

China's
Political-Military
Evolution

The Party and the Military
in the PRC, 1960-1984

Monte R. Bullard

Contents

List of Tables.	xiii
List of Abbreviations.	xv
Preface.	xvii
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Analytical Issues.	1
Overview: The Bureaucratic Environment and Elite Conflict.	6
Method of Analysis.	14
Notes.	16
2 THE PLA IN TRANSITION	19
Overview.	19
Modernization and Political-Military Relations.	20
Chinese Threat Perception	21
Self-Reliance.	22
Personnel and Organizational Change.	22
Personnel Change: The Three Transformations	22
Modernization	23
People's War Doctrine.	23
Revolutionization	24
Regularization	25
Professionalization	26
Recruitment.	26
Training/Schooling.	27
Promotion Criteria.	28
Cadre Defined	28
Cadre Revolutionization	29
Rejuvenation	30
Intellectualization	31
Cadre Professionalization.	32
Demobilization	32
Organizational Change.	34
Summary.	36
Notes.	37

3	INSTITUTIONS, ROLES, AND RELATIONSHIPS	41
	Overview	41
	Institutions	41
	Elite Roles	46
	Party	47
	Military	49
	Government	50
	Relationships	51
	Center-Region	51
	Intraregion	56
	Notes	60
4	THE POLITICAL COMMISSAR SYSTEM: EVOLUTION, STRUCTURE, AND FUNCTIONS	65
	Overview	65
	Concept Origin	65
	Political Commissar Concept Brought to Russia	67
	The Chinese Setting	68
	Sociological, Political, and Economic Factors Contributing to the Acceptance of Political Commissars in China	69
	Political Commissar Concept Brought to China	72
	PLA Political Commissar System: Organization and Functions	73
	Summary	82
	Notes	84
5	THE INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATE-NATURE AND SCOPE	89
	Part 1: Overview	89
	Part 2: Regional Representation at the Center	91
	Central Committee	91
	Hierarchy of Province Representation	92
	Hierarchy of Military Region Representation	94
	Politburo	96
	Summary	97
	Part 3: Military Region-Province Linkages	97
	Scope of Interlocking Roles-1960	98
	Scope of Interlocking Roles-1973 and 1982	98
	Command System-1973	100
	Command System-1982	101
	Political Commissar System-1973	101
	Political Commissar System-1982	103
	Summary	104
	Part 4: Province Level Party, Government, and Military District Linkages	106
	Province Level Party Linkages	106
	Scope of Interlocking Roles: 1960-1982	106
	Summary	117

Province Level Government Linkages	117
Scope of Interlocking Roles: 1960-1982 . . .	118
Summary	126
Military District Linkages.	126
Scope of Interlocking Roles: 1960-1982 . . .	127
Summary.	140
Part 5: Conclusions.	141
Notes.	146
6 CONCLUSIONS	149
Appendix A: Party Cadre Levels.	157
Appendix B: Government Cadre Levels.	159
Appendix C: Military Grade Levels.	161
Appendix D: PRC Elites Holding Interlocking Positions (1960).	165
Appendix E: PRC Elites Holding Interlocking Positions (1973).	169
Appendix F: PRC Elites Holding Interlocking Positions (1982).	177
Bibliography.	181
Index	201