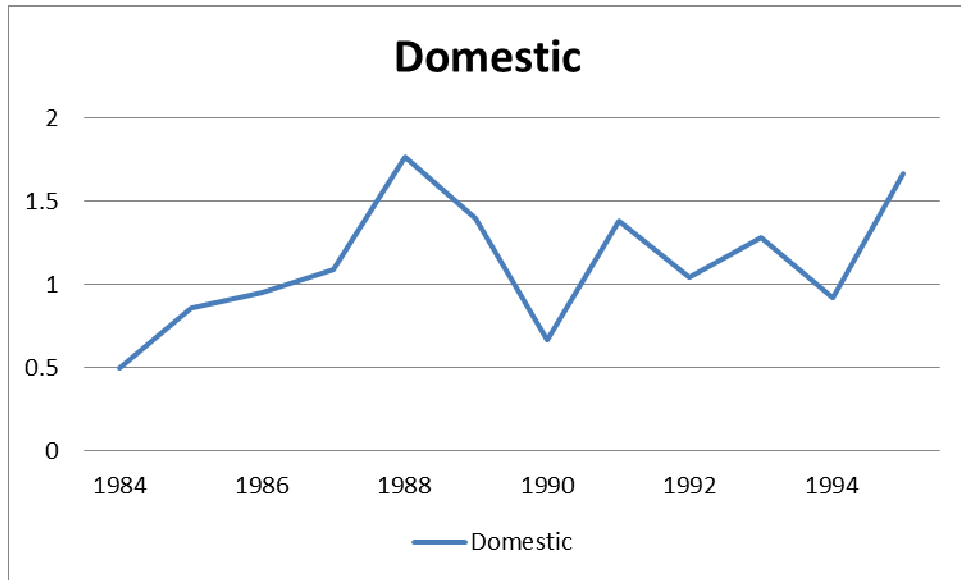


Figure 7.5 Variation of domestic events (PANDA data), 1984-1995.

### *China's Domestic Policy: 1984-1995, in general*

Deng Xiaoping's "Reform and Opening" program served as the guide for China's domestic policies from the Third Plenum in 1978 until his death in 1997. Any characterization of domestic policy from 1984 to 1995 must be made in that context (Communist Party of China, December 1978). The 1980s, for the most part, were marked by national economic growth and industrial modernization, the institutionalization of monetary and fiscal processes to support a market economy, and the increasing accessibility to higher education and open inquiry. The decade of reform was also marked by the often inept way the Party dealt with the consequences of unemployment, inflation, and intellectual discourse.

Three important events during this period—briefly summarized here—help describe the variation of China's domestic policies: "The Student Demonstrations of 1986-1987" (Fang, 1991), "The Tiananmen Square Demonstrations and the Beijing Massacre" of 1989 (Schell,

1989), and the Party's (re)commitment to "Building an Economic Superpower" in 1992 (Naughton, 1995).

The Student Demonstrations of 1986 and 1987 occurred after several years of "loosening up" policies. These policies permitted some degree of Westernization, accumulation of wealth, ownership of private property, and entrepreneurship. By the mid-1980s, there was a growing expectation among many Chinese that the Four Modernizations should give way to a fifth: democracy. Fang (1991), a distinguished astrophysicist who was eventually fired from his job and expelled from the Party, asked "Why is China so backward?" He continued, "Democracy begins with the individual. I am the master, and the government is responsible to me." The Party thought otherwise and the repression of Fang and other demonstrators marked the end of the demonstrations in 1987. Deng Xiaoping presciently declared "Firm measures must be taken against any student who creates trouble at Tiananmen Square" (Deng, 1987).

In May 1989, student protestors occupied Tiananmen Square and issued "A Hunger Strike Manifesto" that galvanized the mass movement. The students called for checks on government policymaking and the power to impeach government officials. On the night of June 3-4, PLA and police forces established control of the square, killing an undetermined number of people. What became known as the "Beijing Massacre," the imposition of martial law ended "the largest and most prolonged mass outpouring of public disaffection in Chinese history" (Schell, 1989).

In late 1992, the Party "endorsed the goal of a market economy" (Naughton, 1995). Prior to that, China's domestic economic policy vacillated between "loosening" and "tightening" due to the absence of an over-arching vision of reform. Deng had referred to the reform

process as “crossing the river by groping for stepping stones.” Semi-retired in February 1992, Deng was frustrated by the haphazard approach to reform and launched out on his famous Southern Sojourn (“nan xun”). His highly publicized endorsement of the SEZs and high economic growth rates set the stage for the Party’s endorsement later that year (Vogel, 2011). The Party has diligently followed the domestic policy of economic growth and expansion ever since.

*Statistical Analysis, China’s Domestic Policy: 1984-1995*

The baseline OLS regression analysis suggests that network structure and changes in network structure have some explanatory power with respect to domestic policies (Table 7.16). The regression using only the primary independent variables is shown in column a. The F statistic is 96.47, which is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_{PL}$  is 4.26 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The t statistic for  $V_C$  is 3.32 with a significance level of less than the 0.01 level. The  $R^2$  value is low at 0.297 and the Root MSE is 0.362.

In general, the coefficients for  $V_{PL}$ ,  $V_C$ , and  $V_{CC}$  are positive, negative, and positive. The combination of these effects is therefore consistent with Type 2 Domestic Policy Outcomes (modest reforms) for the period 1984-1995. Specifically, a one percent increase in paramount leader centrality increases *Domestic* by 0.09. A one percent increase in the competitor’s centrality decreases *Domestic* by 0.10.

Although the alternate models using other measures of group centralization (columns b, c, and d) seem to confirm that  $V_{PL}$  and  $V_C$  are important explanatory variables, group

centralization does not appear to be a significant factor. The F statistics for all models are consistently significant at the 0.01 level.

*Robustness check.* The addition of the *Military Spending* and *GDP Growth* variables (column e) suggests that the first two primary coefficients of interest (from column a) are robust. The coefficient values are little changed and the signs remain the same. The  $R^2$  value rises to 0.547 and the Root MSE is 0.344.

*Interpretation.* The statistical analysis shown in Table 7.16 is focused on evaluating the influence of the three key independent variables on China's domestic policies from 1984 to 1995. Two of the three key independent variables (paramount leader and nearest competitor) are statistically significant. The statistical significance of the F statistic suggests that the null hypothesis can be rejected with confidence. The signs of the variable coefficients of the paramount leader, his nearest competitor, and the Central Committee are somewhat inconsistent across the different models. Based on model a (the baseline model) and referring back to Figure 4.12 (Summary of observable implications), the dynamical theory suggests that we should expect to see China's domestic policy outcomes generally consistent with Type 2 Outcomes: Moderate Reforms. This is consistent with Deng Xiaoping's reforms and opening to the West in the 1980s and 1990s discussed earlier.

Table 7.16 Baseline Regressions for Domestic Policy (Network Variables Only)(PANDA), 1984-1995

Variable	Domestic Policy				
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
V <sub>PL</sub>	0.095** (0.022)	0.096* (0.035)	0.098* (0.041)	0.094† (0.043)	0.073* (0.028)
V <sub>C</sub>	-0.102** (0.031)	0.102† (0.049)	-0.103† (0.056)	-0.101 (0.059)	-0.069 (0.059)
V <sub>CC</sub>	0.001 (0.044)				0.032 (0.040)
Clustering		-1.185 (9.360)			
Distance			0.120 (0.812)		
Compactness				-0.002 (3.307)	
Military Spending					0.011 (0.030)
GDP Growth					-0.058 (0.039)
Intercept	1.126** (0.146)	2.084 (7.650)	0.864 (1.693)	1.127 (1.766)	1.524* (0.544)
N	12	12	12	12	12
R <sup>2</sup>	0.297	0.298	0.299	0.297	0.547
F	96.47**	32.16**	32.72**	29.93**	82.00**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed test

### *Discussion of the Findings*

The preceding statistical regression analyses suggest that changes in the Central Committee's network structure have a moderate effect on policy outcomes. Recall the earlier observation that prior to the period of reforms in the early 1980s, policymaking was described as "Mao-in-command," but after the early 1980s there was a much greater sense of collective

leadership and consensus seeking.<sup>247</sup> In other words, it should not be surprising that the regression analysis of policymaking during the Mao era, which is substantially the period (1949-1978), found that the paramount leader and the Central Committee were statistically significant actors in most of the statistical models of China’s foreign policy approach.<sup>248</sup>

Table 7.17 Summary of Baseline Regressions (BR) & Robustness Checks (RC) (COPDAB), 1949-1978

Variable	Sino-US		Sino-USSR		Sino-India		Sino-ROC		Sino-Int'l	
	(BR)	(RC)	(BR)	(RC)	(BR)	(RC)	(BR)	(RC)	(BR)	(RC)
V <sub>PL</sub>	-0.134** (0.049)	-0.134* (0.061)	-0.002 (0.113)	0.000 (0.114)	-0.040 (0.121)	-0.050 (0.117)	-0.309** (0.089)	-0.292** (0.102)	-0.146** (0.046)	-0.148* (0.060)
V <sub>C</sub>	-0.055* (0.022)	-0.048* (0.022)	0.077 (0.060)	0.063 (0.061)	0.002 (0.046)	-0.025 (0.047)	-0.111* (0.042)	-0.093* (0.044)	-0.026 (0.019)	-0.022 (0.021)
V <sub>CC</sub>	0.481* (0.221)	0.472† (0.272)	-0.536 (0.449)	-0.531 (0.462)	-0.201 (0.505)	-0.125 (0.492)	1.579** (0.378)	1.483** (0.433)	0.490* (0.205)	0.496† (0.275)
Military Spending		0.008 (0.006)		-0.012 (0.015)		-0.032 (0.019)		0.023 (0.014)		0.003 (0.013)
GDP Growth		0.010 (0.017)		-0.022 (0.027)		-0.033 (0.027)		0.017 (0.027)		-0.008 (0.016)
Intercept	9.044** (0.176)	8.915** (0.244)	7.614** (0.270)	7.909** (0.368)	8.389** (-0.351)	8.940** (0.428)	11.127** (0.338)	10.730** (0.441)	8.066** (0.250)	-7.979** (0.351)
N	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
R <sup>2</sup>	0.124	0.159			0.079	0.218	0.255	0.302	0.077	0.083
F	14.49*	12.98*			11.89**	10.77**	8.94**	7.16**	10.36**	0.681**
Wald $\chi^2$			7.09†	8.35						

Note: OLS and XTGLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed tests

The period from 1949 to 1978 is also memorable for the relatively weak and not-so-influential potential competitors who came and went during that period. Just as Mao was “in charge” and controlled the Party even when he fell back to the “second front,” his nearest

<sup>247</sup> Li Cheng (2012) observed “The transformation of China from an all-powerful strongman dominated political system to its current structure of collective leadership has generated new institutional rules and norms in elite politics.” The transition from Mao-in-command to collective leadership supports my assertion that the paramount leader is important prior to the reform era, but the Central Committee and its institutional norms is important after the reform era. See also Dreyer (2012).

<sup>248</sup> The paramount leader is statistically significant in 18 of the 25 models considered. The potential competitor is statistically significant in only 7 of the same 25 models. Not including the *Distance* and RC models, the Central Committee is statistically significant in 11 of the 15 models.

potential competitors were always only a very distant threat to his leadership.<sup>249</sup> Although the Hua Guofeng-Deng Xiaoping rivalry of 1977 and 1978 found the potential competitor with significantly more power (and centrality) than the paramount leader, the short span of time was not long enough to be statistically important. Therefore, again it is not surprising that the potential competitor is less often a statistically significant factor in determining China's foreign policy from 1949 to 1978—far less often than the paramount leader.

Throughout Mao's rule, he frequently appealed to the Party's larger policy network, the Central Committee, for support for his own policy agenda. Such was the case in the decision to intervene in Korea in 1950, for example. Although Mao's measure of centrality steadily climbed from 1935 until 1966, his potential competitors' centralities were equally high from 1945 to 1966. During the same period, the Central Committee's measure of centralization, regardless of the particular metric chosen, was remarkably consistent at 30%. Given such a stable policy network, again it is not surprising that the Central Committee is a statistically significant factor in most of the models predicting China's policy outcomes.

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<sup>249</sup> Only in 1967 and 1973 were Mao's rates of change of centrality less than his competitor's rates of change.

Table 7.18 Summary Baseline Regressions (BR) and Robustness Checks (RC) (PANDA), 1984-1995

Variable:	Sino-US		Sino-USSR		Sino-India		Sino-ROC		Sino-Int'l	
	(BR)	(RC)	(BR)	(RC)	(BR)	(RC)	(BR)	(RC)	(BR)	(RC)
V <sub>PL</sub>	0.127** (0.024)	0.146* (0.053)	0.010 (0.017)	0.018 (0.040)	0.063* (0.025)	0.076† (0.035)	-0.243** (0.350)	-0.265** (0.043)	0.023** (0.002)	0.016** (0.003)
V <sub>C</sub>	-0.135** (0.038)	-0.074 (0.107)	-0.042 (0.035)	0.057 (0.049)	0.254** (0.039)	0.256** (0.059)	0.296** (0.064)	0.171† (0.079)	-0.018** (0.004)	-0.019** (0.003)
V <sub>CC</sub>	-0.005 (0.060)	0.006 (0.032)	-0.121* (0.205)	-0.104† (0.045)	-0.047 (0.079)	-0.057 (0.095)	-0.057 (0.090)	-0.076 (0.980)	-0.014† (0.006)	-0.009 (0.005)
Military Spending		-0.042 (0.024)		-0.045 (0.031)		-0.015 (0.033)		0.069† (0.034)		0.008† (0.003)
GDP Growth		-0.027 (0.116)		-0.068 (0.044)		0.017 (0.036)		0.073 (0.072)		-0.008* (0.003)
Intercept	0.830** (0.239)	1.585 (1.339)	0.509* (0.205)	-1.727* (0.651)	0.251 (0.182)	0.284 (0.505)	1.400** (0.284)	-0.147 (0.797)	1.832** (0.025)	1.816** (0.050)
N	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
R <sup>2</sup>	0.237	0.361	0.201	0.527	0.884	0.889	0.289	0.534	0.655	0.875
F	1328.75**	47.60**	3.950†	2.18	4882.57**	5543.41**	378.54**	188.88**	2099.11**	8277.05**

Note: OLS regression coefficients with standard deviations in parentheses.

\*\* p < 0.01, \* p < 0.05, † p < 0.1, two-tailed test

Continuing with the line of thought that the decision making process was decidedly more collective or consensus seeking during the reform period from 1984 to 1995, the regression analysis supports the expectation that the paramount leader *and* the potential competitor were both very important factors.<sup>250</sup> Indeed, changes in the measures of centrality for both individual leaders are statistically significant in most of the models. Although the key independent variable reflecting the group degree of centralization is only marginally important, the other alternate measures of group cohesion (*Clustering*, *Distance*, and *Compactness*) are important to China's foreign policy choices during the reform period. Particularly interesting is the full model for *Sino-International* relations (Table 7.16) because every single independent

<sup>250</sup> The paramount leader was statistically significant in 23 of the 25 models. The competitor was statistically significant in 20 of the same 25 models considered. Not including the *Distance* and RC models, the Central Committee is statistically significant in only 5 of the 15 models.



variable, except for *GDP Growth*, is significant at the one percent level. (*GDP Growth* is significant at the five percent level.)

Of all the models considered in the statistical analyses of China's foreign policy choices, it is clear that the dynamical theory of policy networks has robust predictive value for *Sino-US*, *Sino-ROC*, and *Sino-International* relations under conditions of strong paramount leaders—as was the case during the Mao era. When the conditions entail a more balanced power relationship between the paramount leader and the potential competitor, or there is a general sense of collective leadership, the dynamical theory has robust predictive value for *Sino-US*, *Sino-Indian*, *Sino-ROC*, and *Sino-International* relations—as was the case during the Deng era.

## Chapter Eight - Conclusions

This study offers a new way of looking at Chinese political decision making. The application of social network analysis using Chinese conceptions of *guanxi* connections allows insights into China's policymaking process. To be sure, there remain many aspects of China's political system that seem mysterious. What is the substance of policy debates? To what extent do *quid pro quo* exchanges influence policy outcomes? The dynamical theory of policy networks used in this present study adds an important tool to understanding China's political system, in particular, and policy networks in general.

The dynamical theory of policy networks posits, in general, that changes in a policy network's structure influence the policy outcomes. Specifically, this study demonstrated the plausibility that changes in the network centrality of the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Central Committee correlate well with the policy choices in the past. It is important to keep in mind that this study broadly followed a two-step conceptual process. First, the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Party's policy choices were identified based on observations and documentation provided by China scholars. Second, the degrees of centrality for the leaders and the Central Committees were determined for each year. (The leaders and their nearest competitors were not chosen based on high degrees of centrality.)

Chapter Four discussed how the dynamical theory is constructed from network theory, Veto Player Theory, and Prospect Theory. The crux of the dynamical theory is the idea that changes in network centrality directly affect the policy network's bargaining space. On one hand, increasing centrality among three key actors has the effect of enlarging the bargaining

space—thereby making a wider array of policy choices acceptable and increasing the probability of building broad consensus and finding compromise solutions. On the other hand, the decreasing centralities among all of the key actors in the model of China’s policy network result in a shrinking bargaining space. Fewer acceptable policy options leads to greater difficulties in gaining consensus and acting as a unified political party.

Chapter Six presented four case studies representing the four possible types of policy outcomes. Given certain configurations of changes of centrality for the paramount leader, the potential competitor, and the Central Committee, a certain set of policy outcomes is predicted. The case study of the Central Committee of 1997 demonstrated how changes in the policy network structure led to Type 1 policy outcomes (Elite Consensus, Civil Society, and Cooperative Foreign Policy). Measurable structural changes associated with the Central Committee of 1978 led to Type 2 policy choices (Collective Leadership, Modest Reforms, and Selective Engagement). Similarly, membership changes to the Central Committees of 1982 and 1969 caused structural changes consistent with Type 3 outcomes (Rectifications, Tightening, and Isolationism) and Type 4 outcomes (Intra-Party Purges, Mass Campaigns, and Coercive Foreign Policy), respectively.

The quantitative portion of the study, Chapter Seven, based on a unique data set capturing the *guanxi* connections among the Central Committee members from 1922 to 2011, adds a depth and breadth to our understanding of the Central Committee that was indeterminate until now. The network structure can be measured. The measures of centrality for the paramount leaders, their nearest potential competitors, and the entire Central Committee can be calculated. Year-to-year changes in centrality can be determined. The

dynamical theory, as suggested by the case studies and the statistical analyses, adds credibility to the dynamical explanation of the Party's policy choices.

The key independent variables (paramount leader, potential competitor, and Central Committee) are generally statistically significant with respect to China's foreign and domestic policies. For the period 1949-1978, the dynamical model explains, in part, China's relations with the United States, Russia, India, and the Republic of China. The statistical significance of the dynamical model (F statistics) suggests that the null hypothesis (which suggests that the key independent variables have no relationship to policy outcomes) can be rejected with confidence. Similarly, China's domestic policies during the period 1984-1995 can be explained, in part, by variations in the degrees of centrality of the paramount leader, his nearest competitor, and the Central Committee. The dynamical theory may be said to be generalizable and, unlike Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) study, has predictive value.

Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a, 2010b) concluded that from 1921 to 2007 the Party consolidated to a large degree around its formal leaders during the period of struggle and great expansion between 1931 and 1956. Among other things, the authors argued 1) that Mao's influence in the Central Committee peaked in 1943, 2) Mao's influence declined significantly at the Eighth Central Committee in 1956, and 3) the factions led by Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping gained significant influence in the Central Committee in 1956. This present study challenges many of their findings.

By using a more valid identification of the paramount leaders developed in Chapter Five of this study, I suggest that Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) conclusions are mistaken. If the Party's Central Committee consolidated around the paramount leader from 1931 to 1956, then we

should see a general trend of the paramount leader's centrality increasing, the potential competitor's centrality *decreasing*, and the Central Committee becoming more centralized. Referring back to Figure 7.1, it is clearly apparent that the measures of centrality for all three key actors are trending upward from 1931 to 1956.

Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) equated "degree of centrality" with determinate political influence and power. They defined the Party Secretary General Influence (PSGI) indicator as a "novel" measure of "how influential the official heads of the CCP were in the CCP elite, as represented by the Central Committee, over time." It is clear from their study that they intended to equate the "share of Central Committee members with ties with the Party Secretary or Chairman" with political "influence," "dominance," and indicative of the Party leader's "core support base." The definitions of "degree of centrality" (used in this study) and Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) PSGI are conceptually equivalent. Where Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) had a decidedly deterministic interpretation of the utility of centrality, I have taken a more conservative approach in this study that considers *guanxi* ties as potentially important relationships.

Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) made the assumption that "If a serving CC member shared at least one experience or characteristic with the Party Secretary General, that person is presumed to be a member of his faction." Their assumption is clearly more deterministic than the assumption made in this present study (i.e. a tie is only an incipient or gateway relationship that can lead to the formation of cohesive subgroups.) Ironically, Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) quoted (and ignored) Lowell Dittmer's warning that "an objective basis for an affinity does not necessarily create one."

Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) assertion that Mao's influence peaked in 1943 is questionable. Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) stated, "[T]he head of the Party enjoyed a resounding lead over his rivals and influenced the vast majority of CC members between 1943 and 1945." The temptation to assign the height of Mao's power to the end of the Yanan Rectification is curious at best. Again referring to Figure 7.1 (blue line), it is clear that Mao's measure of centrality actually peaked in 1965 at 53% just before the Cultural Revolution. Mao's centrality dramatically fell after 1965. Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) conclusion that Mao's power and influence flat-lined or declined after 1943 is not compelling.

Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) conclusion that Mao's influence fell precipitously in 1956 is also mistaken. They specifically wrote, "Although Mao held a dominant position in the Party for 13 years (1943-1956), his tight grip diminished at the Eighth [Party Congress] and further deteriorated into the Cultural Revolution." I found, however, that Mao's measure of centrality actually *climbed* significantly from 37% in 1955 to 51% in 1956. In fact, this present study showed Mao's measure of centrality rose steadily from 1935 to 1965 (Figure 7.1). According to my results, Mao's network connections within the Central Committee dropped dramatically from 53% in 1965 to 23% in 1969. As discussed in the case study in Chapter Six, 1969 was a significant year.

Finally, Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) finding that Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping's factions gained influence at the Eighth Central Committee of 1956 is curious. Recalling that in 1956, Peng Dehuai was Mao's nearest potential competitor, the model presented in this study suggests that Lin and Deng's measures of centrality have little importance to the Central Committee's policy preferences. Nevertheless, Lin Biao's measure of centrality *fell* from 74% in

1955 to 45% in 1956. Similarly, Deng Xiaoping's measure of centrality was nearly halved, falling from 42% in 1955 to 23% in 1956.

Keeping in mind that their data is not available for inspection, the mistaken conclusions made by Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) can be attributed to three methodological errors. First, in their study the importance of Central Committee members is determined with regard to *only* their individual *guanxi* ties to Mao. As this present study showed, people live within intricate webs of relationships—webs that connect them to all others in the network. Ignoring “all others” cannot produce a valid data set.

Second, Shih, Shan, and Liu (2010a) kept a myopic focus on the formal leader—that is, the Party leader. Although such an approach would be appropriate from 1935 to 1976 when Mao was in command, it is not a valid model in general. As discussed in Chapter Five, the paramount leader is not always the formal leader. Basing conclusions on the assumption that the formal leader and the informal leader are always the same person misrepresents reality.

Finally, Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) study is not substantive. If Mao's influence fell at the Eighth Central Committee of 1956, then “so what?” The authors did not clearly develop what the implications of the Party leader's declining influence are. The somewhat trivial conclusions made by Shih, Shan, and Liu's (2010a) research are a consequence of analysis not being based in theory. Consequently, their study only serves as an introduction, of sorts, to the potential uses of social network analysis methods for studying real world policy networks.

This study and the dynamical theory of policy networks are not the last word on policymaking in China's Central Committee. Social network analysis is an extremely sophisticated branch of social science and this study took advantage of the most fundamental

(and simple) concepts. Do changes in the network structure influence collective behavior other than policymaking? How might cliques wield their power and influence? What other socio-metrics are important?

Looking further afield, we should ask if the dynamical theory is applicable to other states with Sinic cultures such as Taiwan and Singapore. Is the theory valid for other Asian states? We should also investigate whether changes in policy network structures influence policy outcomes in other regime types as Bueno de Mesquita and Smith (2011) asserted in their recent study of political behavior.

The results of the four case studies and the quantitative analyses strongly suggest that the paramount leader, his nearest potential competitor, and the Central Committee as a whole are key actors in determining policies at the intra-Party, domestic, and foreign policy levels. More precisely, changes in their measures of degree of centrality are plausible indicators of the Central Committee's policy outcomes.



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