China

Chapter 24 China the Impact of the Past

I. Man-land ratio and Chinese limitations on politics, economics, and social thought
   A. Man-land ratio: how much arable land per person
      1. China’s huge population and limited arable land led rulers to impose limits
      2. Chinese society evolved steady state structures to preserve stability and to keep peasants content rather than encourage them to pioneer and innovate
   B. Areas discouraged from expansion or development
      1. Development of labor saving devices
      2. Advancements in science or technology
      3. Commercial and overseas expansion

II. The Traditional Chinese Political System
   A. China unified early and a bureaucratic empire replaced feudalism
   B. Chinese society was distinguished by a social class system
      1. The Mandarins: the ruling class, based on Confucianism
      2. The Gentry: the administrators linking the masses to their leaders
      3. The Peasants: the farming class, 90% of China’s population
   C. Dynastic Cycles
      1. A period of time from the rise, maturity, and fall of an imperial family
      2. When the old dynasty became incompetent and crisis of war, banditry, famine signaled that the emperor had lost “the Mandate of Heaven,” a conqueror (Manchu or Mongol) found it easy to take control
   D. By the 16th century, the world’s greatest civilization had begun to stagnate

III. Population Growth and European Invasion
   A. In 1514, the Portuguese entered China, they were followed by other Europeans
   B. For 3 centuries, China tried to limit the number of trading stations to a minimum
   C. In the meantime, China’s population exploded
      1. Between 1741 and 1851, its population grew from 143 million to 432 million
      2. But taxation and administration lagged behind and the Manchus declined
   D. The Opium Wars of 1839-1842
      1. Britain found in China a market for its opium produced in British held India
      2. Opium smoking was illegal in China, yet the British openly violated the law
      3. When the Imperial government tried to stop the trade, Britain waged war
      4. Britain won easily and in the Treaty of Nanjing received 5 treaty ports
         a. Britain got Hong Kong as an outright possession
         b. Domination, governance, and extraterritoriality (their own laws/courts)
      5. In the 1860s, 9 more treaty ports were added
   E. Around the treaty ports grew spheres of influence (understandings among the foreign powers as to who really controlled the ports)
      1. British, French, German, Russian, and Japanese carved up the China coast
      2. The Americans tagged along after the British

IV. From Empire to Republic
   A. 1851-1864, the Taipings cult (Christian, Confucian, communist) baptized millions in South China and nearly overthrew the Manchu (Qing) dynasty
B. 1898, the young Emperor Guangxu gathered reformers and in 100 days issues more than 40 edicts modernizing everything from education to the military  
   1. Conservative officials and the empress dowager opposed to the reforms carried out a coup and rescinded the edicts  
   2. The young emperor is put under house arrest and dies (probably poisoned)  
C. The Boxer Rebellion  
   1. In 1900, an anti-foreign movement with support of the empress dowager and reactionary officials killed foreigners and besieged Beijing’s Legation Quarter  
   2. For 55 days they attack, until a foreign expedition of British, French, German, Russian, American, and Japanese troops break through and lift the siege  
   3. The foreigners demand and get indemnities and additional concessions  
D. In 1911, the Manchu dynasty is overthrown by young, militant nationalists (many army officers) and disgruntled provincial officials led by Dr. Sun Yatsen  
E. 1916-1927, China lacked central stability allowing warlords to rule regions of China  
F. Gradually, the Nationalist party (Guomindang) assumed control over China  
   1. Guided by intellectuals, army officers, and modern businessmen  
   2. Nanjing was established as the capital  
   3. 1927, General Jiang Jiesh (Chiang Kai-shek) is proclaimed leader of China  
   4. In fact, the rural areas were not reformed or developed, administration was very corrupt, and the Nationalists offered no ideology to rally the people  
G. The Japanese Invasion  
   1. In 1937, Japan began its conquest of China  
   2. By 1941, Japan had control over the entire coast of China and had forced the Nationalists to flee the capital of Nanjing  

V. The Communist Triumph  
A. In 1921, the Chinese Communist Party was founded  
B. Fundamentally nationalist, it worked with Jiang’s Nationalist Party until Jiang decided in 1927 to exterminate the communists  
C. What followed was a civil war between two versions of Chinese nationalism  
D. Mao Zedong (born 1893 into a peasant family) and Zhou Enlai (born 1898 into a gentry family), both nationalists and Marxists, they developed a relationship of tandem power  
   1. From Mao’s Jiangxi redoubt, they escape destruction by KMT forces and lead their followers (120,000) in the Long March across mountains and rivers to Yan’ on Province  
   2. The journey took over a year, and fewer than 20,000 survived  
E. During the war with Japan, Nationalists and Communists fought each other as much as against the Japanese  
F. After the war, the Nationalists, though larger and better equipped than the Communists, lost power as hyperinflation destroyed the economy, corruption grew, and the people were tired of war  
G. Meanwhile, the Communists, under Mao’s leadership, had cultivated the support of the peasants and had grown in numbers and strength  
   1. Perfecting their guerilla warfare strategies, the Communists began to defeat the Nationalists  
   2. In 1949, the disintegrating Nationalists retreated to the island of Taiwan  
H. On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed the found of the People’s Republic of China  
   1. Beijing is restored as the capital of China  
   2. “Our nation will never again be an insulted nation. We have stood up.”-Mao
Chapter 25 China: the Key Institutions

I. The Government
A. Each state and Party level ostensibly elects the one above it
   1. Production and residential units elect local People’s Congresses
   2. These elect the county People’s Congresses
   3. These elect the 21 provincial People’s Congresses
   4. These elect the National People’s Congress (nearly 30,000 deputies/5 yr term)
   5. This elects a Standing Committee of 155 members
   6. The Chairman is China’s President/Head of State (an honorific office)
   7. The top of the executive branch is the State Council
   8. The Cabinet: Approximately 40 ministers and 12 premiers led by the premier
      (China’s head of government)
B. The formal structure doesn’t always correspond to the real distribution of power
   1. In 1976, both Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou died, relative unknown Hua
      Guanfeng was installed in both offices
   2. In 1977, Deng Xiaoping was made Senior Vice-Premier in addition to his
      Party and army positions
   3. By 1979, Deng was acting as a head of state
   4. In 1980, Deng demoted Hua and assumed power himself
   5. In 1982, under Deng’s guidance, the Party abolished the chairmanship and
      Hua was out of the Politburo and out of sight

II. The Party
A. The Communist Party is the only party allowed in China
   1. 66 million members (large but given China’s population less than the CPSU)
   2. As China’s economy has decentralized and shifted to markets, it now admits
      private businesspeople
      But no ideals at all.”—one longtime Party member
   4. Party officials now use their positions for personal gain; massive corruption
B. Party Hierarchy
   1. Local, county, provincial, and national levels feed into corresponding Party
      committees
   2. At the top is the National Party Congress
      a. Some 21,000 delegates who are supposed to meet at least once in 5 yrs
      b. This nominally chooses a Central Committee of 350 members
      c. Power is given to a Politburo of about 20 Party Chiefs
      d. Within the Politburo is a Standing Committee of 5-9 members who
         decide Party policy
C. Originally, the head of the Party was the Chairman (Mao’s title)
   1. After Mao’s death, the Party abolished the chairmanship in 1982
   2. In its place, the Party upgraded the position of General Secretary
D. The Party’s 30 million cadres (local Party leaders) form China’s “nervous system”;
   whoever controls them, controls China

III. The Army
A. The Central Military Commission interlocks with the Politburo
B. The CCP Standing Committee has at least one top general
C. "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun... (but) the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party," - Mao Zedong
   1. Nevertheless, it was the People’s Liberation Army that set up the Communist power structure in the 1940s
   2. And most recently, China’s executive decision makers all had extensive military experience
   3. In the 1960s, when the Cultural Revolution broke out, it was the army which first facilitated, then dampened, then finally crushed the Red Guard
   4. By the time the Cultural Revolution was over, the PLA was in de facto control of most of the provincial governments and most of the Politburo
D. In 1989, when Deng called upon the army to put down the student demonstration in Tiananmen Square, the army did what it was told, but not happily
   1. As a result, Beijing created the People’s Armed Police (PAP) to deal with domestic unrest
   2. A paramilitary organization, 1 million strong, it resembles the French CRS
E. Although China’s leadership pays special attention to the army and has increased its budget, the army is still poor and under-equipped
   1. Because of this, the army for a time went into private industry, running some 15,000 businesses
   2. President Jiang, concerned about corruption, smuggling, and the loss of mission ordered the army to get out of business and get back to soldiering
   3. The army complied
Chapter 26 Chinese Political Culture

I. Traditional Chinese Culture's Impact on Communism
   A. Mao's idea of perfecting human nature by thinking right thoughts is deeply Confucian
   B. Communist bureaucrats and cadres serve the same function as the Mandarins and gentry
      1. They strive to impose cultural control and guidance
      2. Indeed, Deng Xiaoping governed in the old Confucian style
   C. Chinese youth undergo 12 1/2 hours of grueling university entrance exams that resemble
      the Imperial examination system of old China
      1. Only 12% of the Chinese youth go to college
      2. The new exams include Chinese, English, math, science, history, and politics
      3. Its elite schools are Beijing University and Qinghua
      4. Mao attacked the exams as elitist and had them dropped during the Cultural
         Revolution; the effect on industry and administration was disastrous
      5. In 1977, the exams were restored
   D. Until recently (the Party now does not appoint anyone over 70 to an official job), age
      conferred special qualities of wisdom and leadership in the People's Republic (very
      Confucian)

II. Nationalism
   A. For more than a century, nationalism has dominated Chinese intellectual life
      1. Western and Japanese penetration and humiliation have not been forgotten
      2. Chinese leaders have vowed to beat the West in industry and weaponry
      3. This goal has led moderates like Zhou and Deng to eschew ideology for
         pragmatism
   B. Anti-U.S. Chinese nationalism is deep and genuine
      1. Tension over Taiwan and pressures over human rights and copyright
         violations have sparked government approved anti-U.S. campaigns
      2. The accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1999 and the
         2001 violation of Chinese airspace by a U.S. surveillance plane angered China

III. Maoism
   A. Maoism drew from traditional values
      1. It took from Confucius the notion that consciousness determines existence
         (e.g., thinking right thoughts; willpower has primacy over weapons in war or
         over technology in building China)
      2. The unleashed forces of the masses, guided by Mao's Thought, could conquer
         anything;
      3. This voluntarism was consonant with China's traditional past
   B. Drawing from nationalism, Mao pushed for strengthening China so that it could stand
      up to its old enemies and become a world power
   C. The problem was traditional values called for China to ignore the West and its
      technology, while nationalistic values demanded China learn and copy from the West
   D. Maoism attempted to extend the principles of guerrilla warfare to develop China into an
      industrialized world power: use the peasants, be self-reliant, use more willpower than
      technology to overcome obstacles
      1. The Great Leap Forward (1958-60) tried such tactics on the economy, using
         raw manual labor to build earthen dams and backyard furnaces
2. The result was catastrophic

E. For Mao, the revolution never ended
   1. Bureaucratization, elitism, and opportunism were conservative tendencies that had to be constantly combated
   2. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76) was necessary to defeat the bureaucracy that had taken control over China
   3. The results were a damaged economy and chaos throughout China

F. In post-Mao China, Mao isn’t often quoted

IV. “Crouching Anger, Hidden Dissent”
A. Today, there is growing unrest in China
   1. Rural dwellers, rust-belt workers, Muslim Uighurs in Xinjiang province
   2. Angry protests have been crushed; critics fired, harassed, and beaten

B. Urban, educated classes have made cities hot-beds of criticism and reform

C. After the 1989 Tiananmen Massacre, many Chinese fell into despair
   1. For many, Communism has been discredited
   2. The Party now has nothing to offer

D. Religion, both old and new, is growing despite arrests, imprisonment, and torture
   1. Falun Gong, a new religion, is attracting followers with faith healing and traditional exercises
   2. In 1999, Beijing denounced Falun Gong as a brainwashing cult, and arrested thousands of its followers

E. Some educated Chinese have discovered classical liberalism—the philosophy of small government and personal and economic freedom (Locke, Smith, Jefferson, etc.)

F. Many Chinese are “politically numb” of the constantly changing slogans and mass campaigns (anti-Confucius, anti-capitalist, anti-Gang of Four, anti-spiritual pollution)

G. The hope for Chinese students is to go abroad (especially to the U.S.)
   1. The great prize is a graduate degree (MBA) from a prestigious university
   2. Many do not return to China

H. The Chinese way to deal with government crackdown on freedom and democracy is hiaotai (“to express an attitude”)
   1. Chinese are able to exclaim the Party line while concealing their true feelings
   2. Everything looks calm on the surface, but below lies pent-up anger
   3. Some of this shows up in the constant flow of rumors about repression, economic incompetence, and official corruption
   4. The government tries to fool the people with big lies, but the people fight back with little whispers

I. A sizeable fraction of Chinese dislikes and distrusts the regime
   1. This is prevalent in the South which has long resented northern rule
   2. Many Chinese are frustrated that progress is being blocked by a Party elite that clings to its power and good jobs
   3. They are envious of the Special Economic Zones where capitalism and foreign investment are allowed, and the economy is booming
Chapter 27 China Patterns of Interaction

I. Cycles of Upheaval
   A. China has experienced three major cycles of social upheaval
      1. In the 1950s, Agrarian Reform (landlords executed and land redistributed)
      2. 1958 to 1960, the Great Leap Forward (Mao's failed industrialization)
      3. 1966 to 1976, the Cultural Revolution (anti-bureaucracy, Maoist movement)
   B. In addition, there have been four smaller upheavals
      1. 1956, the brief Hundred Flowers Liberalization
      2. 1957 and early 1970s, the Anti-Rightist Campaigns
      3. the late 1970s, the Anti-Gang of Four Campaign
      4. 1989, the crushing of the counterrevolutionary, pro-democracy students
   C. Big or small, the underlying problem is Beijing's leaders inherited a poor, backward country which they want to make rich, advanced, and socialistic
      1. Mao Thought taught that everything is possible
      2. But the old, stubborn traditional China doesn't yield; it frustrates the bold plans and pulls the system back to previous patterns and problems
   D. Radicals and Moderates during the Cultural Revolution
      1. Moderates were anyone high up in the Party, government, or army
      2. Bureaucrats are by their nature conservative
      3. Radicals were anyone on the periphery of power, but who was ambitious for it (e.g., students, junior cadres, provincial leaders)
      4. One of the primary motivations for radicals was the scarcity of job openings in the Party, state, army, industrial, and other offices
      5. Further fueling discontent among young radicals was the difficulty of getting into a university
      6. These were the kinds of tensions underlying the radical outburst of the Cultural Revolution
      7. When the campaign burned out, the bureaucrats and cadres resumed control

II. Liberals and Conservatives
   A. Conservatives tend to be older people with secure positions in the Party, army, and bureaucracy
   B. Conservatives want socialism based on the Soviet model (i.e., centralized control over the economy, politics, and cultural life)
   C. Liberals usually are younger people who see the unfairness and inefficiency of centralized control
   D. Liberals want Western-style political democracy and cultural freedom
   E. Conservatives warn that China without communism would collapse into chaos
   F. In fact, Roskin writes, conservatives fear that abandoning socialism will cost them their cushy jobs; ideology is often a mask for self-interest
   G. The liberal-conservative split caused Deng and his successors much grief
      1. In the Spring of 1989, tens of thousands of Chinese University students staged protests, and hunger strikes
      2. It culminated in the Tiananmen Square Massacre in which hundreds were killed and some 10,000 were imprisoned
      3. A chill settled over Chinese life
      4. And conservatives launched an anti-Western campaign
III. Rice-Roots Democracy

A. With the new millennium, thousands of village level competitive elections appeared

B. It is uncertain yet what this signifies
   1. Is it the result of liberalizers in the Party slowly introducing democracy?
   2. Is it true rice-roots democracy from villagers angry with local officials who pocket arbitrary “taxes”?

C. So far, the scope of these elections is limited
   1. Elected village/township chiefs are still controlled by local Party secretaries
   2. But gradually, local Party secretaries are being chosen by more open methods among Party members

D. Since 1999, a few urban neighborhoods have had direct, competitive elections for minor offices
Chapter 28 What Chinese Quarrel About

I. Should China have a market economy?
   A. In 1978, collectivized farms were broken up and families were permitted to go on the
      “responsibility system” (private farming)
      1. In this system, peasants lease land from the state for 15 years (still no private
         ownership) and must deliver a certain quota to the state at set prices
      2. Beyond this, farmers may sell their produce on the free market for the best
         price they can get
      3. They may choose their own crops, fertilizer and farm machinery (which they
         buy at their own expense)
      4. Farm production soared, Chinese ate better, farmers’ incomes rose
   B. In the 1990s, Beijing held down prices and paid farmers IOUs for their grain
      1. Farmers’ incomes declined and inflation soared
      2. Order broke down, people rioted and attacked local authorities
      3. Rural Chinese left their farms for the cities
   C. The “partly free market” spread to the cities
      1. Faced with growing unemployment, Beijing let individuals open small stores,
         restaurants, repair shops, manufacturing businesses
      2. It even permitted store owners to hire workers
      3. The result: people flocked to these stores
   D. The “Special Economic Zones”
      1. Began with Hong Kong, and parts of coastal China
      2. Open to private and foreign investors, capitalists poured in to take advantage
         of the low Chinese wages
      3. Today, these Special Zones account for 1/3 of China’s economy
      4. China’s GDP grew at a rate of 10% per year in the 1980s and 90s (a little less
         recently)
      5. In 2002, the economy was 20 times larger than in 1980
      6. By comparison, 1/3 of the more than 100,000 state-run enterprises lose money
         and have to be subsidized; of these 1/2 are believed to be hopeless
   E. While many Chinese like the free market, many cadres do not
      1. Many cadres make a good living supervising a controlled economy
      2. What happens to them if China were to change to a free market economy?
   F. More importantly, what will happen when a free market economy conflicts with a
      dictatorial political system?

II. Is a middle way between socialism and capitalism possible for China?
   A. Roskin believes not
      1. In the first few years things may appear balanced
      2. But after that, shortages, distortions, bottle-necks will stop economic growth
      3. The private sector would keep colliding with the public sector
      4. Eventually, there would be little socialism left, and this Beijing will not allow
   B. In 1997, China’s banks were loaning recklessly, sometimes crookedly, and some were
      facing insolvency
      1. Why? They were under orders to prop up losing state industries
      2. The central government itself was deeply in debt from subsidizing too much
         and collecting too little in taxes
3. China’s debt problem continues

III. Crunch Time
A. The easy economic reforms (independent farming/manufacturing, and foreign investment) has been accomplished
B. The really tough problems remain (dangerous government, banking, state-industry debts, inefficient agriculture, and the need for millions more new jobs each year)
C. In 2001, China became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO), but to do so it had to open its economy to all manner of foreign investments and companies, including the Internet
D. China now has a split and uncertain Party, corrupt local officials, a weakening central authority, and popular discontent
E. Some observers fear China might promote expansionist nationalism to deflect domestic unrest
   1. Beijing aims to become the #1 military power in East Asia, eclipsing Japan (one of its priorities is to build up its navy)
   2. This angers (and frightens) other countries in the region (i.e., Japan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Vietnam)
   3. Furthermore, China has proclaimed its right to seize Taiwan, which it regards as a renegade province, at any time; this could bring about conflict with the United States