

Collective Elite Reproduction: Understanding “Princelings” in Contemporary China

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 - An early version of this paper won the Best Student Paper Award, awarded by Canadian Sociological Association - Comparative and Historical Sociology Research.

Who are “princelings”?

- **Official Definition:**

- Vice provincial+ children with vice provincial+ parents (Teng 2010)
 - Source: Teng Xuyan, “The children of the founding fathers: Biographies of the Harbin PLA Military Engineering Institute princeling alumni”, 2010. Guangdong People’s Publisher: Guangzhou, China. 滕叙尧《开国元勋的子女们：哈军工高干子女传记》, 2010, 广东人民出版社.
 - This is how Harbin PLA Military Engineering Institute identifies, categorizes and manages students with different backgrounds.

Ranks in Chinese Politics

National Rank (President Xi Jinping)

- Vice-National (Vice-Premiers, Vice Chairman of CPPCC, Leader of ACFTU, Chairwoman of All-China Women's Federation)

Provincial/Ministry Rank (Leaders of Shandong, Beijing)

- Vice-Provincial (President of Tsinghua Univ/PKU/Renmin Univ)

Prefectural Rank

- Vice-Prefectural

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- **Background: Princelings' Rise in China**
- Research Questions
- Data and Methods
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 - Quantitative: Do they have advantages over non-princelings?
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- Discussions



中国共产党第十九次全国代表大会

伟大的光荣的正确的中国共产党万岁

中国共产党

National Congress

- Every 5 years, the Chinese Communist Party will have a national congress and elect their new leadership.
- But usually, only every 10 years CCP will have a new paramount leader elected (and that's the congress actually matters!)
 - 2002, 16th CCP NC: Hu Jintao
 - 2012: 18th CCP NC: Xi Jinping

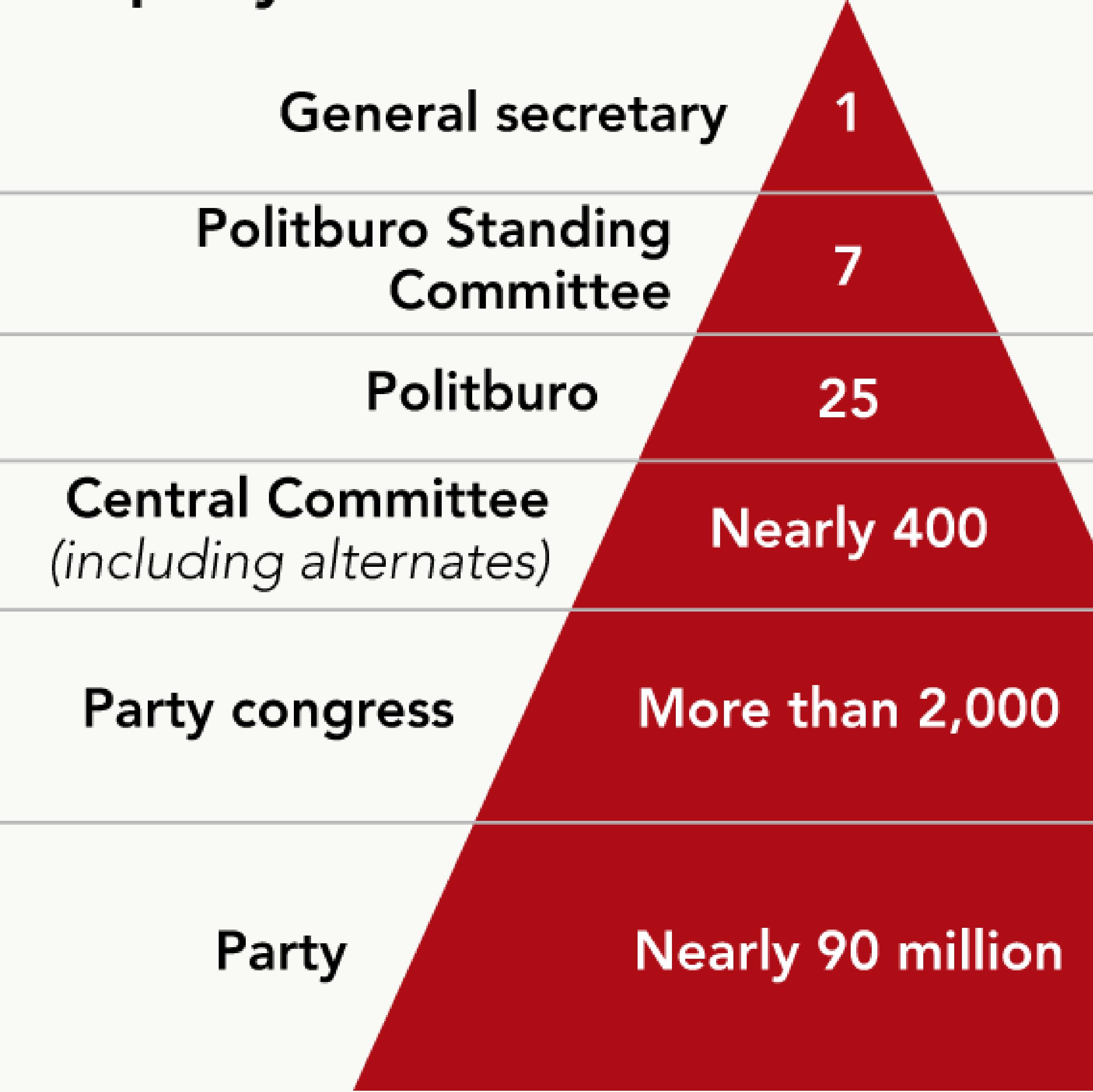


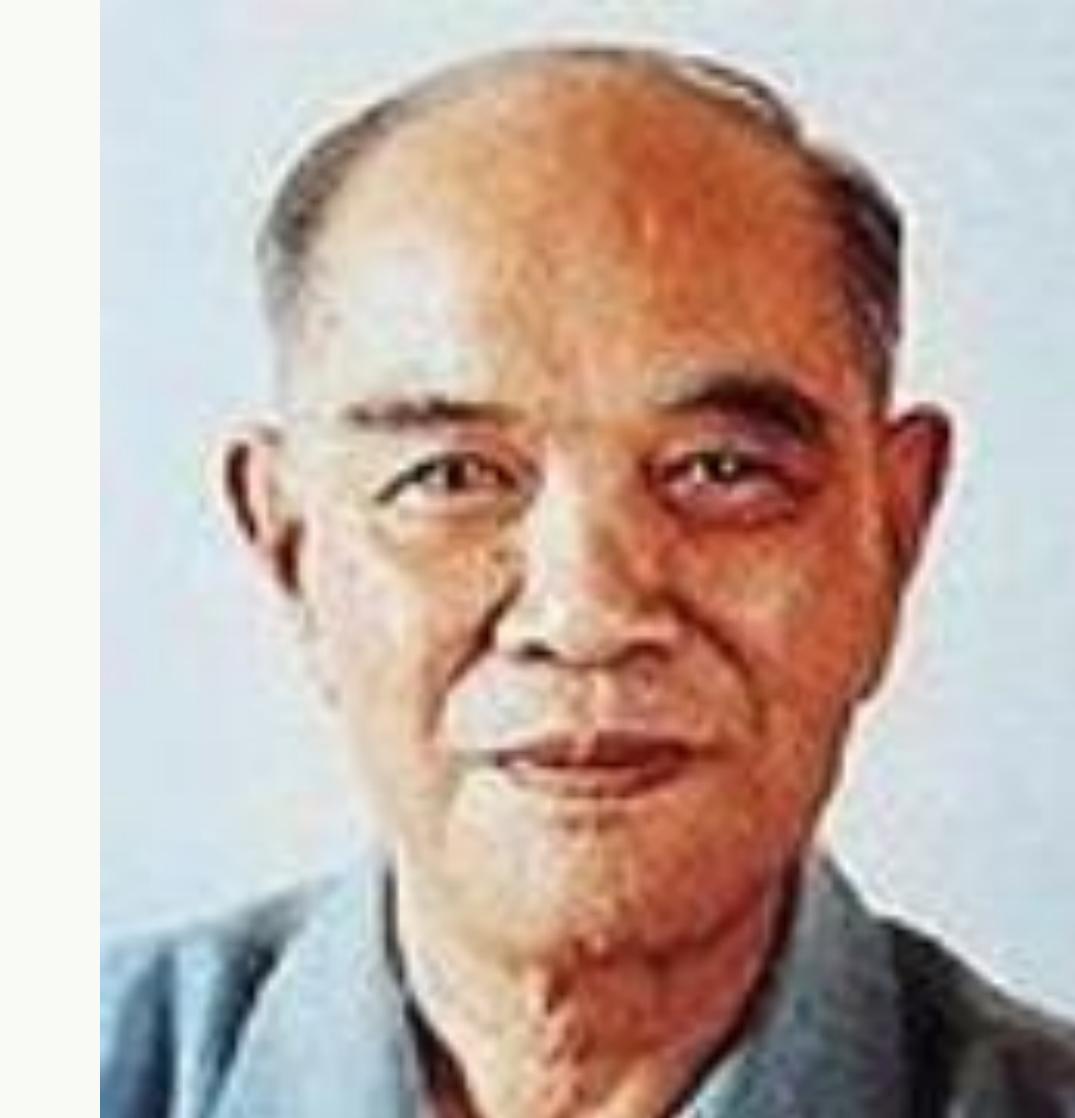
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Lintao Zhang

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Structure of CCP Leadership

The party's concentric circles





Xi Jinping

(b. 1953)

Party General Secretary



Li Keqiang

(b. 1955)

No. 2-ranked PCC member



Zhang Dejiang

(b. 1946)

No. 3-ranked PCC member



Yu Zhengsheng

(b. 1945)

No. 4-ranked PCC member



Liu Yunshan

(b. 1945)

No. 5-ranked PCC member



Wang Qishan

(b. 1948)

No. 6-ranked PCC member



Zhang Gaoli

(b. 1946)

No. 7-ranked PCC member

- **Does that remind you of ...**

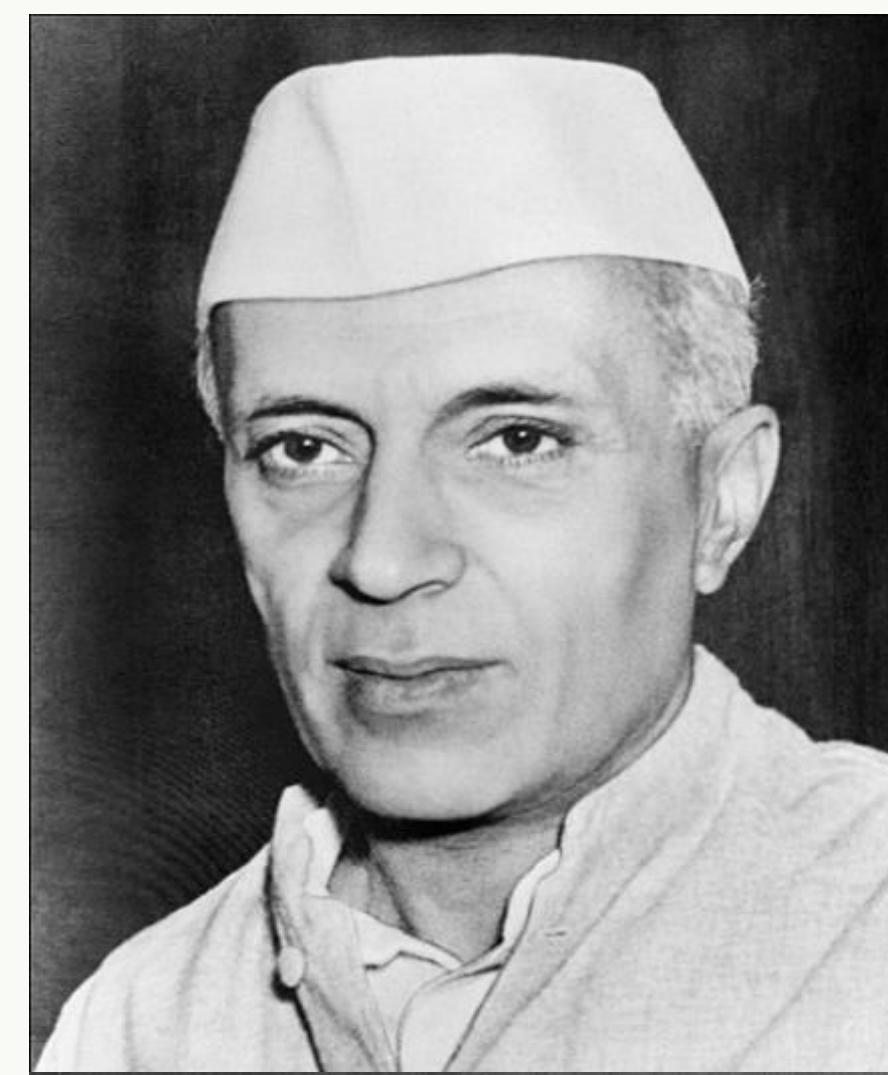
USA, Bush



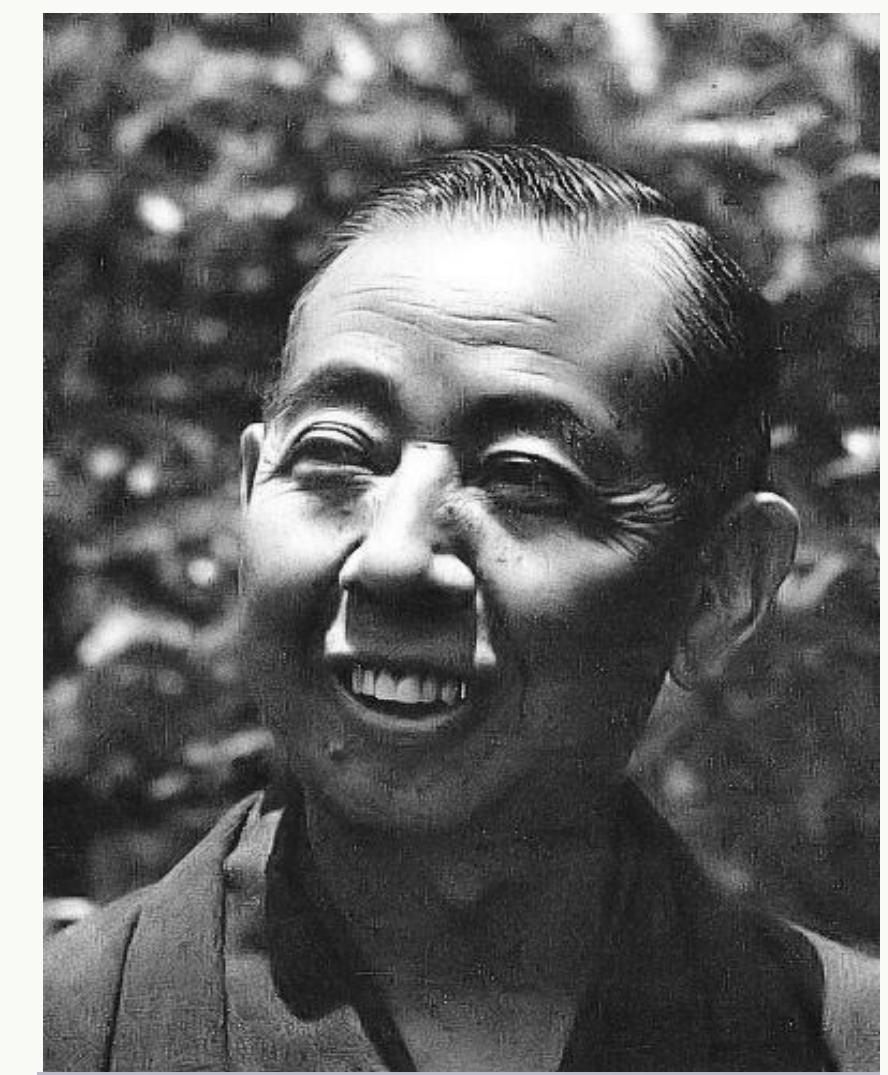
Canada, Trudeau



India, Nehru



Japan, Abe



- **Yes, and no**



Princelings are different.

- They are a very large group of officials in China's party state apparatus (Chinese Communist Party, Military, Governments, State-owned Enterprises).
- Their inheritance of upper-generations' advantages is not realized through free market mechanisms; nor is it realized through and legitimized by electoral politics. It is through the state's institutionalized efforts to keep them in power.
- In post-Mao China, Chinese Communist Party has clear **strategic plans and institutionalized arrangements** in promoting elites that meet certain criteria and has various ways to ensure it.
 - “接班梯队 Cohorts of Successors”; ”干部年轻化 Cadre Rejuvenation” (Landry 2003; Manion 1986);
 - “institutional manipulation” by Wu, G. (2015). *China's Party Congress: Power, legitimacy, and institutional manipulation*. Cambridge University Press.

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Main Disagreements in the Literature

- Factionalism vs. Meritocracy
 - Factionalism
 - Meritocracy
 - Problems & Inapplicability to princelings

Context

- Debate in China's Political Elite Studies
 - Factionalism (Nathan 1973; Li and Walder 2001 in *AJS*; Li 2013; Shih et al. 2012 in *APSR*)
 - Multi-ties; Strength of ties; Arbitrarily Labelling (E.g. Shih 2004; Shih et al. 2012)
 - ✓ The case of Zhu Rongji and Jiang Zemin (both from Shanghai)
 - ✓ The case of Bo Xilai and Xi Jinping (both princelings)
 - Meritocracy (Li and Zhou 2005; Bell 2015; Kung and Chen 2011 in *APSR*)
 - Spurious Causal Link (Zeng 2013; Jia et al. 2013)
 - ✓ Merit -> Promotion, or Promotion -> Merit?

Context

- Challenges: How to understand princelings?
 - Faction
 - ✓ Simply another faction? A special faction?
 - Meritocracy
 - ✓ They accumulate more human capital due to elite education; their status reflects their superiority.
 - No advantage?
 - How to incorporate them into existing literature and understandings of Chinese political elites?

Research Questions

- Is there such a group called **princelings**? If yes, do they have advantages over non-princelings (i.e. officials who do not have powerful family backgrounds)?
- Are they another faction, or different from factions?
- How did they form such a privileged group?
- How did the state/party systematically and institutionally assist the elite-reproduction process?

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Data

- Quantitative Data
 - 293 princelings' bio and their parental advantage
 - Regression Analysis
 - Journals, Magazines, Interviews, Autobiographies, Diaries, Books ...
 - 3000+ Central Committee Members
 - 1977 – 2012, the 11th to the 18th CCP National Congress
 - CC FM, CC AM, Politburo
 - Comparison based on Chi-Square and t-Test

- Central Committee Comparisons:
 - T-test: princelings vs. non-princelings
- Parental Advantages:
 - Regressions:
 - Ordered probit models
 - OLS models
- Selection Bias Problem in Elite Studies

Methodological Issues

- How to design quantitative dataset to study cadre promotion?
 - Organized by person (for predicting personal achievements)
 - Wide data – one person's entire career history in a row
 - Organized by position-year (for matching local info – GDP, crime, environment)
 - Long data – one person' multiple terms as separate rows

CasID	K_Name	Sex	K_Highest	K_Rank	K_Birth	K_Death	K_Role	K_ZYWY	K_ZZJWY	K_military	F_military	Martyr	F_Name
A193	俞正声	男	【文职-正国】中央政治局常委、十二届全国政协主席	6	1945	NA	2013	1992AM	2002	N	N	N	俞启威
A148	王岐山	男	【文职-正国】中国共产党中央纪律检查委员会书记	6	1948	NA	2012	1997AM	2007	N	N	N	姚依林
A158	习近平	男	【文职-正国】中共中央总书记、国家主席、军委主席	6	1953	NA	2012	2002	2007	N	N	N	习仲勋
C282	周巍峙	男	【文职-副国】中国文学艺术界联合会第六、第七届主席团名誉主席	5	1916	2014	1996	NA	NA	N	N	N	王鹤寿
A090	廖承志	男	【文职-副国】第五届全国人大常委会副委员长、副主席	5	1908	1983	1978	1945AM	1982	N	N	N	何香凝
A188	叶选平	男	【文职-副国】第七届全国政协第四次会议上，增选为副主席	5	1924	NA	1991	1982AM	NA	N	N	N	叶剑英
A011	布赫	男	【文职-副国】全国人民代表大会常务委员会副委员长	5	1926	NA	1993	1982	NA	N	Y	N	乌兰夫
A222	邹家华	男	【文职-副国】1988起担任国务委员、1991起担任国务院副总理	5	1926	NA	1988	1977AM	1992	N	Y	N	叶剑英
A172	阎明复	男	【文职-副国】1988年当选为第七届全国政协副主席	5	1931	NA	1988	1987	NA	N	N	N	阎宝航
A076	李沛瑶	男	【文职-副国】第八届全国人大副委员长	5	1933	1996	1993	NA	NA	N	N	N	李济深
A080	李铁映	男	【文职-副国】中共第十三、十四、十五届中央政治局常委	5	1936	NA	1987	1982AM	1987	N	N	N	李维汉
A030	戴秉国	男	【文职-副国】国务委员	5	1941	NA	2008	1997	NA	N	N	N	黄镇
A019	陈昊苏	男	【文职-副国】中国人民对外友好协会会长2000-2007年	5	1942	NA	2000	NA	NA	N	Y	N	陈毅
A091	廖晖	男	【文职-副国】全国政协第十届、第十一届副主席	5	1942	NA	2003	1987	NA	N	N	N	廖承志
A032	邓朴方	男	【文职-副国】十一届全国政协副主席、副国级	5	1944	NA	2008	1997AM	NA	N	N	N	邓小平
B225	张梅颖	女	【文职-副国】、全国政协副主席、副国级	5	1944	NA	2005	NA	NA	N	N	N	张澜
B226	黄孟复	男	【文职-副国】、全国政协副主席、副国级	5	1944	NA	2003	NA	NA	N	N	N	黄炎培
A025	陈元	男	【文职-副国】十二届全国政协副主席、副国级	5	1945	NA	2013	2002AM	NA	N	N	N	陈云
A106	刘延东	女	【文职-副国】十七、十八政治局委员	5	1945	NA	2007	2002	2007	N	N	N	刘瑞龙
A216	周小川	男	【文职-副国】、全国政协副主席、副国级	5	1948	NA	2013	2002	NA	N	N	N	周建南
A007	薄熙来	男	【文职-副国】中央政治局委员，重庆市委书记	5	1949	NA	2007	2002	2007	N	N	N	薄一波
A087	李源潮	男	【文职-副国】十七、十八政治局委员	5	1950	NA	2007	2002AM	2007	N	N	N	李干成
C294	刘鹤	男	【文职-副国】国务院副总理 刘鹤中学毕业于有不	5	1952	NA	2017	2012	2017	N	N	N	刘植岩
A081	李小林	女	【文职-副国】2011年9月任中国人民对外友好协会	5	1953	NA	2011	NA	NA	N	N	N	李先念
C295	王毅	男	【文职-副国】国务委员 外交部长	5	1953	NA	2018	2007	NA	N	N	N	钱嘉东
A069	李葆华	男	【文职-正省部】中共中央顾问委员会委员	4	1909	2005	1982	1945AM	NA	N	Y	N	李大钊
B266	黄知真	男	【文职-正省部】中共江西省委书记	4	1920	1993	1972	NA	NA	N	Y	N	黄道
A060	黄毅诚	男	【文职-正省部】能源部部长、正部级、1993年任第	4	1926	NA	1988	NA	NA	N	N	N	黄火青
A223	邹竞蒙	男	【文职-正省部】国家气象局局长	4	1929	1999	1982	1982AM	NA	N	Y	N	叶剑英
B263	林汉雄	男	【文职-正省部】湖北黄冈人，中华人民共和国政治	4	1929	NA	1988	NA	NA	N	Y	Y	林彪
A036	丁衡高	男	【军队-上将】上将	4	1931	NA	1994	1985AM	NA	Y	Y	N	聂荣臻
A131	阮崇武	男	【文职-正省部】1985公安部、胡耀邦亲信	4	1933	NA	1985	1985	NA	N	N	N	阮慕韩
B234	徐志坚	男	【文职-正部级】国务院副秘书长 参事室主任	4	1935	NA	1996	NA	NA	N	N	N	徐风笑
A211	赵地	女	【文职-正省部】1990年10月至1994年2月任全国妇	4	1938	NA	1990	1985AM	NA	N	N	N	赵守一

F_Name	F_Relation	F_Highest	F_Rank	F_Birthy	F_Death	F_RankY	Multiple	MultiRel	N
王鹤寿	叔	【正省部级】1952年调任重工业部部长	3	1909	1999	1952			
贺龙	岳父	【副国级】元帅、国务院副总理	4	1896	1969	1955		妻子贺捷生	
李济深	父	【副国级】中央人民政府副主席、人大副委员长	4	1885	1959	1949			日本
何香凝	母	【副国家级】人大副委员长、全国妇联主席、政	4	1878	1972	1959			日本
李大钊	父	【正国级】中共创始人	5	1889	1927	1921			日本
周士第	岳父	【正省部级】开国上将	3	1900	1979	1955			日本
黄道	父	【副省部级】1933年5月，黄道任闽赣省委常委	2	1900	1939	1931			日本
邓子恢	父	【副国级】副总理	4	1896	1972	1954			参
乌兰夫	父	【副国级】55开国上将、国家副主席	4	1906	1988	1983			
叶剑英	父	【正国级】中共中央副主席	5	1897	1986	1973			
谢子长	父	【相当于开国大将-上将】陕北红军游击队总指	4	1897	1935	1928			
王鹤寿	叔	【正省部级】1952年调任重工业部部长	3	1909	1999	1952			
江上青	父	【副省部级】中共皖东北特委委员	2	1911	1939	1939	Y		汪道涵、引身
乌兰夫	父	【副国级】55开国上将、国家副主席	4	1906	1988	1983			
黄火青	父	【副国家级】最高人民检察院检察长	4	1901	1999	1978			
叶剑英	岳父	【正国级】中共中央副主席	5	1897	1986	1973			
李克农	父	【正省部级】开国上将	3	1899	1962	1955			
朱德	岳父	【正国级】中共五大书记、副主席、总司令、人	5	1886	1976	1945			
叶挺	父	【相当于元帅】	4	1896	1946	1937			
周恩来	养父	【正国级】中共五大书记、国务院总理	5	1898	1976	1945	Y	邓颖超	日本
张云逸	父	【副国级】开国大将	4	1892	1974	1955			
李济深	父	【副国级】中央人民政府副主席、人大副委员长	4	1885	1959	1949			
叶剑英	兄岳父	【正国级】中共中央副主席	5	1897	1986	1973	Y	邹家华弟	
贺晋年	父	【副省部级】开国少将	2	1910	2003	1955	Y	开国少将 贺	
林彪	叔	【正国级】中央政治局常委 党中央副主席	5	1907	1971	1966	Y	父亲林育英	
聂荣臻	父	【副国级】元帅	4	1899	1992	1955			
李德全	母	【正省部级】卫生部部长	3	1896	1972	1949			

Ma and Lu (2014) Wide Data: Career Paths

	name	name1	gender	birthpro	birthpro	birth	death	ethnic	edu	college	major	gschool	gmajor	abroad	mishu	prince	careerb	ptime	pertime	purged	purg
705	罗珠	Luo Zhu	1	广东	19	1902	1970	0	0					0	0	0	工人	1924	0		
706	马福全	Ma Fuquan	1	江苏	10	1930	1991	3	0					0	0	0	工人	1956	1		
707	马富才	Ma Fucai	1	江苏	10	1946		0	2	106	4			0	0	0	技术员	1975	0		
708	马洪	Ma Hong	1	山西	4	1920	2007	0	1					0	0	0		1937	1		
709	马辉	Ma Hui	1	江西	14	1915	1998	0	2	3500	2			0	0	0		1933	0		
710	马金花	Ma Jinhua	0	宁夏	30	1938		3	0					0	0	0		1961	0		
711	马凯	Ma Kai	1	上海	9	1946		0	3	3600		102	2	0	0	1	教师	1965	1		
712	马力	Ma Li	1	天津	2	1916	1979	0	1					0	0	0		1938	1		
713	马力新	Ma Lixin	1	河北	3	1929		0	2	3500	8			1	0	0		1947	0		
714	马明	Ma Ming	1	山西	4	1937		0	2	3600				0	0	0	工人	1959	0		
715	马明方	Ma Mingfang	1	陕西	27	1905	1974	0	1					0	0	0		1925	1		
716	马宁	Ma Ning	1	河南	16	1922	2010	0	2	3500	8			0	0	0		1938	0		
717	马启智	Ma Qizhi	1	宁夏	30	1943		3	2	118	1			0	0	0	教师	1972	1		
718	马庆生	Ma Qingsheng	1	安徽	12	1944		3	3	902	4	3600	4	3	0	0	教师	1979	0		
719	马思忠	Ma Sizhong	1	宁夏	30	1931		3	1					0	0	0		1947	1		
720	马天水	Ma Tianshui	1	河北	3	1912	1988	0	1					0	0	0		1931	1		
721	马卫华	Ma Weihua	1	河北	3	1919	1985	0	1					0	0	0		1938	0		
722	马文瑞	Ma Wenrui	1	陕西	27	1912	2004	0	0					0	0	0		1928	1		
723	马小六	Ma Xiaoliu	1	河北	3	1938	1993	0	0					0	0	0	工人	1959	0		
724	马晓天	Ma Xiaotian	1	河南	16	1949		0	2	3500	8			0	0	1	飞行教员	1969	0		
725	马兴元	Ma Xingyuan	1	山西	4	1917	2005	0	0					0	0	0		1939	1		
726	马玉海	Ma Yuhai	1	甘肃	28	1931		3	1					0	0	0		1953	1		
727	马之庚	Ma Zhigeng	1	江苏	10	1945		0	2	3600	4			0	0	0	工人、技术	1971	0		
728	马忠臣	Ma Zhongchen	1	山东	15	1936		0	2	3400				0	0	0		1956	1		
729	毛科文	Mao Kewen	1	湖南	18	1898	1929	0	0					0	0	0		1925	0		
730	毛如柏	Mao Rubo	1	江苏	10	1938		0	2	1001	4			0	0	0		1959	0		

Long Data: Central Committee Complete List

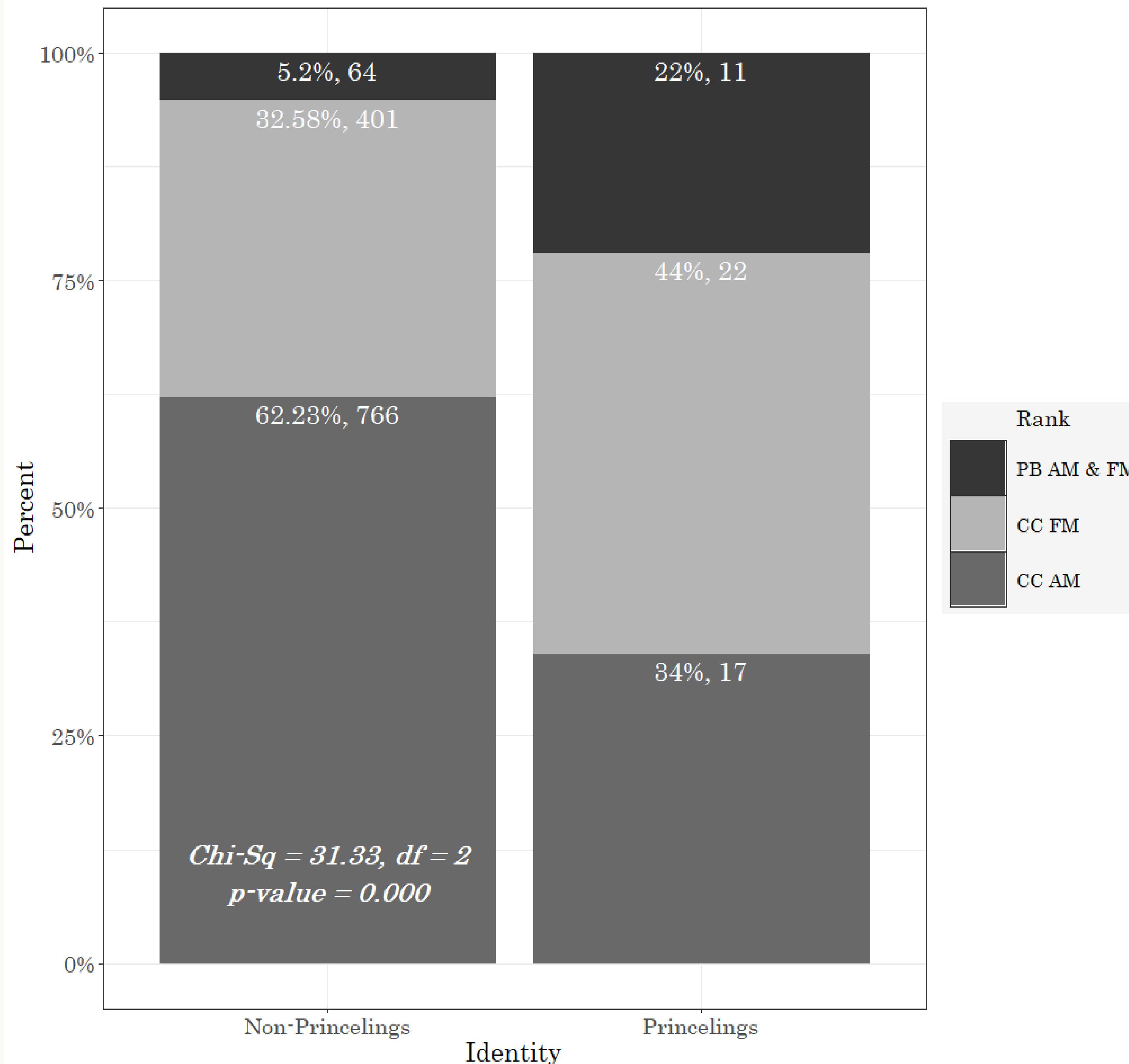
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
765	彭绍辉	1906	63	1969	9	437	3. 中央委员	764	
766	鲁瑞林	1911	58	1969	9	438	3. 中央委员	765	
767	韩先楚	1913	56	1969	9	439	3. 中央委员	766	
768	粟裕 (侗族)	1907	62	1969	9	440	3. 中央委员	767	
769	温玉成	1915	54	1969	9	441	3. 中央委员	768	
770	董必武	1886	83	1969	9	442	3. 中央委员	769	
771	董明会	1934	35	1969	9	443	3. 中央委员	770	
772	程世清	1918	51	1969	9	444	3. 中央委员	771	
773	谢家祥	1914	55	1969	9	445	3. 中央委员	772	
774	谢富治	1909	60	1969	9	446	3. 中央委员	773	
775	赖际发	1910	59	1969	9	447	3. 中央委员	774	
776	解学恭	1916	53	1969	9	448	3. 中央委员	775	
777	谭甫仁	1910	59	1969	9	449	3. 中央委员	776	
778	赛福鼎·艾则孜 (维吾尔族)	1915	54	1969	9	450	3. 中央委员	777	
779	蔡畅 (女)	1900	69	1969	9	451	3. 中央委员	778	
780	蔡协斌	1928	41	1969	9	452	3. 中央委员	779	
781	蔡树梅 (女)	1936	33	1969	9	453	3. 中央委员	780	
782	蔡树梅 (女)	1936	33	1969	9	453	3. 中央委员	781	
783	滕代远	1904	65	1969	9	454	3. 中央委员	782	
784	滕海清	1909	60	1969	9	455	3. 中央委员	783	
785	潘世告	1930	39	1969	9	456	3. 中央委员	784	
786	潘复生	1908	61	1969	9	457	3. 中央委员	785	
787	魏秉奎	1928	41	1969	9	458	3. 中央委员	786	
788	毛泽东	1893	80	1973	10	459	3. 中央委员	787	
789	丁盛	1912	60	1973	10	460	3. 中央委员	788	

Method

- (1) Comparing princelings vs. non-princelings
 - Do they achieve higher, stay longer, promoted earlier?
 - **YES**
- (2) Comparing princelings within themselves
 - Do parents power and longevity matter?
 - **NO**

Table of Contents

- Background: Princelings' Rise in China
- Research Questions
- Data and Methods
- **Findings**
 - Quantitative: Do they have advantages over non-princelings?
 - Qualitative: How did princelings form such a privileged group?
- Discussions

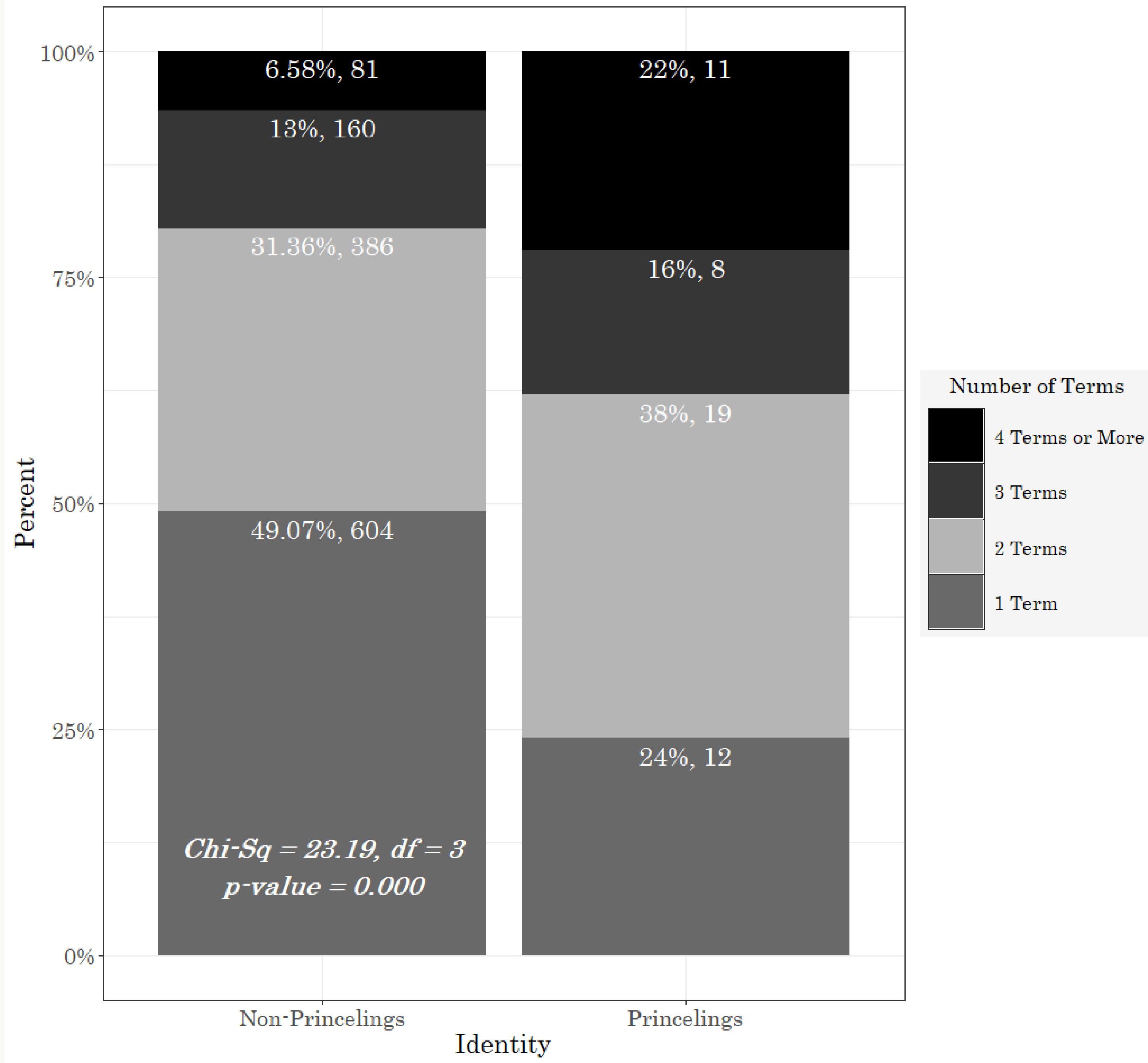


初次进入
中央委员会时之级别

Rank at First
Entering
Central Committee

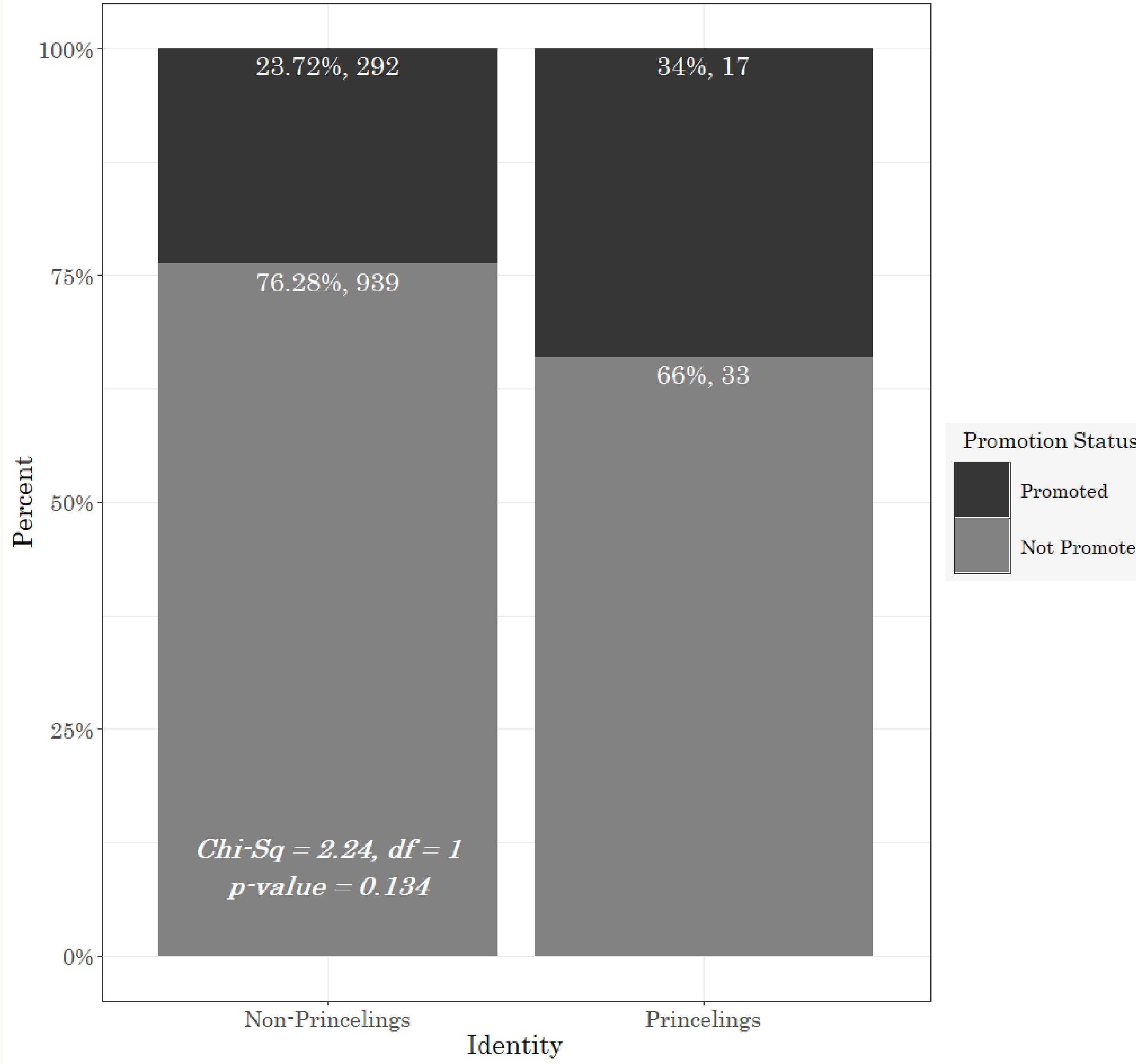
担任中央委员
总任期数

Number of Total
Terms Served in
Central Committee



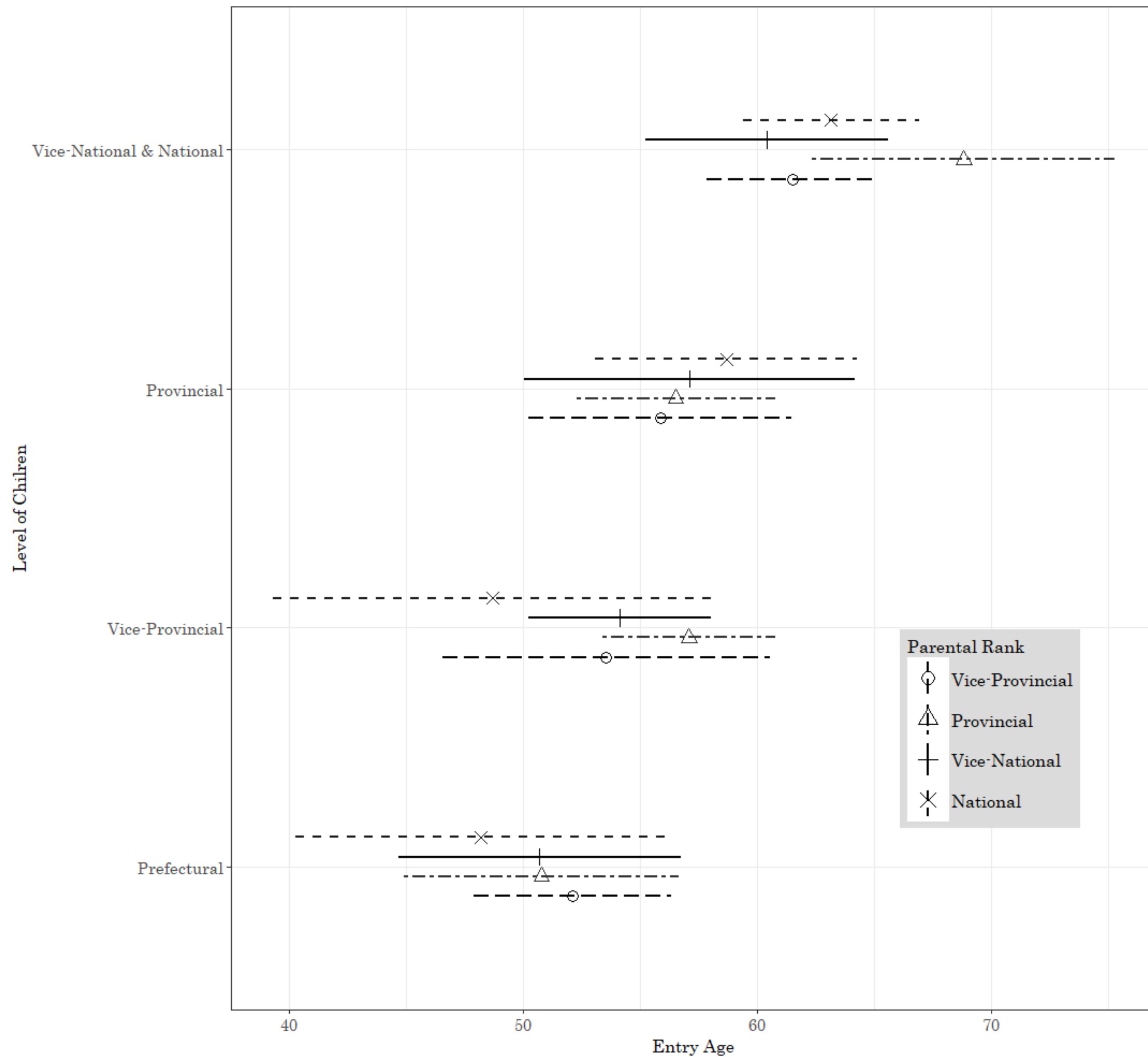
进入中央委员会后
是否获得晋升

Promoted or Not
After Entering
Central Committee



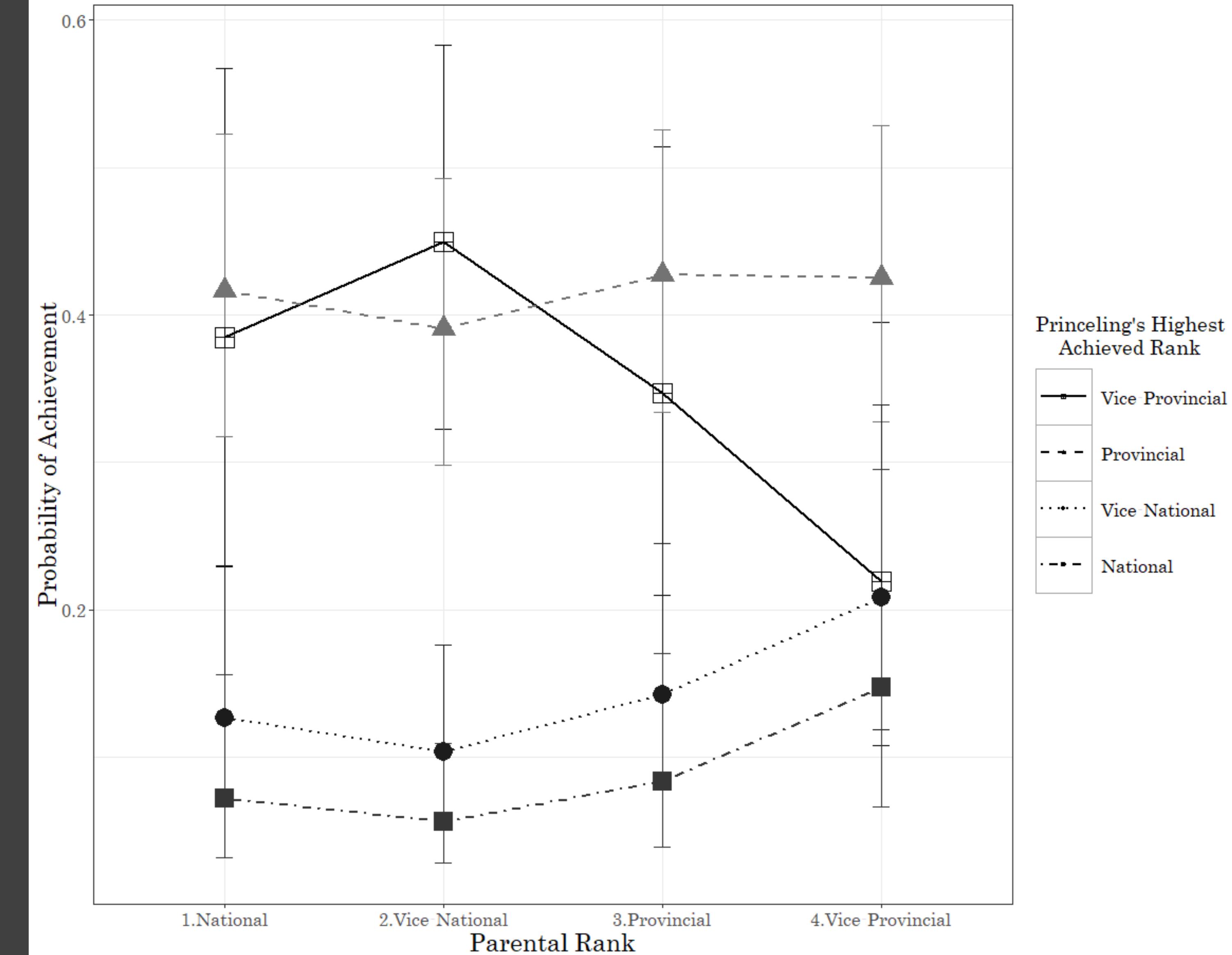
Parental Effect

How soon can a princeling reach certain levels?



Parental Effect

- On highest achieved ranks of princelings



Findings

- (1) Comparing princelings vs. non-princelings
 - Do they achieve higher, stay longer, promoted earlier?
 - **YES**
- (2) Comparing princelings within themselves
 - Do parents power and longevity matter?
 - **NO**

Quantitative Finding Summary

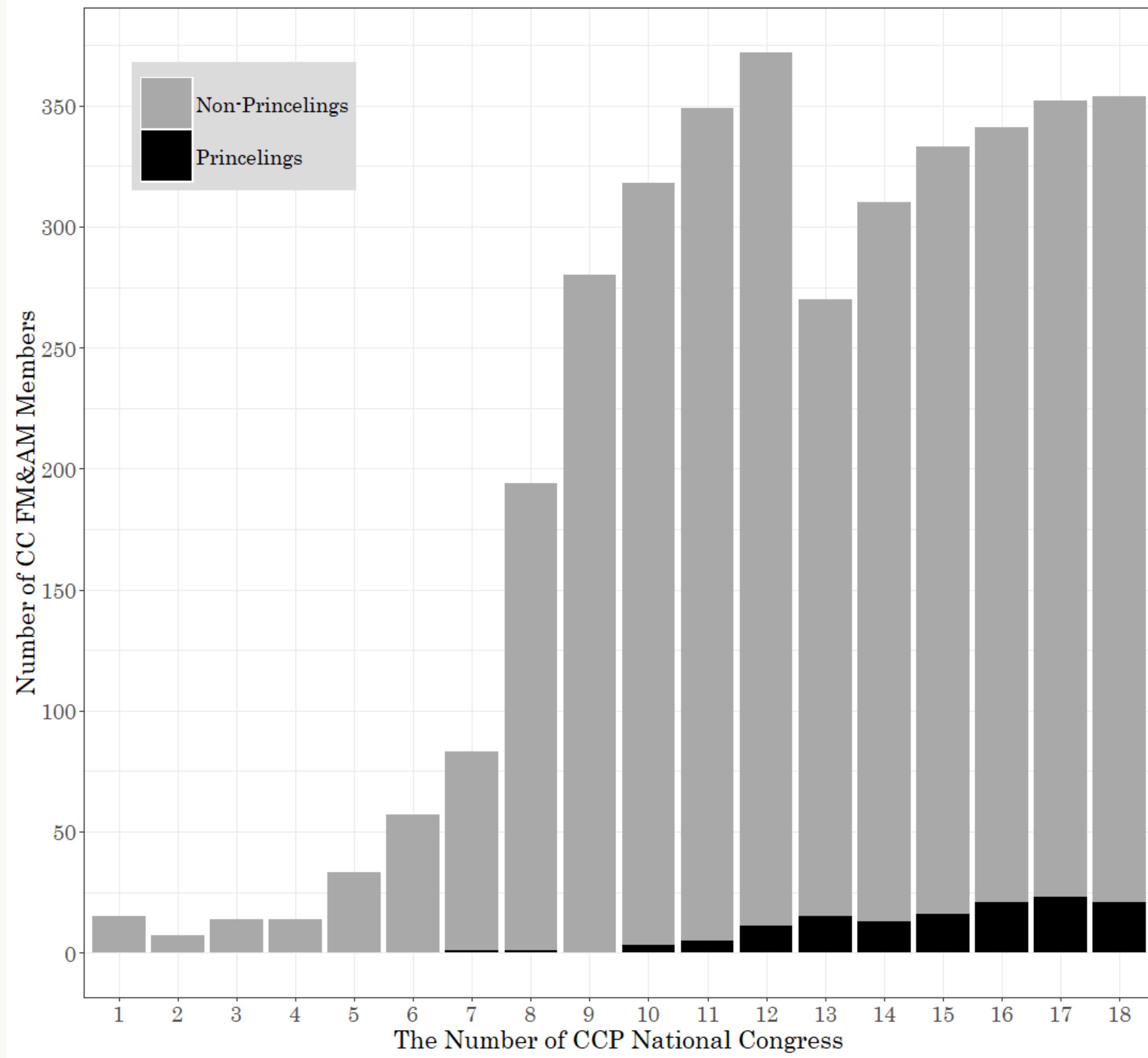
- We DO find princelings enjoy substantial advantage over non-princelings. It challenges meritocracy argument.
- We find NO significant positive effect of father's longevity and seniority in party-state apparatus influencing children's promotion.
- **Princelings benefit, and they benefit collectively, not individually.**

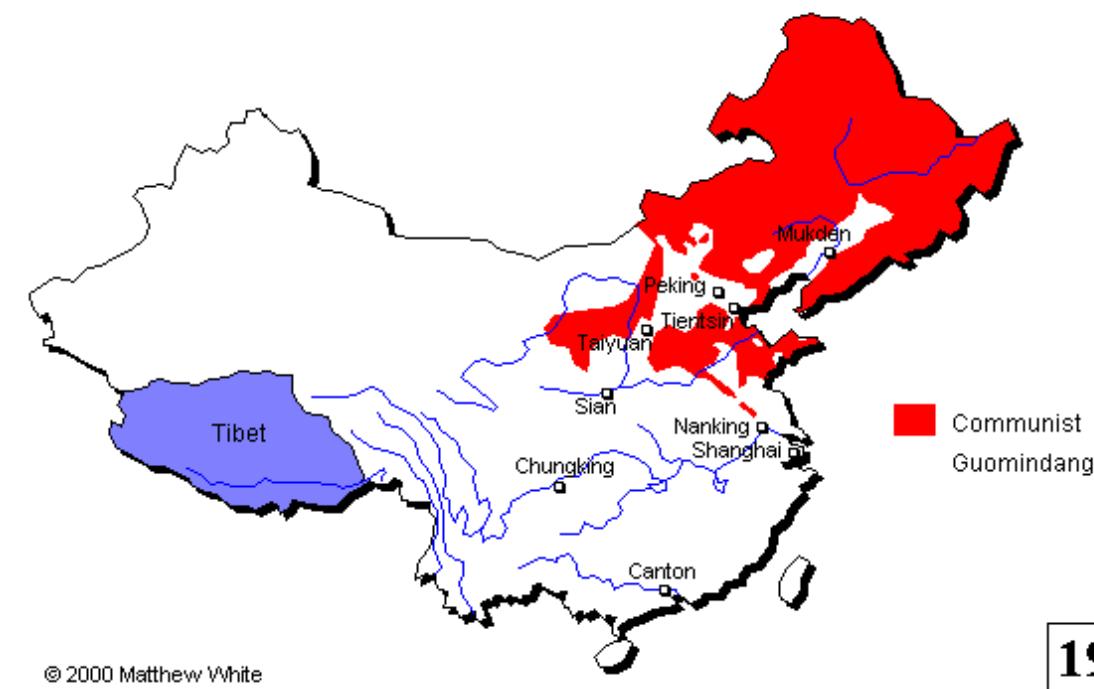
Table of Contents

- Background: Princelings' Rise in China
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- Discussions

Qualitative Sources

- Memoirs, Autobiographies, Interviews published in PRC and by other trustworthy publishers in Hong Kong and Taiwan
- Theme-Cross-Referenced and Numbered, Cited as Primary Data
 - Temporal Order
 - ✓ 1935-1955; 1956-1966; 1966-1976; post-Mao era
 - Themes
 - ✓ Social Capital / Networks
 - ✓ Cultural Capital / Habitus
 - ✓ Human Capital / Education





1935-1955: “Princeling-Baby-Boomers”

- 1935: Military Security and Regime Established
- 1947-1949: Nation-Wide Military Success
- 1945-1955:
 - A waves of divorces and re-marriages
 - A wave of baby boomers (50 years later: waves of princelings)

1935-1955: “Princeling-Baby-Boomers”

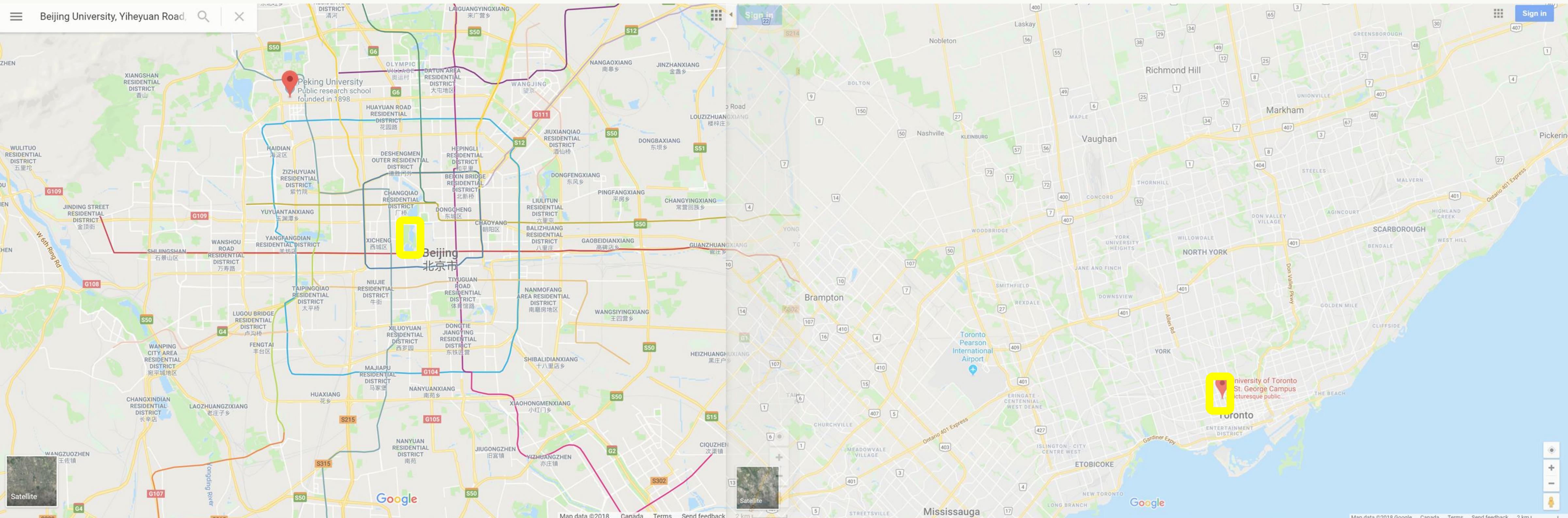
- Centralized Resource Allocation
 - Residential Centralization (social capital)
 - ✓ Four vice-premiers living in the same building;
 - ✓ Four Shanghai top leaders living in the same courtyard – Kangping Rd Courtyard in Shanghai.
 - Educational Resource (human capital)
 - Interaction with Cultural Elites (cultural capital / habitus in cultural fields)

Residential Patterns

- Networks
 - Political Elites
 - Cultural Elites
 - Neighbours -> “Siblings”
- Habitus
 - Political Socialization



中国新闻周刊



Can you imagine how many families live in that U-of-T campus size circle?

More than twenty national/vice-national families live in the same courtyard, within walking-distance

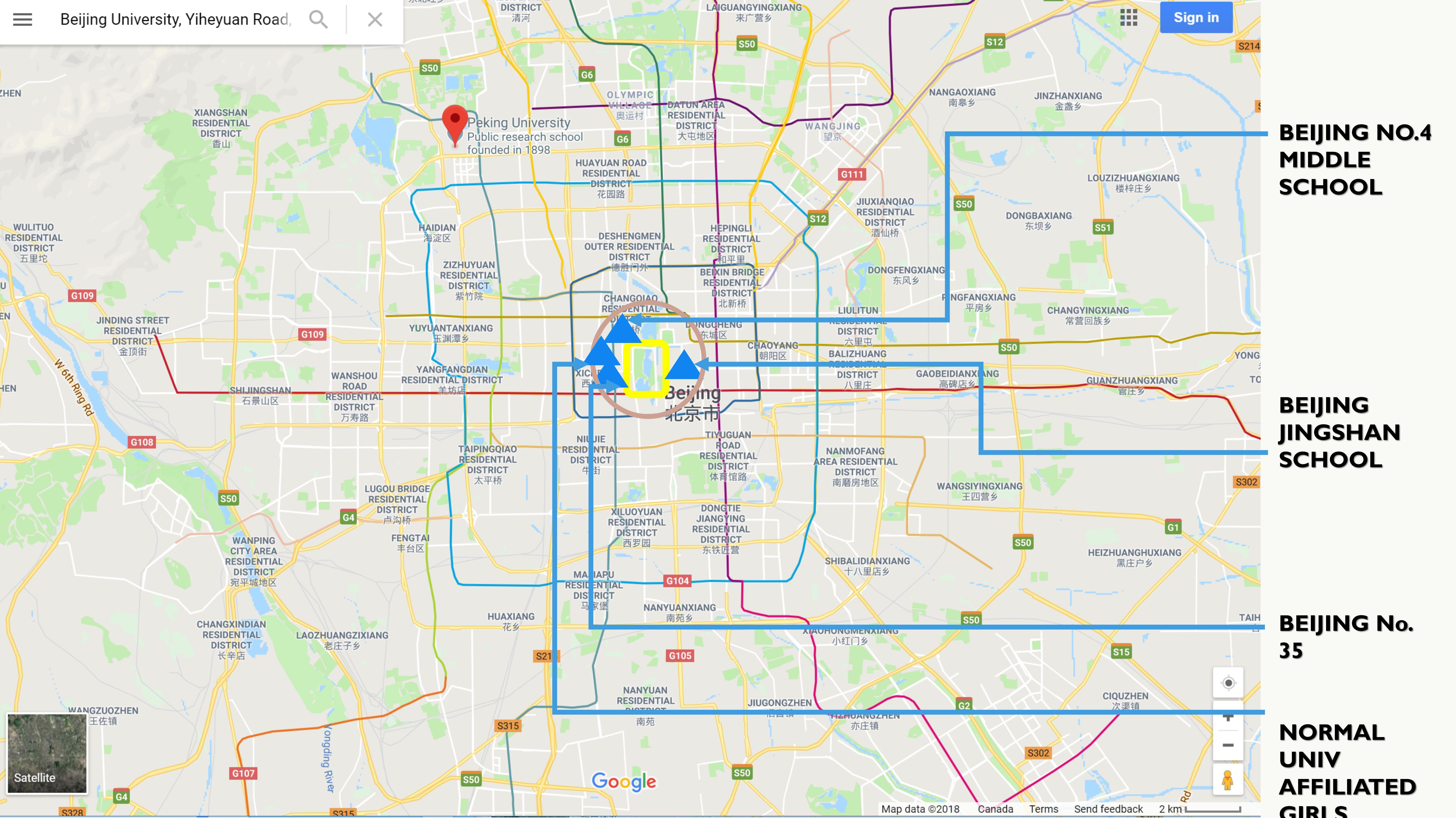
- Mao, the paramount leader (1949-1976)
- Zhou, the prime minister (1954-1976)
- Liu, the head of state (1959-1966)
- Zhu, the chief of armed forces (1949-1976)
- Peng, the vice chief of armed forces (1949-1959)
- Deng, the vice prime minister (1953-1967, 1975-1997)
- Tao, the vice prime minister (1965-1967)
- Yang, the secretary of CCP central committee (1949-1966), the head of state (1988-1992)
- ...

In Shanghai, the #1-#4 families living in the same building

- 1. Ke Qingshi (Eastern China CCP head)
- 2. Chen Pixian (Shanghai CCP head)
- 3. Cao Diqu (Mayor of Shanghai)
- 4. Wei Wenbo (Shanghai CCP #3 leader)

Centralized Residential Pattern Means More...

- Centralized opportunities to know cultural/economic elites
 - Peking Opera Master Zhou Xinfang, Novelist Ba Jin, Novelist Zhou Yang, Novelist Mao Dun...
- Guaranteed positions in elite kindergartens, elementary schools, middle schools and high schools
 - E.g.
 - 北京 四中 Beijing No. 4 Middle School
 - ✓ Vice Premier Bo Yibo's son Bo Xilai (Minister of Business), Marshall Chen Yi's son Chen Xiaolu, Vice Premier Ma Kai...
 - 北京 三十五中 Beijing No. 35 Middle School
 - ✓ General Liu Yuan, Vice President Wang Qishan
 - 北京 景山学校 Beijing Jingshan School
 - ✓ President Li Xiannian's daughters, Bo Xilai's son Bo Guagua, Vice Premier Liu Yandong



- Deng Xiaoping's daughter, Deng Rong 邓榕, mentions the residential arrangements for some senior CCP leaders in the early years of PRC:
 - Our house was in a small hutong near Huairen Tang 怀仁堂. There were four houses from south to north. Li Fuchun's family lived in No. 1; Tan Zhenlin's in No. 2; Deng's in No.3 and Chen Yi's in No. 4. **Four vice-premiers, four families.** The adults are close friends and comrades; the children grew up together happily like brothers and sisters. (QS: B-3-003-D)
- Deng Rong describes another housing arrangement, with four officials living in close proximity, before the Cultural Revolution:
 - My father arranged for Marshal Luo Ronghuan to live in the house in Dong Jiaomin Xiang. ... Before the Cultural Revolution, four families lived in the courtyard in Dong Jiaomin Xiang: Marshal Luo Ronghuan's, Marshal He Long's, Marshal Chen Yi's and the Procurator-General of the Supreme People's Procuratorate Zhang Dingcheng's family. (QS: B-3-004-C)
- And in Shanghai, CCP First Secretary Chen Pixian's son, Chen Xiaojin 陈小津, talks about his childhood neighbours:
 - There were eight 2-floor houses in the Residential Courtyard of Shanghai CCP committee in No. 165 Kangping Rd. From east to west, there lived four families and supporting staffs. The families are my father's, Ke Qingshi's, Wei Wenbo's and Cao Diqui's. (QS:D-2-001-BE)

- Not surprisingly, the centralized residential arrangements generated strong social ties among the political leaders' families, but princelings also benefitted from interactions with cultural elites. Chen Xiaojin says he often met with famous neighbours like Ba Jin 巴金(Chairman of the Chinese Writers' Association) and Peking Opera master Zhou Xinfang 周信芳. By the same token, General Ye Fei's daughter, Ye Xiaomao 叶小毛 recalls that as a child, she talked to her neighbour, the influential Communist artist-politician, Zhou Yang 周扬, about Zhou's translation of Leo Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. Chen Pixian (1916-1995), the first Secretary of the CCP Shanghai Committee during 1965-1967; Ke Qingshi (1902-1965), the first Secretary of Shanghai CCP committee (1954-1965), Vice-Premier (1965); Wei Wenbo (1905-1987), Vice-Secretary of Shanghai CCP committee; Cao Diqu (1909-1976), Mayor of Shanghai (1965-1967).

**Similar
residential
centralization
also exists
in...**



Residential Centralization

- 【引用】B-2-002-D 我永远不会忘记万寿路招待所北面那一字排开的五栋小楼，这里曾经给予了我亲爱的父辈们一个舔伤的窝，一个喘息的避风港。他们是：陈丕显，宋任穷，叶飞，曾志，江华，江渭清，廖志高，欧阳钦，曾生，谢振华。
- 【引用】B-3-003-D 我们的家在怀仁堂旁边，一个小胡同，从南到北前后四个院子。一院李富春，二院谭震林，三院邓小平，四院陈毅。原本，四个副总理，四户人家，大人们既是老战友又是老同志，关系亲密。小孩子更是从小一起长大，像兄弟姐妹一样相处甚欢。
- 【引用】B-3-004-C 在父亲的亲自安排下，罗帅住进了东交民巷的房子，而我们家则在后来搬进了中南海。“文革”以前，东交民巷这个院子里住着罗荣桓元帅、贺龙元帅、最高人民检察院检察长张鼎丞等四户人家。
- 【引用】D-2-001-BE 康平路165号的市委大院宿舍区共有8栋二层小楼，由东向西分别住着我父亲、柯庆施、魏文伯、曹荻秋及四家的工作人员。

1949-1966: “Good Years”

- Awareness of being ‘Communist successors’
 - Mao’s Speech, his intentions and bureaucrats’ twist
 - Case: Chen Pixian’s son, Chen Xiaojin
- Educational Opportunities, Ideological Loyalty
 - Case: Harbin PLA Military Engineering Institute
 - ✓ Missile engineering; Aerospace engineering (Rocket/Aircrafts).
 - Ideological Loyalty – Red and Professional (Andreas 2009)

“Communist Successors” by Mao, 1964

- 1964年6月，毛泽东在北京举行的中央工作会议上，正式提出培养和造就无产阶级革命事业接班人的问题。毛泽东说”帝国主义说，对于我们的第一代、第二代没有希望，第三代、第四代怎么样，有希望。帝国主义的话讲得灵不灵？我不希望它灵，但也可能灵。…为了保证我们的党和国家不改变颜色，我们不仅需要正确的路线和政策，而且需要培养和造就千百万无产阶级革命事业的接班人……帝国主义的预言家们把“和平演变”的希望，寄托在中国党的第三代或者第四代身上。我们一定要使帝国主义的这种预言彻底破产。”
- 毛泽东提出接班人的五个条件：
 - 1、必须是真正的马克思列宁主义者、2、必须是全心全意为绝大多数人服务的人、3、必须是能团结绝大多数人一道工作的人、4、必须是民主集中制的模范执行者、5、必须是谦虚谨慎富于自我批评精神的人。

A-2-010-BC “陈丕显论接班人”

- 平常像哪家的孩子不听话、要点儿小脾气这类小事，我们的父辈们都格外关心，经常相互“补台”。……在上海老一辈的子女中，我父亲幽默风趣，和蔼可亲，喜欢与晚辈们聊个天，开开玩笑，大院里的孩子们都愿意亲近他。1965年，毛泽东发表了关于培养革命事业接班人问题的重要讲话，号召全党都要关心培养青年一代，但主要内容当时尚未对社会公布。我父亲想通过与部分子弟座谈的形式，切实关心一下身边孩子们的成长情况，于是在百忙之中挤出时间，于1966年1月27日召集康平路大院里的部分大学生、中学生座谈。……在座谈中，我父亲绘声绘色地讲了他小时候当儿童团长、站岗、放哨、慰劳红军、拾牛粪等革命经历，亲切地勉励孩子们要听毛主席的话，“好好学习，天天向上”，“身体好，学习好、工作好”，要接革命的班。他深情地说：“将来上海市委第一书记不是我，上海市市长也不是荻秋同志，总是你们。不是指你们哪个人，是指你们这一代……要有做接班人的思想准备。”弹指一挥间，30多年过去了，昔日曾唧唧喳喳地聚集在上海康平路小礼堂聆听我父亲讲话的这一代人，现已纷纷进入中年，在各行各业接了革命的班，其中真的出现了一批省部级高级领导干部。

“Communist Successors” in Shanghai, 1965

- In 1965, Mao gave an important speech about “cultivate the revolutionary successors,” calling the entire Party to care and educate the youth – but the key points of this speech have been confidential and not yet released to the public. My father planned to meet with some cadres’ children, to care about their growth. (...) On Jan 27th, 1966, he invited the university and middle school students in the Kangping Rd Courtyard to meet with him. ... He said, “In the future, the First Secretary of Shanghai CCP committee won’t be me, the mayor won’t be Comrade Cao Diqui; it will be you. Not any specific person, it is your generation. You need to get ready for that.” Time flies. After more than 30 years, the group of children who sat in the Kangping Rd Hall and heard my father’s speech had reached their middle age. They did become the successors in various occupations and positions, among which there are a group of provincial-level senior cadres.

Harbin Military Institute

- Enrolment:
 - 20% Senior Cadre Family
 - 70% Mid-Low Level Cadre Family
 - 10% Regular Family Background
- Major:
 - Sensitive majors like nuclear physics, radar, missile, aircraft manufacture were limited to senior cadre children only
- State-sponsored Caste System

Song Qin (1940-)

- In May 1959, Song Qin talked to Premier Zhou Enlai in person, complained about HMI, and urged for girls rights to be enrolled in Harbin Military Institute
- Song enrolled in the next year.
- Gender equality? Or Princelings' Privilege?
- Family planning/One-Child Policy
 - Gender equality? Or State Coercion?



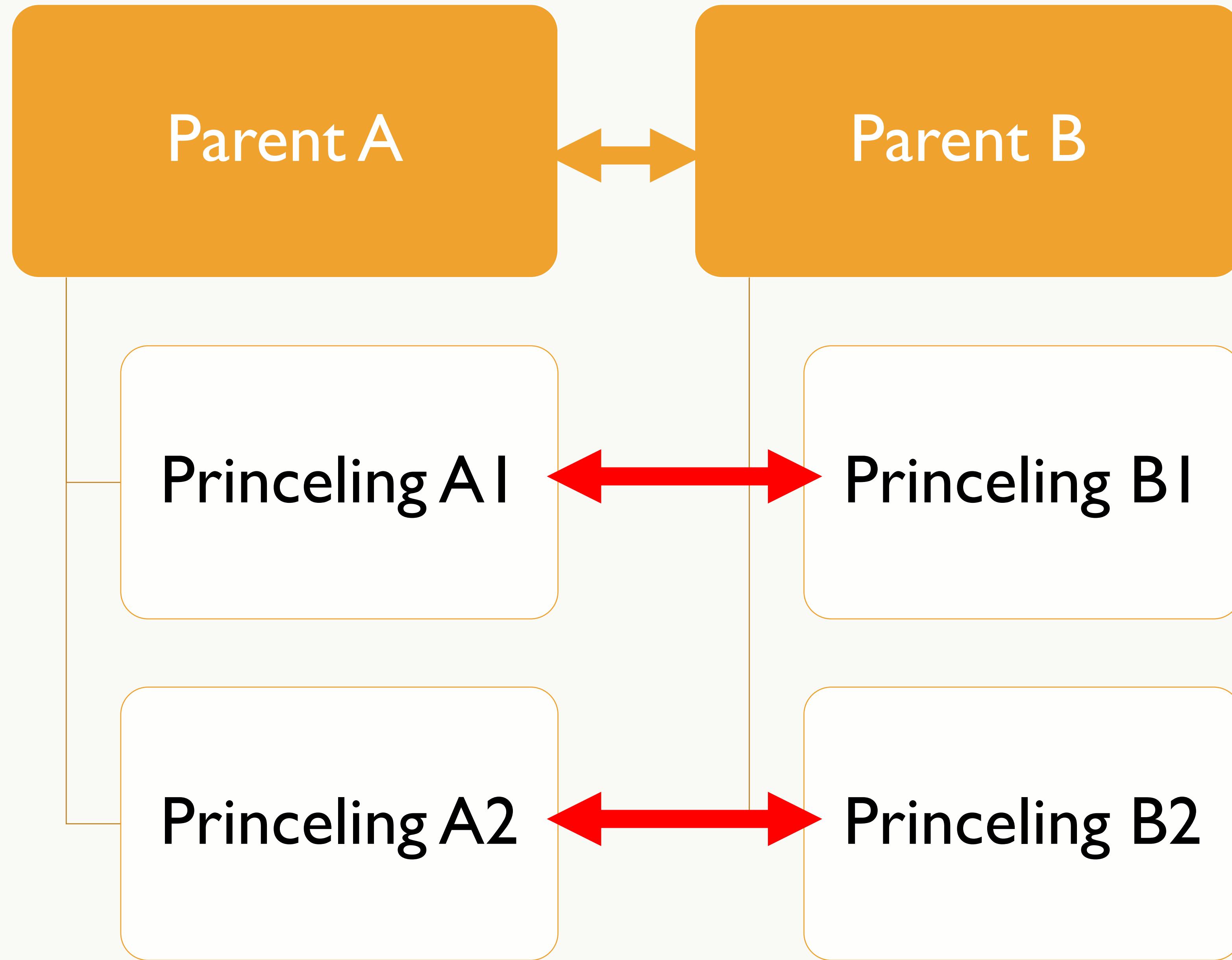
A-7-025-B 陈毅女儿陈姗姗（又名丛军）文革中1972选派留学英国

- 从军（陈毅女儿陈珊珊）……1974年经周恩来批准，被选派到英国伦敦经济学院学习语言，改革开放后又到美国攻读国际关系，拿到硕士学位。她先后在外交部当过翻译、司长，还出任过驻爱沙尼亚大使，是我国为数不多的女大使之一……1972年，好运再次关照到了从军。“文革”浩劫，让人才断档了。根据周恩来的指示，外交部受命把“文革”前在当时外院附中和外语学校学习了三年的老初三学生招回来，精选一些人，送到英国留学，要求自然是根红苗正的好青年。已经当了四年兵的从军幸运地名列其中。我问：“这个是不是因为家庭的关系？”“是这样的，当时，姬鹏飞外长的夫人许寒冰是外交部干部司的司长，她到医院来看望我母亲。……那次许阿姨来跟我母亲说，现在有这么一个机会，总理的指示，翻译还是要培养的，现在都停课闹革命了，也没有大学了，就想把过去在外语附中学习的老初三学生招回来，送到国外再深造一下，将来回来后就到外交部当翻译。你这个女儿是外语附中的，符合这个条件。”病中的张茜听到这个消息，很是高兴，也有些担忧，她对许寒冰说：她先征求一下周总理和邓大姐的意见，再答复。从军说：“我妈妈当时就给邓大姐打电话，她说过去有规定高干子弟不能出国留学，现在有这么一个机会，就想征求一下大姐和总理的意见。后来邓大姐跟总理商量以后，就回了一个电话。邓大姐说，恩来说是有这种规定，但现在情况不一样了，陈老总去世了，外交部让姗姗去学，这个是可以考虑的。意思就是说我父亲已经去世了，现在也不是什么高干了。后来我妈妈说，既然大姐和总理都说没问题，那她就同意就把我送去了。”事后，从军才知道，他们是在“文革”期间送出去的第一批学生，是红色中国在经历浩劫的同时，特意选择派出的苗子，他们的任务不单是学习，他们还是中国保持与世界交流的一点火种和希望。在他们这批负笈西游的学子中，有今天我们熟悉的一些从事外事、外交的优秀人物：中国外交部部长杨洁篪、驻美大使周文重、外交部副部长、驻联合国大使王光亚，以及后去的原商务部副部长龙永图等。

- There is always a tension between the trend of bureaucratization and Mao's ideals of anti-bureaucratization
- In practice, the regime's ideological needs, practical needs and the interests of bureaucrats and their family members jointly lead to the priority of princelings in being trusted and promoted by the party-state apparatus.

1966-1976: “The Unprecedented Revolution”

- Shared Life Course and Experiences
 - Foster a strong identity awareness among the cadres' / senior leaders' children
- “She is Our Mom!”
 - Case: Ling Ben and Zhong Qiguang – shelter for 19 princelings
 - Collective experiences foster a stronger bond beyond family boundaries
 - Horizontal ties between princelings
- Unintended Consequences of Historical Events
 - Political movements aiming at breaking down social hierarchy reinforced it



1976-1989: Successors on the rise

- Informal assignment, through institutionalized appointment and promotion
 - “Make phone calls”
 - “Send a note”
 - +
 - “Elected by the People's Congress” - "rubber stamp"
 - Legitimation instead of authorization
 - Election without selection

A-2-037-BD 胡耀邦 陈小津 贺平 工作调动 写条子

- 我改日又拜见了耀邦伯伯一次，想请他写张条子帮我解决工作调动的事。耀邦伯伯是湖南人，他曾下放到湘潭当过地委书记，与湖南省当时的领导很熟悉。碰巧的是，那天贺平也在，而且也是因为工作调动的事来找耀邦帮忙。贺平的父亲贺彪早年是江湖赤卫队队员、红二方面军的卫生部长，解放后担任了原中央卫生部副部长……耀邦伯伯对我们俩说：“好啊，我给你俩写个条。”耀邦伯伯的条子，还是写给湖南省委领导万达，请他帮助解决我和贺平的工作调动问题……1972年春，我的北京之行收获很大。我不但见到了耀邦、粟裕、曾山、姬鹏飞、周惠等我父亲的老领导、老战友们，还从他们那里了解了政治动向，得到了无私的帮助和温暖，受到了教育与指点。

- “Days later, I visited Uncle Hu Yaobang again, hoping to ask for his handwriting note to help me find another job. Uncle Hu Yaobang is a Hunan province native and once served the CCP secretary in Xiangtan City, Hunan. He’s familiar with all Hunan provincial leaders at that time. What a coincidence – on that day of my visit, He Ping was there too. He Ping’s father, He Biao, a Red Army veteran and medical chief of the 2nd Red Army, served as the vice minister of Ministry of Health after 1949. (...) Uncle Hu Yaobang told both He Ping and me, ‘alright, I will write a note for you two.’ His note was addressed to Hunan provincial leader, Wan Da, indicating that He Ping and myself need job re-arrangement. (...) My Beijing trip in 1972 was very productive. Not only did I met Hu Yaobang, Su Yu, Zeng Shan, Ji Pengfei, and Zhou Hui, my father’s long time superiors and friends, but also did I know rich information and trends in top politics. I got their unsparing help and care, and I learned greatly from their guidance.”

B-2-036-D 叶飞家族 胡耀邦家族 安子文 姻亲关系

- 我到北京后没几天，叶飞的大女儿叶小楠就带我去了耀邦伯伯家。小楠与中央组织部原部长安子文的女儿安黎是清华的同学。1968年，安黎告诉小楠，她有个男朋友是胡耀邦的长子胡德平，让小楠陪她一起去见见胡德平，并请她帮助参谋参谋。就这样，小楠就知道耀邦家的地址，以后又去过多
次，与耀邦也熟悉起来。小毛是北大的学生，她到清华看姐姐小楠，也认识了安黎，后来也多次到过耀邦家。这都是1969年5月耀邦到河南黄湖“五七”干校之前的事。1971年冬，耀邦回到北京，到家里来拜访的那些被打倒、受迫害的老干部及其家属子女们很多。小楠告诉我，耀邦伯伯有一次见到她时，曾经问起她：“你和阿丕家有往来吗？”可见他十分惦念我父亲的情况。小楠见到耀邦伯伯时说：“耀邦叔叔，我给你带来一个年轻人，他想见见你。”耀邦伯伯看到了我，指着我说：“这是谁家的娃
娃？”小楠没说话。我有点犹豫，也没有马上说我是谁。突然，耀邦两眼一亮，手一指，说了一句：“你是阿丕的儿子！”

- “Several days after my arrival in Beijing, Ye Fei’s eldest daughter, Ye Xiaonan brought me to Uncle Hu Yaobang’s house. Ye Xiaonan and An Li (the daughter of An Ziwen, minister of the CCP Organization Department) were classmates in Tsinghua University. In 1968, An Li told Ye Xiaonan her boyfriend was Hu Deping, the eldest son of Hu Yaobang. An Li asked Ye Xiaonan to meet with Hu Deping and to provide some advice and suggestions about this relationship. After this, Ye Xiaonan knew the address of Hu family and visited there many times, becoming more familiar with Uncle Hu Yaobang. (...) Ye Xiaonan told me, Uncle Hu Yaobang once asked her whether she had connections with my family. It shows how much Uncle Hu cared about my father. (When we visit,) Ye Xiaonan said to Uncle Hu Yaobang, ‘Uncle Hu, I brought you a young man who wants to see you.’ Uncle Hu pointed at me as he saw me, asking her ‘whose son is this?’ Ye Xiaonan didn’t reply. I hesitated for a bit and did not reply immediately. Suddenly, Uncle Hu blinked his eyes and pointed at me again – he said, ‘You are A-Pi’s son!'”

- 按照父亲当初让我离开上海后到北京呆一段时间的交待，我于1月底到了北京。在北京，我先后住过曾任中国驻苏联大使，后任外交部副部长的刘晓家里；住过曾任上海市委常委、上海市委组织部部长，后任国务院内务部副部长黄庆熙的家里；住过曾任上海市委常委、上海总工会主席，后任中共中央工业交通政治部副主任钟民伯伯的家里。我前前后后在他们家里住了一两个月。这段时间里，我难与上海的父母取得联系，就一直通过大字报、传单和报刊关注着上海的情况。……“二月逆流”发生前，我正住在钟民伯伯家。钟民伯伯是我父亲任苏中区党委书记时的老部下，他和我父亲、叶飞伯伯都是非常熟悉的，他们在战争年代结下了深厚的革命情意。钟民伯伯调离上海市委后，曾经在福建省委任过几年书记，后来又调中央任工业交通政治部副主任。一天，我与钟民伯伯正在家里说话，突然来了一位小姑娘，我一眼就认出了她。她是叶飞的女儿，叫叶葳葳，小名叫小毛。
- 小毛当时是北京大学西语系70届的学生。我第一次见到她，是1962年的夏天。当时正值我高中期间的一个暑假，一场中日友好乒乓球比赛在上海陕西南路的市体馆举行，中国出场的有徐寅生等著名运动员，我去看了一场。我对徐寅生多变的发球非常痴迷，但我当时是个近视眼，即使戴上眼镜也很难看清楚乒乓球的左飞右旋，所以特别渴望能就近观摩学习。最近处就是赛场隔板外了，能在那呆着，必须要有特殊的入场证才行。赛前，尽管我想尽办法，也没有搞到一张特殊场区入场证，只搞到了一张观礼台上的座位票。比赛期间，我从望远镜里突然发现赛场的隔板边上站着一个小女孩，年纪不过十四五岁，正在静静地看着比赛。这是谁呀，怎么能搞到连我都搞不到的入场证？一打听，原来是福建省委第一书记叶飞的女儿，叫叶葳葳。她的票是通过上海市体委副主任张振亚搞到的。张振亚曾经是叶飞的作战参谋。咳，我怎么就没想到这一条路子，当时后悔死了，所以对她留下深刻的印象。

Nomenklatura System under Chen Yun, Hu Yaobang, Song Ping

- Case: Liu Yuan (son of 1959-1966 PRC President Liu Shaoqi)
 - Liu Yuan (1951-) served as vice township chief 副乡长 in 1982, and one year later he became the vice magistrate 副县长. Two years after, Liu achieved the rank of vice mayor in the city of Zhengzhou, and in 1988 Liu was “recommended” by Henan CCP committee to be vice governor of Henan Province. Such high-speed promotion - from township to provincial leader in six years - is extremely rare in China’s bureaucratic system.
 - Such promotion is hard to be argued as merit-based or election based. It is usually realized delicately by the bureaucratic system, to successfully assign preferable individuals to target positions without breaking the procedural regulations on the surface. Wu Guoguang calls such maneuver “institutional manipulation.”

“Drink to the township offices,

bribe to the county offices,

born to the city offices.”

—— A satirical proverb, popular in Shandong, China

Qualitative Findings

- Leninist State and Centralized Resource Allocation
- The regime's practical and ideological needs + individual fate
- The Cultural Revolution = Shared Life Courses and Strong Bond
- The post-Mao politics, 1989 and princelings' rise

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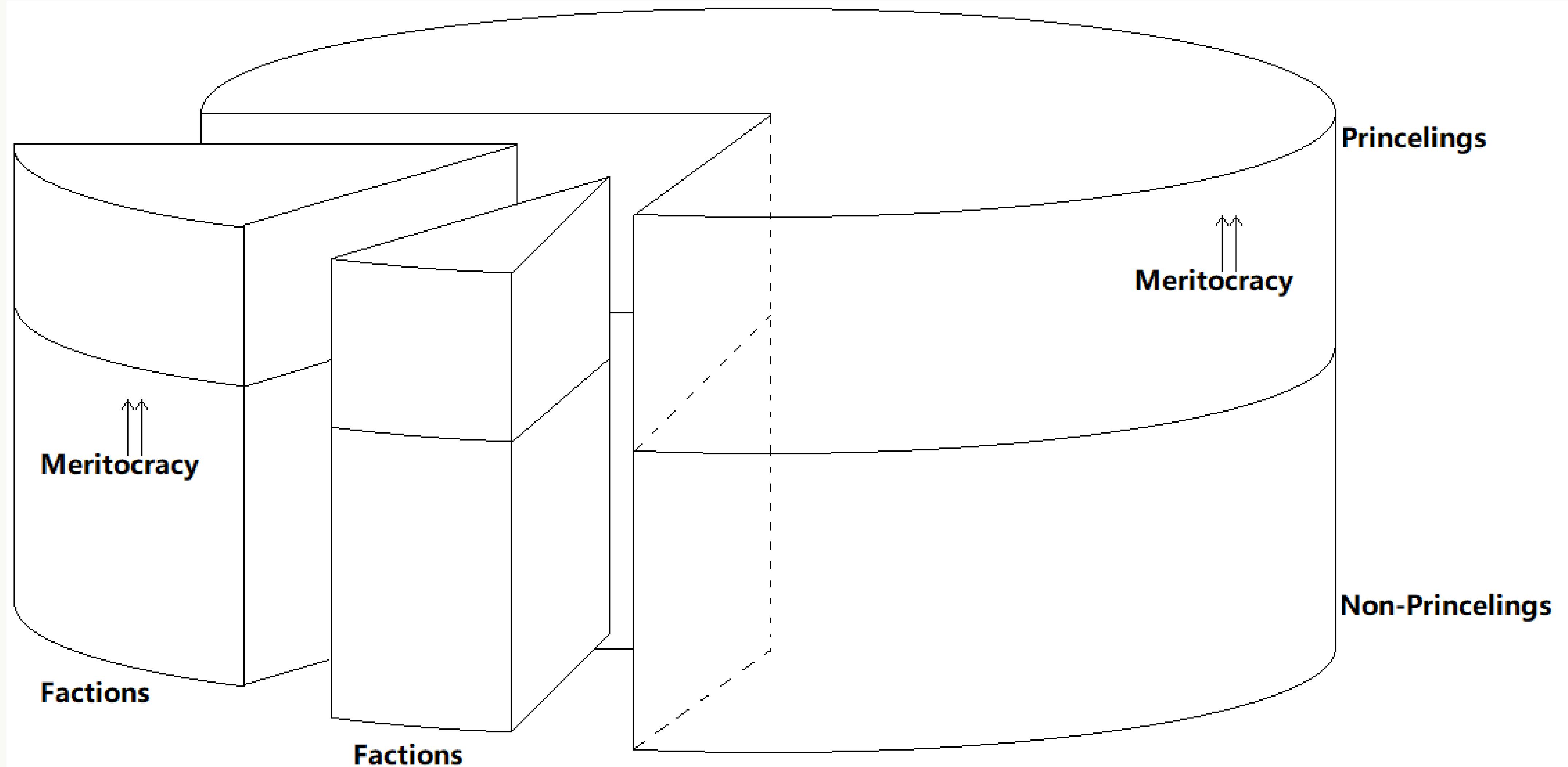
- Background: Princelings' Rise in China
- Research Questions
- Data and Methods
- Findings
 - Quantitative: Do they have advantages over non-princelings?
 - Qualitative: How did princelings form such a privileged group?
- **Discussions**

Main Contributions

- (1) Found Princeling's Advantages over Non-princelings [refute the meritocracy and no-advantage arguments]
- (2) The Advantages are NOT linked to direct patron / parents [moderately challenges the factionalism story]
- (3) Collectiveness in Elite Reproduction [difference from elsewhere]
- (4) Incorporation of Princelings with Meritocracy and Factional Politics

Incorporating Princelings, Factions, and Meritocracy

- Princelings formed a stratum over non-princeling officials in China.
- Princelings could be part of other factions, allying with other non-princelings.
 - E.g. Bo Xilai and Zhou Yongkang; Zeng Qinghong and Jiang Zemin.
- Within each stratum (princelings vs. not) and each faction (Jiang faction, Hu faction, Xi faction... etc.), meritocracy still works.



New Trends observed in China's Elite Reproduction

- Increasingly Diverse outlets
 - Princelings who were born during 1960-80
 - State-Owned Enterprises
 - Private Enterprises with State Sponsorship/Policy Support
 - Holding stock shares of important enterprises
 - “Generation Y” (young princelings who were born during 1981-2000)
 - Oversea study (e.g. Bo Guagua at Harold and Oxford; Xi Mingze at Harvard) and often hired by foreign companies afterwards
 - A Preparation for Regime Break-down?

“The 3rd Gen of Red”

- Xi Mingze (1992-)
 - Xi Jinping's daughter, Xi Zhongxun's granddaughter
 - Harvard
- Bo Guagua (1987-)
 - Bo Xilai's son, Bo Yibo's grandson
 - Oxford; Harvard; New York Bar passed in July 2016; practice in Canada
- Chen Xiaodan (1987-)
 - Chen Yuan's daughter, Chen Yun's granddaughter
 - Harvard, Morgan Stanley
- Ren Yi (1985-)
 - Ren Zhongyi's grandson
 - Researcher at Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies



JPMorgan to pay \$264m penalty for hiring 'princelings'

US bank to settle probe into hiring practices in China



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Future Trends

- A preparation for democratization?
 - Diverse outlets (business, culture/entertainment)
 - International Educational and Career Records
 - Legitimate privatized property and privileges - “Russian oligarchs”?
- Continuity and Discontinuity
 - Lack of common life courses and experiences
 - Weakened social ties due to diverse residential patterns, educational experiences, political strikes and conflicts

Implications and Future Agenda

- Shall we prepare for the changes?
- 4821 (Princelings born in the 1920s)
- Son-in-laws (“女婿党” 现象)
- Harbin PLA military engineering institute (Princelings born in the 1940s) (“哈军工” 校友群体)
- Gen Y (Princelings born in the 1980s) – a dissolving group?

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THANK YOU Q & A

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